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The Experiences and Preparation of Teacher Candidates of Color: A Literature Review

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While the racial diversification of teacher education programs is an important aspect of achieving educational equity, of equal importance are the experiences of teacher candidates of color and the preparation they receive for teaching once they enroll in preservice programs. This chapter reviews literature published from 2000 to 2017 with the purpose of providing an interpretive synthesis of what is known from research about the experiences and preparation of teacher candidates of color in teacher education programs. We sought to understand who engaged in this research, how researchers constructed the problem they investigated, what research questions were posed and what these studies found, what were trends in the findings, and what assumptions researchers challenge. We found that the field generally explored three lines of research: (a) how teacher candidates of color perceived their experiences in programs; (b) how they negotiated their teacher identities; and (c) what strategies teacher educators used in teacher education to prepare teacher candidates of color to teach responsibly. Our analysis highlights trends in the reviewed studies' findings, for example, that candidates of color would benefit from explicit and purposeful lessons about racial oppression. Notably, our review suggests that some individual teacher educators are taking up the challenge of providing a culturally responsive education to candidates of color in their courses, while the needs and strengths of these candidates are ignored at the programmatic level. We underscore strategies from the reviewed studies for improving the teacher preparation of candidates of color, and we suggest future programs of research.

Over the past two decades, many states and teacher-education programs have adopted policies to diversify the teacher workforce (Boser, 2014) based on the assumption that having more teachers of color would improve the school experiences and educational outcomes of K–12 students of color, who account for 49% of total enrollment in public schools (National Center for Education Statistics, 2014). While acknowledging the importance of teacher diversity, scholars have critiqued the policy assumptions of and rhetoric for diversifying the teacher workforce and recruiting people of color into teacher-preparation programs by stating that there are other factors that require attention for diversification efforts to be successful (e.g., Haddix, 2017; Montecinos, 1995; Sleeter & Thao, 2007). For example, research suggests that efforts to recruit teachers of color may be undermined because the culture and bureaucracy of schooling disillusion teachers of color who want to work toward equity (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2011), and because teachers of color, who are mostly employed in high-poverty urban schools, tend to have significantly higher turnover rates than their White¹ counterparts (Ingersoll et al., 2014).

An important factor some diversification policies may not consider is the preparation of teacher candidates of color. Teacher education practitioners and researchers have suggested that—intentionally or not—teacher education's curriculum and pedagogy have been designed primarily for a population that is White, middle-class, female, and monolingual English-speaking (Cochran-Smith, 1995; Dixson & Dingus, 2007; Ladson-Billings, 1999). Moreover,

the majority presence of White teacher candidates and teacher educators in many university teacher-education programs serves to maintain a white-centric curriculum that reproduces power dynamics and perpetuates standards of whiteness (Sleeter, 2001). Research indeed indicates that the “overwhelming presence of whiteness” in teacher education (Sleeter, 2001) shapes the experiences of candidates of color (e.g., Brown, 2014), and thus programs may not be addressing their needs (e.g., Philip et al., 2017; Villegas & Davis, 2008). That is, if teacher-education programs fail to reconsider their design in light of the preservice experiences and preparation needs of future teachers of color, then programs are unlikely to help these candidates reach their fullest teaching potential.

Toward learning about how best to address the needs of teacher candidates of color, scholars have examined the preparation process and experiences of teacher candidates of color in their preservice preparation (see the review by Quiocho & Rios, 2000). However, despite the growing scholarship on teacher candidates of color since 2000, as of yet, no literature review has centered on the actual preparation and experiences of candidates of color. Literature reviews about teacher candidates of color have concentrated largely on teacher preparation at minority-serving institutions (Ginsberg et al., 2017) and they have mostly focused on recruitment and retention issues (e.g., Brown, 2014; Villegas & Davis, 2008; Villegas & Irvine, 2010; Villegas & Lucas, 2004). Yet, the conflation of “recruitment, preparation, and retention” may obscure important and distinct points among these three types of strategies. To address this gap, this literature review asks: *What does research show about the preparation and experiences of teacher candidates of color? How do teacher-education programs account for the needs, learning, and development of their teacher candidates of color in their designs, structures, and cultures?*

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an interpretive synthesis of what is known from research about the experiences and preparation of teacher candidates of color in teacher education. This literature review contributes an analysis showing the salient ways in which scholars have constructed and framed the study of the preparation of candidates of color.

The chapter is organized into four sections. In the first, we describe the methods used to locate and select the studies. We then present the theoretical/analytic framework that guided our review of the literature. Next, we discuss the three lines of research we classified, and by looking across those lines, we identify the main trends in the findings. In the concluding section, we offer a summary and suggest implications for programs, practice, and research.

Locating the Literature

We conducted electronic searches of peer-reviewed articles published from 2000 through 2017 in three research databases: Academic Search Complete, Education Source, and Education Resources Information Center (ERIC). We used the following entries: “teacher* of color” or “minority teacher*” or “Black teacher*” or “Latin* teacher*” or “Hispanic teacher*” or “Asian American teacher*” or “Native American teacher*” or “American Indian teacher*” or “indigenous teacher*” AND “teacher preparation” or “teacher education” or “alternative” or “teacher candidate*” or “preservice teacher*” or “intern teacher*.”² Our preliminary search yielded 503 results.

We looked at the title and abstract of each item to screen for appropriateness to our topic and selection for further reading. We sought empirical studies focused on the experiences and preparation of teacher candidates of color enrolled in preservice programs. Accordingly, we excluded program descriptions and studies that primarily examined recruitment practices or retention outcomes. Given that the policy context of nations profoundly influences research and the social milieu, we limited our review to U.S. studies.

After this preliminary elimination from reading the titles and abstracts, we read the articles for their suitability and discussed our impressions. Our understanding of what “experience and preparation” encompasses was negotiated in these discussions, and, as with all scholarship, our decisions were perspectival and temporal. In keeping with the purpose of our review, we kept studies that included White teacher candidates as participants if the study reported on the preparation and experiences of candidates of color. This process yielded 46 studies that met our criteria.

Theoretical/Analytic Framework

To answer the questions we posed for this review, we adapted the framework “research as historically situated social practice” (Cochran-Smith et al., 2013), which was developed for a major review of the research on teacher education. The framework blends ideas from the sociology of knowledge (Mannheim, 1936/1949) with the notion of research as social practice (Bourdieu, 1977/1980; Herndl & Nahrwold, 2000).

The sociology of knowledge explores the relationship between modes of thinking and knowing that become salient in given historical periods and the economic and social forces that give rise to these modes. In the preface of Mannheim’s (1936/1949) *Ideology and Utopia*, Wirth summarized Mannheim’s thinking as follows:

The sociology of knowledge concerns itself not merely with the ideas and modes of thinking that happen to flourish, but with the whole social setting in which this occurs. This must necessarily take account of the factors that are responsible for the acceptance or the rejection of certain ideas by certain groups in society. (pp. xxix–xxx)

The sociology of knowledge offers a way to understand the connection between the economic and social forces at play in a society at a given historical moment and the ideas that ascend to dominance during that time.

Research as social practice is the second intellectual strand in our framework. Informed by Bourdieu's (1977/1980) "theory of practice," Herndl and Nahrwold (2000) argued that researchers' social interests and commitments—not simply their methodological orientations—guide their research by shaping their construction of the research questions and problems (i.e., their logic of argumentation), the underlying assumptions they challenge, and their purposes and intended audiences, among other key decisions researchers make.

Taken together, these two related sets of ideas offer a powerful lens for reviewing research in teacher education and answering our review's questions. Consistent with the framework, the following questions guided our analysis:

- Who are the researchers? What are their purposes and who is the intended audience?
- How is "the problem" of the preparation of teacher candidates of color constructed and framed in the research?
- What questions do the researchers ask?
- What are trends in the findings and what did the researchers learn from their investigations?
- What assumptions do the researchers make, but also challenge, about the preparation of teacher candidates of color?

Our review was not meant to produce an exhaustive account of the research. Rather, we aimed to notice trends in the research, spotlight inequitable practices identified in the teacher-education programs, and present ways teacher preparation is striving to serve and nurture the needs and strengths of teacher candidates of color. Through this, we hope to trouble existing policies that maintain biased practices and highlight promising program innovations. We also hope to uplift the work of scholars engaged in the difficult and often unacknowledged labor of preparing teacher candidates of color while considering these candidates' particular needs.

For this review, our conceptualization of race and racism is influenced by sociological theories of race, specifically

the idea of race being a historical and social construct meant to oppress people of color (i.e., racialized as Others) through ideologies and structures in society (Omi & Winant, 2015). We use *whiteness* to refer to an ideology that maintains *white supremacy*, a political, economic, and cultural system with discourses and institutions that produce inequitable practices that benefit Whites at the expense of people of color (Bonilla-Silva, 2001). In this system, *white normativity* refers to making whiteness's cultural norms and practices and their inequitable outcomes appear natural and warranted (Ward, 2008).

Because all scholarship—including our review—both shapes and is shaped by researchers' background experiences, positionality, and identity, as suggested above, we want to acknowledge the perspectives we each bring to this review. The first author is a former classroom teacher with academic training in language/literacy education and critical race studies and whose research examines issues related to Chicana/Latina education and to racialization. Also former teachers, the other two authors are senior research professors with many years of experience studying teacher education policy and practice and working as practitioners in the preparation of teachers for diversity and equity. Two of us are Latinas, and one of us is a White woman. All of us have been professionally based in predominantly white institutions (PWIs) with a social justice mission, and we each bring to our work a critical perspective on education's role in perpetuating and challenging systemic inequalities based on race, ethnicity, and language.

Research on the Experiences and Preparation of Teacher Candidates of Color

Below, we review the relatively small but expanding body of research on the experiences and preparation of teacher candidates of color in preservice programs. In keeping with the questions guiding our review, we discuss (a) who the researchers are and what their research purposes and audiences are, (b) how researchers construct the research problems they investigate, (c) what types of questions they pose, (d) what are the trends in the findings across the reviewed studies, and (e) what assumptions the researchers challenge.

Researchers, Purposes, and Research Designs

Nearly all the studies reviewed here were conducted by faculty members associated with teacher-education programs at colleges and universities, although a few also involved one or more doctoral students as co-researchers and in one case undergraduate students who were preparing

to become teachers. The researchers, who were mostly people of color (33 of the 46 articles had lead authors of color), conducted their investigations in the context of their own teacher-preparation programs and frequently involved current or former students as participants. Some of the researchers of color noted that their own experiences with racism had not only shaped their research interests but also motivated them to serve as role models for candidates of color.

Regarding the purposes for carrying out these investigations, in general, the researchers aimed to expose specific ways in which institutional racism is embedded in the educational system, including their own teacher-education programs. Toward the goal of disrupting identified inequitable practices, some examined the racialized experiences of candidates of color in teacher education courses and/or fieldwork, exposing the complex linguistic and cultural terrain these candidates needed to continuously negotiate, and drawing lessons from what they learned. Other researchers aimed to generate knowledge to improve the preparation of candidates of color by experimenting in their own courses with curricular and pedagogical strategies intended to build on the strengths of these students and to address their specific needs. Accordingly, the intended audience for the studies was primarily teacher educators who might use the results to make their own courses and programs inclusive of candidates of color.

Almost all of the studies used qualitative research approaches to capture the experiences of teacher candidates of color and/or explore the efficacy of new curricular and pedagogical strategies designed for this population. These approaches included case studies, life histories, personal narratives, critical discourse analysis, and action research. Researchers utilized three main data-gathering strategies—interviews, focus groups, and participants' work products completed for courses. However, researchers tended to rely mostly on interviews to capture, in participants' own voices, their struggles and successes in teacher education. Lastly, although a variety of frameworks were used (e.g., hybrid, feminist, and culturally responsive teaching), 14 of the 46 studies we reviewed used critical race frameworks, such as critical race theory (CRT) and/or Latino critical race theory (LatCrit), to document the experiences of candidates of color.

Construction of the Problem

Fundamentally, the studies reviewed here framed their inquiries in relation to the marginalization that K–12 students of color tend to experience in schools, along with the persistent pattern of academic disparities between them and their White peers. For the most part, across the studies, researchers worked from the premise that increasing the diversity of the teaching force would help assuage the

alienation experienced by students of color, while simultaneously improving their academic outcomes and ultimately their life chances.

Drawing on prior research, many of the researchers argued that teachers of color would expand the cultural and linguistic expertise the teaching profession needs to teach students of color equitably. Some researchers posited that relative to White teachers, teachers of color tend to be more understanding and respectful of the out-of-school experiences of students of color, more aware of racism in schools and society, more committed to transforming schools to make them increasingly inclusive and just, and more inclined to build connections with parents and communities of color that are traditionally ignored within schools (e.g., Frank, 2003; Gasman et al., 2017; Gomez et al., 2008b; Kohli, 2008, 2009; Sheets & Chew, 2002; Weisman & Hansen, 2008). Several researchers warned, however, that it would be erroneous to assume that candidates of color will naturally know how to teach students of color simply by presuming both share racialized experiences. But many also hypothesized that if properly activated and tapped during the preparation process, the lived experiences and dispositions candidates of color bring to teacher education could enable them to improve the education of students of color.

Although supportive of efforts to diversify the teaching force, the researchers in many of the studies reviewed here were critical of program and research initiatives singularly focused on strategies for recruiting people of color into teacher education while ignoring their experiences and preparation once enrolled in those programs (e.g., Au & Blake, 2003; Frank, 2003; Irizarry, 2007). Nearly all the researchers pointed to and challenged a basic assumption that underlies many current recruitment initiatives—namely, that preservice teacher-preparation programs, which were designed to address the needs of “typical” teacher candidates—that is, White, middle class, monolingual, and English speaking—are also appropriate for and supportive of the needs and interests of candidates of color (e.g., Amos, 2013; Kohli, 2012; Sheets & Chew, 2002). Across the studies we reviewed, the researchers suggested that the full benefit of a diverse teaching force will not be realized unless institutions of higher education in general, and teacher educators in particular, create organizational and curricular spaces that acknowledge and capitalize on the experiences candidates of color bring to teacher preparation while simultaneously addressing their specific needs, which are varied (e.g., Bhukhanwala & Allestaht-Snyder, 2012; Boyle-Baise, 2005; Fránquiz et al., 2011; Kohli, 2012, 2014; Prado-Olmos et al., 2007). According to the researchers, however, the white normativity that permeates teacher preparation is a major barrier to the needed organizational and curricular transformation. As a result, candidates of color are not being prepared to use their cultural knowledge

in the service of students of color. In the process, many candidates of color experience a profound sense of alienation in their teacher-education programs.

Research Questions Posed and Findings Reported

Based on our analysis, we grouped each of the 46 studies reviewed here into one of three lines of research, each line described by one of the following questions we identified to represent the groups: (1) *How do teacher candidates of color perceive their experiences in university-based teacher-preparation programs?* (2) *How do teacher candidates of color negotiate their identities as teachers?* and (3) *What strategies have some teacher educators used in teacher education to prepare teacher candidates of color to teach responsibly?* We take up each of these lines of research below, and we highlight representative or notable studies within each line in our discussion of the findings.

(1) How do teacher candidates of color perceive their experiences in university-based teacher-preparation programs?

Thirteen of the 46 studies we reviewed explored the perceptions of teacher candidates of color regarding what they experienced in their preservice programs (Amos, 2013, 2016; Bower-Phipps, Homa, et al., 2013; Bower-Phipps, Watanabe Tate, et al., 2013; Cheruvu et al., 2015; Chung & Harrison, 2015; Endo, 2015; Frank, 2003; Gist, 2016; Gomez et al., 2008b; Irizarry, 2007, 2011; Locke, 2004). The majority of these studies focused their inquiry on the interactions of teacher candidates of color with White peers and faculty, mostly at PWIs. Across these studies, many participants reported experiencing instances of racial “microaggressions,” or what Sue and colleagues (2007) describe as “brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color” (p. 271). Candidates of color also reported experiencing outright racism that made them feel as outsiders within teacher-preparation programs, and in some cases in their work in K–12 school settings as well.

Illustrating these negative interactions, for example, Frank (2003) conducted interviews and focus group meetings of seven African American teacher candidates enrolled at a predominantly white private urban university. Participants reported that their White peers seemed to perceive them as representatives of the entire black race, not as individuals, and that when they excelled academically, peers and faculty often saw them as “exceptions” to their race. Along similar lines, the five Latino/a candidates in a study by Irizarry (2011), which also used interviews as the primary data source, expressed considerable frustration about

their professors, whom they perceived as either ignoring them altogether in class or expecting them to speak for all Latinos/as. They were also highly critical of the program’s curriculum for its inattentiveness to the realities of K–12 Latino/a students, the group that accounted for the majority of enrollments in the urban school district where the predominantly white university expected them to teach for a minimum of three years after completing the program, in exchange for the financial aid received. In a different but related study, Irizarry (2007) reported that Latino/a candidates enrolled in a private PWI were unsettled by their White counterparts’ ignorance about issues of diversity, stereotypic views of Latino/as, and lack of consciousness about their white privilege. Similarly, but using life-history methods, Gomez and colleagues (2008b) explored the experiences of three male Latino teacher candidates at a PWI in the Midwest and found that the candidates felt their actions were constantly misinterpreted by White peers and cooperating teachers.

Experiences of microaggression and racism were also a dominant theme in the findings reported by Amos (2013), Bower-Phipps, Homa, et al. (2013), Bower-Phipps, Watanabe Tate, et al. (2013), Chung and Harrison (2015), and Endo (2015). For instance, Amos (2013) examined whether two Mexican American bilingual teacher candidates with previous paraprofessional experiences faced challenges in their predominantly white preservice program similar to those reported in the literature by Latino candidates without paraprofessional backgrounds. She found that they too experienced microaggressions from their White counterparts and university instructors and felt they were perceived as less academically capable by peers, perceptions they believed were based on stereotypes about Mexicans.

Collectively, these investigations revealed a common finding that candidates of color at PWIs experienced profound alienation from being in the numerical minority in preparation programs, seeing themselves underrepresented in the teacher education curriculum, and feeling negatively judged and misinterpreted by White peers and instructors.

(2) How do teacher candidates of color negotiate their identities as teachers?

In a second line of research, 15 of the studies in our review addressed research questions around the challenges candidates of color faced in forming their identities and learning about themselves as teachers (Au & Blake, 2003; Durden et al., 2014; Gomez, 2014, 2016; Gomez & Rodriguez, 2011; Gomez et al., 2008a; Gomez & White, 2010; Haddix, 2010; Knight, 2004; Meacham, 2000; Philip, 2013, 2014; Rodriguez & Cho, 2011; Salinas & Castro, 2010; Tolbert & Eichelberger, 2016). These studies showed that the process of negotiating a teacher identity was rife with conflicts for

candidates of color because it generally entailed reconciling value systems—one embodying patterns of life from their homes and communities and the other of normalized white, middle-class professional expectations. For example, Haddix (2010) examined how a Latina and a Black candidate in a PWI constructed hybrid teacher identities to resolve the tension they felt between their linguistic/cultural selves (as speakers of a nonstandard language and dialect) and their visions of how a teacher should sound and be, a standard-English speaker. Along the same lines and also in a PWI, Meacham (2000) investigated the challenges faced by two African American teacher candidates as they negotiated the pressure to conform to the linguistic and cultural norms of the teaching profession while affirming the validity of their home language and culture. As in Haddix's study, the participants in Meacham's investigation created a space for themselves in which they integrated aspects of their African American culture with normalized professional standards by developing a language of critique and cultivating a counter-discourse that reflected African American values.

Four other studies in the second line of research (Gomez, 2014; Gomez & Rodriguez, 2011; Gomez et al., 2008a; Gomez & White, 2010) employed a life-history method to investigate the experiences of Latino/a teacher candidates enrolled in a program at a PWI in forming their teacher identities. The study by Gomez and Rodriguez (2011) illustrates an important theme in this research. The authors found that due to white normativity, it was difficult for teacher educators to see the strengths of candidates of color, particularly when their knowledge and practice differed from the entrenched expectations of teacher-preparation programs. Drawing on interview and observation data, the researchers showed how one Latina candidate's notion of self as a teacher compared to the image her White cooperating teacher and two university-course instructors had of her, individuals she had believed would attest to her success as a teacher. According to Gomez and Rodriguez, the instructors—who had not observed this teacher candidate while working with students in her field placement—were unable to recognize salient qualities she possessed that made her a valuable addition to the teaching profession. In contrast, the cooperating teacher, who had direct access to her teaching, had a favorable view of this candidate.

While the above-mentioned studies spoke to the commonality of experiencing marginalization in PWIs, six studies examined how the identities of candidates of color influenced their teaching and/or what they learned from teacher preparation in non-PWI settings (Au & Blake, 2003; Durden et al., 2014; Knight, 2004; Philip, 2013, 2014; Salinas & Castro, 2010). Salinas and Castro (2010) examined the curricular decisions of two Latino candidates in student teaching placements with a diverse student population and posited that the candidates' insights stemmed

from their cultural biographies. The candidates tapped their prior experiences as targets of oppression and incorporated issues of social inequality and discrimination into lessons they taught during student teaching. Their practices disrupted the "official narrative" of the social studies curriculum they were expected to teach, which minimized conflict in society and was silent on issues of racism. Salinas and Castro's study, along with the other four studies, reflected the assumption, which is often part of the rationale for a more racially diverse teaching force, that teachers of color are more likely than other teacher candidates to challenge traditional school practices to teach students of color in more culturally relevant and socially just ways.

Along somewhat different lines, Au and Blake's (2003) case study, which drew on interviews with three teacher candidates and written assignments they had completed in three courses taken with the lead author during a two-year preparation program, explored how the cultural identities of the participants (shaped by the overlapping influence of their ethnicity, social class, and community membership) influenced their thinking about teaching. The researchers found that despite some similarities in the candidates' views of teaching, important differences were noted based on their cultural backgrounds. The participant who grew up in the economically poor Hawaiian community for which the program was preparing teachers understood issues of social justice deeply and was more willing to challenge inequitable teaching practices than the two other participants, whose background was middle-class. The middle-class Hawaiian candidate who was an outsider to the target community felt a cultural bond with the students, but the candidate had limited insight into their everyday life experiences. The candidate of Japanese American ancestry and middle-class background appeared at ease discussing her own cultural identity but not that of her Hawaiian students, and she lacked awareness of her ethnic and social class privilege within Hawaiian society. From these findings, Au and Blake concluded that candidates are likely to derive different benefits from teacher preparation based on the specific combination of sociocultural groups to which they belong. The authors further speculated that cultural outsiders are more likely to develop critical perspectives by participating in field experiences, while cultural insiders may gain more benefits from course readings, discussions, and reflection in addition to field experiences. This study addressed the particularities of candidates' experiences as nuanced by class and cultural insider or outsider positioning.

Also focusing on the criticality of candidates of color, Philip (2013) used individual interviews and focus group data to examine how study participants negotiated their identities as activist teachers within a university-based program. Framing the research problem around the development and sustainability of understanding teaching as a

political act, Philip focused on one Arab American candidate who identified as a person of color and an activist. Based on his findings, Philip urged teacher educators to explicitly teach candidates of color with activist backgrounds about the change process and to create multiple opportunities for them to name strategies they had used in the past to effect institutional change. Like the Au and Blake (2003) study, Philip's research problematizes the logic of diversifying the teacher candidate pool based solely on race without simultaneously considering the influence of other aspects of candidates' identities, such as experiences as college activists, which may be very significant in shaping their teacher identities.

(3) *What strategies have some teacher educators used in teacher education to prepare teacher candidates of color to teach responsibly?*

In contrast to the first line of research, which focused on the marginalization many candidates of color experienced in their interactions with teacher educators and their White peers, and the second line, which addressed questions about the identity development of candidates of color in the context of white normativity, the 18 studies in the third line of research considered what might be involved in preparing candidates of color (Bennett et al., 2000; Berry, 2005; Bhukhanwala & Allexsah-Snyder, 2012; Boyle-Baise, 2005; Carter Andrews, 2009; Castagno, 2012; Fránquiz et al., 2011; Gasman et al., 2017; Gist, 2017; Halagao, 2004; Kohli, 2008, 2009, 2012, 2014; Prado-Olmos et al., 2007; Rushton, 2003; Sheets & Chew, 2002; Weisman & Hansen, 2008). Specifically, these works explored a variety of strategies intended to help make the preparation experience more inclusive of and responsive to candidates of color, while developing their skills to challenge inequitable school practices and actively engage their future students in learning.

Generally, the teacher educators who conducted the research we reviewed worked from the logic that designing programs specifically for candidates of color in settings where they represented a critical mass and/or had their culture validated, would not only improve their experiences in teacher education but also enhance their learning (Bennett et al., 2000; Castagno, 2012; Gasman et al., 2017; Halagao, 2004). For example, Bennett and colleagues (2000) explored a way to create a safe environment to help candidates of color feel free to share their experiences with racism and reflect on how those experiences had shaped their lives. Using questionnaires, interviews, and written course assignments, these researchers examined the influence of an "all minority seminar" created for candidates of color recruited into a preparation program with an expressed commitment to issues of social justice at a PWI. Along with writing cultural self-portraits and other multicultural activities, the seminar provided candidates of color a forum

to discuss past experiences with racism in the company of other candidates of color, something they did not feel safe doing in majority-dominated classes. Bennett and colleagues reported that the seminar bolstered participants' sense of ethnic identity and created a strong social network that helped them feel more integrated into the institution.

In one of the few studies in a Hispanic-serving institution, Gist (2017) examined the learning experiences of three aspiring Latina teachers by asking them about the teacher educator's practices in a course that adopted culturally responsive pedagogy. Gist reported that the participants found typical activities in teacher education classrooms (e.g., course readings with critical perspectives and small-group presentations) meaningful when the teacher educator paired these with candidates providing "descriptions of personal transformation in the ways they saw themselves and the world" (p. 294). In another study connecting candidates' experience to teacher educators' pedagogy, Berry (2005), an African American teacher educator, conducted a self-study in one of the courses she regularly taught, which built on the assumption that instruction specifically tailored to the needs and strengths of teacher candidates of color would benefit them. Positing that the personal knowledge of African Americans is often denigrated in classrooms, an experience she believed prompted many of them to either raise questions about the validity of the curriculum or internalize negative views of themselves, Berry set out to enhance the quality of the learning process for African American candidates, who accounted for 25 of the 28 candidates in the class. She incorporated students' school experiences (educational autobiographies) into the curriculum, a strategy that validated their experiences and helped them construct counter-stories to the "official narrative" of the formal curriculum. Berry found that her approach to teaching, which she called "personally engaged pedagogy," was not equally effective with all her African American students. Despite her best efforts, some students were more engaged than others and several revealed little about their personal stories.

In another self-study (Prado-Olmos et al., 2007), three Latino/a teacher educators examined their experiences co-teaching a diversity course in which all except one of the 23 participants were people of color. Using as data the reflective narratives they had constructed while teaching the course, Prado-Olmos and colleagues (2007) identified four major principles that characterized their general teaching approach: making extensive use of personal stories (told by students and faculty) to build connections with everyone in the class; humanizing the curriculum by infusing it with personal narratives about oppression and racism, but also interrogating misinformation that teacher candidates of color might have had about diversity and multicultural education; providing a space for students to explore their emerging personal and cultural identities; and

creating an affirming environment in which high expectations were clearly communicated to all candidates.

In five other studies, researchers tapped the racist experiences candidates of color had endured as students in elementary and secondary schools to purposefully prepare them for their work as future teachers of color. In their self-study, Fránquiz and colleagues (2011) showed how they each had engaged bilingual candidates at their respective sites in writing about past experiences with oppression, a type of writing they called *memorias*, to help them construct counterstories to reframe majoritarian tales. Kohli's research (2008, 2009, 2012, 2014) also illustrates this theme. For instance, Kohli (2012) documented the experiences of 12 Latina, Black, and Asian American women enrolled in a teacher-preparation program with a commitment to social justice as they engaged in a "critical race dialogue" about past encounters with discrimination in their K–12 schooling, the influence of those experiences on their worldview, and how their awareness of different ways in which schools discriminate against students of color might inform their teaching. Drawing on individual interviews and focus group data, Kohli showed that those discussions broadened participants' understandings of racial oppression, raised their consciousness of ways schools oppress students of color, and strengthened their commitment to act as agents of change in their future role as teachers. According to Kohli (2014), the pervasive racist conditions candidates of color often endure in their own K–12 schooling makes them susceptible to internalizing racist views, themselves. As she explained, while some candidates of color can place those racist practices within a broader sociopolitical context, others fail to grasp their systemic nature and instead interpret them as a product of prejudiced actions by individuals. Either way, Kohli contends that to effectively teach a diverse student population, candidates of color need opportunities within the teacher education curriculum to unpack their past experiences with racist schooling practices.

Two studies focused on the student teaching experience of candidates of color and the role of that experience in developing their teaching and/or criticality. The 10 bilingual Latino candidates in the Weisman and Hansen (2008) study received two student-teaching placements, one in an urban school with a predominantly Latino population and another in a suburban school with mostly White students. The researchers found that contrasting placements, such as these, helped raise student teachers' awareness about the difference that location makes in material and social resources available for student learning, something some of them already understood from personal experience. However, the learning opportunity was not sufficiently powerful to give candidates insight into the systemic nature of social inequalities, nor did it help them think about their own roles in challenging inequitable practices that work

against students of color. Weisman and Hansen conjectured that the study participants needed multiple opportunities throughout the preparation program, not just during student teaching, to learn to critically examine how social inequalities were structured into everyday school practices. The notion that candidates of color need support to develop critical consciousness about the school experiences of students of color who live in poverty was also a central theme in a study by Rushton (2003), in which he traced the experiences of two middle-class African American candidates throughout their yearlong student teaching in inner-city schools. Rushton found that both candidates experienced "shock and subsequent personal conflict" (p. 177) and came to question whether urban teaching was for them because of the difference in their personal norms and middle-class experiences and those of their students. Over the course of the year, both candidates developed their personal and practical knowledge for urban school teaching and for teaching students of color whose background experiences were different from their own.

The three remaining studies were conducted in the context of courses with linked field experiences. Both Carter Andrews (2009) and Boyle-Baise (2005) investigated the influence of service learning on candidates of color enrolled in the researchers' classes. For example, Carter Andrews examined the use of service learning as a pedagogical strategy for cultivating the disposition for urban teaching of mostly African American candidates enrolled in a multicultural education course she taught. The twelve-week service-learning component of this course required candidates to, among other activities, participate in an inquiry project designed to identify assets in a local urban community. Carter Andrews reported that the field experience helped her African American candidates better understand how urban schools replicate social inequalities; the experience also enhanced the candidates' commitment to teach in urban schools, not just to give back to their communities but to act as agents of change and advocates for their students. Carter Andrews concluded that even though the candidates of color had experienced inequalities in their own schooling, they needed the learning opportunities offered through the course and linked field experience, along with reflection, to enable them to see those inequalities from a critical perspective.

Further elaborating on what could be done to prepare teacher candidates of color, Bhukhanwala and Allexsaht-Snyder (2012) explored the potential of integrating dramatic activities from Boalian Theatre of the Oppressed, including role-playing, into a seminar with a racially, ethnically, and linguistically diverse group of student teachers to help them reconstruct difficult interactions experienced with their students and to rehearse actions they might take in the classroom to address the underlying problems.

Drawing on videotaped and interview data, the researchers showed the study participants productively engaged “in making sense of differences, tensions, and conflicts” (p. 687) between themselves and their students, negotiating their identities as teachers in the process.

Trends in the Findings

We looked across the reviewed studies and identified five main trends in the findings.

Trend 1: Teacher candidates of color experience racialized marginalization in PWIs.

In general, the studies suggested that institutionalized racism manifests itself through exclusionary practices. For example, often in a PWI the teacher education curriculum, pedagogy, and program design address primarily the needs of White, middle-class, and monolingual English-speaking teacher candidates. In such contexts of white normativity, studies revealed that candidates of color experienced considerable internal tension when forced to reconcile value conflicts between their home cultures and the norms of whiteness that permeated teacher preparation (e.g., Had-dix, 2010; Meacham, 2000; Tolbert & Eichelberger, 2016). Other studies reported that the experiences of candidates of color with White peers, teacher educators, and cooperating teachers left them feeling undervalued and marginalized. In this climate of cultural marginalization and lack of respect for differences, future teachers of color were not prone to share their cultural insights and experiences, often choosing instead to remain silent and/or to discredit the validity of the preparation for teaching they received. Collectively, the reviewed studies’ findings give insight into the racialized fabric of everyday life at PWIs of higher education, teacher-preparation programs, and K–12 schools—even when these settings espouse a commitment to equity and diversity.

Trend 2: Teacher candidates of color are not a monolithic group.

There was a commonality of experience among candidates of color in regard to feelings of alienation and awareness of contradictions in their programs, but threaded throughout the studies we examined was the notion that candidates of color vary in other experiences, perspectives, and needs. That is, they are not a homogeneous group simply because they are “not” White. The candidates varied depending on various markers of social identity, such as immigration, sexuality, language, class, and how those identities interacted with race to shape how the candidates of color interpreted their teacher preparation experience and even how they viewed other students of color. Given the variations among the

candidates’ backgrounds and intersecting identities, the differences noted in our review concerning their awareness and understanding of structural oppression was not surprising. As we discussed previously, for example, Au and Blake (2003) found that candidates’ social class, combined with their ethnicity and community membership, exerted a powerful influence on what they learned from their preservice preparation and on their beliefs about students from the target community.

Trend 3: Teacher candidates of color are not intrinsically ready to teach students of color.

While some educators and policy makers might believe that the cultural experiences of teachers of color automatically prepare them to establish relationships with students of color that support those students’ learning, findings from several studies reviewed here reveal that some candidates of color are not unlike White candidates in holding deficit views or stereotypes of othered students (e.g., Au & Blake, 2003; Bennett et al., 2000; Carter Andrews, 2009; Kohli, 2008). That is, candidates of color do not necessarily have an insider cultural understanding of how to teach students of color.

Trend 4: Teacher education must purposefully and explicitly teach about systemic oppression.

Researchers found that candidates of color need support to develop critical consciousness and recognize systems of oppression as opposed to seeing racism simply as examples of individual meanness or bigotry. Candidates of color benefit from explicit teaching about the systemic reasons for not knowing buried histories and/or for holding deficit views, and from spaces where they can heal with and support others (Halagao, 2004; Kohli, 2009). Overall, the findings suggest that purposeful attention by teacher educators may help some candidates of color enhance their criticality and develop a culturally relevant practice.

Trend 5: Teacher education must be rethought rethink and/or redesigned at the program level to better prepare teacher candidates of color.

In many of the studies we reviewed, researchers either implied or explicitly stated that teacher-education programs need to rethink how they prepare candidates of color to avoid marginalizing them (e.g., Gomez et al., 2008b; Philip, 2013, 2014; Tolbert & Eichelberger, 2016; Weisman & Hansen, 2008). For the most part, the researchers commented that as individual teacher educators their efforts to incorporate multicultural content and culturally relevant teaching practices into their own courses—without similar efforts at the program level—was limiting. To better prepare

candidates of color requires programs to not only consider how to be inclusive but to also identify and reassess who is responsible for making that happen.

Challenged Assumptions

In general, the studies we reviewed problematized three major assumptions underlying teacher diversity initiatives and the preparation of candidates of color. The first assumption is that candidates of color will automatically benefit from existing teacher-preparation programs, programs that likely are designed for White teacher candidates. As the research suggests, teacher educators had to purposefully work to provide candidates of color with culturally responsive instructional and programmatic approaches. Their work demonstrates that changing the composition of the candidates in PWIs does not automatically change an institution's epistemologies, logics, and cultural practices, and this inertia further marginalizes teacher candidates of color.

Along related lines, the second assumption is that because candidates of color bring personal knowledge about racially or ethnically minoritized cultures, they will know how to engage in culturally relevant teaching practices. Other scholars have problematized the assumption that teachers of color are capable of teaching students of color simply because of their racial identity, disposition, and experiences (e.g., Montecinos, 1994; Philip et al., 2017; Téllez, 1999). We agree that this assumption is problematic. Our review suggests that while some researchers have found that candidates of color have cultural knowledge that could benefit K–12 students and schools, teacher-education programs should not assume candidates of color do not need guidance from their programs in order to reach their potential, or that they do not hold deficit perspectives.

Jointly, these two assumptions relate to a third challenged assumption: the belief that teacher educators do not need to learn about the background experiences of candidates of color to teach them. In our review, researchers pointed out that unless teacher educators know about the experiences of the candidates of color in their programs, the educators have a difficult time reconceptualizing their pedagogy or revising the curriculum in order to provide the social, organizational, and intellectual support candidates of color need to become culturally responsive teachers.

Teacher diversity initiatives and programs must challenge these three assumptions, otherwise they risk fomenting the exclusionary dynamics that we have described. In challenging these assumptions, researchers emphasized that recruiting people of color into teacher preparation without adequately attending to the preparation of recruits is insufficient to improve the schooling of K–12 students of color.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we addressed two overriding questions: *What does research show about the preparation and experiences of teacher candidates of color? How do teacher-education programs account for the needs, learning, and development of their teacher candidates of color in their designs, structures, and cultures?* Our review suggests that the research overwhelmingly points to the fact that the preparation of teachers of color is mostly an ignored issue at the level of preservice teacher-education programs. The studies we reviewed suggest that many candidates of color felt marginalized in programs, especially in PWIs, because of cultural insensitivity by their White counterparts and faculty, and because of broader institutionalized racism. In addition, candidates' constructions of a teacher identity were fraught with contradiction because their cultural values and norms were often at odds with the everyday practices of teacher education. More to the point, most teacher-education programs are designed largely for White teacher candidates and thus do not adequately attend to the unique preparation needs that teacher candidates of color may have. However, teacher educators and researchers—mostly people of color—have experimented with strategies that consciously aim to remedy the alienation and tensions experienced by candidates of color. Below, we identify strategies and design innovations that programs and teacher educators could use to improve the structure and culture of programs to support candidates of color in realizing their potential.

Implications for Practice and Programs

According to the authors 19 of the 46 studies were situated in a PWI context,³ where whiteness predominated. The implications in this section speak mostly to that context; however, worth mentioning are the implications from the four studies that took place in minority-serving institutions (MSIs) as identified by the authors (Berry, 2005; Gasman et al., 2017; Gist, 2017; Knight, 2004). In these MSI studies, the authors pointed to the need for teacher educators and programs to be mindful about practicing a pedagogy that was culturally responsive to their candidates' needs, including the needs of teachers of color. More specifically, this meant (1) providing teacher educators who were culturally responsive to their candidates; (2) involving candidates in a rigorous examination of racial oppression and other social issues; and (3) equipping candidates of color with ways to overcome internally and externally derived obstacles (e.g., racial microaggressions) that would restrict their actualization into effective teachers of youth.

While the preparation of candidates of color in the context of whiteness is fraught with problems, as our review

emphasizes, some teacher educators are focusing attention on candidates of color, experimenting with racially conscious practices in their own teaching, and documenting their efforts. Although this important research emerges mostly through individual initiatives, it has lessons for redesigning teacher-education programs to more responsibly prepare teacher candidates of color.

From our review, we identified three broad and interconnected strategies that programs and teacher educators can consider incorporating into their programs and practices for effectively and responsively preparing candidates of color.

First, it is important to recognize that it is both unfair and negligent for programs not to engage in efforts to support and develop the potential of candidates of color. Programs and teacher educators must identify how their teacher-preparation program both maintains white normativity and fails to address the needs of candidates of color. While candidates of color may have different understandings and/or commitments from those of their White peers due to their racialized experiences, programs need to figure out how to avoid seeing candidates of color as a monolith or assuming candidates of color know how to teach students of color responsibly because of their own race. In addition, the particularities of candidates' experiences as nuanced by their class, for example, require teacher educators to learn about their candidates in order to develop culturally responsive pedagogies. Programs could facilitate ways for teacher educators to learn about the strengths and needs of candidates of color and use these insights to tailor their teaching.

Second, the research reviewed shows that candidates of color benefit from opportunities to examine majoritarian views and internalized deficit thinking in order to enhance criticality. Developing criticality might involve, for example, engaging candidates of color in unpacking their experiences with racist schooling (both K–12 and in teacher preparation) and reflecting on how those experiences influence them personally and may shape their future teaching. Along these lines, candidates of color could be asked to reflect on instances of racism or injustice they witnessed and/or experienced in their field placements. The studies we reviewed also found that intentionally developing meaningful involvement with communities by, for example, engaging candidates in learning opportunities that authentically linked the candidates' home and university experiences, helped candidates' learning. Critical reflections from these experiences can support candidates of color in developing teacher identities that are not in conflict with their home and community values. Studies also found that candidates of color benefited from linking course, field, and reflection experiences together, to process their learning and to prompt critical insights into inequality and culturally responsive teaching.

Lastly, programs should create learning spaces for candidates of color in which they can engage in critical reflections and are not always a numerical minority. Looking across the studies, research overwhelmingly points to candidates of color having different experiences when in spaces with majority White participants versus spaces with many participants of color. Candidates of color reported being able to express themselves and tackle controversial issues of inequities better when there was a critical mass of participants of color. Offering such spaces to candidates of color allowed them to explore their identities as future teachers of color, develop a stronger sense of ethnic self, confront majoritarian tales that they may have internalized, and receive (and offer) support with others facing similar concerns and questions. These spaces were especially beneficial for candidates of color enrolled in PWIs, where some reported that their comments had been used against them and/or against communities of color by their White counterparts.

We see the three strategies described above as interconnected. For example, programs need to acknowledge the significance of whiteness in teacher education and the impact of race and racism in the lives of candidates of color in order to provide the supportive spaces candidates of color need. Supportive spaces can facilitate candidates of color in engaging in critical reflections and developing awareness of master-narratives that negatively impact their beliefs and teaching, while processing the negative emotions this hard work inevitably provokes.

Implications for Research on Teacher-Preparation Programs

Based on our review of the questions researchers have asked, we suggest, below, implications for future research. We broadly categorize these into two topics: (1) the significance of racism and racial categories, and (2) researching programs and program of research.

Significance of Racism and Racial Categories. Based on the trend in the findings that candidates of color experience racialized marginalization in predominantly white teacher-education programs, we believe research could move beyond asking whether PWIs alienate candidates of color. Studies that have focused on this concern find similar disheartening outcomes in various program contexts, for example, in different disciplines (e.g., English, special education) or grade levels (e.g., early childhood, secondary). Consequently, unless researchers hypothesize about why a PWI program would be different (e.g., an intervention to combat whiteness), the findings of studies examining whether/how candidates of color have negative experiences will likely show racial microaggressions and isolation. We suggest that future research explore how predominantly

white programs are systematically battling the alienation that candidates of color experience. For example, given the prevalence of racism and racial microaggressions, research could explore the significance of teacher educators' learning about microaggressions, and whether and how that awareness could lead to better instructional practices for teaching candidates of color.

Other possible inquiries could theorize about how disciplinary understandings of race and racism influence a program's teaching about these topics and issues, and how/whether these disciplinary understandings influence the learning and experiences of candidates of color. For example, how does science teacher education conceptualize and teach about race? Does it teach that race is a social construction? How does this affect the experiences and development of its candidates of color? Inquiries could also examine how to best support teacher candidates of color with teaching and learning about marginalized epistemologies and ways of understanding knowledge construction and science (Jones Brayboy & Maughan, 2009).

In their construction of the problem, a few of the studies we reviewed explicitly conceptualized race and the relevance of racial identity, and they grounded their understandings of race and racism in relation to structural and institutional racism. We encourage future scholarship to share the theories that ground their constructs of race and their significance. A few scholars constructed the problem as recognizing that people with other identities (apart from race) also may experience marginalization in their teacher program. Without explicitly linking the marginalization to structural and institutional oppressions, this logic may equate the racism faced by people of color with the othering that people from dominant groups sometimes experience (e.g., a White female being stereotyped, or a White male feeling alone in his program). We find this equivalence problematic because it disregards the teleology of race, that is, the purpose of race in the larger project of racialized oppression and the historical positioning of racial identities (e.g., institutions like schools of teacher education excluding people of color). Moreover, we consider othering a powerful conceptual tool when it is theorized as people being othered *in service of* dominant ideologies and *at the expense of* the nondominant others. Doing otherwise may focus on individual bigotry and fail to link microaggressions to structural theories of oppression.

The trends in the findings demonstrate a tension between the commonality of the experiences of candidates of color and the particularities of their experience as nuanced by categories of difference, such as coloniality, language background, and nationality. That is, as aforementioned, although candidates of color share a common experience with racial marginalization, especially in PWIs, they are not a monolithic group and as such require preparation to become culturally responsive teachers for today's

diverse K-12 student population. This trend in findings that candidates of color are not a monolithic group calls for further investigation into how different markers of social identity (e.g., immigration, sexuality, language, class) interact with race to shape how candidates of color interpret their teacher preparation experiences (e.g., Au & Blake, 2003; Meacham, 2000; Philip, 2013; Weisman & Hansen, 2008) and even how they view students of color (e.g., Boyle-Baise, 2005; Fránquiz et al., 2011; Philip, 2014; Rushton, 2003). Future research could theorize about how to navigate this tension between commonalities and particularities to support programs and teacher educators. Learning about the commonality of shared experiences can help teacher educators to better design programs to prepare teachers from marginalized groups, and understanding the particularities among candidates of color can advance knowledge of how candidates' specific identities and historical positioning influence their experiences and learning within teacher education.

Lastly, most of the studies we reviewed included Black and/or Latinx⁴ teacher candidates as the participants or target racial group, although several also involved candidates from other racial groups. More research about the preparation experiences of other marginalized racial groups is warranted in order to understand the particularities of their needs and to nuance instruction (Castagno, 2012; Endo, 2015; Halagao, 2004; Locke, 2004; Philip, 2014). Along this line, research that reports on the specificity of experience depending on the group (e.g., Native American and Filipino American candidates; see, respectively, Locke, 2004, and Halagao, 2004) would contribute insights about how candidates from different racial categories face racism and colonialism in teacher-education programs and what programs can do to support these candidates.

Research on Teacher-Preparation Programs. Based on trends in the findings of the studies we reviewed, the culturally responsive preparation of candidates of color is largely an ignored issue at the program level in teacher education. Rather, individual researchers—mostly teacher educators of color committed to this goal—have examined the influence of pedagogy and curriculum they strategically use in their own courses to address the needs and build on the strengths of candidates of color. Because many of the authors of these studies identified as persons of color, it is possible that their colleagues in the teacher-preparation programs they are part of may erroneously view the work of tailoring a program for candidates of color as being the job primarily (or even solely) of teacher educators of color.

Most concerning, however, is that individual teacher educators who tried to address the needs of candidates of color reported at times taking on extra responsibilities that felt emotionally demanding and professionally isolating and risky.

Although efforts of individual teacher educators are commendable, programs cannot rely on their singular labor or initiative to learn about and address the needs of candidates of color. One limitation to an individual approach is that because many inquiries focused on one course/semester, few studies were designed for programs as a whole to examine their practice or to track participants of color across their teacher preparation years. It is at the program level that researchers may be able to do longitudinal investigations with the depth and length of time that can lead to nuanced accounts about how programs impact the experiences and learning of candidates of color. Longitudinal research could investigate which program conditions create spaces that confront white normativity to enable candidates of color not just to survive but to thrive in their programs and beyond. In addition, programmatic, longitudinal studies require resources and access that individual teacher educators/researchers may not have. Thus, this type of investigation is best suited to be carried out the teacher-education program level.

In this review, we focused only on published research, and our review did not include program descriptions unless they reported on an empirical study. This means that our review does not capture the work of programs that may be engaging in important and effective practices in the preparation of candidates of color if these programs are not also studying and sharing their research. Research like the study by Bennett and colleagues (2000), for example, exploring how their program could address the needs of candidates of color, could provide models for predominantly white programs to experiment with programmatic approaches to better structure programs for their context that are inclusive of and culturally sustaining to candidates of color. We hope our review encourages more research and dissemination efforts at the program level.

As previously mentioned, most of the studies we reviewed were conducted in predominantly white institutions and university programs, and only one was in an alternative certification program (Bhukhanwala & Allexsaht-Snyder, 2012). A few studies reported on the context of student teaching placements or fieldwork as being meaningful to the learning of candidates of color (e.g., Rushton, 2003; Weisman & Hansen, 2008). Examining the preparation experiences of candidates of color who are in alternative programs and/or MSI contexts and comparing contexts would provide a better understanding of the relevance of place in shaping the experiences and development of candidates of color. For example, investigating whether and/or how the design and curriculum of alternative programs take into account their candidates' needs adds to an understanding of the challenges they candidates face and how to address them. Moreover, the field might benefit from studies comparing the experiences of candidates of color in PWIs and MSIs to allow for more conclusive

findings as to the relevance of place. In contexts with a critical mass of teachers of color, the research focused less on examining microaggressions and alienation; however, recent research suggests this is also an issue in historically black college/university contexts and merits further exploration (Goings et al., 2018). Ginsberg et al. (2017) excellent literature review about MSIs provides a research agenda focused on these programs. Our review adds the point that future research in these contexts could also investigate how programs in MSIs challenge dominant epistemologies in order to develop culturally responsive practices, and the challenges they face in engaging in the work.

Lastly, many of the reviewed studies relied on interviews as their primary or sole data collection technique to explore the racialized experiences of teachers of color. We are excited about researchers developing other lines of research and including other methodologies and techniques beyond interviewing. For example, future researchers could develop a line of research on questions about the learning development of candidates of color in programs. Researchers could have candidates watch video recordings of their own role playing, as Bhukhanwala and Allexsaht-Snyder (2012) did, in order to prompt reflection and enable researchers to study the candidates' learning. Researchers could also have candidates write logs, like those used by Gist (2017), to document the instructional approaches, content, and assessments the candidates encountered in their teacher education course and to track the use of culturally responsive pedagogy. These techniques could help advance a line of research on the learning and development of candidates of color, and the research could expand to using frameworks hardly employed in the studies we reviewed, such as learning theories. Drawing from learning theories could be fruitful for examining the preparation *and* practice of candidates of color in order to account for how people engage in different discourses and practices in one context versus another. Additionally, drawing from learning theories could help develop further understandings of the learning opportunities and development of candidates of color.

In conclusion, research has contributed important knowledge about attempts at pedagogical, curricular, and (to a much lesser extent) program reform aimed to build on the experiential knowledge and linguistic resources that people of color bring to the teaching profession—even if these attempts had mixed results. Our review found that preservice preparation programs have largely ignored the experiences and preparation of candidates of color. Consequently, even when teacher education policies work to recruit candidates of color, programs tend to perpetuate standards of whiteness, a practice that has negative consequences for recruits of color and fundamentally undermines the espoused goals of teacher diversity policies. While we are encouraged by the work of many of the scholars included in this chapter, individual efforts and policies

that assume teacher diversity is an issue of recruitment alone will not solve the lack of representation of teachers of color. To meet the goals of diversification, institutions must recognize and act against the historical context of white supremacy that permeates many teacher-education programs (e.g., Brown, 2014; Chapman, 2011; Ladson-Billings, 1999; Sleeter, 2001), and programs must reflect on their culture, design, and structure in terms of the preparation and experiences of teacher candidates of color.

Notes

- 1 We capitalize “White” and “Black” when the adjectives refer to people. We use lower case when referring to systems or ideologies (e.g., “white supremacy,” “whiteness,” “predominantly white institution”).
- 2 In EBSCO databases, the asterisk is used with distinctive word stems to broaden a search by finding words that start with the same letters and to retrieve variations of a term. We used terms such as “Hispanic” and “American Indian” because databases use these terms.
- 3 In terms of how authors described the context: 19 studies were conducted in PWIs; 13 were not specific about the context; 10 were a course/program with a majority of candidates of color (unclear of larger university context); and 4 in MSIs
- 4 We use *Latinx* instead of Latina/Latino/Latin@ to include gender nonconforming Latinxs and to upset gender binaries. We use the terms employed by the author(s) when referring to themselves or their study’s population

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