

**Teachers from Diverse Backgrounds: 'Making a Different Kind of
Difference'**

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Abstract

The recent government investment in the Programme for Access to Higher Education (PATH) and its aim of widening access to initial teacher education, has focused attention on the need for greater diversity in the teaching profession. Much of the research on the benefits of a diverse teaching profession focuses on the potential of teachers from under-represented groups to act as positive ‘role models’ for students from various socio-demographic backgrounds (Villegas & Irvine, 2010). This study adopted a narrative life history methodology grounded in phenomenology. Semi-structured, life-history interviews were conducted with 18 early career teachers drawn from three urban designated disadvantaged primary schools. Significantly, the sample contained a balance of teachers drawn from a range of socioeconomic backgrounds, which was very advantageous considering the emphasis the study placed on exploring teachers’ habitus and its influence on idealised and realised teacher identities and practices. The very distinct and positive contribution early career teachers with strong childhood ties to working class communities are making in social justice terms, offers a window into the transformative influence a more diverse teaching population can have. However, the strength of this cohort’s belief in the importance of students acting appropriately within prevailing, non-controversial and non-political discourses of meritocratic participation, points to the need to problematise the way in which the desirability of a more diverse and representative teaching force is framed in the policy discourse.

Keywords

Teacher Diversity; Early Career Teachers; Initial Teacher Education, Teacher Identity, Teachers as ‘Role Models; Education and Social Justice

Introduction and Motivation

Focusing specifically on teachers in disadvantaged schools, this paper explores early career teachers' (ECTs) understandings of 'making a difference' and what shape this takes in their day-to-day practice. This study defines 'ECTs' as those with a minimum of three and a maximum of nine years experience. The fact that the majority of those teaching in urban DEIS schools have been teaching for less than five years (McCoy, Quail, & Smyth, 2014), making this cohort of teachers an appropriate focus of the study. In light of their role as educators working in communities that are experiencing intense social challenge, the extent to which ECTs' explicit and tacit understandings of 'making a difference' are concerned with social justice is deemed to be of critical interest. Significantly, the critical socio-cultural perspective adopted in this study allows for the development of new understandings around the role teachers' personal histories play in teacher identity formation at a stage in their professional lives during which significant identity growth and change has been found to occur (Day et al., 2006; Huberman, 1989).

Ireland has become home to a significantly large number of very diverse populations of immigrants since the 1990s (Central Statistics Office, 2008). Schools, particularly those located in marginalised communities, have witnessed an unprecedented increase in ethnic diversity amongst their student numbers (Smyth, Darmody, McGinnity, & Byrne, 2009). These changes present teachers with significant opportunities and challenges. Within this context, the attitudes and actions of teachers towards students from diverse social and cultural backgrounds assume critical importance.

While no Irish studies have looked specifically at the experiences of Irish ECTs in relation to teaching for diversity, Leavy (2005) reported a high level of discomfort with the topic among Irish pre-service teachers. The minimal level of exposure that pre-service primary teachers have to cultural and ethnic diversity prior to the commencement of their ITE is identified as a source of this discomfort. These findings correlate with international studies of pre-service teachers' beliefs which show that pre-

International Conference on Engaging Pedagogy (ICEP), Dublin City University, Dublin, Ireland, Dec. 14 & 15, 2018

service teachers have little contact with people from minority populations and cultures (Zimpher, 1989) and bring little cross-cultural knowledge, background and experience with them on entry to college (Barry & Lechner, 1995; Valli, 1995).

Limited contact with people from diverse backgrounds has the knock on effect of making ECTs vulnerable to school cultures that may be at best ambivalent to diversity and difference (Gilligan, 2007). The adoption of such a position ultimately serves to perpetuate and further solidify existing inequalities (De Freitas & McAuley, 2008). Research on teacher identity indicates the tendency of schools to assimilate children from diverse backgrounds into the existing local culture (Lingard & Keddie, 2013; McDaid, 2009). There is a need to challenge this process on two fronts. The first is the failure of the school to recognise the lived experience of ‘difference’ (Gilligan, 2007). Secondly, assimilation could also be interpreted as a strategy for avoiding the political and historical context of schooling. In light of Leavy’s (2005) Irish based findings and the proliferation of international studies that conclude that pre-service teachers prefer to teach children who are from similar class backgrounds to them (Delpit, 1988; Zimpher, 1989), the temptation for inexperienced teachers to adopt a comforting and safe position is considerable. Assimilation serves to deny local and global histories of oppression which ultimately serves to perpetuate existing inequalities (Apple, 2004).

In line with international trends, the Diversity in Teacher Education longitudinal programme of research based in the National University of Ireland, Galway has revealed significant commonalities among pre-service teachers in Ireland in that they tend to be overwhelmingly white, female, settled, Catholic and middle-class (Keane & Heinz, 2016). There is also a strong evidence base that highlights the benefits and desirability of a more diverse and representative teaching force (Keane & Heinz, 2015; Santoro, 2009; Villegas & Irvine, 2010). Much of this research centres on the potential of teachers from under-represented groups to act as positive ‘role models’ for students from various socio-demographic backgrounds. The core idea is that having more teachers from traditional minority groups may positively impact upon the engagement

and achievement of students from similar backgrounds (Keane & Heinz, 2015). This strong evidence base has precipitated consistent calls to diversify the teaching population in Ireland (Conway, Murphy, Rath, & Hall, 2009; Teaching Council of Ireland, 2011). The policy response has included recent government investment in the Programme for Access to Higher Education (PATH). This funding has supported the establishment of initiatives such as Maynooth University's *Turn To Teaching Project*, a unique three year programme that aims to support 100 students from marginalised backgrounds to move into ITE (See O'Suillivan & Burns, 2018, in press). Launched in September 2018, the programme offers meaningful pathways into ITE for students from the Traveller community, migrants, mature students, and students coming from schools listed under the Delivering Equality of Opportunity in Schools (DEIS) programme.

Methodology

The interconnected dimensions of critical sociology and pedagogy, equality perspectives and discourse on ECTs' professional identity shaped the framework for this research. The purpose of this study is to identify the actions and attitudes that constitute the concept of 'making a difference' amongst a group of ECTs working in designated disadvantaged schools. The issues of 'what' does 'making a difference' look like in terms of these teachers' daily practices, 'why' these interpretations and practices are significant, and 'how' they impact on educational equality are the main concerns that underpinned the investigation.

These are the research questions that the study sought to address:

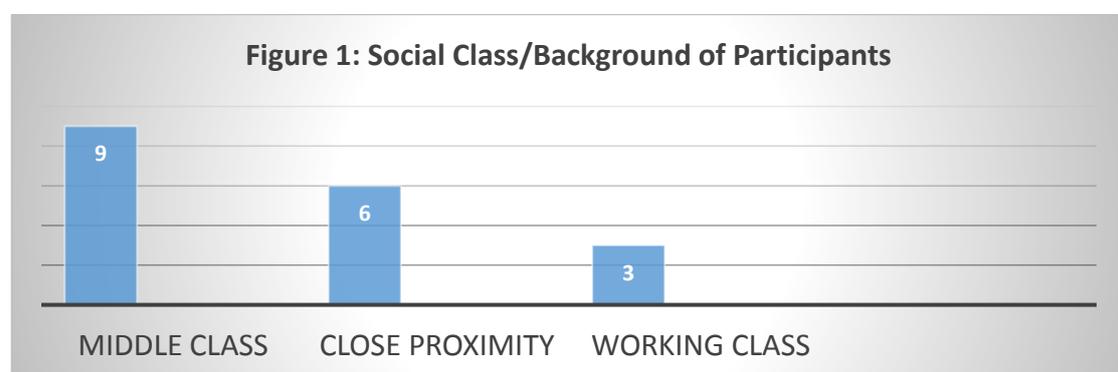
- What does 'making a difference' mean for ECTs working in urban designated disadvantaged schools in the context of their day-to-day practice?
- What values and practices make them feel like they are 'making a difference'?
- Do ECTs have a vision of social justice in their narrative of wanting to 'make a difference'? If so, what does this vision look like? How is operationalised/channelled?

Rather than interrogating participants' philosophical and conceptual understandings of the concept in a more abstracted manner, there was an explicit attempt in this study to go 'back to the things themselves' (Marshall & Rossman, 2011), by asking ECTs about what shape the idea of 'making a difference' takes in their day-to-day practice. Therefore, the nature of the inquiry, which is underpinned by a phenomenological theoretical perspective and an epistemology of social constructionism, dictated the adoption of a qualitative, narrative life history approach. The study is shaped by a view of human experience in which humans, individually and socially, lead storied lives (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006). While the primary focus was on critically rather than subjectively exploring participants' daily practices, it also purposefully set out to explore the orienting influence of individual and class habitus on participants' stories of becoming and being teachers, and how this has shaped their understandings of 'making a difference'. The use of semi-structured qualitative interviews served to provide a continual flow of personalised and rich stories of the lived experiences of a cohort of eighteen ECTs working in DEIS primary schools.

In terms of the selection of participants and schools, participants were drawn from both DEIS bands, thus facilitating this study to explore the possible effects, if any, of contextual factors on participants' understandings of 'making a difference'. In order to ascertain as representative a sample as possible, every effort was made to attain a balance of participants with varying years of teaching experience (within the set parameters) in DEIS schools.

Significantly, the sample contained a balance of teachers drawn from a range of socio-economic backgrounds, which was very advantageous considering the emphasis the study places on exploring teachers' habitus and its influence on idealised and realised teacher identities and practices. As illustrated in Figure 1, three categories pertaining to the participants' social background were constructed from the sample. Fifteen of the participants came from a middle class background, while three participants through a process of self-disclosure were identified as having working class

origins. Considering the number of middle class participants that grew up in close proximity to the working class communities they now work in, it was decided to create a new ‘Close Proximity’ category. Throughout the presentation of findings and the conclusion, reference is made to ‘Working Class-Close Proximity’ category as a homogenous construct as these nine participants shared some commonalities in their social upbringing and identity formation. Despite their class differences on some criteria of class, significant commonalities in their stories of ‘becoming a teacher’ included their experiences of having attended a designated disadvantaged school, and their reportage of having greater levels of engagement with working class communities than the middle class cohort. Therefore in order to assess the impact of these shared aspects of their socio-cultural histories and early socialization, and their relevance to their understandings of ‘making a difference’, participants from ‘working class’ and ‘close proximity’ backgrounds were made a homogenous construct when analysing the data.



As a phenomenological piece of research, the researcher was required to return to the starting point, i.e. the individual participants’ stories of ‘making a difference’ at many points along the research journey (Crotty, 2003). However, this did not preclude the researcher from casting aside the phenomenological mantle at various stages in order to engage with the theoretical, conceptual and policy discourses which provided the necessary direction and organising framework to the analysis process (Dey, 1993).

This back and forth engagement with the data and the theory in order to generate new understandings of the phenomenon meant that the constant comparative method of data analysis was employed. This method combines inductive category coding with a simultaneous comparison of all units of meaning obtained (Glasser & Strauss, 1967). It also acknowledged the cyclical rather than linear process that the data analysis phase engaged with, which required the researcher to return to the participants' stories with new perspectives as insights were developed.

While the individual participant's stories of becoming and being a teacher was the primary unit of analysis, the analysis also involved looking across the sample as a whole. In so doing, it became possible to identify patterns of shared interpretations of 'making a difference' amongst participants, along social background lines.

Findings and Discussion

The findings focus on participants' daily practices and contextualises their perception of their ability to incorporate a social justice agenda into their understanding of 'making a difference'. Central to realising a vision of social justice is an educator's commitment to 'praxis' - a combination of both action and reflection which achieves a powerful and liberating force (Freire, 1996). A philosophy of praxis is based on the premise that people's previous experiences must be the starting point for new learning. Participant commitment to a justice praxis was explored in relation to the following five themes that emerged from the data:

- Liberating pedagogies; defined as pedagogies that are 'connected' with students' life experiences and focused on the development of students' critical thinking skills (Lingard & Keddle, 2013).
- A devolved, power sharing approach to classroom management;
- An ethic of care that is conscious of achieving the balance between supporting students, and making enough intellectual demands of them;
- Working with and valuing of diversity.

- In the ECTs' narratives their attitudes towards parents was viewed as a signifier of their willingness and capacity to incorporate a vision of social justice into their understanding of 'making a difference'. The level of ideological consistency and 'harmony' between teachers' pedagogical approach, and the nature of their professional engagement with parents was of central concern.

There were two separate and contradictory views of 'making a difference' found to be at work in participants' understandings of the term. The first view was concerned with working towards sameness in the name of equality and making a difference. In response to academic and policy demands, this view of 'making a difference' was characterised by pedagogies of sameness and understandings of equality as sameness. The majority believed that their students deserved to be treated fairly and the same, and to be given an equal opportunity to compete for social advantages (Rawls, 1971). Influenced by macro-level policy discourses that emphasise performativity and measurable outcomes in schools, and their technologies of surveillance and recognition that regulate them, many participants perceived the development of students' literacy and numeracy skills as the most appropriate way of improving their students' chances of success in school and beyond. These understandings had the net result of orienting the majority of participants towards teaching to the 'basics' with less innovative and cognitively challenging approaches, a finding that is consistent with a wealth of Irish research into teacher practices in designated disadvantaged schools (Devine 2011; Devine, Fahie, and McGillicuddy 2013; Lynch & Lodge, 2002; Smyth & Calvert, 2011).

The difficulty with a universalist ethic of justice is that the notion of sameness in equality terms, ignores the difference in starting points (Young, 1990). The intensity of focus on linguistic and logical mathematical competencies to the exclusion of other intelligences (Gardner 1983) has a disproportionate impact on working class children. The failure of most participants to recognise and develop all forms of intelligence and human capabilities, and to relate the curriculum to their students' worlds and legitimise

locally produced knowledge (Mills, 2008), demonstrated a tendency to treat all students the same. In this way, many participants unwittingly gave their sanction to inequality in relation to culture (Bourdieu, 2008, p. 36) largely through their failure to recognise and account for initial differences in possession or otherwise of valued cultural and social capital (Lingard & Keddie, 2013).

Another major difficulty with the notion of sameness in equality terms is that it automatically confers a negative value to diversity. Practices and discourses of denial (Fraser, 2000), non-recognition and sameness were especially evident in the way the majority of participants resolved the ethnic diversity ‘problem’ by adopting an institutionally embedded position of cultural assimilation of diversity.

The second view was underpinned by a caring ethic that characterised their educational relationships, and was in tension with these pedagogies and practices of sameness. While the policy discourses of performativity and efficiency seek to frame the teacher-student relationship within instrumental, utilitarian terms (Kelchtermans, 2011), the strength of the cohort’s commitment to a caring moral praxis ensured that they largely resisted these advances.

The influence policies of performativity and accountability exerted at an institutional level resulted in participants holding context-specific notions around what was deemed both possible and practical. Local conditions such as level of (dis)advantage, the intensity and concentration of students’ needs, and school culture all impacted upon the way participants engaged with, and/or mediated these neo-liberal policies and ideologies. However, it is the influence of the personal sphere that is the primary focus of this paper, with participants’ socio-cultural habitus found to have a significant effect on how participants defined their professional role, responsibilities and identities.

'Making a Difference': A Habitus Specific Idea

While ideas around making sameness and care dominated the cohort's understanding of the difference they were making as a homogenous professional class, there were some significant variations of 'difference' found to exist along class and social background lines. In this regard, the 'Working Class-Close Proximity' cohort's perception of their professional role and responsibilities deserves specific attention. While the majority of participants' perceptions of 'making a difference' were capable of change, what was significant about the 'Working Class/Close Proximity' cohort's 'core mission' was how well established, tenacious and durable it was. Consequently, they were better able to maintain a consistency of connectedness between their beliefs, values and attitudes about teaching and learning, and their professional practice. This very strong sense of what it means to be a teacher influenced their pedagogies and educational relationships both positively and negatively.

As many of this 'Working Class-Close Proximity' cohort had attended designated disadvantaged schools themselves, they articulated a strong desire to 'put something back' into these schools. Ryan states: "I certainly was more interested in working in a disadvantaged area. That's where I wanted to be.... Well part of it was coming back to my home town and doing work there in a community that I felt that I was part of". The complexity of their habitus, an amalgam of their past life as a working class student who succeeded often against the odds, and their present lives as middle class professionals is reflected in their motivation to project themselves as role models. The strength of their adherence to this culturally ascribed role of teacher as role model and the powerful moral purpose that underpinned it generated largely positive and some negative practices. Their greater familiarity with, and knowledge of students' local communities enhanced their capacity to 'connect' with students on a personal level, and they demonstrated a greater willingness than those from middle class origins to open up their personal histories for discussion. Moira expresses her desire to "set an example that I just came from a normal place like them and that I could decide that I wanted to be a teacher and that I went to college after school". The working class participants' narratives tell a story of upward social mobility, achieved through their entry into the

professional classes. Their felt desire to try and initiate more open and inclusive relations with working class parents also allowed them to resist to a large extent the boundary setting and professional protectionism that governed the majority of participants' relations with parents in the two DEIS 1 schools. A striking feature of the 'Working Class-Close Proximity' cohort's reflections on the topic is their capacity to demonstrate awareness of the negative influence teachers' unchallenged assumptions concerning working class parents can have on teacher-parent relations, Claire, who grew up in the local community she teaches in, believes that her knowledge of the local area affords her a greater insight into the causes of parent disengagement, a view shared by other participants from working class backgrounds (Moira, Grace and Ciara). Sections of the parent population feeling "intimidated by teachers", and considering "teachers as the enemy nearly as they did when they were kids", is identified by Claire as a significant obstacle that must be negotiated by teachers wishing to engage with working class parents. Working class parents perceived absence of education, power and relevant resources to challenge the school's definition of the self (Reay 1998; Walkerdine, Lucey, & Melody 2001) is also highlighted by Fiona, Grace and Frank as being a significant constraining influence. Significantly, the 'Working Class-Close Proximity' cohort demonstrates not only awareness, but also a willingness to initiate a process of partnership. This cohort identify their working class habitus as being instrumental in helping them cross the divide between reflection and action and to assume a position of agency. Moira views her heightened class consciousness as a medium through which she can initiate a dialogue centered on students' educational development. Moira states: "It is not like you're snobby or anything coming talking to them. You're kind of like ... I understand the situation but I'm trying to get him [student] to do this or that".

Another demonstration of this cohort's commitment to a change agenda is their opposition to the middle class assumption that working class communities are apathetic towards their local school. The majority of the 'Working Class/Close Proximity' cohort commend the level of parental involvement in their respective schools and challenge the perception that parents from working class communities are disengaged from school

and not willing to become involved in school activities, a view that Grace finds reprehensible. Grace states: “There might be this notion that disadvantaged people are you know ‘oh God, the school and here’s the school and here is us and we stay away’. It is not really like that at all”.

While participants should be commended for having positive expectations for their students, there is a certain element of naivety present in Ryan’s desire to “give the kids real aspiration and hope that they mightn’t necessarily have”. Similarly Moira’s belief “that they just don’t know these basic things ... that you go to college after school” and the role she can play in “opening their mind away from this. Because there is a kind of way of living in areas like this, that is a very set, rigid way and sometimes they don’t know the possibilities that are out there”, also reflects a somewhat simplistic appraisal of the role she can play in addressing her students’ social capital deficit. The uncritical nature of these observations not only reflect an absence of recognition of the hegemonic influence on education, they are also indicative of the influence of liberal individualism, an ideology which diverts attention away from its role in reproducing social inequality by making individual responsibility the primary determinant of educational success or failure (Drudy & Lynch, 1993).

Conclusions and Future Work

The small sample of participants from working class backgrounds means that research on a larger scale is required in order to further develop our understanding around the role class habitus plays in the difference teachers feel they can make. However, the very distinct and positive contribution they are making in social justice terms strengthens the call from the Teaching Council of Ireland (2011) for a review of the entry procedures for teacher education courses in order to “explore ways of facilitating entry to the profession by under-represented groups” (p.12). Within this context, evaluations of the influence that Maynooth University’s Turn to Teaching Project and its focus on the development of direct access programmes to ITE are critical, as currently there is a limited evidence base which policy can draw upon. However, the more problematic practices that were generated around the ‘Working

Class/Close Proximity' cohort's engagement in role modelling points to the need to problematise the way in which the desirability of a more diverse and representative teaching force is framed in policy. This discourse is largely oriented around the importance of children having positive role models from similar backgrounds to themselves (Dee 2001; Devine, 2011; King, 1993), a positioning which was found to have a limiting effect on what the cohort as a whole can achieve in a transformative sense.

The findings of this study clearly indicate the positive effect of teachers' interaction with working class communities during their youth, which have implications for ITE and how we prepare student teachers to commence their careers working in designated disadvantaged schools. These pre-service experiences helped participants to develop a positive attitude towards working in marginalised communities, and was articulated in their professional practice. Irish research has pointed to the need for a greater emphasis to be placed on preparing teachers for the challenge of teaching in designated disadvantaged schools (Inspectorate of DES, 2005b). A number of studies have clearly indicated that NQTs feel ill prepared to commence their careers in a designated disadvantaged school (Inspectorate of DES, 2005a; Tormey, Ryan, & Dooley, 2003). This concern is also reflected in the identification by the working group on primary pre-service teacher education (Government of Ireland, 2002) and the Educational Disadvantage Committee (EDC, 2004) of the need for all teacher education programmes to offer modules dealing explicitly with the issue of teaching in disadvantaged settings. While these bodies provide little detail as to how ITE should engage with such a project of change, the EDC (2004) did recommend that student teachers have the opportunity of conducting at least one practicum in the 'disadvantaged' setting (p.13). The homogenous middle class population of pre-service primary teachers (Heinz & Keane, 2018; Keane & Heinz, 2015, 2016) and the lack of pre-service engagement they have with working class and ethnically diverse populations (Leavy, 2005), heightens the need for pre-service teachers to gain experience of working and engaging with people living and working in areas experiencing intense social challenge. The recent reconceptualisation of the school

placement experience offers exciting opportunities in this regard. Not only does it allow for student teachers to better integrate theory and practice through collaborative professional practice and enquiry-based learning, it also encourages them to participate actively in school life, including supported engagement with parents and other professionals working in the community (Ní Áingléis, Murphy, & Ruane, 2012; Teaching Council of Ireland, 2013). However, a significant weakness of the new school placement programme is its failure to make school placements in marginalised communities a mandatory part of the process.

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