Chapter 19

Rehumanizing the "Other": Race, Culture, and Identity in Education Research

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In this chapter, the authors examine the trajectory of the literature on race, culture, and identity in education research through the past century. The literature is first situated within its historical and conceptual foundations, specifically the dehumanizing legacy of scientific racism, the early efforts by African American scholars to rehumanize marginalized members of society, and the emergence of identity as a construct in the social sciences. The authors then explore the body of education research—from the mid 20th century to today—focused on the relationship between cultural and racial identities and students' experiences with schooling. They close with a vision for the next era of research on this critical topic.

The task of this chapter, and this volume, is to reflect on 100 years of education research: to step back and examine the trends, the overarching themes, and, ultimately, the legacy of the body of scholarship in education. This task is a daunting one, and it presents an immediate challenge around scope and focus. As we reflect specifically on the past century of research on race, culture, and identity, the challenge is perhaps even greater. On one hand, the study of identity draws on and contributes to an understanding of the deep connections between self and society. Given the tremendous changes in U.S. society and schools during the period covered here, as well as several continuing challenges, the study of identity and its intersections with race and culture in education research is vital. On the other hand, the constructs of race, culture, and identity have long been marred by conceptual opacity, making the task of defining clear connections across related bodies of work a challenge.

In almost every quantifiable way, U.S. society has made strides toward being more racially and culturally inclusive (Banks, 1995). One hundred years ago, U.S. racial and cultural minorities[1] had few legal rights (Omi & Winant, 2014). Today, all racial and ethnic groups in the United States are equal in the eyes of the law, which includes the legal right to an education of equal quality (Darling-Hammond, 2015; Kluger, 2004). However, in practice, this legal equality has not resulted in true and full equal access to high-quality education or to societal recognition (Darling-Hammond, 2015; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Furthermore, over the past 30 years, society has been once again increasingly stratified by race and social class, with grave implications for our democracy. Indeed, the string of killings of unarmed Black men and women by members of law enforcement—many such episodes captured on cell phones and going viral on the Internet—sparked a national protest movement by a multiracial and intergenerational coalition, #BlackLivesMatter (http://blacklivesmatter.com; Hill, 2016; Taylor, 2016). Underlying the protests is the issue of how racial minorities, specifically Black people, are dehumanized in their interactions with the institutional structures of society, including policing and schooling (Leonardo, 2005; Nasir, Ross, McKinney de Royston, Givens, & Bryant, 2013).

We thus situate our chapter in this historical and political context. Research in the social sciences examines and reflects on society and is likewise deeply intertwined with it (Richards, 2003). Any consideration of the role of race, culture, and identity in education research must include how society has, through education, functioned to dehumanize, as well as to humanize, those who have been considered "Other" (Anderson, 1988; Kluger, 2004). In this chapter, we consider the dialectic of dehumanization and humanization, framing strands of education research that served historically to define the Other and strands that served to counter these efforts for learners at the political boundaries of U.S. society.

This chapter explores the research on race, culture, and identity in education. To undertake this exploration, we identified the relevant literature by conducting several literature searches using the keywords each alone with "education" and jointly. One challenge was that the initial literature searches resulted in a large corpus of articles and books (over 8,000). We thus selected articles, books, and chapters that were most relevant to the task of examining the research at the intersections of race, culture, and identity in education, and drew on our own knowledge of the field to add to the corpus of articles with key pieces that provided the theoretical backdrop to the articles selected. We then examined key themes as they emerged across the literature corpus, and engaged in discussion iteratively to identify themes over time.

To make sense of this body of work, we begin by situating this review within the history backdrop to which it responds, specifically the legacy of scientific racism and early efforts by African American scholars to humanize marginalized members of society. We then discuss the emergence of identity as a construct in social science research and its intersections (or, often, lack thereof) with the study of race and culture. With these historical and conceptual foundations laid, we explore the body of work focused on race, culture, and identity in education research. In particular, we

describe education research—from the mid 20th century to today—focused on the relationship between cultural and racial identities and students' experiences with schooling. We close with a vision for the next era of research on this critical topic.

THE HISTORY OF SCIENTIFIC RACISM

Research on identity and its intersections with race and culture cannot be understood outside of the legacy of scientific racism. A long history of social science research has framed non–Northern Europeans as inferior, including in their capacity and willingness to learn and participate in society (Long, 1774; Omi & Winant, 2014; White & von Soemmerring, 1799). For instance, early research in psychology framed intelligence as biological, hereditary, and measurable by IQ tests used to compare the (naturalized) intelligence of non-European American and European American children. Social scientists attributed the typically lower scores of non-European children to natural, hereditary differences in intelligence. This interpretation both naturalized differences among races and ethnicities and supported arguments for the inherent intellectual superiority of European children (Burlew, Banks, McAdoo, & Azibo, 1992; Carlson & Henderson, 1950; Garth & Johnson, 1934; Kagan & Zahn, 1975). Francis Galton (1869), whose methodology was rooted in eugenics, offered a 15-point scale of "grades of ability," calculating that the "Negro races" were on average two grades below the "Anglo-Saxon." These calculations were the first attempt to quantify psychological racial differences. Herbert Spencer (1862), a contemporary of Galton, argued that Europeans' neurological evolution had become highly sophisticated, while "primitive" brains were incapable of processing the complex mental relations required for civilization. And G. Stanley Hall, cofounder of the American Psychological Association, stated his views on race in the final chapter of *Adolescence* (Hall, 1904), where he posited a developmental framework of racial hierarchies. Hall characterized the "lower races" as not so much inferior as adolescent in their stage of human development. He attempted to reconcile the nature-nurture dilemma by suggesting that interventions (nurture) nourishing the adolescent races (nature) would support their development. This logic lent support to arguments for segregated education.

Scholarship on race once again ramped up just prior to and after the Civil War and was used in particular to support continuing the racially organized social hierarchy. And U.S. education psychologists in the early 20th century who researched "race differences" in this historical context addressed the issue of whether to maintain segregation for racial minorities, in particular African American, Native American, and Mexican American children (G. O. Ferguson, 1916; Rowe, 1914). For instance, in comparing the intelligence of European American and Native American children, Rowe (1914) argued that "inferior racial ability is the only satisfactory explanation" and concluded that "the type of education suited to the one is not suited to the other" (p. 456).

By the late 1930s, in light of emerging data on the genetic nature of human diversity, the scientific community began contesting the validity of race as a useful

construct for informing the debate on education. In turn, a cultural deficit stance emerged. The notion of culture remained linked to biology, though less explicitly (Richards, 2003). With the shift from the biological to the cultural, scholarship also shifted from a focus on inherent intelligence as the capacity to learn to cultural attitudes toward schooling and achievement. Educational achievement was related to values; values were linked to the cultures of different races and ethnicities (e.g., Demos, 1962).

The cultural deficit stance has long dominated scientific interpretations of communities and their members, as well as the design of education interventions for poor and minority children and their families. For example, Demos (1962) examined student experiences in schooling as "attitudes" toward education, finding that Mexican American students expressed significantly more negative attitudes toward education than were expressed by European American students. Interestingly, though 20 items out of the 26-item survey showed no significant differences between the groups and 1 item was significantly more positive for Mexican American students, his conclusions were based on the 5 items where Mexican American students indicated a more negative attitude. A closer look at those five items revealed that Mexican American students provided more negative responses than European American students to questions specifically regarding the helpfulness of school staff and teachers. There was no mention at all that such answers might reflect actual experiences, that is, that teachers and staff were potentially less helpful to Mexican American students than to European American students. Solutions proposed by a cultural deficit stance include interventions that make up for the perceived lack, including cognitive interventions (Blank & Solomon, 1969; Deutsch, 1967; John & Goldstein, 1964).

BLACK SCHOLARS' EFFORTS TO REHUMANIZE THE OTHER

During this time, African American scholars were working with the explicit goal of humanizing African Americans in the eyes of a society that perpetuated racist structures and grave indignities (Morris, 2015). In many ways, these efforts spoke to some of the concerns in psychology and education about the relationship between society and the identity development of marginalized people, and the role of education in that process.

One such scholar was sociologist W. E. B. Du Bois. Born in 1868, Du Bois focused his scholarly career on building an empirical evidence-based body of work to debunk theories stemming from scientific racism (Morris, 2015). His book *The Philadelphia Negro*, published in 1901, was one of the most extensive empirical studies of his day, incorporating observation, interviews, and surveys to study the lives of Blacks in Philadelphia and the role of structural racism in their lives. He was one of the earliest scholars to form a social constructionist view of race (Morris, 2015) and to theorize about the connections among the behavior of Black citizens, lack of opportunity, and the legacy of slavery and Jim Crow racism (Du Bois, 1903/1994). Scholars such as Wright (1969) built on Du Bois and noted,

"The Negro Problem"—that condition which is peculiar to Negroes, and common to them—is rather found in the attitudes of the white race toward the Negro; an attitude of a majority which seeks to shut out a minority from the enjoyment of the whole social and economic life. (pp. 186–187)

Here, Wright (1969) made the point that the real issue is not the characteristics of people of the "Negro" race but rather the way they are treated and regarded by Whites, thus highlighting social structure, not individual characteristics. Du Bois's work also touched on issues of identity. In his 1935 article "Does the Negro Need Separate Schools?" Du Bois (1935) highlighted the critical role of identity in the learning process as he made the argument that what the Negro needs is "neither mixed schools nor segregated schools. What the Negro needs is Education" (p. 329). He elaborated his point:

. . . a separate Negro school, where children are treated like human beings, trained by teachers of their own race, who know what it means to be black in the year of salvation 1935, is infinitely better than making our boys and girls doormats to be spit and trampled upon. (p. 335)

Du Bois's (1903/1994) classic text *The Souls of Black Folk* considered the unique identity position that the legacy of slavery and racism created for Black people, arguing that they faced a double consciousness created by their positioning in society:

It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness,—an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (p. 3)

Other scholars of the early 20th century took up the project of racial rehumanization through social science, including Carter G. Woodson and Nanny Boroughs. Woodson, a theorist, educator, and institution builder (Givens, 2015a; Goggin, 1993/1997; Romero, 1971), is perhaps best known for *The Mis-Education of the Negro* (Woodson, 1933), in which he made the argument that mainstream education did African Americans a disservice, inasmuch as it perpetuated a notion of Black people as inferior and unaccomplished. He felt strongly that "mainstream educational systems underdeveloped Black students, mystified their subjectivity, and in extreme cases taught them to despise their racial heritage. Schooling, he argued, was a discrete yet proficient technology of White supremacy" (Givens, 2015a, p. 10).

For Woodson, the connection between pride in one's racial heritage, identity as a learner, and the purposes and outcomes of education was paramount. He spent his career writing textbooks, creating schools, and training teachers to teach in ways that acknowledged the contributions of African Americans to U.S. society and the world and that built up a sense of pride in Black students (Brown, 2010; Givens, 2015b).

Borroughs also sought to support the education of Black students, girls in particular, which she did through teaching, advocacy, and institution-building work (Jackson, 2015). Similar to Woodson, she advocated for the central place of Black history in the education of Black students, and she viewed empowering women as in part related to expanding the

options that Black women saw for themselves in society. For Borroughs and Woodson, rehumanization was a core function of education, and recognizing the unique contributions and potential of African Americans was a critical aspect of education.

Indeed, Black educators long viewed schools as sites of rehumanization (Walker, 1996, 2009), where it was critical to create an environment that held high expectations for Black students, surrounded students with love and care, and supported them in dealing with the racism of the broader society. This view was true of segregated schools in the South, both immediately after slavery and well into the 20th century (Anderson, 1988; Walker, 1996, 2009).

Central to the idea that school should be a place where students' potential is developed and expanded was the concept of identity—in particular, the human need for social recognition and a positive sense of self. The next section explores the emergence of identity as a construct in the social sciences and the ways in which theories of identity development have or have not reckoned with identity's fundamental intersection with race, culture, and society.

THE EMERGENCE OF IDENTITY AS A CONSTRUCT IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

While issues related to identity are often implied in studies focused on race and culture in education, social science research focused explicitly on identity as a construct emerged separately and has often remained disconnected from scholarship on race and culture. In this section, we review major theories of identity and identity development and focus in particular on work that has attempted to bring these theories to bear on issues of race and culture in education.

Identity as a construct in social science research emerged in psychology with James's (1890) focus on the self and in sociology with Cooley's (1902/1972) and Mead's (1934) establishment of symbolic interactionism. Since James, the study of identity has focused on two interrelated aspects: "I" and "me." The "I"—or self as subject—is made up of the mental processes responsible for self-reflection. Research on subtopics such as self-affirmation, self-monitoring, self-awareness, self-esteem, and self-control (Leary & Tangney, 2003), conducted over the course of the subsequent decades, has contributed to a rich body of work on these fundamentally human capacities represented in the linguistic form "I." The "me" is the object of self-reflection. It is at its core a social object, figured within society. It is this aspect of identity—the process of becoming a person-in-society—that is the focus of this chapter. Here we briefly review key theories of identity, both stage model theories and those that focus on identity as constructed through social interaction, and how researchers have elaborated on these theories to take race and culture into account.

Stage Models of Identity Development and Their Relation to Race and Culture

Erikson (1994) offers a psychoanalytic view of the social self, focusing on its development through childhood and adolescence, wherein identity development is about

growth into roles and a sense of where one's life is going in adult society. This growth is framed in terms of crises or conflicts that result in new stages of identity development. Although Erikson's stage model does not generally consider the role of power in society, he discusses, in the final chapter of *Identity: Youth and Crisis* (Erikson, 1994), how this process is particularly problematic for marginalized members of society, including Native Americans and African Americans. Erikson concludes that identity development has "two kinds of time: a *developmental stage* in the life of the individual, and a *period* in history" (p. 309).

M. B. Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) built on and connected Erikson to social identity theory (K. B. Clark & Clark, 1939) to argue that minority children face additional precursors to their development that include identification with and beliefs and attitudes about their racial or ethnic group. A primary assertion of social identity theory is that racial or ethnic identity is important to one's self-concept and psychological functions. Several researchers define racial or ethnic identity as a component of social identity (Tajfel, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Others have emphasized a sense of belonging, shared values, attitudes toward one's group, shared language, or participation in race- or ethnicity-linked events or practices (Phinney, 1990). Positive racial or ethnic identification is disrupted through experiences of racism. Clark and Clark (1959), for example, found that racial discrimination, undergirding the laws for segregated schools at the time, exacerbated Black students' negative self-esteem, evidenced by a White racial preference bias among Black children.

In later work, Lee, Spencer, and Harpalani (2003) challenged what they framed as enduring misconceptions about the identity development and schooling of non-dominant youth. These enduring misconceptions include the assumption of a singular pathway for identity development centered on European and European American children that fundamentally pathologizes the life course challenges of ethnic and racial minorities, as well as a persistent deficit perspective on minority children's home and community experiences. Further misconceptions include, in pathologizing the experiences of minority youth, that minority youth are, "on the whole, homogenous and fundamentally different from the majority" (p. 6) and that attending to race and ethnicity in learning settings is not relevant to majority children. Lee et al. go on to argue,

These assumptions, long held in both human development and cognitive sciences literature, have led researchers, policymakers, and practitioners to view whole communities of children and adolescents as being ill prepared for school and have led them to attribute these students' lack of success in school to problems in their families, communities or to internal problems with them as individuals. (p. 6)

In response, Lee et al. (2003) offered the Phenomenological Variant of Ecological Systems (PVEST) framework, made up of five components that consider the experiences of privilege and marginalization in identity development (M. B. Spencer, 1999; M. B. Spencer, Dupree, Cunningham, Harpalani, & Muñoz-Miller, 2003). The first

component, net vulnerability, consists of stressors—such as race and gender stereo-types and historical processes of racial subordination and discrimination—that can be offset by protective factors, such as cultural socialization. The second component, net stress engagement, consists of experiences that harm an individual's well-being and can be offset by social supports to negotiate those experiences. The third compo-nent consists of developmentally appropriate coping strategies in response to stressors that can lead to adaptive or maladaptive solutions. Over time, they become stable coping responses that, in aggregate, lead to emergent identities. Emergent identities, the fourth component, lead to the final component of the PVEST model: the adverse or productive ways of being for a particular individual.

Identity development, as it relates to race and culture, is framed as part of one's self-concept and, developmentally, in terms of an affiliation with or a commitment to one's ethnic or racial group (Phinney, 1989, 1990). Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, and Chavous (1998) offered a model of racial identification that takes into account both the traditional research on racial identity and what they refer to as the "under-ground" research of the narrative experiences of being African American. Their mul-tidimensional model of racial identity proposes four dimensions of African American racial identity, including how salient race is to one's sense of self, the extent to which one normatively defines oneself with respect to race, the positive or negative regard one has with respect to being Black, and one's ideology with respect to how members of the race should act.

Identity as Emerging Through (Racialized) Social Interactions

Stage models, such as PVEST, while illuminating trajectories of identity develop-ment across the life span do not necessarily explain how the process of identity devel-opment occurs at the micro, or moment-to-moment, level of lived experiences. A symbolic interactionist perspective frames identity development as emerging out of social interactions within a classified world that designates subject positions (Stets & Burke, 2003). Through social interactions, people recognize themselves and one another as occupants of positions. These subject positions become social identities, coconstructed with others in and reflective of society (Stets & Burke, 2003). This view frames identity in relation to culture and its ascribed roles but has not typically considered the role of power in this process and instead has treated "cultures" as rela-tively neutral. Attributes such as gender, race, and ethnicity function as forms of master status (Stryker, 1987) but are not framed as components of self (Hogg, Terry, & White, 1995). Rather, they are framed as indirectly affecting the self by determin-ing the roles people can occupy and the relative social importance of those roles.

Similar to symbolic interactionism, though focusing in particular on discourse, positioning theory emerged out of social psychology as a way to explain the social construction of identities (Davies & Harré, 1990). Positioning theory asserts that (a) human communication is generally mediated by socially constructed and histori-cally situated *story lines*, which give meaning to our words and actions; (b) through

talk (and other forms of nonverbal communication), individuals locate themselves and others—that is, take on *positions*—within story lines; and (c) individuals locate themselves within particular story lines through *acts of positioning*. What makes positioning theory compelling for the study of power relations within classrooms is that the analysis of positioning uncovers the local moral order. That is, not everyone has equal access to the same rights and obligations to perform particular acts (Harré & van Langenhove, 1999; Herbel-Eisenmann, Wagner, Johnson, Suh, & Figueras, 2015). Because access to particular rights and/or particular obligations is a way of framing access to power, positioning theory affords the study of relations of power in the classroom.

In education research concerned with race, culture, and identity, poststructural and critical theories have been applied to theories of identity in order to deepen the focus on how power shapes identity development within schools and society (Denzin, 2001; Hand, Penuel, & Gutiérrez, 2012). Critical race theorists in education research argue that the discourses of schooling typically center on identities of the dominant culture, such that histories of power relations and privilege become invisible and unmarked (Darder, 1991; Dixson & Rousseau, 2005; Gee, 1991; Giroux & McLaren, 1989; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). From a poststructural perspective, such discourses figure identities through subject positions, which the individual takes up or resists. In U.S. schooling (as well as elsewhere), students are racialized through their participation in these discourses; promise lies in rupturing the story lines that organize the typical discourses of schooling by offering alternative story lines centered on students' communities and well-being (Nasir, Snyder, Shah, & Ross, 2012).

REVIEW OF RESEARCH ON RACE, CULTURE, AND IDENTITY IN EDUCATION

So far, we have situated this discussion on both the long-running dialectic between dehumanization and (re)humanization of the "other" and its intersection with the explicit study of identity and identity development in the social sciences. With this background established, we explore here education research—from the mid 20th century to today—focused on the relationship between cultural and racial identities and students' experiences with schooling (e.g., Davidson, 1996; Esmonde & Langer-Osuna, 2013; Fuligni, Witkow, & Garcia, 2005; Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003; Howard, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 2009; Langer-Osuna, 2011; Lee, 2007; Roeser et al., 2008; Wortham, 2004; Yip, Seaton, & Sellers, 2006). This research has documented challenges faced by racial and cultural minority students and examined learning spaces designed to support positive identity development and academic achievement. Much of this research offers alternative interpretations and solutions (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995), pushing against interpretations of the relationship between race, culture, and schooling that have often positioned minority students as a problem of underachievement (Nasir & Hand, 2008). Scholarship at the intersection of identity, culture, and race blossomed in the late 20th century, when the student body in public

schools nationwide became increasingly diverse and as scholars from African American, Latino, Native American, Asian American, and other racial and cultural minority backgrounds joined the ranks of the professoriate. This scholarship emerged, in part, out of critiques of deficit perspectives, and it often argues that differences in schooling outcomes among children of different cultures and races are based not on inherent biological or cultural deficiencies but rather on differences in the norms and practices that make up home and school cultures (e.g., R. M. Clark, 1983; Cole & Bruner, 1971; Jones, 1991). For example, Cole and Bruner (1971) drew on Labov (1969), and troubled the assumption that Ebonics (later called African American English Vernacular) is a less sophisticated mode of communication than Standard English. They argued that all languages are equally functional and that psychological research from a deficit stance reflected ignorance about languages in general and nonstandard dialects in particular. Furthermore, they argued that experimental methods to assess intellectual competence do not consider the importance of context. For example, J. Gay and Cole (1967) showed that Kpelle rice farmers were superior at estimating the number of cups of rice in various bowls compared with Yale sophomores. They argued that, just as Kpelle superiority at this task does not signal a general superior intelligence relative to Yale students, neither does the relative superiority of Yale students on more traditional assessment tasks signal the opposite. Rather, competence is tied to social practices that, for minority communities, are different from those found in mainstream schooling and psychological assessment practices.

This tradition of scholarship examined cultural differences, especially social and linguistic differences, across communities (Bauman & Sherzer, 1974; Gumperz, 1972; Heath, 1983; Hymes, 1974). The culture of schooling was framed both as worthy of critical examination and as linked to Anglo-American, middle-class norms (Cole & Bruner, 1971; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Heath, 1983; Michaels, 1981; Van Ness, 1981). In response to these ideas, a "mismatch" theory arose that argued that White, middle-class, affluent children navigate a similar "culture" in school and at home and thus are better aligned for success than minority students who must navigate a culture that is markedly different from their home culture (Au & Mason, 1981; Cazden, John, & Hymes, 1972; Florio & Shultz, 1979; G. Gay & Abrahams, 1972; Genishi, 1979; Heath, 1983; Jordan, 1985; Labov, 1969; Piedstrup, 1973). For example, students whose communicative experiences at home resonate with the communicative expectations of schooling perceive their efforts in the classroom as appropriate and valued (Au & Mason, 1981). This is not necessarily the case for students who experience conflicting communicative expectations at home and at school. Heath (1983) compared patterns of language use at home and school across communities in the southeastern United States, in particular regarding the role of questioning. She found that questions were used differently at home than at school for children in a local African American community. In the home community, children were rarely asked questions because children were not framed as legitimate sources of information among adults. At school, questions served a different function. Rather than to seek information, teachers used questions as requests for

children to display their competence. Children from the African American community interpreted teacher questions using the context of their home experiences, leading to confusion as to why teachers would ask questions to which they already knew the answer. Teachers, in turn, interpreted students' confusion as displays of incompetence. These kinds of different interpretations have crucial implications for students' developing identities by racializing particular ways of being (Boykin & Cunningham, 2001). For example, students may learn that "Black" cultural styles or languages other than Standard English are viewed as problematic in the classroom (Nasir, Rowley, & Perez, 2015).

The lack of confluence between the community and schooling practices for children from minority communities has implications for students' identity development. Although positive racial and ethnic identities are associated with better schooling outcomes (Rivas-Drake et al., 2014), this relationship is complicated for students from marginalized communities (Conchas & Vigil, 2010; Darling-Hammond, 2015; Noguera & Wing, 2006; M. B. Spencer, 2006). Research has shown that discourses of schooling often position White and Asian students as "smart," while Black and Latino students are seen as being less capable, as having less parental support, and as presenting behavior problems (Lewis, 2003; Nasir et al., 2012; Pollock, 2009). Interviews with African American and Latino students and teachers illuminate the experience of being racialized in schools as one of marginalization, often through overt discrimination (Martin, 2006; Martinez, 2000). Martin (2006) interviewed African Americans who reported experiences of being ignored, criticized, or pushed into low-track mathematics classes despite interest and achievement in mathematics. Some learners internalized these experiences and began to believe that they were not smart enough. Others recognized that they experienced discrimination, but they were not able to change the consequences of actions by teachers and others in positions of authority. In Martinez (2000), Latino teachers discuss their own (often violent) experiences of discrimination as young students and their personal and professional commitments to teaching their bilingual and immigrant students with care and empathy. Some students respond to the negative stereotypes of their racial group by disidentifying with school as a way to preserve their positive self-esteem in the face of identity challenges (Osborne, 1995). Osborne (1995) showed that as African American students moved from middle school through high school, the correlation between their academic achievement and their self-esteem declined. These and related findings underscore the importance of the development of positive racial and ethnic identities in schools. Research has focused on schools as key sites for racial and ethnic identity development at both the whole-school and classroom levels (Carter, 2012; Davidson, 1996; Lewis, 2003; Nasir et al., 2012; Pollock, 2009). At the whole-school level, structural realities shape opportunities for racial and ethnic identity development. The implication of this work is that limited identity options are available in particular kinds of schooling contexts and that broad identity options are important for healthy racial and academic identity development (Carter, 2012). For example, Nasir (2012) found that students in the higher academic track of an urban high school developed positive racial

identities linked to African American history and academic excellence, while students in the lower academic track developed racial identities framed in opposition to schooling. Other work has found that high-achieving non-White students suffer a social cost for participating in higher academic tracks in highly stratified schools. Schools with the greatest stratification across academic tracks have the greatest prevalence of high-achieving African Americans being accused of "acting White" (Fryer & Levitt, 2006; Tyson, Darity, & Castellino, 2005). This trend is most prevalent in schools with the greatest racial stratification across academic tracks and in schools that are less than 20% Black.

At the classroom level, racial identities are shaped through interactions with others and through curricular resources (Esmonde & Langer-Osuna, 2013; Herrenkohl & Mertl, 2010; Langer-Osuna, 2011; Wortham, 2004). How successful these interactions are in fostering both positive racial/ethnic and academic identities varies across classrooms (Varelas, Martin, & Kane, 2013) and depends in large part on the story lines available for students to use to interpret their actions and position themselves as particular kinds of learners (Esmonde & Langer-Osuna, 2013). Turner, Dominguez, Maldonado, and Empson (2013), for example, showed that deliberately centering not only multiple languages but also cross-language communication as part and parcel of what it means to do mathematics positions monolingual Spanish, monolingual English, and Spanish-English bilingual students as legitimate members of the same mathematics learning community.

Curriculum centered on students' lived cultural experiences supports the development of positive racial/ethnic and academic identities (Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003; Howard, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 2009; Lee, 2007). Gutiérrez framed such work as social design experiments meant to refigure possible identities in ways that are culturally affirming and productive for all students (Gutiérrez, 2008; Gutiérrez & Vossoughi, 2010; Hand et al., 2012). Rather than remediating students, Guitérrez's work remediates schooling structures that perpetuate failure, transforming learning environments into expansive activity systems termed "third spaces" (Gutiérrez, 2008; Gutiérrez, Rymes, & Larson, 1995). Such spaces focus on heterogeneity as an organizing principle that results from cultural, linguistic, and other social boundary crossings drawn from students' lived realities. Gutiérrez, Morales, and Martinez (2009, p. 235) drew on Engeström (2001) to propose that education researchers should ask the following questions:

1. Who are the subjects of learning, and how are they defined and located?
2. Why do they learn, and what leads them to make the effort?
3. What do they learn, and what are the contents and outcomes of learning?
4. How do they learn, and what are the key actions or processes of learning?

Such questions focus attention on how students' lived experiences can become pedagogical tools rather than on obstacles to be overcome through intensive remedial education. Ladson-Billings (2009) argued that by observing students engaged in

community practices, teachers can include aspects of these practices in the organization of the classroom. Lee (2007) similarly argued that teachers can productively use students' cultural and racial identities as pedagogical tools through a process she termed *cultural modeling*. Cultural modeling reframes language and community practices as made up of complex cognitive work that can be productively leveraged in academic activity. Morrell (2002) argued that hip-hop music is a key social practice for pedagogy because the genre was created by and for urban youth (Alim, 2007; George, 2005; Rose, 1994) and can thus be used for the development of critical literacy practices.

Culturally relevant and culturally sustaining pedagogical strategies have expanded to include issues of both epistemology and ontology. With respect to epistemology, Bang and Medin (2010) challenged the implicit valuing of Western modern scientific ways of knowing over native science, typically framed as folk wisdom to be validated by Western science. Their work frames native science as a legitimate epistemological orientation for understanding the natural world, with pedagogical implications for learning contemporary scientific practices in ways that support native students' development of ethnic and academic identities (Nasir & Saxe, 2003). With respect to ontology, Nasir et al. (2013) examined how an all-Black, all-male alternative schooling context offered an alternative to Black male students' experiences with school discipline, wherein dominant notions of race and power were transformed by reframing both discipline practices and students' identities as Black male learners. The alternative space reinterpellated or rehailed (Althusser, 1971) students as learners and as engaged participants in the classroom.

Across the vast and growing body of work is a fundamental respect for the heterogeneity of communities and the transformative and powerful possibilities of using such heterogeneity to support both identity development and educational achievement. The next section offers some possibilities for the next generation of scholarship on identity, race, and culture in education research.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Our review of scholarship on race, culture, and identity reveals that, as the notion of identity has come into focus, scholarship and social conceptions of identity have defined this construct as dynamic, shifting, and malleable rather than as fixed and enduring. Schools are powerful spaces for identity work, including racial and cultural identification and the development of academic identities. As the field of education research moves forward, researchers must continue to ask how schools and classrooms—sites of identity work—can promote healthy development and academic achievement for all students in a pluralistic, yet stratified, society.

Education researchers must continue to examine and develop new ideas that foster social justice in schooling systems at multiple levels, including the state, district, school, and classroom levels. Innovative curricular and structural ideas require theories of learning that take into account the development of academic and racial/cultural identities within discourses of schooling organized around relationships of power.

To engage in such work, researchers must advance insights about learning and human development with explicit attention to relationships of power—in particular, looking at what and how identities and forms of knowledge are generated, where, and by and for whom (Bang & Vossoughi, 2016). This approach will enable the study of innovative forms of learning and supports for identity development. Theories and research methods that attend to relationships of power can support transformative insights (Bang & Vossoughi, 2016; Erickson, 2006; Kirshner, Gaertner, & Pozzoboni, 2010; Mirra, Garcia, & Morrell, 2015). In particular, the coordination of critical perspectives with the study of local activity makes both the epistemological and the ontological aspects of activity analytically visible and thereby available for informing iterative cycles of design, implementation, and analysis. These dimensions must be understood at the microgenetic, ontogenetic, and sociogenetic levels (Nasir & Saxe, 2003).

At the microgenetic level, innovative analytic methods are called for that capture how classroom (and other local) interactions become organized around normative and alternative discursive story lines linked to race, culture, and schooling. So is insight into how classroom interactions position students as particular kinds of learners, both in schools that serve predominantly students of color and in racially, culturally, and linguistically heterogeneous schools and classrooms. At the ontogenetic level, researchers should look at how (agentive) participation in the discourses of schooling and society affect identity development. At the sociogenetic level, a topic of study should be how classrooms, schools, and systems of schooling shift over time as innovative practices transform existing discourses toward increasingly inclusive and developmentally appropriate discourses that support the intellectual thriving and human development of students, teachers, and their communities.

Theories of learning and identity development as they pertain to schooling must be framed by an ethics of caring (Noddings, 2013; Roberts, 2010). It is clear that learning is linked to identity development and that healthy identity development necessitates caring relationships that foster a sense of safety and positive regard. Noddings's (2013) ethics of caring can be expanded to encompass sociopolitical implications, especially in situations where the majority of classroom teachers are White and an increasing proportion of U.S. public school students are not (McKinney de Royston, Vakil, Nasir, Ross, & Givens, in press). What are the sociopolitical dimensions of an ethics of care, and how do they inform theories of learning and schooling practices, as well as teacher education?

In this chapter we reflect on the themes of dehumanization and rehumanization across 100 years of education research on race, culture, and identity. There is much work to build on and much still to do. The study of identity and its intersections with race and culture in education research is more important than ever. As society's demographic shift and stratification by race and income continues, schools are arguably the most important hope for an inclusive society. Education theories and scholarly work must help to actualize this hope and to create learning spaces that are truly inclusive and transformative.

NOTE

[1]We choose the term *racial and cultural minorities* to reflect a political status of nondominance in society rather than a claim of demographic population numbers.

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