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Editor's Note

We are pleased to share the first issue of our 35th volume of *Vitae Scholasticae: The Journal of Educational Biography* which presents work on diverse biographical quests. We present three articles, two creative pieces in our "Reflections and Applications" section, and two book reviews.

In Ed Janak's opening article, "Bridges and Brokers: Collective Biography in the Study of the General Education Board in the U.S. West," he narrates a quest to understand more about the role of key figures in the GEB in the Western United States. While scholarship has explored aspects of the GEB in other parts of the country, Janak's focus on Mary "Ataloa" Stone McClendon, George Sanchez, and Annie Webb Blanton through a collective biographical approach expands understanding of individuals integral to the GEB's outreach to and funding impact on marginalized communities in the West. As "bridges and brokers," Ataloa served Native Americans at an Oklahoma college, Sanchez worked with Latino communities in New Mexico and Texas, and Blanton served African-Americans in Texas. This essay is the first that explores their role in the GEB.

Turning to the history of mathematics education, Jennifer Ruef describes her encounter with an "evocative object"[1]—a chair— that prompted an inquiry into the life of a professor of mathematics education. Kinney's work underscores Turkle's point that objects can function as touchstones of imagination, provocation, and in this case, connection between past and present. She writes, Kinney's "chair was left to languish at the back of a dusty storeroom and it invited curiosity and discovery"(p.45). She offers a biographical portrait of Kinney as a scholar, and in the process, contributes to her sense of her own occupational inheritance.[2] In McDeavitt's essay, she reflects on one teacher, Daria, whose experiences with immigration shaped her pedagogy and insights into children's experiences with immigration. In turn, McDeavitt's quest to understand led her to additional points of connection: She writes, "as I learned more about Daria's experiences, I began to see the entangled stories of *our* shared immigration experiences—my journey from immigrant student to immigrant teacher meshing with Daria's journey" (p. 51). Such quests to understand the entanglements of teaching lives are fuel for biographical work.

In our "Reflections and Applications" section, we offer two pieces that represent creative engagements with biography. As *VS* has demonstrated in our publication history, research norms for (re)presenting reports of scholarship have expanded in the last 30 years to embrace poems, drama, narrative, photographic, and other creative representations beyond traditional research formats. Collaborative dialogic pieces present one example. The first essay in this section is a collaborative dialogic reflection by a professor and a student at York University, Naomi Norquay and Shameen Sandhu, that focuses on their engagement with a recently published text, *Critical Approaches to Questions in Qualitative Research* (Swaminathan & Mulvihill). Norquay used the book in a qualitative course in which Shameen was enrolled and they reflect on how they "put" the text "to work."[3] The text raises questions that have been fruitful for Shameen's research development.

In Kellum's historical work, he presents a creative representation of a late 19th/early 20th century educator who traveled to Hawaii one year to teach in the summer. The broader shifts in the representation of research in other fields inspired Kellum to create this historical poem. Cooke's teaching experience is set against the backdrop of the colonialist and racist constructions of indigenous Hawaiian people during the late 19th century. The role of education as a colonial project is evident his analysis.

The issue concludes with two book reviews of texts focusing on the lives of female educators. The first review, by Thalia Mulvilhill, addresses Linda Morice's book on Flora White, a progressive educator who fueled the diffusion of progressive education ideals. Morice was the long time editor of *VS*, and we are pleased to have her new scholarship represented in the journal. The last review by Ed Janak takes up Sandra Bonura's biography of the life of Ida May Pope, titled *Light in the Queen's Garden*. Pope was a late 19th century Hawaiian educator who taught during the Hawaiian revolution and helped serve the educational futures of the state's girls and women.

We appreciate your support of *Vitae Scholasticae*, this vital space for pursuing life studies scholarship in the field of education. We welcome your reviews, creative engagements, essays, and readership.

— Lucy E. Bailey

Notes

[1] Sherry Turkle, *Evocative Objects: Things We Think With* (MIT Press, 2007).

[2] Deborah Crow, "Exploring occupational inheritance while standing together on the precipice of dementia," *Vitae Scholasticae: The Journal of Educational Biography 34* (2), 88-109.

[3] Patti Lather uses this phrase in her work frequently. See for example, *Getting Lost: Feminist Efforts Toward a Double(d) Science* (New York: SUNY Press, 2007).

Bridgers and Brokers:
Collective Biography in the Study of the General Education Board in the U.S. West

Edward Janak

University of Toledo

As biographers know well the more complex a narrative, the better to examine it through the lives, the participants. When exploring issues in the history of the U.S. West, this is particularly true; the complexities of defining geography (where is the West?) and identity demographics (who are the marginalized voices?) are best presented through the eyes of those who experienced it at the time. This article is an introductory collective biography that serves to introduce a handful of the characters integral to the story of the impact of the General Education Board (GEB) on the U.S. West. The GEB chose three figures to facilitate outreach to different marginalized populations in the region: Mary "Ataloa" Stone McClendon, who served Native Americans at Bacone College;[1] George Sanchez, who worked among Hispanic/Latino communities in Texas and New Mexico;[2] and Annie Webb Blanton, State Superintendent of Texas Schools, who both assisted the African-American communities of Texas and advocated for women on the cusp of suffrage.[3]

While there have been many works related to the lives of these three individually, none has looked at them through the lens of their interactions with the GEB. However, it is through examining these three lives that the role of the GEB in the U.S. West, particularly the impact of GEB funding on the marginalized peoples of the region, can best be understood. It is how these three people secured GEB funding and how they applied it

that a greater knowledge of what the GEB did (and did not) understand about the U.S. West is possible. While not saying so explicitly in meeting minutes or correspondence, the GEB clearly hoped that those receiving funding from them would become the type of people defined by Lynne M. Getz, Judith Raftery, and Eileen Tamura as "bridgers and brokers" among people back in their states and work towards cultural pluralism: "Bridging and brokering encourage cultural pluralism. They presume negotiation, not coercion, and they explain in part how or why a dominant culture often adopts many elements of a minority culture. But cultural bridges and brokers exist not only between dominant and subordinate cultures, but also between various minority cultures themselves."[4]

This belief is born out of the earliest days of the GEB as depicted in trustee correspondence. A 1905 memorandum from Starr Murphy (personal counsel and representative of John Rockefeller, Sr. and GEB board member until his death in 1921) to Wallace Buttrick (who served as a member from 1902 to 1926) described the initial scope and work of the philanthropic organization. One part of the work undertaken by the GEB was to publish "Treatises by Experts." These experts had to come from around the country to best reflect the shifting regional needs. Murphy explained to Buttrick that "[t]he conditions of the problem differ in different parts of the country and for that reason we should, if possible, select men who are representative of the parts of the country in which these different conditions exist." Murphy further noted that the purpose of hiring people aware of best practices within their regions was quite audacious: "We are laying the foundations of the greatest educational institution which the world has ever seen, and we can well afford to put whatever money may be necessary into securing the best possible foundation for the great superstructure which is to arise."[5] Clearly, part of this foundation was finding people in the various regions of the U.S. who could help spread the GEB mission.

Methodological Notes

The voices of the people involved remind us that there is no easy way to explore the parameters of this study. While the temporal borders were fairly well defined by the period during which the GEB was active (mainly from 1909 through 1955), the other parameters are far more complex. For example, at different points in U.S. history, the West has been defined as including multiple iterations of lands of the Mississippi River. As Western historian Patricia Nelson Limerick notes, "we cannot fix exact boundaries for the region, any more than we can draw precise lines around 'the South.'"[6] While Limerick uses a broad geographic definition (most states west of the Mississippi river) in her seminal work, in this research, I use a more limited definition of the U.S. West as closely akin to the Census Mountain division, primarily along the Front Range of

the Rocky Mountains into the U.S. Southwest. This stretch ranges from Montana south through Wyoming, Colorado, Oklahoma, Texas, and New Mexico.[7]

Racial patterns in the West must be analyzed from a position of power and privilege rather than numerical majority or minority. In the U.S. West during the time period examined within this study, there was a multiplicity of groups marginalized by white Christian culture. However, there were stark divisions within each of these groups. African Americans were divided between freedmen of Southeastern plantations and their descendants, and freedmen of Native American peoples who were given citizenship in the tribal nations. Whites forced a plethora of Native Americans into the region, some from the Southeast and some from the Great Plains, who all brought unique cultures. Latino populations were divided by a variety of factors such as place of ancestry and length of time in the U.S. However, as biographer Carlos Blanton explains, George Sanchez defined the population by the context in which it arose: "He used any term—*Mexican, Mexican American, Latin American, Spanish American, New Mexican*—provided the context was right. Another way Sanchez defined his people was through their heterogeneity;" indeed, Sanchez took pains "to portray his people as a diverse, heterogeneous population to combat stereotypes."[8]

For the sake of this research, marginalized groups will include all those impacted by Jim Crow laws. In Oklahoma and Texas, Jim Crow laws harshly impacted the significant African American populations, with Oklahoma in particular being home to lands given to displaced freedmen. In Texas and New Mexico, Jim Crow laws negatively impacted the Mexican-American and Hispanic populations with strong regional identities. Jim Crow laws also reached the so-called Five Civilized Tribes of Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole of Oklahoma and the 19 Pueblo Nations (Acoma, Cochiti, Isleta, Jemez, Laguna, Nambe, Ohkay Owingeh, Picuris, Pojoaque, Sandia, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, Santa Ana, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, Taos, Tesuque, Zia, Zuni) as well as 3 Apache (Fort Sill, Jicarilla, Mescalero) and the Diné (Navajo) of New Mexico.

If each of the bridgers and brokers is well worthy of individualized biographies, why look at them in the collective at all? As Catherine Drinker Bowen reminds, when considering a subject "The question was, who best could lead me where I wanted to go?"[9] For the sake of this research, collective biography is the best leader; a collective approach is integral to studying the role of the GEB in funding education in the U.S. West. To fully understand the legacy of the GEB, and to discover not just the impact of this funding but the motivations behind it, understanding the lives of those impacted is critical. As described by Gaby Weiner, collective biography "tends to focus on the lives of a group of individuals sharing a particular characteristic that is of interest. It therefore offers the possibility

not only of illuminating a number of individual lives, but of gaining an insight into a specific area of activity or field."[10]

Further, as noted by Corrine Glesne, biography can overlap with ethnography in the sense that biographers "often become interested in and consider the lives of many" in an attempt, akin to ethnographic work, to understand a greater cultural system.[11] This research looks at the lives of the participants to understand aspects of the cultural system created by GEB funding in the U.S. West. Collective biography can be utilized as a research method: analyzing a group of people can explain a moment or an event shared by them all. This approach is particularly of use in "making visible the discursive powers of particular discourses and the modes of subjection they entail. It is that visibility that makes transformation possible, not just in ourselves as individuals, but of our collective discursive practices, of our social contexts, of our capacity to imagine what is possible."[12]

Barbara Tuchman explains why biography is integral to the study of history, writing that biography "encompasses the universal in the particular. It is a focus that allows both the writer to narrow his field to manageable dimensions and the reader to more easily comprehend the subject . . . One does not try for the whole but for what is truthfully representative."[13] In the case of this research, focusing on these three lives is "truthfully representative" of the impact of the GEB in the U.S. West.

This approach, using a few lives rather than a broad sample, is not entirely without precedent; indeed, as noted by Gaby Weiner, "Fewer subjects allow the biographer to concentrate more on details and comparisons between individuals" rather than seeking "the emergence of patterns and generalizations" that a large sample size affords.[14] For example, Angela Jones' "Lessons from the Niagara Movement" examined the lives of the founders of the Niagara Movement as a tool to analyze the discursive strategies of collective action.[15] Likewise, Jane Martin's "Gender, the City and the Politics of Schooling" uses four lives to examine the social networks created by 19th Century female activists in London, England.[16]

The General Education Board

The primary link between all three people in this study—Ataloa, Sanchez, and Blanton – was their relationship with the GEB. Incorporated in February 1902, its object was "to promote education within the United States of America without distinction of sex, race, or creed."[17] When providing funding to benefit those from marginalized cultures, the GEB exclusively funded programs that reflected the vocational-industrial model of education favored by Booker T. Washington, known as the Hampton-Tuskegee model.[18] Throughout its existence, the GEB Board was managed by a Board of Trustees comprised of a mix of interested

businessmen and educators, as well as John D. Rockefeller Senior, Junior, and Third. The GEB also maintained a set of field agents who reported on the success—or lack of success—of programs state-to-state, sometimes region-to-region. While there is no evidence of micro-management from the family, the Rockefellers insisted that the philosophy of John, Sr. guided its appropriations. As Raymond Fosdick explained, "the senior Rockefeller's basic principle of helping people to help themselves governed the General Education Board through a greater part of its history."[19]

Understanding the work of the GEB is best accomplished through understanding the lives of those impacted by their funding. The story of the GEB is best told in biographical terms; as Raymond Fosdick explained in his history of the Board:

> It is a story of people rather than money—a story of educational pioneers. Just as their fathers opened up the frontier with axes and plows, the sons of sixty years ago used the tools of ideas, imagination, experimentation, and persuasion. They cultivated the vineyards of American education, in cities and rural counties, in the grade schools and the high schools, in the colleges, in the medical schools, and other institutions for advanced training. They and their successors left on their times and on the future an indelible imprint; and while, as in all such activity, the extent of their influence is immeasurable on any exact scales, what they did profoundly affected the development of American Education.[20]

While Fosdick was speaking of the Rockefeller family and the men (and one woman) who served as Trustees of the Board through the years, his argument is equally true regarding the people funded by the GEB—they were the real educational pioneers.

To fully understand the GEB's role in the West, readers must first understand the GEB's southern program. In the Southeast, the GEB developed a pattern when funding programs impacting the African American population. They strongly favored the Hampton-Tuskegee model of industrial education for black youth and would exclusively fund programs that supported this industrial model. In addition, the GEB paid for all their state agents working with black schools, as well as several African American teachers and administrators, to attend conferences at Tuskegee to learn how to establish and run industrial education in a way that they believed to be proper. In a sense, they saw Booker T. Washington as their first bridger into the African American community. While extensive scholarship, most notably from James Anderson, explores the racism endemic in this approach,[21] scholars such as Matthew Davis credit the GEB and its agents such as Jackson Davis for providing a "significant, if largely hidden, invigoration of Southern black education."[22] It was a strategic choice of the GEB to work within the confines of the South at

the time: "Thus, in pragmatic 'business-like' fashion…the GEB eschewed the futile fight against segregation and instead focused its time, resources, and attention to the improvement, and then institutionalization, of Black public schooling within the narrow Jim Crow confines."[23]

There is a rich historiography surrounding the GEB's work in the Southeast, mostly questioning the intent and practice of the GEB in funding only vocational schools for African Americans. As described by Charles Biebel, this organization sought to assist education in the South by "infiltrating Southern universities and government agencies with its own paid evangelists" in order "to promote a reorganization of 'general education' through a coordinated national effort."[24] Reading Raymond Fosdick's insider history of the GEB supports the evangelism claims: He describes the southern program as moving "forward with the spirit of a revival movement" and the professors of secondary education hired with GEB funds to expand high school programs as "missionary professors."[25]

Noted educational historian James Anderson writes that educators in GEB-funded positions were seen as "unwanted agents of Northern philanthropy" and viewed those involved in the GEB's southern program as spending "most of their time systematizing industrial education where it was practiced; and advocating systematizing industrial education where it was not installed."[26] Further, Eric Anderson and James Moss write that the GEB was actually rather short-sighted in its mission, arguing that while many observers believed "that Tuskegee and Hampton would dominate the future of black education . . . What actually happened was very different" and reminding readers that "the opportunities that the philanthropists could not imagine illuminate the choices they saw as obvious."[27] Matthew Davis softens these arguments, positing that by funding African-American schools directly the GEB was involved in a program of "sustenance and subversion of Southern education."[28]

Much of the extant literature focuses on the southern program; it must be noted that there is little specifically regarding the work of the GEB in the Southwest. While the literature on the southern program accurately problematizes the work of the GEB in the southern states and provides a basis for understanding the motives of the Board members, its applicability declines with western trajectory.[29] That said, the GEB did model one pattern of western funding after its program of sending southern state agents to Tuskegee University: The GEB funded the trajectories of certain people from the U.S. West throughout graduate school and into their professional careers. In doing so, the GEB was actively seeking bridgers and brokers who could connect the white eastern philanthropists with the various (and largely unknown) populations of the West.

Mary "Ataloa" Stone McLendon

Reflecting back on Fosdick's description of the participants as pioneers,

the first such bridger would likely bristle at such an appellation. Mary "Ataloa" Stone was born into the Red Skunk Clan (I'koni homa) March 1896 in the Chickasaw Nation, Oklahoma Territory. Her maternal grandfather was Sone Love, former chief of the Chickasaw; her grandmother gave her the name Ataloa, which, prophetically, means Song. As a concert singer, Ataloa referred to herself as Princess Ataloa, or Little Song. She had three siblings, two brothers and a sister, and she grew up on a farm just outside the present-day town of Duncan, Oklahoma. Her cousin, Te Ata, was equally renowned for her singing. Her father was killed in a horseback riding accident in 1901. Afterward, the Stone family moved in with her maternal grandparents, a well-known family among the Chickasaw.[30]

Ataloa attended a one-room schoolhouse until, at age 17, she moved to the Oklahoma College for Women. It was there she developed her moving contralto voice. She married Ralph McLendon in 1917. He died a year later of pneumonia that he developed after he enlisted to fight for the U.S. in World War I. Ataloa never remarried. Soon after McLendon's death, she moved to California and attended the University of the Redlands, where she earned a B.A. in 1925. It was during this time that Ataloa began public performances as educational experiences; she would sing, tell traditional stories, and share daily life among the Chickasaw.

In 1924, she moved to New York City to do post-graduate work at the John D. Rockefeller Institute, the first (and only) American Indian to do so. Soon, she transferred to the Institute of Musical Art, now called Julliard School of Music. During her time in New York City she lived with her cousin Te Ata, and they frequently performed together. By 1925 Ataloa was attending Columbia University, and she graduated in 1927 with her master's degree. Immediately after graduation, she went on a four-month concert tour during which she would sing traditional songs and speak on topics ranging from traditional life to "issues of atheism and skepticism in educational circles."[31] At the end of the tour she was given two options: an opportunity to perform at New York City's Metropolitan Opera House, or a teaching position at Bacone. Ataloa chose teaching, while Te Ata left for an extensive European tour.

Ataloa taught English, philosophy, and art at Bacone through 1935. Ataloa was a tireless fund-raiser for the school; particularly lucrative were her contacts in the GEB. Because the wife of the founder of Bacone was a college roommate of John Rockefeller's wife, the industrialist took a strong interest in the well-being of the college, which resulted in GEB funding for the school. Bacone received GEB funds to build a lodge (still in existence today) as well as to fund other programs. Thanks in part to GEB funding, which built the lodge in which she lived and taught, Ataloa collected native art from all over the country and had her students learn to produce this art. Her efforts gave birth to "The Bacone School of Traditional Indian Art." Artwork that Ataloa and her students created is still proudly displayed in the building now known as the Ataloa Lodge.[32]

Oklahoma proves an interesting case of Jim Crow in the education of marginalized people: Whatever racial group in the minority in any county was the segregated group, and in at least four counties this meant that white schools were underfunded and understaffed. Further, American Indians in Oklahoma were *de jure* classified as white, while still suffering tremendous hardship and indignities by the *de facto* racism and segregation of the time.[33] While at Bacone, Ataloa navigated those potentially rocky shoals well. However, she remained an artist at heart and soon felt the need to leave the school. After leaving the classroom, she took a year off to travel to meet the Indian Tribes from all of the U.S. states, including Hawaii. She toured extensively and consulted with a wide variety of groups nationwide working to preserve Indian art techniques, such as finger weaving of baskets.

The outbreak of World War II brought with it one of the darkest chapters in U.S. history: Japanese internment. Having met many Nisei while traveling in Hawaii and having learned that the camps were frequently built on reservation lands, she volunteered to introduce and oversee formal educational programs in the camps. It was due to her personal efforts and interventions that many Japanese-Americans left the camps eligible to attend college.[34]

After the war, Ataloa moved to California, where she headed up many public art projects. By 1949, Ataloa was beginning to feel her age, so she quit the road and took a position teaching at the school she helped to found, the Idyllwild School of Music and the Art, opened as an extension of the University of Southern California. While now a Californian, Ataloa never stopped being an Oklahoman: She helped oversee Bacone College's 1952 appearance at the Junior Rose Bowl, at which Bacone's traditional dancers performed during the halftime show.[35]

In 1962, Ataloa experienced the deaths of her mother and brother in short succession. After the worst of Ataloa's grieving passed, Te Ata convinced her to move to the burgeoning art community of Santa Fe. Ataloa moved to New Mexico and became one of the first teachers at the Institute of American Indian Arts.[36] The cousins bought a house together, but, once again, their happy coexistence would be short lived. In 1967, Ataloa lost her battle with colon cancer and died. She was inducted into the Chickasaw Nation Hall of Fame in 2006.

Throughout her life, Ataloa was a proud advocate for the preservation of American Indian culture; Ataloa was a skilled fund-raiser, particularly among the non-Indian public.[37] The GEB played a significant role in helping this process. For example, GEB funds built the art lodge at Bacone, although the eastern philanthropists viewed it as an extension of vocational education. In early correspondence with the GEB, Ataloa described the program at Bacone as offering courses "in agriculture for enabling young men to return to their homes equipped to follow scientific methods in farming and poultry raising. Domestic science and domestic art courses

are required of all girls in school. Courses are offered in normal training for teachers; Graduates are given a five-year certificate by the State Board of Education."[38] However, it was the arts programs that received the most focus in that same letter:

> Bacone's distinctive contribution lies in motivating education. Its teachers are selected on the basis of character and personality as well as academic background. Since education is more easily 'caught than taught', the results of such personality contacts are obvious. A White friend has given funds for a lodge where native arts will be preserved through native teachers of weaving, beading, basketry, pottery, silver work and painting…Before the old teachers of native Indian art have disappeared there is an opportunity to conserve all the beauty and traditions which are found in the life of the Indian. At Bacone, old songs and legends are being written and taught. There are many young Indians at Bacone who could thrill an art critic with the quality and originality of their art work.[39]

Ataloa, clearly aware of the GEB and its focus on vocational education, was able to persuade the members of the GEB that Bacone was a vocational school and thus secured funding for it.

George I. Sanchez

Ataloa was not alone in using the GEB to fund programs to benefit marginalized populations in the Southwest. Another recipient was George Sanchez, a pioneer of the Chicano studies movement in the U.S., as biographer Carlos Blanton aptly summarizes:

> Sanchez, up until the end, tried to connect with the Chicano movement and its young activists. He also continued advocating older ideas…He fought injustice constantly, regardless of the personal price to be paid, and never lost sight of the struggle to integrate Mexican-Americans to their rightful, proud place in the nation. His example lives on in the lives of countless Americans of true civic virtue who fight some good fight every day.[40]

George Isidoro Sanchez y Sanchez was born October 4, 1906, the son of Telesforo and Juliana Sanchez. He had two siblings, Juan and Telesforo, both of whom remained in New Mexico for most of their lives in a small town just outside of Albuquerque. His father was a miner who ran poker games at local saloons and moved the family around New Mexico and Arizona throughout Sanchez' youth. Sanchez graduated high school at the age of 16, a feat made more remarkable by the variety of part-time

jobs he held during these years: jazz coronetist, dance promoter, mineral prospector, clerk, janitor, and boxer (under the name Kid Feliz).[41]

In 1923, Sanchez began his teaching career in a rural one-room schoolhouse. He lasted just one year before a falling-out with the local superintendent prompted him to switch schools. In 1925, he was promoted to principal (by that same superintendent) and married Virginia Romero, the daughter of a wealthy and powerful local family.[42] Throughout his teaching career, Sanchez continued his education via correspondence courses during the year and intensive summers on campus. He graduated from the University of New Mexico in 1929 despite never having registered for a regular semester term. He immediately moved to the University of Texas where he completed his master's degree in three semesters. In order to attend school full-time, Sanchez was awarded a fellowship from the GEB for one year and quickly earned the respect and lifelong support of two GEB members, Jackson Davis and Leo Favrot. After working in the New Mexico Department of Education for a brief stretch, Sanchez earned another fellowship from the GEB which allowed him to pursue his PhD from the University of California at Berkeley—in two years.[43]

As Lynne Getz points out, just as the GEB funded training of African American teachers throughout the South "who were expected to act as examples to other blacks,"[44] so too did GEB philanthropists single out Sanchez for support: "It is clear that in seeking GEB support for Sanchez, New Mexico's educational leaders expected him to serve as cultural intermediary . . . . He did not believe that Hispanos should lose their identity and be completely absorbed within Anglo society, but he did want Hispanos to accommodate modern industrial society and thrive within it."[45] The GEB attitude regarding Sanchez is best described in a quote from a 1944 letter written to him by Fred McCuistion: "You're a gentleman, scholar and a good judge of Spanish Americans."[46]

Sanchez had a varied and, at times, controversial lifelong career in education and advocacy. Beginning in 1931, Sanchez worked as the Director of Information and Statistics for the New Mexico Department of Education, a GEB-funded position. During that time, Sanchez was part political appointee, part travelling evangelist, and part academic. He published articles in both regional (*New Mexico Press, New Mexico School Review*) and national (*Pedagogy Seminary, Journal of General Psychology*) publications. By his own account, in one year he travelled 1,065 miles to 90 towns, delivered 42 addresses, attended 31 teacher meetings, 21 board meetings, and 39 administrator conferences. Even this extensive, evangelistic travel was not enough for Sanchez, who wrote to the GEB that while "[t]he travel outlined above has been very valuable" because it "enabled us to become acquainted with state problems", he still felt "unable to meet all requests and have not covered some parts of the state."[47]

During that time, Sanchez participated in national GEB conferences on

vocational education. It was clear that he looked at the issues surrounding educating the children of marginalized populations in very forward-thinking ways and not entirely through the regressive GEB vocational education lens. In 1934, in response to a request asking for "someone to make an authoritative statement on the rural arts and crafts of our Southwest and of Mexico,"[48] Sanchez wrote to David Stevens suggesting a vocational education agent: "[w]hile he has done very little writing on the subject he has developed a program of vocational education in the field of arts and crafts that bids well to mark his administration of that office as the outstanding achievement in education in this state. He is not only a good administrator and educator but he is a technician and artist in his own right."[49]

However, even having GEB support did not offer full protection to Sanchez. In 1933, after New Mexico Governor Arthur Seligman vetoed a bill Sanchez had been instrumental in getting through the State House, Sanchez delivered a rebuttal to the House of Representatives. His scathing indictment earned him the ire of his boss, the governor. Thus, when given an opportunity to oust Sanchez, the governor acted. Sanchez provided just such an opportunity in April of that year. The University of New Mexico sought to conduct a survey attempting to quantify white racism against Mexican Americans. When approached, Sanchez threw the weight of his office behind the survey and sent it out to school officials. Participants saw the questionnaire as rife with loaded questions and racist language: It drew the ire of the Hispano community statewide. Governor Seligman read the questionnaire before mass distribution and used it to wreak his vengeance against the University of New Mexico and Sanchez specifically, taking his argument directly to John Rockefeller. Ultimately, however, Seligman knew he needed the Hispano vote, and that sacrificing Sanchez would not sit well. That fact, coupled with GEB support of Sanchez, led to the termination of Sanchez' peer at the University of New Mexico, but not to the firing of Sanchez himself.[50]

Sanchez took a year off (paid for by the GEB) to complete his doctorate. When he returned, the grant paying his position expired and neither the state of New Mexico nor the GEB resumed funding. From 1935-1940 Sanchez held a variety of jobs in the U.S. and in South America, including a position with the Rosenwald Fund which he earned in no small part due to the high recommendation from the GEB. At decade's end, Sanchez used the support of the Carnegie Foundation to write his most famous work, *Forgotten People: A Study of New Mexicans*, a book listed among the top 50 most influential educational books of the 20th Century in the University of South Carolina's Books of the Century Catalog. Though initially written as a report on the status of Mexican Americans in the Southwest, what Sanchez produced was so stirring that the Carnegie Foundation paid for its publication by an academic press.

The book was so well-received that Sanchez was soon inundated

with offers to work as an academic. He settled on a full professorship from the University of Texas-Austin (UT), as Professor of Latin American Studies in the College of Education. In the face of World War II, Sanchez began advocating for a good neighbor policy with Mexico and about the importance of Mexican-Americans to the war efforts abroad and at home. Sanchez volunteered to join the Navy, but was turned away.[51] He did, however, become an administrator in the Rockefeller-run New Deal program CIAA (Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs), in spite of his father's death that year and his wife's illness.[52] Sanchez remains revered at UT; the College of Education is housed in the George I. Sanchez Building.

In 1943, the GEB provided $7,500 to Sanchez at UT to hire L.A. Woods, a former Assistant Supervisor of Negro Education whose position was eliminated by the state. Woods was hired as Sanchez' assistant so that Sanchez could devote "his time to the study of education for Spanish-speaking children."[53] Sanchez held a split appointment at UT in Educational Psychology and History and Philosophy of Education until his death in 1972. While there, he published a series of books for schoolchildren promoting intercultural education and served as president of the League of United Latin American Citizens, a role where once again he became one of the "brokers between the government and the governed" balancing his lives as an academic and an activist to make strides in improving the lives of Mexican Americans in Texas.[54] He was active in an alphabet soup of national and local groups ranging from the American GI Forum to the Good Neighbor Commission and the Southwest Council on the Education of Spanish-Speaking People.

Annie Webb Blanton

While not as explicit in purpose as Ataloa or Sanchez, another bridger and broker who received GEB support was Annie Webb Blanton. She was born one of a pair of twins in 1870 in Houston to Thomas and Eugenia Blanton, one of seven children born into a comfortable, middle class family. In spite of this privilege, Blanton's early life was marked by tragedy. Her mother died when she was nine and her twin sister died when they were 15. However, she was able to overcome these odds to graduate from high school at 16. Soon after, she moved by herself to teach in a rural setting. She used her teacher's salary to pay for her undergraduate degree in English literature from the University of Texas at Austin (UT).[55] Blanton exemplified the attitude of the "New Women" of the late nineteenth century. She was "driven, in a manner quite unselfconscious and matter-of-fact, by the desire for self-development, the pleasures of gaining knowledge, and the rewards of bringing about social improvement through experimentation."[56]

A long-time teacher with experience in one-room schoolhouses, in 1901 she took a position at the North Texas State Normal College (now

the University of North Texas), at which time she wrote textbooks on English grammar. In 1916, Blanton was the first woman nominated—let alone elected—president of the Texas State Teachers' Association in 1916. In 1918, at a time when women were not allowed to vote in anything but primaries, Blanton became the first woman elected to public office in Texas when she was elected State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Her campaign was overseen and run by the Texas Equal Suffrage Association and came at a pivotal time. As Judith McArthur describes, women's associations were significant in making improvements to public education during that era: "Women's voluntary associations played a role in the South's 'educational awakening' that has been scarcely acknowledged, eclipsed in the historical literature by the better-documented efforts of the Conference for Education in the South and the General Education Board's Rockefeller-funded philanthropies."[57]

Taking advantage of the overall progressive movement sweeping the nation at the time, Blanton's two terms were marked by many improvements in the state's educational system, including leading the movement to amend the state constitution to allow local property taxes to fund public schools. During her time in office, she expanded state appropriations to grow her staff from 26 to 60 employees. Many of these positions were first funded by GEB grants that were then assumed by the state. Blanton transgressed the moderately repressed nature of many progressive women in Texas who had to balance social propriety with social conscience. As McArthur further describes, Southern progressive women were inherently contradictory:

> Through membership in a network of national voluntary associations southern ladies discovered social activism and developed perspectives that challenged regional conservatism. Their thumbnail biographies proudly noted Virginia ancestors and the Confederate military service of their husbands and fathers, but they stood with the General Federation of Women's Clubs rather than with the New South industrialists on labor issues. Living in a segregated society and sharing the racial attitudes of the era, they sought the ballot in the name of maternalism rather than white supremacy. Brought up to revere states' rights, they worked assiduously for the federal suffrage amendment.[58]

This attempted balance and contradictory nature might be part of the reason that biographer Debbie Mauldin Cottrell writes that "indifference more than outright opposition characterized her attitude toward improving education for black students,"[59] even though Blanton actually actively solicited funds from the GEB to create positions benefitting African American students in Texas. In January 1919, Blanton wrote to Wallace Buttrick, "I am interested in matters of securing supervision for

negro schools in Texas and will ask that you send this department detailed information on the subject."[60] Once the position was filled in July of that year, Blanton shared her eagerness with Abraham Flexner: "So much is to be done that we shall be compelled to proceed carefully and systematically, in order to accomplish as much as possible."[61]

Due to Blanton's efforts, GEB funding provided the salary and expenses of the "Supervisor of Rural Negro Schools" from 1918 through 1951. So pleased was she with the results of this office that she wrote the GEB to secure funding to expand it—and also sought to desegregate it at the same time: "I have felt that, in any state as large as Texas, it would be very advantageous to select an excellent negro teacher to work under the supervision of Mr. Rogers, as an assistant in improving the negro schools . . . . I have in mind two excellent negroes, either of whom would work for $1,500 per year, and I think that $1,500 of traveling expenses would suffice."[62] By December 1920, Blanton had secured funding for a third position in the office, a stenographer to assist with the inspections of the new buildings constructed using Rosenwald Fund dollars across Texas.

Again, this work of Blanton's was characteristic of many Southern women at the end of the Progressive Era. As Judith McArthur describes, women tended to take the lead on working to lessen racial tensions:

> Through their voluntary associations, women took the lead in the tentative movement for interracial cooperation that emerged slowly in the 1920's…World War I sharpened tensions between white and black men, but it fostered positive interaction between women, nudging them across racial boundaries as they cooperated in canning demonstration programs, childsaving work, and fundraising drives. After the war white women extended their efforts, through religious and secular voluntary associations, to build a narrow bridge across the chasm of race. Although questioning white supremacy was still unimaginable, they worked quietly with African American women to address social problems.[63]

Clearly, this mindset well prepared Blanton to serve as a bridger between multiple communities. Blanton only served two terms as state superintendent. She left office to make what would ultimately become an unsuccessful run at a seat in the U.S. Congress. Unfortunately, her brother Thomas, a former member of Congress, had generated controversy by attacking the extravagance of other members of Congress before Blanton ran for office. The controversy around his words and acts doomed her campaign. Interestingly, even while she was making her run for office, she continued her involvement in the superintendency. While initially trying to sit out the race between a former student, Ed Bentley, and a former colleague in the office, S.M.N. Marrs, Blanton was urged to act when

Bentley began attacking Blanton's legacy. It did not help that Bentley was backed by the Ku Klux Klan, an association that was toxic to the progressive Blanton. She publicly supported Marrs, who won the seat but would prove far less concerned with the education of women and African Americans than his predecessor.

After her failed attempt at national office, Blanton returned to education. In 1926-27, she received a $1,500 scholarship from the GEB to pursue her doctorate with George Works at Cornell University in Ithaca, New York. Works was a professor who had lived briefly in Texas to direct a GEB-funded statewide survey of public education in 1924. Upon completion of her doctorate, Blanton was as the first faculty member in UT's Rural Education Department. She held a position at UT for 22 years, becoming the first woman to earn full professor status. During her time at UT, she also founded Delta Kappa Gamma, still around and known today as the International Society for Key Women Educators. The society's mission is to promote "professional and personal growth of women educators and excellence in education."[64]

While she clearly served as a broker to the African American communities of her state, it was her work as a bridger between government and women that most characterized her time in office. The controversial nature of this work in light of Blanton's public presence cannot be overstated. As described by Alan R. Sadovnik and Susan F. Semel, women school leaders such as Blanton utilized a "female pedagogy and leadership" that is "more humane, less authoritarian, more democratic, and more concerned with caring and relationships than abstract goals."[65] This approach often put women leaders "at odds with the male-defined model of school administration that emerged in the early twentieth century."[66]

After she left office, Blanton wrote about what she considered her principal accomplishments while in office. One whole section of her writing was devoted to improving conditions for women. Blanton was immediately responsible for many of the increases in representation of women in state-level positions. In her words:

> A law has been passed requiring that men and women teachers shall receive equal pay for equal work. Women have received equal representation with men in the State Department of Education. An equal number of men and women, respectively, have been placed at the head of its various divisions; and so far as is possible, an equal number of men and women have received employment in the Department. An equal number of men and women have been appointed to membership on the Summer Normal Board of Examiners, and have received appointment to scholarships to which the state superintendent has the appointive power . . . Two women have served as president of the State

> Teachers' Association, and of the 110 county teachers' associations now organized, 21 per cent, have women as presidents. [67]

Conclusion

Ataloa, Sanchez and Blanton were exceptional people. It was due to their exceptionality that the GEB sought them out to serve as bridgers and brokers. Thus, their uniqueness was, in fact, a commonality. What else did these bridgers and brokers have in common? They all lived lives fueled by creativity, whether in music, art, or literature. They all lived lives marked by significant tragedy, through the loss of loved ones and political misfortunes, beginning at a very early age. And the obvious: They all lived professional lives touched by the GEB.

Other than their gifts in their respective fields, why did the GEB fund these particular people? If the GEB was seeking those who would implement the Hampton-Tuskegee model of education, Blanton supported state positions as such and Ataloa advocated for Indian art as a vocational trade, but the passionate advocate George Sanchez broke from this model and clearly saw beyond vocational education for the future of his people. If the GEB was seeking those who would perpetuate the work of the Board in the Southeast, Sanchez bounced between New Mexico and Texas and Blanton remained a Texas native, but Ataloa clearly broke from this trend taking on a variety of positions around the nation.

As unlikely as it may seem, the GEB may have been actively seeking those who would transgress against social norms, particularly regarding marginalized populations. All three figures would fit a more progressive view of educational work. Ataloa's work benefitting the indigenous peoples who comprised her students eventually led to the Bacone School of Traditional Art. Sanchez' work benefitting the Latinx populations arguably created the field of Chicanao studies in higher education. Blanton's work on behalf of the African American population was somewhat conformist to GEB standards, but her passionate work as an advocate for suffrage and women in the workforce was transgressive for the time.

In short, when looking at the collective versus individual biographies of these three leaders, it becomes obvious that the GEB did not fully understand what it was seeking or the incredible complexity of where it was working. In short, the GEB did not know what it meant to fund the West. While the powerful white men from New York saw the world in (literally) black and white terms, the U.S. West offered an artistic palette of all the colors found in the deserts of New Mexico at sunset. This misapplication of Southeastern, dichotomous views of race is endemic of GEB policy writ large in the West. The rich white men in New York had little idea of the vast complexities of the region in which they were endeavoring to make changes.

However, this lack of understanding allowed the bridgers and brokers

to navigate their roles with much more fluidity and make contributions far beyond anything achieved in the Southeast. GEB funding allowed Ataloa to fund an arts program at Bacone and to build a lodge that still stands as testament to the vitality of American Indian art. GEB funding allowed George Sanchez to fund an attitudinal study regarding racial relations in New Mexico in the name of conducting industrial education and to develop Chicano studies programs in two states. GEB funding allowed Annie Webb Blanton to improve education for African Americans in Texas while using her position to advocate for improvements in the social and political lives of women. The GEB were seeking bridgers and brokers in the model of Booker T. Washington; the significant contributions made by Ataloa, Sanchez and Blanton with GEB money amounted so much more.

Notes

[1] For more on Ataloa, see Tamara Elder, *Little Song: The Life of Ataloa Stone McLendon* (Edmond, OK: Medicine Wheel Press, 2015); see also Garnet Wind and S. Matthew DeSpain, "'As Tall in Her Moccasins as Those Sequoias Will Grow on Mother Earth:' The Life of Ataloa," *The Journal of Chickasaw History and Culture 11*, no. 2 (2008): 14-43.

[2] For more on George Sanchez, see Carlos K. Blanton, *George I. Sanchez: The Long Fight for Mexican American Integration* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014).

[3] For more on Annie Webb Blanton, see Joyce G. Crouch, "Annie Webb Blanton: Poised for Leadership," *Delta Kappa Gamma Bulletin* 77, no. 3 (2011): 40 & 43; see also Debbie Mauldin Cottrell, *Pioneer Woman Educator: The Progressive Spirit of Annie Webb Blanton* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1993).

[4] Lynne M. Getz, Judith Raftery, and Eileen Tamura, "Bridging Borders, Brokering Divides: Confronting the Limits of Cultural Assimilation," *Journal of the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era* 9, no. 2 (2010): 224.

[5] Starr Murphy to Wallace Buttrick (October 10, 1905), Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records Finding Aid 324, Series O—Rockefeller Boards, Box 15, Folder 149—General Education Board Memoranda 1905 (Rockefeller Archive Center: Sleepy Hollow, NY).

[6] Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987): 26.

[7] However, the U.S. Census Bureau classifies Texas and Oklahoma as falling in the South region, West South Central division. See U.S. Census Bureau, "Census Bureau Regions and Divisions with State FIPS Codes," https://www2.census.gov/geo/docs/mapsdata/maps/reg_div.txt.

[8] Carlos K. Blanton, 128-129.

[9] Catherine Drinker Bowen, *Adventures of a Biographer* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1959): 162.

[10] Gaby Weiner, "Deconstructing Collective Biography," *Deconstructing and Reconstructing Lives: Auto/Biography in Educational Settings*, eds. Lucy Forsyth Townsend and Gaby Weiner (London, Ontario: The Althouse Press, 2011): 140.

[11] Corrine Glesne, "Ethnography with a Biographic Eye," in *Writing Educational Biography: Explorations in Qualitative Research*, ed. Craig Kridel (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998): 36.

[12] Brownwyn Davies and Susanne Gannon, *Doing Collective Biography* (Berkshire, UK: Open University Press, 2006): x.

[13] Barbara W Tuchman, "Biography as a Prism of History," in *Biography as High*

Adventure: Life-Writers Speak on their Art, ed. Stephen Oates (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986): 94.

[14] Weiner, 147.

[15] Angela Jones, "Lessons from the Niagara Movement: Prosopography and Discursive Protest," *Sociological Focus* 49, no. 1 (2016): 63-83.

[16] Jane Martin, "Gender, the City and the Politics of Schooling: Towards a Collective Biography of Women 'Doing Good' as Public Moralists in Victorian London," *Gender and Education* 17, no. 2 (2005): 143-163.

[17] Memorandum for Certificate of Incorporation (February 15 1902), Office of the Messrs. Rockefeller records Finding Aid 324, Series O—Rockefeller Boards, Box 15, Folder 145—Organization, Charter, Bylaws 1902-1950 (Rockefeller Archive Center: Sleepy Hollow, NY).

[18] For more on the racism and pecuniary nature inherent in this approach, see James D. Anderson, "Northern Foundations and the Shaping of Southern Black Rural Education 1902-1935," *History of Education Quarterly* 18, no. 4 (1978) : 373. See also James Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988): 87-138; and Eric Anderson and Alfred A. Moss, *Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902 – 1930* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999): 85-107.

[19] Raymond Fosdick, *Adventure in Giving: The Story of the General Education Board* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1962): 22.

[20] Fosdick, 1.

[21] Anderson was writing about the racism in the GEB's funding as early as 1978, but it is his pivotal book *The Education of Blacks in the South 1860-1935* which most fully explores this argument. See James D. Anderson, "Northern foundations and the shaping of Southern Black rural education 1902-1935," *History of Education Quarterly* 18, no. 4 (1978), 371-396; and James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South 1860-1935*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988).

[22] Matthew D. Davis, "'Attuned to the Art of the Possible': The GEB's Jackson Davis," *American Educational History Journal* 31, no. 2 (2004): 127.

[23] Matthew D. Davis, "The General Education Board and Institutionalization of Black Public Schooling in the Interwar South," *American Educational History Journal* 33, no. 2 (2006): 72.

[24] Charles D. Biebel, "Private Foundations and Public Policy: The Case of Secondary Education During the Great Depression," *History of Education Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (1976): 3-4.

[25] Fosdick, 20.

[26] Anderson, "Northern Foundations," 383.

[27] Eric Anderson and Alfred A. Moss, *Dangerous Donations: Northern Philanthropy and Southern Black Education, 1902 – 1930* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990): 85.

[28] Matthew D. Davis, "Stimulation, Sustenance, Subversion: The General Education Board and Southern US Public Education," J*ournal of Educational Administration and History* 38, no. 3 (2006): 317. See also Matthew D. Davis, "Curriculum Leadership for the Jim Crow South: The General Education Board Between the Two World Wars," *Curriculum and Teaching Dialogue* 8 (2006): 145-152.

[29] One example of western-focused research is Lynne Getz' research centered on GEB funding of the Nambe Project in New Mexico. See Lynne M. Getz, "Extending the Helping Hand to Hispanics: The Role of the General Education Board in New Mexico in the 1930's," *Teacher's College Record* 93, no. 3 (1992): 500-516.

[30] Wind and DeSpain, 17-18.

[31] Elder, 45.

[32] Lisa K. Neuman, "Selling Indian Education: Fundraising and American Indian Identities at Bacone College, 1880-1941," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 31,

no. 4 (2007): 66.

[33] For a more thorough discussion of the intersections of the primary racial groups in Oklahoma, see Murray Wickett, *Contested Territory: Whites, Native Americans and African Americans in Oklahoma, 1865-1907* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000).

[34] Elder, 109-110.

[35] Elder, 126. While Wind and DeSpain praise Ataloa for her perpetuation of Chickasaw culture, Lisa Neuman problematizes Ataloa's approach to the women's and men's glee clubs formed by Ataloa as perpetuating stereotypes in the name of appealing to white audiences. See Neuman, 61-65.

[36] Elder, 137.

[37] Neuman, 61.

[38] Ataloa to Leo Favrot (November 12, 1931), General Education Board records Finding Aid 058, Series I: Appropriations, Subseries iv: Northern and Western Appropriations, Box 634, Folder 6654—Bacone College 1919-1953 (Rockefeller Archive Center: Sleepy Hollow, NY).

[39] Ibid.

[40] Carlos K. Blanton, 255-256.

[41] Ibid., 15-19.

[42] Ibid., 20-21.

[43] Ibid., 22-25.

[44] Lynne. M. Getz, "The Quaker, the Primitivist, and the Progressive: Three Cultural Brokers in New Mexico's Quest for Multicultural Harmony," *Journal of the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era* 9, no. 2 (2010): 251.

[45] Ibid., 251-252.

[46] Fred McCuistion to George Sanchez (September 29, 1944), General Education Board records Finding Aid 058, Series I: Appropriations, Subseries ii: Secondary and Higher Education, Box 286, Folder 2983—George Sanchez 1937-1944 (Rockefeller Archive Center: Sleepy Hollow, NY).

[47] David Stevens to Jackson Davis (December 19 1934), General Education Board records Finding Aid 058, Series I: Appropriations, Subseries i: Early Southern Program, Box 100, Folder 901—Division of Information and Statistics 1931-1935 (Rockefeller Archive Center: Sleepy Hollow, NY).

[48] George Sanchez to David Stevens (December 26, 1934), General Education Board records Finding Aid 058, Series I: Appropriations, Subseries i: Early Southern Program, Box 100, Folder 901—Division of Information and Statistics 1931-1935 (Rockefeller Archive Center: Sleepy Hollow, NY).

[49] George Sanchez, "Summarized Report of Travel Activities in New Mexico," General Education Board records Finding Aid 058, Series I: Appropriations, Subseries i: Early Southern Program, Box 100, Folder 901—Division of Information and Statistics 1931-1935 (Rockefeller Archive Center: Sleepy Hollow, NY).

[50] Carlos K. Blanton, 34-37.

[51] As an aside, Carlos Blanton notes the Southern historian C. Vann Woodward received a naval commission to write a series of books on naval battles—about which he knew nothing; C.K. Blanton, 82.

[52] Throughout their marriage, Sanchez's first wife, Virginia, suffered from a series of what Sanchez referred to as "breakdowns" that impacted her physical and mental well-being; C.K. Blanton, 54-57.

[53] Wallace W. Buttrick, "Memorandum", General Education Board records Finding Aid 058, Series I: Appropriations, Subseries i: Early Southern Program, Box 168, Folder 1575—Supervisor of Rural Schools-Negro 1918-1950 (Rockefeller Archive Center: Sleepy Hollow, NY).

[54] Carlos K. Blanton, 79.

[55] Cottrell, 10-14.

[56] Anne Durst, *Women Educators in the Progressive Era: The Women Behind Dewey's Laboratory School* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 29.

[57] Judith N. McArthur, *Creating the New Woman: The Rise of Southern Women's Progressive Culture in Texas, 1893-1918* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998): 56.

[58] Ibid., 143-144.

[59] Cottrell, *Pioneer Woman Educator*: 67

[60] Annie Webb Blanton to Wallace Buttrick (January 7, 1919), General Education Board records Finding Aid 058, Series I: Appropriations, Subseries i: Early Southern Program, Box 168, Folder 1573—Supervisor of Rural Schools-Negro 1918-1950 (Rockefeller Archive Center: Sleepy Hollow, NY).

[61] Annie Webb Blanton to Abraham Flexner (July 15, 1919), General Education Board records Finding Aid 058, Series I: Appropriations, Subseries i: Early Southern Program, Box 168, Folder 1573—Supervisor of Rural Schools-Negro 1918-1950 (Rockefeller Archive Center: Sleepy Hollow, NY).

[62] Annie Webb Blanton to Abraham Flexner (June 5, 1920), General Education Board records Finding Aid 058, Series I: Appropriations, Subseries i: Early Southern Program, Box 168, Folder 1573—Supervisor of Rural Schools-Negro 1918-1950 (Rockefeller Archive Center: Sleepy Hollow, NY).

[63] McArthur, *Creating the New Woman*: 148.

[64] "Mission, Vision, Purposes," DKG—Leading Women Educators Impacting Education Worldwide, http://www.dkg.org/DKGMember/About_Us/Mission_Vision_Purposes/DKGMember/About_Us/Mission_Vision_Purposes.aspx?hkey=e51379f9-3079-4a11-9527-df26f4bb7696.

[65] Alan R. Sadovnik and Susan F. Semel, "Introduction," in *Founding Mothers and Others: Women Educational Leaders During the Progressive Era*, eds. Alan R. Sadovnik and Susan F. Semel (New York: Palgrave Press, 2002): 3.

[66] Ibid.

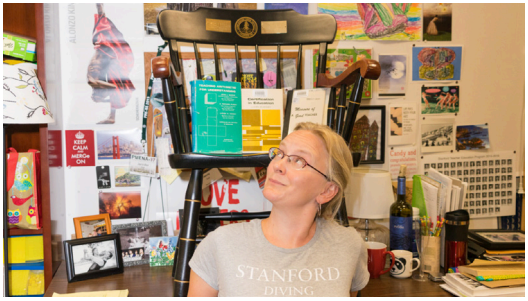
[67] Annie Webb Blanton, "Progress in Education, 1918-22," *Journal of Education* (1923): 373.

Finding Lucien B. Kinney

Jennifer L. Ruef

University of Oregon

I first met Lucien B. Kinney in a dusty basement storeroom. Or rather, I met his chair. It is painted ebony black, with gold accents and the Stanford University seal embellishing its back. You can still purchase these chairs, presumably to remember your time at the university, or signal your affiliation. That is what drew my eye: These chairs are expensive, and this one might be free. Everything in that storeroom was destined for removal, and I had permission to select what I wanted. I liked the chair and planned to take it back to my desk. Even so, I paused. There were two brass plaques fixed to the back of the chair and they read, "In loving memory of Lucien B. Kinney, Professor of Education, Stanford University, 1940-1959" and, "His wisdom and wit are remembered by his students." This chair was meant to honor a person! Did somebody not still want it? Whatever those original intentions, the Lucien B. Kinney chair was now gathering dust in a basement storeroom. The chair was no longer valued, and that seemed sadly emblematic. I decided to take it back to my office and apologize later if that was a problem. I found myself wondering how someone once so appreciated was now so forgotten.



The Author with the Kinney Chair

The Stanford Graduate School of Education once displayed photographs of its faculty along a hallway. It was there, musing over those portraits, that I next encountered Lucien B. Kinney. He looked back at me from the 1940s, sharing no secrets. What happens to scholarship, when a scholar leaves the field, leaves the world? Who was this man to Stanford University, and to the study of education? I was compelled to learn more.

As I began this project, I was also beginning my own journey as an academic, unsure where my scholarship might take me. This study of Kinney's life, including the theoretical and empirical ties bridging his work and my own, is in some ways the story of my own becoming . . . my coming-into-being as a new kind of person, of trying on the new identities of researcher, professor, and academic. The Kinney chair became a focal point, both anchoring me to his world and projecting me forward into a new world of my own making and discovery; a world where I had a job, an office, and students who would come to me with questions and concerns. Those students might sit in the Kinney chair.

Beginning the Search

Jonathan Rabinovitz, then the chief communications officer for our school, found me in the hallway staring at Kinney's picture. He knew my emerging scholarly writing, and he was looking ahead to the school's centennial celebration. He suggested I write up "500 words" on Kinney. I worried this might be a diversion, taking time from the all-consuming task of producing a dissertation. But 500 words also felt like a reasonable goal. My brief initial search revealed some astonishing things: It turned out that Kinney and I shared connections across training, research, and even homeland. This preliminary work led to more questions: How did Kinney come to Stanford? Who was he to Stanford? Who was Kinney as a scholar? Who was Kinney to his family? Finally, synthesizing those four views, who *is* Kinney to me?

The first four questions and their anticipated answers are metaphorical chair legs, supporting a composite understanding of the whole of Lucien B. Kinney, who is represented by the chair. This biography begins with a description of research methods and concerns specific to the field of mathematics education. My answers to the four questions follow, with illustrations of the personal and professional events that paved Kinney's path to Stanford, the work he carried out at Stanford, his scholarly contributions to the fields of mathematics education and teacher certification, his connections to family and home, and how Kinney's life and work resonate with my own. Finally, I conclude with a holistic consideration of who Kinney was, and who he continues to be.

Methods

As a novice biographer, I needed knowledge of historical biographical research methodology. I adopted Perkins' framework for biographical research; maintaining scholarly integrity; choosing and identifying with a subject; and considering sources of evidence.[1] Data analysis followed from my training in ethnographic practices, wedded with advice from historical researchers, and further reading on biographical methods.

As an education researcher I observe the teaching and learning of mathematics. This is known as participant observation, and it calls for the researcher to both acknowledge and manage the impact of her presence on the process. Specifically, my research includes videotaping classroom interactions, taking field notes, conducting surveys and interviews, and performing the appropriate related analyses.

Methodological Training Across Fields

I am trained as an ethnographer, which is a practice of cultural observation with ties to biography. Glesne, who is both anthropologist and

biographer, points out connections between the two fields.[2] Ethnographers immerse themselves in cultural settings with the goal of drafting portraits of individuals and groups of people in concert with cultural contexts. As a mathematics education researcher, I seek to understand the power dynamics and learning potential of mathematics classrooms. I chart the evolution of student identities, as knowers- and doers-of-mathematics.[3] As a researcher I chronicle the work and lives of other human beings. I believe that portraying people honestly and with respect calls for reflection and responsibility. This stance was the launching point for my first foray into biographical research.

As part of my theoretical training on how we construct, maintain, and modify personal identities across different cultural contexts, I studied with historian Andrea Rees Davies. She taught that histories are narrations that connect selected "dots" (evidence) across time, place, and persons. We construct stories of who and how people were, based on the dots we choose and how we connect them. These choices are guided by the criteria and biases we bring to our analysis of data.[4] Pinar and Pautz tell us that "biography intertwines with the history of the writer to reveal aspects of both the writer and the subject—different people whose merged and separated voices collaborate to form a complex text; biography."[5] Further, they caution biographers to acknowledge "the 'construction scars' [of biographical work] to avoid the illusion of 'realism.'"[6] To these ends, I continually reflected on my choices as researcher and biographer, and my reasons for completing this task. I felt honor-bound to both Kinney and my craft to represent him as honestly as possible, while remaining respectful of the fact that he was subject to human frailties, and that biographical projects are always incomplete. He lived, he loved, he accomplished much, and he died. Focusing on parts of Kinney's life with particular lenses required both hubris and humility. It called for courage to craft a portrait of a person consistently grounded in care for how he was represented. Were it possible for him to read it, would Kinney recognize himself? Would he find my characterization fair and accurate?

One of the most exciting parts of this project was interviewing people who interacted with Kinney or his work. My training and practice as a researcher prepared me to conduct interviews so as to put participants at ease, invite them to share their stories, channel the conversation to answer specific questions, and follow up flexibly on unanticipated information.[7] Additionally, my training prepared me to ask questions in ways that do not put words in the mouth of the participant while still testing for understanding and asking for confirming evidence, e.g. "If I understand you correctly, you found Kinney to be a kind person? Can you give me an example of his kindness?" Doing so is important in validating the findings of the interview.[8]

Seeking further training in researching historical figures, I turned again to biographical methodology. Hartsook advises learning and attending

to the institutional norms and practices of archives and archivists when seeking access to historical documents.[9] To that end, I carefully observed the rules of the archives: I communicated clearly what I was looking for, allowed plenty of time for archivists to retrieve the documents I requested, offered gratitude for their stories and suggestions, and took care to preserve the materials. Following Hartsook's advice to analyze material as I accumulated it, I produced analytic memos and duplicated the documents that seemed most helpful in addressing any of the four "legs of the chair."[10]

Choosing and Identifying with a Subject

I also researched how biographers choose a subject. Drawing from Perkins and Wiesen Cook, I subjected Kinney to two tests: Was he compelling, and, to paraphrase Perkins, did I like him?[11] Kinney easily passed the first test as I felt an almost gravitational pull—a need to know about him as a scholar and person. The preliminary research made me think I might very much like Kinney by the end, and even if I did not, it was still important to know more about who he was in my field.

Through this work, I came not only to know Kinney, but also to care about him. Cautioned by Salvio, I carefully monitored the distinction between appreciating Kinney, and feeling indebted to him.[12] Though Kinney had long since passed, I felt new pressure to present him in a positive light after contacting his family. Fortunately, I did not find much evidence to the contrary. I felt comfortably close to Kinney, but not to the point of compromised judgment.

Sources of Evidence. Having settled on a subject, I considered sources of evidence. I began my work with the easiest attainments: what I could find on the internet, including census reports and publications. Jonathan Rabinovitz provided two of Kinney's publications and a related study that took up Kinney's research.[13] I next met with Education Historians Ethan Ris and Daniel McFarland. Ris coached me on archival research at Stanford, which brought me to Green Library and the Hoover Institution's archives. There I found original and copied versions of Kinney's professional papers, including memos to faculty, personal letters to and from colleagues, a press release for a major publication, his memorial resolution, and his obituary. Among the documents, I found some autobiographical material that Kinney himself had written. Such self-reporting, in ethnographic work, is cause for both celebration and a bit of skepticism. What persona is Kinney performing? McFarland shared a chapter from a history of the Stanford School of Education, co-authored with Ethan Hutt.[14] Once I had a sense of who Kinney was from the archival documents, I sought to understand how his work interacted with that of his peers, and might have been taken up by his academic descendants. This led me to research publications both historical and recent.

The final source of data proved the most elusive, and in the end, exciting. I attempted to find living people who might recall Kinney, or at least have interacted with his work. I was fortunate to find Kinney's stepdaughter, Joan Valentine, and her daughter, Kitty Barr. I also connected with mathematics education professors Jeremy Kilpatrick, emeritus, University of Georgia, and Alan Schoenfeld, University of California-Berkeley. Most improbably, I purchased copies of Kinney's texts, one of which was stamped "property of Douglas Aichele." Aichele is a Regents Professor emeritus of mathematics at Oklahoma State University and author of several mathematics texts. I was able to interview him, by email, about Kinney's book. Beyond improbably, I found D. Patrick (Pat) Kinney, currently an instructor at the Wisconsin Indianhead Technical College—Ashland, after discovering his texts on mathematics. He is a distant cousin of Kinney's.

Analysis

In ethnographic fieldwork, analysis begins with jottings and the summation of daily field notes in the form of analytic memos. These serve as records of initial theories, and triangulation of data across multiple sources. Initial observations and theories can then be tested for robustness (does the theory hold across the rest of the data set?) and frailty (is there contradicting evidence?). A researcher can thus propose, test, and track the evolution of theory across the memos.[15] I found this practice useful for my biographical project in proposing and testing ideas about who Kinney was in specific contexts.

My analysis of the Kinney papers and publications was triangulated with research both contemporary to Kinney's and current in the fields of learning psychology, teacher certification, and mathematics education. I found both agreement and opposition between Kinney's findings and views on teacher preparation and mathematics education, those of his contemporaries, and of future researchers. Assessments of Kinney's work were considered in terms of the strength of the claims I could make. For example, I felt strongly that Kinney believed education should be democratic and available to all learners because this evidence was directly quotable and apparent in multiple sources.[16]

As I worked my way through Kinney's papers and publications, I organized them into neat stacks. The stacks corresponded with who Kinney was to various institutions (most notably Stanford), the field of mathematics education and teacher certification (his national presence), family (his personal life), and to me (in scholarly kinship). One stack was notably short: beyond cursory reports of his familial connections there were no other representations of Kinney's personal life. This problem was remedied by Joan Valentine, Kitty Barr, and Pat Kinney. The analysis of these documents, the analytic memos, and stories drawn from interviews first

formed, then answered, the questions of who Kinney was as a professional and private figure. The data provided the "dots" that connected to outline Kinney's biographical storylines, and to sketch portraits of who Kinney was in particular domains.[17] Finally, I overlaid the sketches to synthesize an answer to the more complex questions of who Kinney was holistically, and who he continues to be to me, as scholarly kin.

Findings

Kinney earned his bachelor's degree (1923) and a PhD in Mathematics (1931) from the University of Minnesota, and served as a corporal in the 184th Air Squadron in France during World War I. He worked as a researcher with the Minnesota Bureau of Educational Research, under his doctoral mentor Alvin C. Eurich, before moving on to head the program of teacher education at the State University of New York at Oswego. Kinney was a member of the Stanford faculty from 1940 until 1960. His first wife, Ida Omsrud, was a Minnesota school teacher who passed away in 1966. Kinney was born in Hudson, WI on January 15, 1894 and died in Palo Alto, CA on December 24, 1971, at the age of 77. He was survived by his second wife, Joye S. Kinney, whom he married December 14, 1968, and her daughter Joan Valentine and granddaughter Kitty Barr. The following section expands this framing to describe how Kinney made his way to Stanford University, the first of the four "chair legs."

Leg #1: How did Kinney come to Stanford?

The Hoover archives offered up an amazing find—a testimonial from Kinney himself. This letter is a response to a request, most likely from Kinney's colleague Lawrence Gregg Thomas, to catalogue the pivotal decisions in his professional life. Dated July 27, 1959, it was written shortly before Kinney's retirement, perhaps to help organize a farewell speech for a fete given on August 8, 1959 in honor of Lucien and Ida Kinney. This treasure trove of information was penned by Kinney himself, and so is quite autobiographical. It reports a number of dates and facts (where Kinney was, and what he was doing), alongside his motivations. He began the letter:

> Dear Larry: Some time ago you asked me if I would give you an account of the outstanding episodes in my career that changed its direction, or sharply influenced its direction. Herewith is such an account. As you know, I am very hesitant to prepare this narrative, since I have developed an aversion to explanations or anything that appears like a justification. Th[e] latter is partly due to extended association with people who are unable to differentiate between reasons, rationalizations, and excuses. It is also partly

> due to the fact that very few events in my own career have any large element of probability.[18]

Having implied that many of his life's decisions were capricious—evidence, perhaps of the wit his students remembered him for[19]—Kinney moved on to detail the influences that motivated life-changing choices. These included his military service (his higher rank determined by a clerical error), his decision whether or not to study music (his dog hated the sound of his playing), engineering over law (his father, a lawyer, died when Kinney was still in high school), serving in World War I (an opportunity to build bridges and "see the world"), and mathematics over engineering (he'd "lost interest in the latter").

The advent of World War I found Kinney in engineering school, and teaching part-time to finance his education. Kinney's self-report is markedly absent of his experiences during that war, leaping to his return to graduate studies in engineering, and teaching to once again fund them. But he found he was "more interested in teaching mathematics than building bridges."[20] In his letter to Larry, Kinney wrote that "I decided to take a year off and go down to the University of Chicago for a change and indulge in a year of systematic study. While there, I worked with Holsinger, Judd, Freeman, and Busswell."[21] Grounded in psychology, education scientists at the University of Chicago were just then beginning to evolve beyond behaviorism as a focal theory of learning.[22] Kinney's scholarship was also headed in a different direction: the practical applications of mathematics, as is reflected in several of his publications.[23]

Kinney returned to Minnesota to finish his doctorate. Here he faced another crossroads: a decision between teaching high school or at the university level. Kinney chose the latter for practical reasons: gainful employment. During this time, he also began to ask "how to teach mathematics and why?"[24] Teaching mathematics raised questions about curriculum and pedagogy—what constitutes mathematical knowledge, and how best to teach and learn the subject. Kinney wrote:

> I found something disturbing in watching youngsters learn to manipulate thimbles in order to get a passing grade. On the other hand, before I could teach them anything else, I had to settle in my own mind what else they should be learning. The idea gradually evolved that mathematics was the means for understanding and controlling the social, economic, and physical factors in the environment.[25]

After graduating, Kinney accepted a position with the Bureau of Educational Research, working under the direction of his dissertation supervisor, Al Eurich, in the field of test construction and interpretation. Kinney's first publications included pioneering work in the role of

assessments, primarily true-false tests.[26] During the 1920s, behaviorist theory still had a strong grip on education psychology and theories of learning.[27] True-false tests have a strong alignment with the input-output concerns of behaviorism called "stimulus-response bonds."[28] It is not surprising that education as a field was concerned with this kind of assessment at that time. However, based on his reflections on teaching and learning mathematics, Kinney's work appeared to be moving in a constructivist direction.[29] This fits with his clear declarations of the importance of applied mathematics. Constructivists believe that people come to know a thing by the doing of it—that we construct understanding by linking new experience to existing knowledge of the world. Given his focus on applied mathematics, Kinney might have been drawn to related theories for learning.

Kinney's epistemological stances on what counts as mathematics and how best to learn and teach it were tested when he took positions as head of the Department of Mathematics in the Junior-Senior High School of the University of Minnesota and as an instructor in its College of Education. Presaging skirmishes that came to be known as the "Math Wars" in the latter twentieth century, Kinney soon learned that his vision of mathematics as applied problem solving met with the disapproval of the University of Minnesota Mathematics Department.[30] This is early evidence of an ongoing battle among mathematicians, who argue even amongst themselves over the validity of applied mathematics in comparison to "pure" mathematics. As a field of study, Kinney reflected that "It has largely been forgotten today that during the [19]30s mathematics was on the way out, along with Latin and other relics of the [18]90s. There was an emphasis on utilitarian subjects, anything that appeared in the light of a luxury or a mental discipline was frowned upon."[31] Later, during World War II, mathematics was once again in demand—Kinney referred to it as the "language of science," the undergirding of technological war efforts. Kinney's work to shift the Minnesota College of Education away from teaching mathematics as a set of memorized algorithms and towards a sense-making stance heralded the call of the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) of the late 1980s.[32]

As the great depression of the 1930s abated, Kinney found new employment far from Minnesota, taking a job as a "de facto executive dean" in charge of teacher preparation at the State University of New York at Oswego.[33] As with his work in Minnesota, Kinney claims to have reenvisioned and reformed the program he was charged to oversee.[34] In this case, his work seems to have laid the ground for later larger scale efforts at assessing teachers on the basis of professional standards. This theme remains central to current debates on how best to assess teacher preparedness.[35] There is little mention of how Kinney came to Stanford from Oswego, aside from his own cryptic comment that "I very unwillingly left to become part of the staff at Stanford."[36] A letter from a

former student indicates that Kinney was invited by Grayson Kefauver, who was then the Dean of the School of Education and a contemporary of Kinney's at the University of Minnesota.[37] A press release dated November 29, 1950 referred to "former acting president of Stanford Alvin C. Eurich." Given that Eurich was Kinney's doctoral advisor, it seems plausible that one or more of these Minnesotans invited the others.[38] Archived papers, a collection of letters, and Stanford Education historians provided more clues as to how he spent his time there. At this point, I turn to his scholarly publications and surviving correspondence with colleagues to better understand who and how he was at Stanford University.

Leg #2: Who was Kinney at Stanford?

In the murky basement of the Hoover Institution, I gained access to Kinney's correspondence with Paul R. Hanna, and the "letter to Larry." Hanna was prolific, his papers meticulously organized by correspondent and year. According to one Hoover Institution archivist, Hanna was peeved when the School of Education failed to sustain the international reading program he pioneered with his wife, Jean Shuman Hanna. So, he left his papers to the Hoover Institution rather than the School of Education. From these files, I learned that Hanna and Kinney collaborated on matters of curriculum, and that Kinney travelled widely, including visits to Hawai'i and Texas. I also learned that Stanford scholars sent one another notes in the way we might send an email or a text message in these times. Hanna saved every scrap, leaving signposts to collaborative scholarly work. This differed from Kinney's papers, which are housed in the Graduate School of Education's archives at Green Library. The Kinney papers are a much smaller collection, consisting of press releases for a major publication and conference speeches, a list of his publications drafted for the program of his retirement dinner, his memorial resolution, obituary, and letters of condolence to Joye Kinney and Joan Valentine. The Hanna papers include notes and letters from Kinney to Hanna, and the corresponding responses. There is a letter from Hanna to Lucien and his first wife, Ida, congratulating them on Kinney's retirement in 1959. Hanna's possession of the "letter to Larry" may indicate that Hanna prepared remarks for Kinney's celebratory retirement dinner. Oddly, no copy of the "letter to Larry" was among Kinney's Stanford papers, though the original was kept with the personal papers Joan Valentine later shared with me.

Kinney was acting Dean in the timespan between Kefauver's departure in 1943, and the appointment of A. John Bartky in 1946. According to his stepdaughter Joan Valentine, Kinney held happy memories of his military service during World War I and wanted very much to serve in World War II. Denied a chance to enlist a second time, he turned his focus to the war effort at home: restructuring the school of education to prepare

educators to serve and teach to wartime interests. This included a shift in curriculum and the organization of the teacher education program. To that end, the school developed new courses designed to retool professionals as teachers. As part of that effort, Kinney himself designed and taught a course of mathematics, which was "deemed successful."[39]

Kinney's role as acting dean was certainly pivotal in the history of the school of education during World War II. His relationships with students and colleagues also appeared to be important to both Kinney and his acquaintances. Kinney missed the fall quarter of 1954 due to a hospitalization, and this may have affected his decision to retire in 1959, at the earliest possible point in his career. At Kinney's retirement fete on August 8, 1959, he was presented with a bound volume of letters, entitled simply "Dear Lucien:" It includes 111 letters from former students and colleagues from across the United States, reaching even to the Philippines. This volume was kept by his family in a trove of personal papers. The letters are a testament, indeed, to the "wit and wisdom" for which he is remembered, and several writers expressed regret and surprise at his early retirement.[40] Pristine in their preservation, not a single letter is creased from the indignity of being stuffed into an envelope, which made me wonder who assumed the task of sending out solicitations for remembrances. Did they include full size mailing envelopes? No small undertaking, the volume is evidence that Kinney was highly regarded.

The letters give evidence of these themes: Kinney and Ida regularly welcomed several students to their home for "high tea," and he was a treasured doctoral advisor. Kinney's teaching modeled his pedagogical theory. Former students Helen Mae and Jimmy Arnett wrote, "In your classes students did not have to learn what was good Teacher Education; we experienced it. You successfully not only demonstrated the professor's role but saw that we performed our roles satisfactorily."[41] The letters reinforce that Kinney was at the forefront of educational and mathematical reforms, listing his roles in launching the California Mathematics Council and California Council of Teacher Education, and as founding President of Diablo College in the East Bay. He was particularly skilled at the arts of writing and argumentation, as is reflected in his letter from a Katherine "Lena" Dresden, a former doctoral student and co-editor:

> Dear Butch: When I start to communicate with you in writing I feel I must: (1) tell you what I am going to say, (2) say it, (3) tell you what I have said. For, to me, writing for you means formal, concise, doctorial-stuff writing—serious, to live by, or to go down in defeat. To communicate with you, one must visit with you, see that quizzical expression that causes one to choose his words carefully, watch those brown eyes blinking behind the thick spectacles, play for the epitome of all phrases, "That's great

stuff!"[42]

The letters also revealed that Kinney loved dogs, the card game of bridge, and golf, but hated crabgrass. He was known to several as "Butch," though the source of that nickname was not evident. Several remarked on his kindness, and his incisive argumentation in matters of policy and practice.

Kinney worked at Stanford as professor emeritus until at least 1964, continuing his efforts to improve education. He was a co-principal investigator for an innovative and large-scale study to reform the ways current materials were used in classrooms, wrote several articles on evolving methods and curriculum in mathematics education, and was involved at the state and national level of the professionalization of teaching.[43] The latter effort both examined and informed the ways states certified teachers, efforts that eventually led to professional licensing for teachers. His work on certification was certainly reflected in the programs offered by the Stanford School of Education during and after his tenure as dean.[44] Kinney was remembered as a "scholar-scientist and teacher," who taught that "the end-product of a job well done is not so important as what was learned in the doing," and "that mathematics is not difficult, only mathematicians."[45] Ida played an important role in supporting his scholarship as the Kinneys literally opened their doors to nearly two decades of emerging scholars and teachers. Several letters reference the ongoing work Kinney set in motion, both in terms of his forthcoming publications and the impact he had on the many students and colleagues he supported. This is succinctly summed up by former student Harriet Burr, who wrote "Dear Professor Kinney: It was with deep regret that I learned of your plans to withdraw from the active front of education. Yet, you can never withdraw, for the challenges which you have given your students are being carried by them to their own students in an ever-widening circle. Your work has no end."[46]

Leg #3: Who was Kinney as a Scholar?

Kinney's academic publications include 45 articles, five monographs, and twelve books. I fully expected to find his texts in the Stanford libraries. When I returned to this study at my new institution, I was pleasantly surprised to find several of them in the University of Oregon's libraries. Thus, preservation of his scholarship went beyond the pride of his home institutions—Kinney had a bigger impact than I had anticipated.

Kinney's writing reflects little jargon. It is clear and inviting to the reader, perhaps because his audience was teachers and administrators, perhaps because he was simply ahead of his time as an academic author. During Kinney's time, it was common to stereotype particular groups of people, including girls and women, as inferior to their male peers

at mathematics. Such stereotypes are refreshingly absent in Kinney's writing. His work shows a focus on assessment and educational reform, and is dominated by these questions: What is mathematics; how do we best teach mathematics; how can we improve teaching and learning; and what are the roles of teacher preparation and professional certification?

Mathematics Education

Kinney's vision of mathematics as a means for solving problems speaks to his roots as an engineer: the man started off wanting to build bridges.[47] His writing references an ongoing tension in mathematics pedagogy between the goal of memorizing algorithms and replicating procedures and that of developing deep conceptual understanding and problem solving skills.[48] Mathematics education research, a field in its infancy in the 1930s, would later concern itself with conceptual understanding as the cornerstone of effective teaching and learning practices.[49] For Kinney, mathematics was a set of understandings that served practical applications, and teaching and learning focused on making sense of mathematics while solving problems within those contexts. He wrote that:

> Learning is a problem solving operation…[and] mathematics is a part of our language. The implications of this are extensive. As a language [mathematics] evolved in the human efforts to solve the problems of their environment: social, economic, and physical aspects. As a language, it must be learned as a means of analyzing and solving contemporary problems. A study of its structure should follow and not precede its use, just as grammar and philology are not the place to start in learning a language.[50]

This is a notably strong and somewhat radical stance, given the predominant thinking at that time. Debate on how best to teach and learn mathematics continues even now.[51]

Kinney authored several mathematics textbooks, often working with John L. Marks, Charles Richard Purdy, and Harl Roy Douglass. Kinney's 1952 volume, *Teaching Mathematics in the Secondary School*, may have been one of his most influential. It was published in nine editions between 1952, when Kinney was sole author, and 1960 with Kinney as first author and Purdy added as second author. Peggy V. Ryan, a former student of Kinney's, wrote in 1959 that "I have taught mathematics in Korea, Washington, New York, and the [Panama] Canal Zone . . . I have run into your book in math teachers' rooms in all of these places."[52] To better understand how Kinney's ideas were taken up, I tracked down and purchased three copies in addition to the ones housed in the libraries at Stanford and the University of Oregon. They arrived from across the United States: Southern California, Oklahoma, and Minnesota. These

volumes were likely kept, across decades, in expanding professional libraries before being released into the used book market. Douglas Aichele, professor emeritus of mathematics at Oklahoma State University, was kind enough to engage in email correspondence about the book. He does not recall annotating his text in the 1960s, though he does recognize the writing as his own. The trail of ownership, and use of the texts, indicates they were likely used in secondary (middle and high school) teacher preparation courses on teaching methods: "how to teach math," if you will. This influence cannot be overstated.

The current equivalent of Kinney's 1952/1960 methods textbook is the NCTM 2014 publication, *Principles to Actions: Ensuring Mathematical Success for All*. A comparative analysis revealed that both texts begin with a democratic call for mathematics education for all students. Framed by statistics about how mathematics instruction is both succeeding and failing groups of students in the United States, both texts move on to describe effective pedagogy. One thing is clear in both volumes: mathematics education, as a whole, needs to do much better. Failure rates continue to be untenably high if the collective goal is a mathematically literate democracy. While both texts begin with a similar call (democracy in Kinney's day, equity in current times), they differ in the foci of remaining chapters. Kinney's text lays out a theory of mathematical pedagogy and moves on to several chapters covering mathematical content knowledge. The NCTM text focuses much more on pedagogical theory, and content arises from examples of student work to support discussions of pedagogy. These differences are both logical and appropriate. The NCTM text is a synthetic anthology of decades of empirical research on teaching and learning mathematics. Kinney's text reflects the use of classroom teaching as a practical laboratory and the limited amount of empirical research that existed at that time. Mathematics educators continue to wrestle with the pernicious question of why some students fail to thrive in mathematics classrooms. In fact, this struggle is mentioned as early as 1906, in Jacob William Albert Young's treatise, *The Teaching of Mathematics*.[53] Research reveals that many people believe that mathematical ability is innate and fixed.[54] Further, mathematics has traditionally been taught in ways that encourage this belief.[55] Even worse, marginalized people are often tracked into low-level courses, which can perpetuate the belief that they are simply worse at mathematics. This is particularly true for women and people of color.[56] Kinney's work foreshadows the current cornerstone of mathematics education: teaching for equity, and the success of all mathematics learners.[57] Comparing the two texts gives this impression: Kinney was driving many of the mathematics education reforms the field continues to embrace and enhance today. In 1959, Edwin Eagle of San Diego State College wrote to Kinney:

> It has often occurred to me that in nearly all places in California,

> and in many other places, where important work is being done in mathematics education you will find a Kinney trained person leading the way and shouldering much of the work. It is no exaggeration to say that better mathematics teaching in California is very largely the lengthened shadow of Lucien B. Kinney.[58]

Given Kinney's scholarly work at the state and national levels of NCTM, this influence extended far beyond California. Yet, queries to current senior scholars in the field of mathematics education revealed little remembrance of Kinney. This calls into question the extent of Kinney's importance and influence in mathematics education. While his texts appear to have lingered on in the libraries of institutions and individuals, those who came to the field shortly after his retirement do not recall his work. Though Kinney's publications are still available, the man himself is far from a common name in the field of mathematics education.

Education Reform

As part of his doctoral work with Alvin C. Eurich at the University of Minnesota, Kinney studied the validity of varied forms of true-false tests.[59] This work seems quaint by today's standards, but a closer examination sheds a critical light on the modern-day equivalent: the multiple-choice test. Such tests are relatively easy to administer, particularly by computer, and are often the format for high-stakes tests tied to both student and teacher evaluations. Multiple choice test items lend themselves to assessing factual and computational expertise. It is difficult to write items that accurately assess conceptual understanding, which is the bedrock of a robust and flexible knowledge of mathematics. This puts educational assessment in a bind. It is expensive and time-consuming to test conceptual understanding. But multiple-choice assessments offer a very thin portrait of what a person actually knows. Attempts to bridge the gap between assessments have thus far been messy and incomplete.[60] Yet both students and their teachers are measured by the results of tests such as the Smarter Balanced and Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College or Careers (PARCC) tests, the kind of assessments mandated by No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top legislation.[61] Kinney's early work on the validity of true-false tests and what they can actually tell us about a person's understanding (for example—is the person guessing?) remains relevant.

In 1949, the Stanford University Press published *Better Learning Through Classroom Materials*, a book edited by Kinney. This text was published in 17 editions between 1949 and 1952. At some point, Stanford student Katherine Dresden was added as co-editor. The book reports the results of a large and innovative study, for which Kinney and his Stanford colleague, Reginald Bell, were co-principal investigators. In the foreword

to the book, they wrote:

> This volume, written for teachers by teachers, has grown out of a successful experiment and study continued over a period of more than three years, in the use of current materials in the classroom. It presents and evaluates in detail those procedures and materials that have proven themselves valuable in a wide range of participating classes.[62]

Remarkable for its time, this study drew from two central tenets: 1) curricular and pedagogical experiments must be locally designed and desired in the schools they served (contextual and cultural), and 2) initiatives for experiments must come from classroom teachers. The study was governed by the California Council on Improvement of Instruction, an ad hoc community of stakeholders gathered around the common cause of creating a "long-needed laboratory for appraising materials and developing teaching skills."[63]

The notion of teaching experiments rejected the idea that research on cognition was best conducted in laboratory settings. Cognitive scientists have debated this question across decades: How can we isolate and measure learning, and the impact of particular teaching and learning innovations, from the noisy data produced in classrooms? But if we confine research on cognition to lab settings, carefully controlling for environment and input, how valid are claims about what we can accomplish in classrooms? If we want to better understand how learning happens in the rich, messy contexts of classrooms, that is where we need to conduct research.[64] Given the era in which it was conducted, this study employed surprisingly organic quasiexperimental methods for devising and testing new curriculum. It speaks to current efforts to improve teaching and learning, such as Japanese Lesson Study and Action Research.[65] Copublishing with teachers is perhaps more common now, but was likely very innovative in Kinney's time.[66] It seems Kinney and Bell particularly valued the collaboration and camaraderie that both undergirded and resulted from the study—they closed their remarks on this hopeful and forward looking note: "Most of all, however, the pages should reflect the atmosphere of organized cooperation and professional enthusiasm, for these, too, constituted the environment. Their potentialities in education are unlimited. That is the message of this volume."[67] This vision of educational reform can be summed up as 1) teacher-driven, 2) classroom-centered, and 3) democratic.

Teacher Certification

Kinney's work on teacher training and certification was also reform-oriented. A member and officer of multiple state and national committees on teacher training and certification, Kinney authored numerous articles,

guidelines, and books on that topic.[68] The call for professional training and certification in education was not new. In 1906, Jacob Albert William Young decried the limited requirements for attaining a position teaching mathematics, "Yet it has not seemed astounding that young men and women equipped only with a more or less adequate knowledge of the subject matter, and some general recollections of how they themselves were taught, should be given precious minds to make or to mar."[69]

A sample of the systematic—and atomistic—nature of how Kinney and his colleagues envisioned the work of teaching can be found in his 1953 publication, *Measure of a Good Teacher*. The text, published by the California Teachers Association and available at the time for 25 cents, offered an ambitious definition of good teaching and enumerated standards for the practice.[70] This volume was likely related to Kinney's work on a committee charged with evaluating and approving colleges and universities to certify teachers in the state of California.[71]

In 1964, Kinney published *Certification in Education*, his opus on teacher certification history, efforts, and future directions. This book was published in four editions, all in the same year. Kinney's mentor, Alvin C. Eurich, wrote in a foreword to the text, "*Certification in Education* will be widely discussed; it is bound to shake the status quo. Perhaps out of that discussion will come higher horizons and standards for education in America."[72] The survival of this text in the active stacks of multiple institutions of education is testament to its longevity. All states eventually embraced certification for teachers, which Kinney saw as an emerging mark of professionalism. Further, modern day requirements for both certification and licensure are likely descendants of a collective press to legitimize and raise standards for public education.[73]

In 1960, Lucien and Ida Kinney traveled to his alma mater, the University of Minnesota, to accept an outstanding achievement award for his "distinguished accomplishments in the field of learning and teaching." The award certificate states that Kinney was a, "Pioneer thinker and writer in the general education and mathematics fields, state and national leader in research and philosophy of secondary education, and valued adviser to teacher and school administrators throughout the country."[74] This summation of Kinney's work echoes the testimonials of students and colleagues, and his legacy of scholarly writing.

Leg #4: Who was Kinney to his family?

Lucien Blair Kinney was born on January 15, 1894, in Hudson, on the Wisconsin-Minnesota border. He was the third of four children, none of whom had children of their own. His parents were Susan J. Pierce and Andrew Jackson Kinney, who was named after both his grandfather (first name), and the 11th president of the United States (first and middle names). It is possible Lucien was named after Lucien Blair, the namesake

for a steamboat commissioned on the Wabash River in 1894. Kinney's mother was a teacher and his father was a lawyer. The broader Kinney family history was provided by Pat Kinney, whose grandfather was a cousin of Lucien's.[75] Andrew J. Kinney, commonly known as Captain Kinney, led an active civic life. He served in the Spanish-American War on an extended tour of duty in Puerto Rico. After returning to Hudson, he engaged in "reading the law," a self-study to prepare for and pass the bar examination, and became a lawyer. Captain Kinney, who ran for local office as a Democratic candidate, died in 1913, when Lucien was still in high school. Susan Pierce died in 1923. The Kinneys, formerly Kennys, are a large Irish Catholic family. The American branch descends from two brothers born near the turn of the 18th century, who likely emigrated to avoid religious and political persecution. Several Kinneys went to war, including Kinney's grandfather Edmond Kinney, who served in the civil war.

According to letters from friends, Lucien was known to his high school friends as "Deke."[76] Lucien's obituary reports that he married Minnesota school teacher Ida Omsrud in 1922. Oddly, the family's history lists his first wife as Ida Quam. This was a rare instance of data that did not neatly triangulate, and it may simply illustrate the occasional challenges of comparing historical documents to people's memories, an aspect of the complicated methodological work of biography. Kitty Barr, Lucien's step-granddaughter, remembers Ida from their shared Palo Alto neighborhood, as a tall and imposing woman. According to Lucien's obituary, Ida died in 1966, though this conflicts with a letter to a friend describing her recovery from a hospital stay in 1967. Ida most certainly had passed by 1968, when Lucien began a charming courtship of Kitty's grandmother, Joye S. Valentine. Lucien shared in a 1971 letter to his friend Wilson Getsinger that it started with a concern over who might care for his dog while he was recovering in the hospital. Joye took on that task. Joye's daughter Joan remembers her mother asking her to "hop on your bike, and take dinner to Mr. Kinney," perhaps because he was a widower, perhaps because Joye had formed the opinion that Lucien was not eating well. Kinney and Joye began meeting over mutual interests: dinner, dogs, and the occasional game of pinochle. Lucien asked Joye to marry him, and to his delight, she accepted. All accounts reflect a warm and loving relationship between the two. Kitty lived in the San Francisco Bay area, and remembers the wedding at Lucien's home at 400 Miramonte Avenue, Palo Alto, a block from the Valentines' home.

The Kinney and Valentine families first met over dogs. Each family had a cocker spaniel, and it is likely Joye met Ida and Lucien while out walking dogs, or gardening in the front yard. Joye learned of a dog named Topsy who was in dire need of a home. She knew the Kinneys had recently lost their dog, Freckles. She knocked on their door to tell them there was a black cocker spaniel seeking a home, and that if they did not take it, she

would. The Kinneys adopted Topsy, who outlived both Ida and Lucien, and can be seen perched on a living room chair in the 1968 wedding photos. Kitty remembers the ceremony as small and short, with dancing in the living room afterward. In particular, she remembers the happiness of her newly-married grandparents, and the way her grandmother daintily lifted her skirts a tiny bit as she jigged in the living room. Kitty suggested the pair simplify things, and "run off to Reno to get married." Kinney's response was that "well, then it would look like we had to!" Keep in mind that he and Joye Valentine were in their 70s at that time. Joan shared that "he told my mother if he'd known her, when he was thinking about getting married and starting out, he could have lived in a tent. It was a true love marriage."[77]

Joan, who at this writing is 93 years old, remembers her stepfather as "a great, great man," with whom she got along well. According to Joan, "Mr. Kinney was like a father to me." She refers to him as "Dad," and has kept his personal letters across the decades. She re-reads them on occasion. Joan told me that "friends thought he was one of a kind. And you didn't see that. You saw a stiff shirt. You didn't see this human being. He was crazy about dogs."[78]

Kinney was once again hospitalized in 1971, recovered, and returned home. He died on December 24, 1971, three years and ten days after he and Joye married. Kinney left home to walk the dogs and collapsed from an apparent heart attack in front of the house. The dogs alerted Joye and Joan, who called for an ambulance. In addition to the memorial resolution, Stanford sent personal letters of condolence to both Joye and Joan. While Joan is adamant that Kinney was "one of a kind, honest, and loyal," she also revealed he was somewhat bitter with Stanford at the end. Based on Kinney's personal correspondence it appeared that he both kept ties with Stanford and maintained some distance. It is possible his initiatives were disregarded in new directions undertaken by the school, much as the Hannas' work was abandoned.[79] He told her that "if they wanted to find him to talk about something, they could find him on the golf course." His attitude was that "people are no damn good. With a few exceptions," meaning Joye and Joan. Both sentiments were reflected in the 1971 letter from Kinney to Wilson Getsinger, penned four days before his death. Still, Joan said she "never heard him run anybody down." She added that he was "at a point where dogs were more lovable than people."[80]

And then she told me about the chair.

By the time I located and contacted Joan Valentine, I had been working on the Kinney biography in fits and starts for two years. I had made peace with the belief that I would never know exactly how the chair came to be, or for whom. But Joan remembers the day it was presented. She, her mother, and Kinney were all invited to a special luncheon. Kinney's former students formally presented the chair, as a tribute to his "wit and wisdom," his guidance and support across their academic careers at

Stanford and beyond. Joan added that there were other chairs (like the Kinney chair), donated by students, and wondered where they were now. After interviewing Joan and Kitty, it was clear to me that Kinney, while complex (as most humans are), was clearly beloved by both students and family. And most certainly by several dogs.

In thinking across Kinney's life, I was left with a few lingering questions. First, why was there so little of Kinney's personal life reflected in his letter to Larry? Beyond failing to mention his wife Ida, the only family members referenced are Kinney's late father, and his dog. As Bailey puts it, "silence in data can be a far weightier type of data than words."[81] Perhaps the letter is absent of family because Kinney simply did not see them as pertinent to his academic work. This seems in keeping with Wagner-Martin's point that the presence or absence of personal lives in biographical writing is gendered—whereas men are positioned to hold public personas and live public lives, often rendered devoid of personal attachments, women's lives consistently twine the public and the private.[82] Second, and more perplexing, I wondered why, if Kinney's publications are so easy to locate, Kinney himself is so little remembered. Given what I have learned about Kinney, he strikes me as prepossessing. Former student Lyman Jampolosky quoted Kinney himself: "'Real' compensation that the teacher receives lies in his knowing that his students will carry on from where he has left off."[83] So perhaps Kinney is remembered exactly as he might have wished—his works have been absorbed into the mainstreams of education theory, research, and practice. They continue to inform and advise, even if their author is now largely forgotten. The work stands.

The Chair: Who is Kinney to me?

To sum up his scholarship, Lucien B. Kinney was consistent in these claims: Mathematics is a subject of application and problem solving, and teaching should invite students to make sense of mathematics. Teaching is a profession, and it should be treated as such. My own work considers the ways students are invited (or not invited) to see themselves as mathematical sense-makers. I like to think Kinney would have considered my work, with its focus on equity and democratizing mathematics, as part of his academic kinship.[84]

As it happens, Wisconsin is also my home state, and mathematics education is my field. I was three years old when Kinney died on his lawn half a mile from the home I would later inhabit while a student at Stanford. I feel a kinship to Lucien B. Kinney, and rather custodial about the chair. It is now mine to care for. Perplexed by questions of who and how he was, I sought to connect the dots he left behind in the form of publications and archived papers and people. And what I learned, among other things, is that those of us who study and concern ourselves with education continue solving problems similar to those Kinney battled in

the first half of the twentieth century. "Battled" is a term I think Kinney would have embraced, given his own choice of words on similar topics.

Though he passed on decades ago, Kinney has become a living figure to me, intrinsic to the ongoing work of mathematics education. His chair was left to languish at the back of a dusty storeroom and it invited my curiosity and discovery, much as any compelling new acquaintance might. It connected me to the past and to someone I otherwise would not have met. If you wish to visit the Kinney chair, I can direct you to its current location in my office at the University of Oregon. My students and colleagues do come to visit me and sit in that chair. On occasion, I read the plaques again for remembrance and inspiration. They remind me of something very important—I, too, will pass from this world, and my professional life's work will be absorbed into the streams of what-we-know about teaching and learning mathematics. But some of the most resonant qualities, the ones that will live on far beyond me, are oddly the ones that seem most ephemeral. The fleeting moment of shared kindness in meeting a student on a walkway, the "lightbulb" moment of deep understanding when someone figures out a mathematical concept, the "eureka" of figuring out the next research question over coffee with a colleague. Such moments are both the raw material, and often the machinery, of my scholarship. I believe it is their echoes that will remain, reverberating long after I am gone. They live now, and will live on, in my students, and their students, and their students.

Where matters of recalling and reclaiming Lucien B. Kinney are concerned, I believe Joan Valentine should have the final word: "He's not going anywhere. If he were here, he'd be just the way he was."[85]

Acknowledgments

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"Because I Went Through the Same": Inquiring into the Lived Experiences of an Immigrant Teacher

SeungEun McDevitt

St. John's University

Introduction

Ten years after emigrating to the United States and working as a preschool teacher for a number of years, I became a doctoral student and instructor at my current graduate school. While teaching a student teaching seminar course, I often saw one of the student teachers, Daria (all names used in this paper are pseudonyms), staying after class to work with another student teacher. Daria was a veteran teacher working on her master's degree. It seemed like Daria was asking questions about her course assignments and that the other student teacher was explaining the assignments in Spanish. Daria is from Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic, and is a teacher at a Head Start preschool program that services low-income families, often recent immigrants and their children, in New York City. Daria is dedicated and hard-working, and has demonstrated excellent teaching and caring practices. I was especially impressed by the ways in which she carefully enacted her sensitive and caring pedagogy towards the immigrant children in her kindergarten placement classroom.

As I was conducting a research study on immigrant teachers, I invited her to join the study. She responded to my invitation with an apology and a question, "I'm sorry, but are you sure that you want to interview me because you know my English . . . ?" In her apologetic statement, I

somehow saw myself. It reminded me of the numerous moments in my schooling when I repeatedly apologized to my peers and teachers, "I'm sorry about my English." As I learned more about Daria's experiences, I began to see the entangled stories of *our* shared immigration experiences—my journey from immigrant student to immigrant teacher meshing with Daria's journey. In this paper, I rewrite those stories by carefully unraveling each layer to also tell some stories of immigrant children and their families through the lens of Daria's stories both within and beyond the classroom spaces.

Literature Review

Teaching is intimately intertwined with teachers' lived experiences and builds on their biographical backgrounds.[1] Learning about teachers' lived histories and how they influence their relationships with students can offer in-depth understandings of diverse characteristics of teaching lives.[2] This is also true for immigrant teachers. For immigrants who became teachers in a foreign land, their immigration experiences often become a cornerstone in their teaching practice as their teaching and learning lives intersect with the phenomenon of immigration. The experiences of straddling between multiple languages and cultures[3] and the emotions that come with those experiences orient their attitudes and approaches to teaching in unique ways.[4] Using the elements of biographical writing allows a platform to share such experiences and to delve deeply into how lived experiences can shape their identities as teachers and individuals.[5]

Anzaldúa states that our most painful and contradicting experiences can transform into a source of strength for positive change.[6] One of many reasons why immigrants become teachers is this desire to turn their painful experiences into something positive, a strength to heal pain. It is common for many immigrants to have gone through schooling feeling as if their backgrounds and experiences are devalued due to their cultural and linguistic differences.[7] In Monzo and Rueda's study of an immigrant teacher from Mexico, the teacher mentioned that the reason she became a teacher is to support immigrant students who may be going through the same linguistic and cultural difficulty she once experienced as an immigrant student.[8] Such memories, some from as far back as childhood, may lead teachers to be aware of the specific needs of immigrant students and motivate them to help the next generation of immigrant students.[9] A Chinese immigrant teacher who teaches English language classes to immigrant students in Lam's study said that she sees herself in her students due to their shared immigrant and racial minority backgrounds.[10] A bilingual teacher in Jackson's study stated that she felt a special responsibility for those students who are bilingual learners because she knew what it was like to live in multiple languages and cultures.[11] These shared experiences can play an important role in the instruction of and

building genuine relationships with immigrant students.[12] Having been marginalized and *Othered* in school systems in which native-born English speakers are dominant, immigrant teachers are sensitive to the language, academic, and emotional needs of immigrant students and may be able to create more inclusive learning environment for *all* students, especially those who are positioned in the peripheral spaces of classrooms due to their differences.[13]

The aforementioned literature reveals that the lived experiences of immigrant teachers play a pivotal role in shaping their teaching practices as well as their own teacher identities. Situated within this genre of about inquiring educators' lives, this paper presents the stories of a Latina immigrant teacher who teaches and cares for young immigrant children and families in a preschool setting in a large urban area in the northeast United States. Her stories highlight that immigration as a lived experience matters as a connector and touchstone in her sense of herself as a teacher and the work she does. This study is particularly unique as the author, myself, is also an immigrant and a teacher. As I tell Daria's stories, my reflection of her stories echoes in my own lived experiences as it has throughout the duration of conducting this study. Through our interwoven histories and journeys as immigrant students and teachers entangled with the stories of Daria's young immigrant students and families, I hope to shed light on what it means to teach and learn with immigrants in both early childhood and higher education in the midst of our highly contested landscape of current schooling and culture.

Theoretical Framework

Carl Jung writes that, "An understanding heart is everything in a teacher, and cannot be esteemed highly enough. One looks back with appreciation to the brilliant teachers, but with gratitude to those who touched our human feeling. The curriculum is so much necessary raw material, but warmth is the vital element for the growing plant and for the soul of the child." I stand by this statement that the core of teaching is in the relationship between a teacher and the child. Drawing on authentically caring pedagogy,[14] and the ethics of care, more specifically, caring relation,[15] I examine the stories of one Latina immigrant teacher, Daria, and her teaching lives, intimately intertwined with her own immigrant students and their families.

In her book on the topic of schooling and caring for Mexican youth, Valenzuela makes an important distinction between aesthetic care and authentic care. Aesthetic care is what typical teachers often expect from students, a form of "caring *about* schooling… or practices that purportedly lead to achievement."[16] Aesthetic care is a relationship focused solely on instructional relationships for academic achievement between the teacher and students. On the other hand, authentic caring is what immigrant

students often need, "a form of caring that emphasizes relations and reciprocity between teachers and students"[17] beyond academic instruction. Valenzuela further posits that authentic caring creates a welcoming environment in schools especially for immigrant students and within such caring students can maximize aesthetic caring. In this study, I utilize authentic caring rather than aesthetic caring as a conceptual lens to closely examine the relationships between an immigrant teacher and immigrant children and their families.

With the increasing academic expectations for young children in early childhood education,[18] it is important to understand how authentic caring emerges in the school setting. Especially in the context of early childhood education, care is the utmost critical factor when young children are to develop a sense of belonging and of how they fit in the world around them.[19] For young children, preschool is generally their first impression of school. For young immigrant children, preschool can create one of their first impressions of America. It can be a place where they feel truly welcomed as a member of the new land or the first place where they feel alienated and rejected. Authentic caring relationships and pedagogy, one tenet of culturally responsive teaching,[20] is "relational and compassionate"[21] and examines the larger contexts that influence everyday in–and–out–of–school life. Valenzuela further states that such caring relationships for immigrant students are only possible when there is a profound "understanding of the socioeconomic, linguistic, sociocultural, and structural barriers"[22] they experience.

I argue that immigrant teachers, who often have the first-hand experience of overcoming such barriers, are uniquely positioned to create authentically caring relationships with their immigrant students. Noddings believes genuine education is possible when students are given opportunities to learn about how to care for themselves and for others.[23] This is not to say that academic development should be looked down upon; rather, it is a call to pay more attention to the reciprocal relations between teachers and students,[24] which leads to caring for themselves and others, eventually promoting academic achievement and positive school engagement. As Gay confirms, "the heart of the educational process is the interactions that occur between teachers and students,"[25] and the kind of authentic caring pedagogy promotes "student-teacher relationships characterized by respect, admiration, and love,"[26] which in turn inspires immigrant students to better themselves.

"It's a matter of love. They are like my children to me,"[27] says a teacher of Mexican immigrant students cited in Valenzuela's work. With this quote, the teacher expresses one way, the most foundational way, to meet the needs of immigrant students is through his humane, compassionate, and culturally sensitive pedagogy. This pedagogy in unique in its expression of sincerity and love that the teachers have toward these children. However, there is a dearth of studies about the kinds of authentic relations

between immigrant students and teachers.[28] To this end, I draw on the experiences of immigrants in and out of school and authentic pedagogical relationships between immigrant teachers and students. Focusing on the narrative history of the lives of educators and telling the unheard stories of immigrants will require me to dig deeply into educators' experiences, apprehending schooling, cultures, and their living realities.

Methodology

This study includes one participating teacher, Daria, who has taught immigrant children in her preschool classroom for more than 10 years. At the time of data collection, which lasted one academic semester, she was enrolled in a teacher education master's degree program at an elite university. I met Daria when I was her instructor in the student teaching seminar at the university. Daria emigrated to the U.S. from the Dominican Republic during high school, allowing her a unique perspective from which to discuss her own experiences of teaching and learning and the changes in her experiences from being an immigrant student in high school and graduate school to being an immigrant teacher.

Situated in a single case study,[29] data was collected through a series of qualitative data collection methods including a series of five observations, two in-depth semi-structured interviews, informal conversations, and researcher journals. The observations took place as part of her student teaching observations at a public school kindergarten classroom and informal conversations were conducted shortly after the observations. Although her student teaching placement was not her own preschool classroom, the context and setting were similar to her own preschool classroom. Both her student teaching placement and her preschool classroom were bilingual, Spanish and English classes and the majority of the student body was comprised of children of immigrants from the same neighborhood. In addition, Daria worked in her own preschool classroom on the days when she did not teach in the kindergarten classroom as part of her student teaching practicum. The interviews were conducted in her preschool classroom and all procedures followed ethical research standards.

My analysis began simultaneously with my first observation in Daria's kindergarten student teaching classroom. I recorded my reflections on my observations of Daria in the classroom with her students as well as on our informal conversations afterwards. I also recorded my thoughts in my research journal after our seminar, reflecting on my interaction with Daria. My research journal was important during this process of data collection and analysis because it became a catalyst to connect with Daria's stories and to examine her experiences in a broader context for my interpretations. It also helped me to position myself as an inquirer of her stories as I saw our shared social context as teachers and immigrants between her lived

experiences and my own.

After the first interview was conducted, I transcribed its recording verbatim before the next interview. Doing so allowed me to build my next interview questions based on the previous interview. Once I completed all interview transcription, I read the transcript multiple times to identify tensions and conflicts[30] and to note emerging themes that stood out to me the most.[31] In the process, I used open coding to expand and then to collapse categories based on what the data revealed as most salient.[32] The main categories that emerged were: connecting with child, connecting with families, and connecting with self. The word, "connection" was repeated throughout the two interviews as well as in our informal conversations. It was clear that connecting with her students, their families, and her own history and lived experiences was the core of her teaching and learning. It was this "connection" that shed light on the complexity in her teaching lives entangled with her own immigration history and with her students' and families' lives as newcomers.

Connecting with Children: "I Gave him Time, I Gave him Space, and I Gave him Love."

Daria's preschool classroom is composed of many young children of immigrants with varied strengths and needs from countries such as Ecuador, the Dominican Republic, and Mexico. Daria said multiple times during the first interview, "I see everything in the classroom." To me, though, she seems to be a teacher who can see beyond classroom events by listening to children's everyday conversations and paying attention to the stories they bring to and the behavior they exhibit in the classroom. When she sees children, she thinks about events at home, issues their parents are negotiating, and their living conditions because she knows that these daily realties also shape how each child develops. The following two stories illustrate how Daria connected with, paid attention to, looked at, and responded to some of the young immigrant students in her preschool classroom.

A Child who did not Want to Sit at a Table

Daria began with a story of a child who did not want to sit at a table: "One day my coworker was having a hard time with one child who did not want to sit at the table to eat breakfast or lunch or snack. She [my co-worker] was having a hard time. I said, 'Mary, just leave him alone.' [She said,] 'He needs to sit like everybody else.' [I said,] 'No, you don't know his need[s]. Leave him alone.'"

Daria felt that the child, who is a child of Mexican immigrant parents, needed some space to figure out this new environment. In the meantime, she wanted to observe him a little more closely. However, her co-worker

thought otherwise and it was unsettling for her that he did not want to eat with the other children at the table.

Daria and her co-worker ended up having a home visit to this child's home and it turned out the child and his family did not, in fact, eat at a table. She said they did not even have chairs to offer the teachers to sit on in the house. Daria said, "If you don't know their background, if you don't know where they are coming from, just give them space. Leave them alone for a little bit until they figure it out." I thought about my first few days and weeks in my high school cafeteria and how I was hesitant to eat there. The food was different, the language was different, and the people were different. I needed time to observe and process what I was seeing. Perhaps the child was similarly trying to make sense of his new world while eating alone on the classroom floor.

Daria watched him with patience and sat with his emotions. And she responded to him by watching him eat, paying attention to his body language, and connecting with him emotionally. She stated, "I gave him time, I gave him space, and I gave him love." Eventually, the child responded to her by coming to the table to eat with the others, becoming a part of the classroom community. It is clear that the crux of her teaching is her desire to care and connect with each child in her classroom. Perhaps that is because she cares enough to acknowledge that her students also live lives as complex as her own, shaped by varied contexts, and they might need some time and space to figure out their new environment as their teachers wait for them with patience, care, and love.

A Child who Lived in One Room

Daria shared another story about a child in her classroom who was also a recent immigrant. Daria said she tries her best to involve herself in the classroom with the children by listening carefully to their everyday conversations. It is a way to learn about them and their lives. She told one anecdote of a typical day in her classroom while listening to children's conversations:

> There was a child saying, "My mommy said that she is going to throw my toys in the garbage if I don't pick them up." Another child said, "You know what I did? I put them in the kitchen." Another one said, "I put it in my bedroom." Then Maria went . . . oh my God . . . Maria was sitting next to me and they asked, "What about you, Maria, do your mommy get angry at you? Where do you put your toys?" Maria is from Mexico, and then she said, "Don't you understand that I don't have an apartment? I just have a room!" I just looked at my coworker at the other table. She [Maria] was really, really teary. "Don't you understand that I don't have an apartment?"

It was clear that Daria cares enough to listen and pay attention to her students in their everyday conversations and is sensitive to their stories. Children's conversations informed her teaching practices and enabled her to see beyond the classroom walls into the lives of her students as their conversations mirror the reality of their living and learning. Daria believes that placing "listening at the center of teaching,"[33] which might seem simple, is one of the most profound ways to love them and to make meaningful relationships with them. By listening to their conversations, Daria learns the details of their realities and by knowing where the children are both physically and emotionally, she can be responsive and sensitive to their needs by respecting and incorporating their realities into her teaching.

Connecting with Families: "I Understand Where They are Coming From."

Daria's relentless effort to connect with her students also extends to their families. She said that she tries to understand them as much as possible without pointing fingers at them or judging them even if their child is acting out in school. More importantly, she said she lets her students' parents know that not only does she genuinely care for their children but also that she is "a person, and a human who has feelings" aside from being their child's teacher. It is this personal connection and caring relation,[34] that Daria strives to build with her students' families as she invites them into her life in her classroom. These personal connections she builds with the families become the bridge between home and school that ultimately benefits the young children in her classroom.

Parents with no "Paper"

Daria explained that some immigrant parents in her classroom are undocumented and she shared stories of their struggles when raising their children in a foreign land. She said:

> Every year, there are things, new issues. When parents, when they don't have their immigration paper . . . it's a bit hard for them to take their children to places. I let them know up to a certain point, because I don't want things to happen but I told them it's not like people over here like police, they are gonna stop you and say, 'Let me see your paper,' and that never happened to me. They don't know if I have paper or not, that never happened to me. So, I let them know, I say, 'It's fine. You can do your normal life, as long as you don't get in trouble.' But, it's hard to tell you specific cases right now.

For obvious reasons, Daria was hesitant to share the stories of her students' families. The current political climate surrounding immigration causes many immigrant families to live in fear. They are in need of advocates for themselves as well as for their children. Because Daria has built trust with her students' families in their relationships, they often rely on her to be their spokesperson. She said that one of the parents asked Daria to accompany her to a meeting where she had to meet with a social worker. Daria explained that the families trust her because they know that her caring and her involvement with her students and families "come from her heart."

Preschools are often the first public institution where many new immigrant families come to seek support for their children's education. When partnerships are formed between teachers and families, preschools can become a special haven for families, providing more than educational support,[35] as shown in Daria's classroom. In fact, her Head Start program recently invited an immigration lawyer to lead a workshop for the families, many of whom are undocumented, on their rights and available support. As I listened to her stories about creating caring relations with her students' parents, I began to understand that she is fully aware of the fact that some of these parents, especially those who are in vulnerable positions, require advocates who would be on their side despite their circumstances. By involving herself in their lives and by inviting them to come into her life, Daria lets them know that she is advocating for them and their children because she understands what they are going through and empathizes with them as a parent who was once in similar circumstances.

"Angry" Parents

Another issue that came up in our dialogue was about immigrant parents spanking their children. Daria mentioned that spanking often happens in her students' homes, and that, in response, she tries to help the parents while advocating for their children:

> I try to let them understand that they are not going to get anything good by beating their children . . . Also, they are angry, a lot of them are angry not with their children [but] because [of] their situation, economical, the places where they live, most of them they don't have an apartment of their own. They have to share their apartment with other families. I understand the situation that their life situations make them upset. Sometimes, they take out all the anger with their little ones, which is not fair. I try to understand that it's not easy . . . they break my heart, their condition . . .

Daria's layered comment about the families with whom she works seems to show that she thinks not only about the children but also about the realities their families face negotiating culture and life. Daria also has to negotiate between her responsibilities as a mandated reporter of child abuse and her partnerships with the parents. She approaches angry parents without judgment but with understanding and respect for their resilience and lived experiences. Instead of blaming them for being angry at their situations and reporting them to the school administrator because of spanking, Daria takes up the role of educating the parents and becomes a bridge between the parents and their children, and the administration. She said, "We help them know how to communicate with their children . . . I'm not saying that we are fixing 100 percent, but . . . before they go to kindergarten [public school] we try to help them as much as possible. Could you imagine they are from the house with those issues, they go straight to kindergarten? That would be something hard for them."

Daria wants the parents to know the cultural differences between their home culture and American laws against child abuse so they understand that spanking their children can become a bigger issue in public settings. Instead of blaming the parents for not knowing U.S. laws or not considering how the ways of their home country might differ from the ways here, Daria tries to understand their situations first. She helps them to navigate different ways to communicate with their children and deal with their frustration with the harsh reality of living as immigrants. Gonzales[36] documents that environmental aspects such as cramped apartments, long work hours, stress from living in unsafe neighborhoods, and poverty can disadvantage immigrant families and their children emotionally and educationally. It appears that Daria approaches the parents the same way she does her students, by providing them time, space, and love through her genuine care and deep understanding. According to her, "it's something they could see that it comes from my heart."

Connecting with Self: "Because I Went through the Same"

Our dialogues about her childhood, schooling both in the Dominican Republic and in the U.S., and her teaching experiences with immigrant children and their families seemed to inspire reflexivity for Daria about her journey from immigrant student to immigrant teacher. After she shared her schooling experiences in the U.S. as an immigrant student, I asked her about how she saw her immigration experiences influencing her own teaching now. She responded, "Not that much." After a short pause, she continued, "But, in a way…. Hmm… I never thought about it." Then, she began to connect with her past, from being a newcomer to the U.S. many years ago when she was a new immigrant student to now being a host as a teacher in her classroom welcoming new immigrant children and their families.

Nexus of Memories

During my field observations in her student teaching practicum as part of the seminar course, I was struck by how Daria paid special attention towards Kerly, a shy, quiet child whose family recently immigrated from Mexico. I wondered about what went through Daria's mind during those moments when she let Kerly know that she cared for her by asking if she wanted to share her work with her classmates. When Kerly said no, Daria simply said, "Okay," and before she closed her lesson she kindly asked Kerly again if she wanted to share her work. When she refused to share it again Daria said, "Okay," and then she ended her lesson as if nothing happened. When I asked Daria about those moments during her lesson she told me about her observations of Kerly. Although Kerly is quiet, Daria knows that she is a highly capable learner. Daria said that, one day, she saw Kerly quietly reviewing what she learned on a white board by herself, drawing the steps her teacher taught in a large group lesson. Daria added, "Just because she is quiet, it doesn't mean that she doesn't have the capacity of doing all those things." As I pushed to try to understand how she was able to see Kerly's potential, Daria responded very passionately and with a bit of intensity:

> Because I went through the same, just because I don't speak in Professor X's class or Y's class [in her graduate school courses], it doesn't mean that I don't know what they are talking about. It means that I feel shy, maybe because of my English . . . Plus, I know that the girl [Kerly] has a lot of potential inside of her. So, after you interact with the child you know what a child is capable of doing or not . . . You need to have a special connection with [the child] . . . That's me. If I don't have a connection with a child I feel like I am losing my time in there, and they are losing their time.

I repeated Daria's statement so full of emotions, "Because I went through the same…" and realized how our shared experiences echoed through our conversation. I told her how I wished I had a teacher who saw my potential and carefully included me in the classroom community when I was a shy and quiet immigrant student. Her connection with and trust in her students is deeply personal—as she says, it comes "from her heart." As an immigrant graduate student, Daria seemed to be searching for the same kinds of authentic connections with her teacher education program professors. Although she was perceived to be voiceless during class discussions, she wanted to communicate that she is a capable learner if only they cared to listen to her.

Reliving the Past

Daria remembered the days when she first went to high school as an immigrant student. She said, "It was hard because I didn't make any connection with anybody in there [high school]. With anyone! I could not tell you a name. It was hard." I asked her if she had any teachers who supported her during the first few years in high school and who actually wanted to get to know her. She answered, "No, never. I mean I'd be happy [if there were any], but no. None." As she was processing her old memory she stated:

> I like the connection between the children, between them, and I think it's important. The first weeks in here, month, I worked in them to socialize so they could have a good relationship [with each other] . . . since I didn't have that [in high school when I first came here] . . . For example, one child [who just came from Samoa], she's doing well here. What we did in the beginning, we try to talk a lot about her and tell the children, she's new, we need to show her where we have things in here, and letting them help her so they could feel part of that [process of including her].

The absence of care and attention from her teachers and peers when she was a new immigrant student was reflected in her narratives about the ways in which she welcomes her students and encourages them to build relationships among themselves in her classroom. Daria seems to know what it means to truly belong to a community as well as what it takes to create such an environment for all students. It is an effort for *all* members of the classroom community to become responsible human beings by caring for each other.[37]

Continuing with her story, in her experiences at her graduate school Daria was once again a newcomer who spoke with an accent, who struggled with her English writing, and who was quiet in class discussions. She described her experiences this way, "The grades I got on my papers were C, C+. At one point, there were some professors who didn't want me [at school] and that shut me down a little bit more. I was afraid even to open my mouth. That's how I felt and I was growing on that aspect . . . At some point, I thought to quit and leave."

In the face of such a negative beginning, Daria persevered through the two years of her graduate program because of the support she received from a professor with whom she said she had a great connection. She said:

> It was hard for me . . . After I had the first class with Dr. Roland, [it] was like everything was smoother. I don't know if this is because I made that connection with her, I mean . . . there's something in her, she made me feel relaxed, she made me feel like, yes, you

> could do it, and I think that she was a great support for me in that way . . . After that I felt a little bit more confident and I did my best. It's very important I'm going back to feel that and to believe that it's very important for teachers to support students. No matter what they know about the students, support them and try to help them . . .

While listening to Daria's stories in the graduate program, I also relived my years in college when I was studying to become a teacher. Though there were obstacles and difficulty with the new language and culture, my professors believed in me and encouraged me to follow my calling in education. Without the help of those professors who saw my potential and went above and beyond to help me, I would not be pursuing my doctorate in education. I promised myself once more that I would pay forward the debt I received throughout my journey. Perhaps that is what Daria is doing—paying forward the support and help she received from Dr. Roland as she works with young immigrant children and their families.

There was another person Daria named as a great support for her during the process of obtaining her degree. She stated, "The director [her Head Start preschool director] in here, she spoke to me, she said, 'If it would be easy, everybody could do it. You could do it. I trust you, I know you could do it. What is it that you need?' . . . If I needed a day to complete a paper or things like that, it was fine with her. She was always like, supporting me, in any single thing. She said, 'No, you could do it. You have the capacity to do it.'"

The journey to go through schooling again as an immigrant student in her graduate school was difficult for Daria. She mentioned that she did not feel she belonged to her graduate school and perhaps it was almost like *reliving* the years in high school in which she felt unwelcomed and invisible. Despite the hardships, and unlike her high school years, Daria was able to find and use her own strengths with the support of others who believed in and deeply cared for her. When Daria described the support she received from her school director, she emphasized, "She [the director] connected with me first. Yes, she did. She connected with me." Her statement about making connections with her director reflects the way she connects with her students and their families. Daria connects with them first to pay forward what she received. She connects with them because she sees that is what they need the most above everything else, the special connection with someone who truly welcomes and cares for them.

Connecting the Worlds through Caring Relations

Teaching immigrant students may be one of the most challenging tasks for educators. Many studies have documented the difficulties educators

face in connecting with the ever–increasing population of immigrant students and their families.[38] Daria's narratives about her teaching lives disrupt the common notion that teaching immigrant children is difficult by illuminating her authentically caring pedagogy and her genuine relationships with her students and families. Her deep understanding of the complex realities of their daily lives within and beyond the classroom walls reflected in her past and current experiences was key to her teaching philosophy and pedagogical decisions.

Noddings states that caring in teaching serves not only the students but also the teacher because caring is deeply relational.[39] This idea was reflected in Daria's narratives. As she described her past and current struggles as an immigrant student in a graduate program, her caring practice underscores the two-way relationship between herself and her students. By caring for her immigrant students who may be feeling marginalized, she was able to connect with them in ways that brought healing to herself. Attending graduate school felt almost like reliving immigration all over again. However, the vulnerability in her reality mirrored the reality of her students and families and reminded her once again what it is like to live as an immigrant. As her professor saw potential in Daria, Daria sees the potential in her students. As her director initiated a genuinely caring relationship with her, she initiates creating such caring relationships with her students and their families. Noddings reminds us that, "The caring is completed when the cared for receives the caring."[40] Seeing her students develop and grow under her care offers Daria the strength to keep teaching and caring despite the contested reality of the current political climate for immigrants. This was her way of surviving in this land within these caring relationships.

Her apology and doubt in her ability to tell her stories due to her English speaking skills at the initial stage of the research study echoed in my mind throughout this process of rewriting her histories. By privileging Daria's stories in this paper, I learned that providing a platform for the narratives of immigrant teachers may bring the stories in the margin to the center. Doing so may also offer valuable insight to the field of early childhood education and teacher education not only for teaching immigrant children but for *all* children. Elbas-Luwisch states that:

> Studies of narratives of immigrant teachers, for example, hold significant potential for understanding schooling and teaching for all students and teachers through a process that sets in motion the interaction of the strange with the familiar. Seeing how immigrant teachers tell their stories of becoming teachers in a new environment teaches us about schooling in the "host" culture and allows new questions to be asked about that culture and its arrangements for learning and teaching.[41]

Through Daria's lived experiences, I was afforded a window into the

intimate and nuanced realities of her students and families and what it means to genuinely care for and connect with them. The heart of teaching immigrant children rests on such authentic relationships initiated by teachers who care deeply and who complete the cycle of caring by caring for their students.[42]

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[24] Ibid, 196.

[25] Gay, *Culturally Responsive Teaching*, 48.

[26] Julio Cammarota and Augustine Romero, "A Critically Compassionate Pedagogy for Latino Youth," *Latino Studies* 4, no. 3 (2006): 305.

[27] Valenzuela, *Subtractive Schooling*, 113.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Robert Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Fifth Edition (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2014), 31.

[30] D. Jean Clandinin, *Engaging in Narrative Inquiry* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2013), 65.

[31] Sharan B. Merriam and Elizabeth J. Tisdell, *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation*, Fourth Edition (Somerset, NJ: Jossey-Bass, 2016), 208.

[32] Joseph A. Maxwell, *Qualitative Research Design: An Interactive Approach* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publication, 2013), 97.

[33] Katherine Schultz, *Listening: A Framework for Teaching across Differences* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2003), 7.

[34] Noddings, *Caring*, 189.

[35] Colleen K. Vesely, Marriam Ewaida, and Katina B. Kearney, "*Capitalizing* on Early Childhood Education: Low-income Immigrant Mothers' Use of Early Childhood Education to Build Human, Social, and Navigational Capital," *Early Education and Development* 24, no. 5 (2013): 760.

[36] Roberto G. Gonzales, *Lives in Limbo: Undocumented and Coming of Age in America* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015), 64.

[37] Noddings, *Caring*, 194.

[38] Tang T. Heng, "The Nature of Interactions between Chinese Immigrant Families and Preschool Staff: How Culture, Class, and Methodology Matter," *Journal of Early Childhood Research* 12, no. 2 (2014): 111-127; Judy Smith-Davis, "The New Immigrant Students Need More than ESL," *The Education Digest* 69, no. 8 (2004): 21-26.

[39] Noddings, *Caring*, 190.

[40] Ibid, 191.

[41] Elbaz-Luwisch, "Studying Teachers' Lives," 372.

[42] Noddings, *Caring*, 191.

Reflections and Applications:
Using *Critical Approaches to Questions in Qualitative Research in Teaching and Learning*: Two Perspectives

Naomi Norquay & Shameen Sandhu

York University, Toronto Canada

As doctoral candidate (Shameen Sandhu) and supervisor (Naomi Norquay), we offer our reflection on the text, *Critical Approaches to Questions in Qualitative Research* (2017) by Raji Swaminathan and Thalia Mulvihill. In this reflection, Naomi explains how she used this book in her qualitative methods course and Shameen, who read the book for an independent study course, explores how this book helped her come to understand the value of implementing qualitative methods for her doctoral research.

Using *Critical Approaches to Questions in Qualitative Research* in Teaching

Naomi:

In August 2017, the Associate Dean of Academic Programs called me and asked me if I would teach our graduate program's qualitative research methods course in the upcoming fall term. I had two days to mull over this last-minute request. For what seems like ages, I have taught a course in life history research methods in our graduate program. The qualitative methods course covered some of the same terrain as that of my life history course but would require a more "generalizable" approach. In our graduate program in education, many of our students embark on research projects demanding a range of qualitative methods: ethnography,

autoethnography, participatory action research, life writing, etc.

As it so happened, I had attended the International Society of Educational Biography's annual conference the previous April. There I learned about two new books, published simultaneously in 2017 by two society members: *Critical Approaches to Questions in Qualitative Research* by Raji Swaminathan and Thalia Mulvihill and *Critical Approaches to Life Writing in Qualitative Research* by Thalia Mulvihill and Raji Swaminathan.[1] The two books had both just arrived a day or two before I got the call from the associate dean.

I spent an afternoon skimming through *Critical Approaches to Questions in Qualitative Research* while ruminating about the request. At first glance, the book was appealing because it was "slim," and, at 111 pages, a relatively quick read. I liked that it focused on crafting questions for the research process, that it had clear examples of questions and that it included exercises clearly delineated in "Try it Out: Research Journal Exercise" boxes placed thoughtfully throughout.

Organized into four chapters, the book starts in Chapter 1 with some good background information about the importance of questions and critical lenses in qualitative research. Here it sets a welcoming tone, inviting "students of qualitative research and academic scholars who may want to use it as a companion book in their courses."[2] Chapter 2 is the most substantive chapter. It explores the importance of questions and questioning to all stages of the research journey: finding and framing a research question; crafting data collection and interview questions; questions to ask during data analysis; and using a critical friend approach to accessing and addressing feedback. These various stages of questioning are nicely framed by the chapter's opening consideration of epistemological and theoretical frameworks. Chapter 3 explores what questions and questioning might look like within different methodological approaches: phenomenology, ethnography, life writing, feminist research and participatory research. The last chapter –the shortest of the four– considers the important role of critical reflexive questioning in data interpretation and writing up research findings.

Compared to other qualitative methods texts that always seemed to contain more than I would want to cover in a three-credit course,[3] I felt I could justify asking students to purchase this text because I would use all of it in my course – cover to cover.[4] Book in hand, I called my associate dean and agreed to teach Qualitative Research Methods. And then I got down to the nitty-gritty work of crafting a course that would be centred around the text. My initial question was, "Is this text too advanced for the many students enrolled, for whom this course will be an introduction to qualitative research methods?" In our graduate program, we currently offer seven different methods courses, none of which is a prerequisite for any of the others.[5] Methods courses tend to attract quite a mix of students with differing needs. My class list included a handful of doctoral

and master's students who were at the proposal-writing stage, but also master's-level students who were curious about research methods but who had not reached the point of working through their thesis research question. My challenge was to avoid overwhelming these novice students and underwhelming the ones ready to embark on proposal writing. In what follows here, I describe how my use of the text unfolded in the course.

Before reading the first chapter of the book, we read J. Amos Hatch's chapter, "Deciding to Do a Qualitative Research Study," from his book *Doing Qualitative Research in Education Settings*.[6] This chapter, the introduction to a much larger text on qualitative research methods, provided a general overview to qualitative research. Hatch's chapter also addresses the centrality of epistemological and theoretical frameworks and introduces several qualitative methods. I knew that these were also taken up in Chapters 2 and 3, respectively, in the Swaminathan and Mulvihill text, but as these are challenging ideas for students to get their heads around, I felt that having more time with them was a good strategy. I paired this with Ivor Goodson's chapter in *The Routledge International Handbook on Narrative and Life History*, which gives a nice background summary of the origins of research into people's lives.[7]

After this quick introduction, we dove into Swaminathan and Mulvihill's first chapter. Students loved the opportunity to immediately think about their own research. In one of the "Try it Out" exercises, students were asked to consider: their topic of interest, how they think they might be able to learn more about their topic, where they might look, the topic's history, their reasons for engagement, the role their background, identity and values might play, and their levels of comfort and discomfort in relation to their topic and prospective participants. While the text invited students to write their responses to these prompts in their journals, we, instead, discussed them in small groups in class. I organized the students as best I could into groups with overlapping and/or compatible research topics, hoping that these groupings would generate lots of sharing and cross-pollination.

The second chapter in the book is the key chapter. Here, the authors focus on four categories of questions: research questions, data collection questions, analysis questions and questions for writing up the research. I decided to hold off assigning this chapter, until we had read Chapter 3, which discusses different approaches to qualitative research, specifically phenomenology, ethnography, life writing, feminist research and participatory action research. Given the number of novice researchers in the class, I felt my students needed more time to think about different approaches to research, before taking up the detailed examination of questions that was presented in Chapter 2. Reading Chapter 3 helped to solidify students' understanding of these approaches and their similarities and differences. It also helped them to begin to think about which approach

might best suit their research topic. Assigning Chapter 3 before Chapter 2 was a hunch on my part, which proved to be correct: By the time we began studying Chapter 2 (almost halfway into the course), the students were thinking broadly about what research approach might be a good fit.

I learned something else by switching around the ordering of the chapters: I learned that there is always a lot of back-and-forth between research approach and research questions. The questions help to determine the approach and the approach helps to refine the questions. Students who began the course confident of their research interests and questions reconsidered these once they were given an opportunity to think about differing research approaches. When we started exploring Chapter 2, I asked my students to regard the research process as one of juggling. Matching an appropriate research question with an appropriate research approach took time and a willingness to keep several balls in the air before choosing the right ones.

I split Chapter 2 (which amounts to more than half of the entire book) over three classes: pairing the first section on finding a topic and constructing a research question with Mark McCaslin and Karen Wilson's article, "The Five-question Method for Framing a Qualitative Research Study."[8] I paired the second section on data collection questions with Kathryn Anderson and Dana Jack's chapter, "Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analyses," from *The Oral History Reader*.[9] I paired the last two sections of the chapter on questions for analysis and questions for writing with Catherine Kohler Riessman's chapter on thematic analysis of research data from *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences*.[10] These pairings brought other researchers and qualitative methods discussions into dialogue with the text and introduced the students to research projects that used qualitative research methods.

In class, we worked through many of the "Try it Out" exercises that appeared throughout the book. They provided an opportunity for students at various stages and levels to come together and share, question, and learn from each other. This class activity soon became something to look forward to each week. The students enjoyed engaging with the various topics addressed in the exercises and, at times, it was challenging to pull them away from their discussions.

Probably the most rewarding result of using this text is that students are using it in the actual writing of their proposals. I sit on our faculty's ethics review committee and have recently had the pleasure of reading proposals by four students who were in my class. In all four instances, the students made good use of Swaminathan and Mulvihill's text, quoting and referencing in substantive ways. And while my sense of their work is only anecdotal, the proposals I have seen to date are stronger methodologically and stronger in terms of the research questions they are asking. As I now prepare this same course for the upcoming term, I am delighted to have the opportunity to deepen my engagement with this book with a new

batch of students.

Using *Critical Approaches to Questions in Qualitative Research* in Learning

Shameen:

My research interest lies in studying the resilience of Black male youth as they navigate through their educational journeys. As a South Asian social worker working with expelled and suspended students in education, I have utilized a critical race lens in my work, as many of the youth I work with are Black. Swaminathan and Mulvihill's text is situated within a critical paradigm aligned with how I would like to conduct my research. Prior to undertaking doctoral studies, my experience with research has mainly involved quantitative methods that are in stark contrast to qualitative methods wherein researchers attend to and value the intimacy of participants' narratives. The novelty of embarking on a qualitative research project has created some anxiety for me, as a flood of questions enter my thoughts about how I want to execute my research. The text curtails some of these feelings. I feel better prepared about beginning my research journey having read their text. In my experience, many research texts have not challenged me to look at the research process critically.

My comfort with quantitative research has made it difficulty for me to imagine the responsibility researchers have when working with qualitative data. In qualitative research, we gather personal narratives and stories and we are summoned to ensure the words and intentions of our participants are ethically respected and validated. In the "Try it Out" exercises, researchers are asked to consider ethics, the importance of maintaining a critical lens and understanding one's positionality in relation to the research. For example I found the "Try it Out" exercise in Chapter 1 very helpful[11] as it prompts the researcher to not only consider what their research project is about, but to also probe their investments and social locations in relation to their topic. The very straightforward question, "What is your topic about?" was followed by questions that challenged my assumptions and biases about my topic. For example, their question, "How does your background and identity (cultural, family, class, race, gender) predispose you towards viewing the phenomenon you are investigating and the participants?" caught me off guard, summoning me to consider my intentions, to contemplate, consider and reflect on why I–a South Asian female–was interested in researching the experiences of Black males in education. Writing about my assumptions in my research journal allowed me to deliberately think about my biases and assumptions, what I expected from this study, and what I expected to hear from participants.

I, too, adore that this book is brief, allowing for easy navigation, enhanced by a well organized index. I appreciate that, unlike other

methods textbooks, this text is not cumbersome, and is easy to carry and access.[12] I also appreciate that the text follows the research process with a critical lens from finding a research question all the way through the research process to, finally, thinking about questions in order to write up the final report. Furthermore, I appreciate the many concrete examples of other people's qualitative research projects. These studies illustrate novice and seasoned researchers' need to be continuously reflective throughout their research journeys. The "Try it Out" exercises are strategically placed throughout each chapter, permitting the reader to take a hiatus from the text to participate, ponder, reflect, and unpack the information in the chapter in relation to their research interests. These exercises also allow the reader to critically reflect on why they chose their research topic by questioning their motives, ideas and assumptions.

Swaminathan and Mulivihill advocate for the implementation of critical thinking, encouraging researchers to develop a critical lens when thinking of their research and research questions. By "critical lens," the authors suggest we use questions as a tool for critique. They encourage the reader to not only unpack their assumptions and biases about their research, their participants and the power relations therein, but also, they posit critical approaches as " . . . a way to release imagination."[13] They suggest journal writing as a means to critically examine and unpack thematic questions but they also encourage readers to be open to the unexpected. For me one of the unexpected outcomes was that my identity as a Brown female became more apparent. In the "Try it Out" exercises that place the research participant in the centre of the inquiry, I found myself wanting to consider such things as how would I respond to and interpret my participants' use of everyday slang rather than the standard English that I might expect them to use. I appreciated the authors' encouragement make a space for the unknown. My priority when conducting my research is to maintain an enhanced critical lens as I become the storyteller of my research participants' narratives.

Chapter 2 took great effort on my part to get through. The first time I read it, while I found the content to be very important, I felt the information was too dense. Having now read it a few times, I see that this chapter is essential as it encourages the reader/researcher to think about "how we think" and "how we know what we know"[14] in relation to social phenomena. In this chapter, the authors emphasize the epistemological and theoretical frameworks we use to develop our research topic, data collection, and analysis and, hence, our crafting of questions for our entire research journey. The information in this chapter was overwhelming and, for me, it would have been better delivered if broken into smaller chapters. As a result, I often found myself getting lost in this chapter with the amount of information prompting me to re-read sections. For a short book, this chapter was too lengthy. I would have preferred reading Chapter 4 after Chapter 1 as the contents of both chapters coincided and

would have built a great foundation for me to tackle the important, but also onerous, contents of Chapter 2.

Chapter 4 emphasizes reflexivity and its use when determining and asking questions. I loved that the authors encourage readers to embrace "practical dreaming" by using their creativity and imagination and, again, understanding their positionality in relation to their research. The intention is not to answer the question of identity but to be aware of it, its impact on how I hear, understand, and analyze and what I choose to highlight in my conversations with the participants. I have been made aware that, as a Brown female, some of my experiences of educational exclusion may parallel those of my prospective Black male participants, while others will not.

Chapter 3 discusses mapping the various pathways towards qualitative research. The authors use strong research examples showcasing feminist, phenomenological, life writing, participatory action and ethnographic research. These examples are scaffolded with discussions of research validity and credibility in qualitative research. The examples and the exercises encouraged me to implement a methodology that ensures my research participants are genuinely represented. In effect, what I choose to consider in the research should ground the words of my participants as their truths. I never considered how much power I had as a listener, or as a chooser of what is determined important, quotable, necessary, not necessary and discarded in the research process.

Conclusion

Naomi:

Witnessing Shameen successfully navigate her way through *Critical Approaches to Questions in Qualitative Research* with scant guidance from me (as the course director for her independent study), seems praise enough for the fine attributes of this delightful text. While we differ slightly in our preferences for how the text was ordered, we both benefitted from the focus on critical questioning throughout the research journey. As I move forward into a new research project of my own, this slight volume will accompany me, tucked into a pocket in my backpack for easy access. And I am thrilled with how Shameen's experience reading this important book has shifted her research focus from "the deviant other" to the yet unrealized promise of the Black male youth with whom she works.

Shameen:

This text challenged the area of my study interest. As I navigated through this text, my imagination was ignited. I now know I do not want to contribute to studies that posit Black male youth within a deficit light. It became clearer, through the use of this text, that what I want to study is their resilience and strengths. Further to this, I am beginning to

think through the efficacy of including not only Black male youth, but also Black male teachers and administrators, to broaden and deepen my understanding of the context in which I work as a social worker, "with an eye toward social change."[15]

Notes

[1] Raji Swaminathan and Thalia Mulvihill, *Critical Approaches to Questions in Qualitative Research* (New York and London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2017); Thalia Mulvihill and Raji Swaminathan, *Critical Approaches to Life Writing in Qualitative Research* (New York and London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group, 2017).

[2] Swaminathan and Mulvihill, *Critical Approaches*, 2.

[3] The two texts most commonly used in other iterations of this course are: Robert C. Bogdan and Sari Knopp Biklen, *Qualitative Research for Education: An Introduction to Theory and Methods*, Fifth Edition (Boston: Pearson, 2007); J. Amos Hatch, *Doing Qualitative Research in Education Settings* (New York: S.U.N.Y. Press, 2006).

[4] At York University, graduate courses are typically one semester in length and consist of 12 3-hour seminars.

[5] Our course offerings in methods include: Qualitative Research Methods in Education; Narrative Inquiry; Life History Research–Methods and Applications; Mixed Methods Research in Education; Seminar in In-depth Interviewing; Ethnography of Education; and Quantitative Research Methods in Education, although not all courses are offered every year.

[6] J. Amos Hatch, "Deciding to Do a Qualitative Study," in *Doing Qualitative Research in Education Settings* (New York: S.U.N.Y. Press, 2002), 1-35.

[7] Ivor Goodson, "The Story of Life History," in *The Routledge International Handbook on Narrative and Life History*, ed. Ivor Goodson (London and New York: Routledge/Taylor Francis Group), 23-33.

[8] Mark Mc Clasin and Karen Wilson Scott "The Five-question Method for Framing a Qualitative Research Study," *The Qualitative Report* 8, no. 3 (2003).

[9] Kathryn Anderson and Dana Jack, "Learning to Listen: Interview Techniques and Analyses," in *The Oral History Reader*, eds. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (London: Routledge, 1991/1998), 157-171.

[10] Catherine Kohler Riessman, "Thematic Analysis," in *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2008), 53-76.

[11] Swaminathan and Mulvihill, *Critical Approaches*, 13.

[12] Graduate students rarely have sufficient work space and York University's campus is vast. Therefore, any text that is small and easy to carry makes student life while on campus that much easier.

[13] Swaminathan and Mulvihill, *Critical Approaches*, 4.

[14] Swaminathan and Mulvihill, *Critical Approaches*, 18.

[15] Swaminathan and Mulvihill, *Critical Approaches*, 5.

Reflections and Applications:
Flora J. Cooke, Educator from Chicago: The Hawaii Session

Ronald Kellum

Independent Researcher

Flora Cooke was a Victorian in that she nurtured children within a limited career option for women: education. However, she was an early victim of one Victorian assumption: Young girls were supposed to be deferential in manner. The story is told that after her mother died in the late 1860s, her father decided to break up the family for a time. Five-year-old Flora was shuffled between six families in one year with complaints that she was too difficult to handle. One day, Luella Cooke, a friend of her mother's, arrived in Bainbridge, Ohio, from Youngstown to pick up young Flora's older sister, but upon discovering the sister was needed to help her grandparents care for her brother, left instead with Flora. Perhaps it was insight gained from her teaching experience, but Flora enjoyed a warm relationship thereafter and was eventually adopted by Luella and her husband. Years later, she credited her own example for instilling sympathy in her for misunderstood children.[1]

Flora Cooke can be studied as a role model for young girls (and boys) of any generation: as an adopted, misunderstood, precocious young girl who rose to become an acclaimed teacher and principal, and later as a "Grand Old Lady of Education" offering her wisdom to educators and commentary on international relations. Upon graduating from high school in 1884, she said there was little opportunity for girls to go to college as well as limited career choices. However, modern times were emerging by

1899, meaning fewer restrictions were inhibiting women when she was invited and sailed to Hawaii in the summer for six weeks to teach teachers and give classroom demonstrations with children. But she stepped off the ship into a century-long history of imperialism in the form of competition for control of the islands between the United States, Japan, Britain, China, and Portugal, among others.[2]

According to historian Linda Schott, Victorian women were deemed emotional and nurturing, limiting them to nurturing opportunities like nursing, social work, and teaching. Conversely, men were deemed superior at reasoning and aggressiveness, so business, politics, and international relations were natural fields. Cooke's nearly 90 years of life reflected influences from the waning Victorian period forward. In this context, Cooke would be an excellent subject for a Women's Studies class, exploring how she experienced, adapted, and emerged from the restrictive Victorian life after the Civil War to the turn of the century and beyond until her death in 1953. She was not a strident activist for change, meaning picketing and marching for more rights for women. However, she was a student of history. Upon hearing of the death of a man who years before advocated less pay for women teachers than men, she remarked he now rested in a fitting location. She progressed from being a young woman unable to go to college to being awarded an honorary degree to being an adviser to the newly established Roosevelt University in Chicago. From World War I onward, as principal of the Francis Parker School, she embraced war and peace issues, once defending a core pillar of the school, even if it meant losing her job: She supported a student's right to freedom of speech concerning pacifism over the protests of parents during World War I. And at the close of World War II, an emotionally-distressed friend asked for her thoughts on the future of the world, one that now contained the "eruption" of the atomic bomb. A study of Cooke would yield nearly a century of information about a female educator dealing with the psychology, people, and events of her times and demonstrating how teaching progressive principles would enable students to solve problems.[3]

During the 1890s, global rivalry for control of Hawaii and cultural and social issues of equality were embroiling the islands, but Cooke's focus was on summer school teaching. This was, perhaps, due to the influence of her restrictive Victorian heritage, and a reluctance to enter the traditional male sphere of politics. Yet, ironically, wittingly or unwittingly, with her mere presence as a teacher she became a part of the competitive drive by the United States to gain control of the islands. Since the United States did not have the largest population on the islands, it was decided that the schools would be used to gain a more secure hold on them by controlling the curriculum and requiring English to be the main language spoken.[4]

This historical poem analyzes a Victorian woman with a narrow mission of teaching teachers and children (only 3 out of 20 spoke English) despite the political, social, and cultural events challenging the 1890s, the

islands, and her educational beliefs. This poem draws upon her essay of 1900 documenting her experiences and observations, and other primary documents by her contemporaries and historians. There appears to be no previous analysis of her visit to Hawaii. Her teaching was judged by over a hundred teachers in the summer session to be the most beneficial, but she was not informed of this until three decades later by the session's organizer. In contrast, John Dewey's contribution that summer was celebrated contemporaneously by the organizer.[5]

Biographical chapters in books primarily examine Cooke's career as a noted teacher and principal and influential educator in retirement without referencing Hawaii. Beyond Cooke's own writing, very little is recorded about her trip. A sympathetic newspaper feature in 1948 explained some of her challenges as an educator dealing with children of multiple nationalities and languages and her characteristic determination to succeed. Until this historical poem, no additional source analyzes or advances her experience.[6]

Ironically, her mentor, a man, Francis W. Parker, principal of the Cooke County Normal School where she taught in the 1890s, pushed her and other women in the school, whom he playfully, yet prophetically, called "new-fangled women," beyond the restrictions of the Victorian era. For example, in 1901, he appointed a surprised and reluctant Cooke principal of the newly built Francis W. Parker School, a position she held until retiring in 1934 (a large painting of her hangs in the entrance today). Parker, whom she called a father figure and who died in 1902, had many more transformative requirements for Cooke and the other women, which would serve them well in the future. Cooke's life, as a woman coming of age after the Civil War and whose life stretched to the Korean War, deserves an unsentimental examination as a woman involved in her times for nearly a century of American and educational history.[7]

Flora Cooke, a Chicago educator, was invited to teach a summer session of teachers and children in Hawaii in 1899. After writing fifteen pages of a rough draft analyzing her trip, I rediscovered Philip Gerard, a writing teacher at the University of North Carolina at Wilmington and his latest book, *The Art of Creative Research*. I have read and reread for two decades his earlier book on creative writing. The opening sentence of the first chapter in his new work teased my thoughts; "Somewhere in our schooling, the idea of research got separated from our creative impulse." His suggestion of presenting academic research in the form of poetry, including historical poems, was intriguing. I had written poetry for fun for years, infusing historical references. With pages of raw material of Cooke in Hawaii at my fingertips, I decided to turn it into an historical poem.[8]

Gerard says poetry offers an alternative window into history, an alternative way of understanding people. A poem is about humanizing the voices of people through "everyday language," apart from scholarly language. Maria Lahman's essay on turning research into poetry is

instructive on the language or terminology of poetry and processes to facilitate writing. Poems emphasize the human experience through affect and color blended into the poets creative perspective. The idea behind constructing a poem is playing with words: their sounds, alliterations, rhythm and rhymes, meanings and double meanings, leading to evoking images and emotions and messages. Lahman and Gerard suggest that students pick a topic or person of interest. Research, say, 10 to 20 facts. Then select those that best profile the subject. Further, brainstorm abstract words (sorrow, love, loss) that relate to the facts. To help stimulate thinking, its suggested also to use the senses to generate more relevant words. The teacher models the process before students initiate writing. Finally, poems are shared aloud and discussed to generate tips for future writing. Creative historical poems can lead students to draw conclusions that go beyond the historical moment to larger truths or more questions to pursue.[9]

Young Flora of the 1880s,
winter mornings in Auburn, Ohio,
walked a mile to light the classroom stove.
Youngstown, Ohio, climbed a hill
through snowy morning chills.
With "boundless energy" and "perfect ease"—over a hundred children to organize and task.
"Unusually competent teacher" and "esteemed woman,"
Superintendent Frederick Treudley commended.
And one more thing,
her teaching "I have never seen excelled,"
Supervisor Sarah Row held.[10]
On to Chicago and Cook County Normal School during the 1890s.
Flora's Youngstown principal and Cook County graduate, Zonia Baber,
handed Flora a life-changing moment,
recommended to Cook County's principal, please take her Francis Parker.
She soon became
"one of the best primary teachers I've ever seen,"
Parker, who became her mentor, compared.
"Great schoolmistress of our time."
Harold Rugg, an educational reformer, declared.
"Her spirit of motherhood" made her "wonderfully successful,"
Dora Wells, a principal and friend, shared.
"Miss Cooke was the heart of the family pumping the blood of life to us."
"We can never let her down."
Perry Dunlap Smith, a graduate, offered.[11]
Flora did not distain change as the Victorian era waned,
but men's exclusionary political and social spheres,
she did not actively seek her younger years.

She was fine applying a Victorian's "vicarious" mother's mind,
especially when delivering memorable children's motivational lines:
Real beauty is not wearing a "pretty dress"
but being "kind and friendly through the eyes
because you are kind and friendly inside,"
and when challenging children to improve at the end of the school year: A "happy" summer is "learning to do many things:"
climbing trees, gardening, swimming, assisting with cooking, setting tables and saying good morning pleasantly.[12]

Off to Hawaii the last summer of the century,
to answer John and Alice Dewey's plea?
Create a kindergarten please,
to remember Hawaii's Castle family's tragically deceased.
Other prominent people pleaded:
impoverished Portuguese pupils with needs,
like learning to read,
await your expertise.
Stay at least a year.[13]
San Francisco to Hawaii on the steamer America Maru,
Flora, Zonia, the Deweys,
teaching, exploring, having fun.
However, after "touring Chinatown's slums,"
visiting "opium fiends" and "prisoners" in cells,
"Voyeurism" or educational,
opined the Hawaiian Star?[14]
These Chicago ladies
photographed stylishly displaying hats under the Waikiki sun,
waiting with John and Alice for an outrigger canoe cruise.
As visible as Flora and John were, she said no,
so Dewey turned to others to get the memorial done,
and she to another to procure her Hawaiian summer session.[15]
Francis Parker's letter of '98 sold sailing over there,
with beloved nature study extraordinaire,
"tropical vegetation and air,
and coconuts and palm trees."
"Go wild" without hesitation.
Flora heard the message,
acknowledging in her essay summing up Hawaii,
such "aesthetic beauty in the mountains, sea, and vegetation,"
and in the "coloring of the trees, foliage, and flowers."
Been to twenty-eight states professionally,
Flora added one newly USA annexed territory.
Henry Townsend, Hawaii's school chief and creator of popular summer sessions,
and supporter of progressive tenets unity and cooperation,

assigned her lectures and "cosmopolitan" classroom demonstrations.[16]

Flora faced a daunting task teaching twenty children
with only three speaking English.
However, the possibility of "associating" and "harmonizing" the "diversity" was an "inspiring" opportunity to demonstrate progressive "principles of education" in action.
Teaching reading was Flora's specialty, especially naturally;
children ate it up, literally.
Naming, coloring, touching, holding and with much anticipation,
eating apples, bananas, and pineapples together,
while laughing, working, and playing happily.[17]
Flora transitioned over three decades
from a teacher to a principal to looming retirement in '34,
when a letter from former school chief Townsend arrived the year before,
revealing teachers hailed hers
the best summer session of all.
And then Townsend's blockbuster call:
Flora, "John Dewey gave us the statement of the philosophy
underlying activity-centered schools
and Miss Flora J. Cooke, in our very midst,
gave us the well-digested illustration in actual practice."
So, thirty-four years later, John and Flora stood toe to toe on an equal plane,
thus supporting Susan Douglas Franzosa's claim:
women in education are frequently marginalized on the "periphery" or "omitted,"
philosophers over classroom teachers, men over women.[18]
If more is needed before convincing,
Hawaii historian Benjamin Wist proceeded,
"Dr. Dewey himself, the Great High Priest" was "our lecturer,"
while Flora Cooke, he merely mentioned.

Echoing the past herself,
Flora discovered a "dearth" of other leading women educators themselves
barely represented on Chicago's library shelves.
And as one might suspect,
with "little" Victorian respect for "women's views,"
according to rhetoric and writing researcher Vickie Ricks,
educators themselves even had "misgivings teaching women to write and speak in public."[19]
"During president of the islands Sanford Dole's lifespan
the focus of Hawaiian history shifted
from one race to another,"
his biographer approvingly insisted.
Nineteenth century historian James Carpenter documented.
Boston missionaries sailed on a mission earlier in the century

to makeover "uncivilized natives".
"Primitive savages" with indecency and immorality and human sacrificing
needed churches and schools and western clothing to overcome heathendom.
Moralists pitched Christianity, hitting "the primitives"
with righteousness and deadly epidemics,
prompting Mark Twain's polemic,
While the "disease of civilization" killed the natives,
the "heirs" of the missionaries and Dole,
excitedly joined by Mr. and Mrs. Parker,
prepared to celebrate the lowering of the Hawaiian flag at the USA's annexation time,
with Flora arriving a year later.[20]

Did Flora recognize Sanford Dole's historical racist flow?
Social Darwinist thinkers thought, after all,
the strong naturally conquer the weak,
whether on a Hawaiian island, beach, or mountain peak.
Flora knew Hawaiian schools had been established for everyone for sixty years.
Coming-of-age in the generation following the Civil War,
her lifelong progressive mission was to unite, serve, and strengthen all equally.[21]
The nineties featured countries imperialistically expanding globally,
the stronger gobbling the weak, seeking new military bases, territories, and trading places,
and refueling and supplying stations.
The USA joined this "imperialist's club" in Hawaii,
competing with Britain, Germany, China, Japan and many more.
The USA did not want to fail in defending
its giant military base, big sugar business interests, and refueling station hub.
But, a newspaper published a frightful population score:
4500 to 82 new residency of Japanese women over the USA in one year.[22]
School chief Townsend decided the way to defeat any imperialist competitor
arriving "from without was from within."
So, "Americanization of the islands" in "spirit"
meant schools had to become tools to spread the English language and deliver American culture.
Historian Jonathan Zimmerman adds:
teachers more than journalists, diplomats, or merchants
put a "human face" on America's push for power on the "global stage."
Nineties' teachers "confidently" exported their "progressivism" abroad.
Although politics was not the choice of Victorian influenced Flora,
in 1899, this educator sailed into the political fray,
raising the question: Was she as an educator under Townsend's summer session, an unwitting imperialist?[23]
Flora knew teachers were the key to enable Hawaiian children to tackle
the islands' "great social problems,"

but Cecil K. Dotts, historian of twentieth century Hawaiian education,
said ideas like hers were not to be.
Big business interests needed compliant workers, not questioning thinkers.
Henry Townsend's progressive foundation crumbled
to the political expediency of Hawaii's leader, Sanford Dole.
A return to the formalization of Hawaiian classrooms with rote memorization
and drills in math and language skills
replaced "learning by doing" and exploring diverse communities.
Still, Flora reflected and said she left Hawaii with "happy and inspiring memories."
But more than a century past declaring Hawaii her summer "high spot," her experience included
an educational issue debated widely today: the practices of formalism versus progressivism.[24]
Zimmerman explained the USA settled Hawaii
through American culture and virtue and certainty of "superiority"
to check the "savagery" of the islanders.
Flora herself sprinkled descriptors through her writing,
implicitly suggesting cultural inferiority:
"Simple, crude, old, ancient, primitive and quaint,"
to describe native women sitting on street pavements
weaving leis all day, and picturing a thinly clad stone-aged looking man pounding taro roots into poi, a favorite eaten with fingers.
And eventually professing the "most difficult problem" was
finding the "best education for a primitive race," confessing
the "impossibility of grafting a ready-made school system" upon Hawaii.
Prescient was she anticipating activities in Hawaii connecting to today.
American teachers abroad decades after the turn of the twentieth century doubted the "mission of bringing light to darkness,"
civilization to savages, and asked:
"Whose values and beliefs should govern the world, and why?"[25]

Epilogue 1: The Parkers

Mr. and Mrs. Parker absorbed more than nature study the summer before Flora.
The political landscape propelled them beyond classroom doors,
to become at least sympathizers to the imperialist take-over.
Mrs. Parker's social and cultural Hawaiian descriptions
indicate the Parkers were wined, dined, and given tour-guided trips
courtesy of power elites: Thompson, Thurston, Carter, Dole, and Mead,
and especially with "young" businessman Walter Dillingham's railroad rides.
Francis Parker's biographer explained his early anti-Hawaii annexation advocacy before converting to supplanting the natives' hold,
to include a noble component of educating the "indolent" Hawaiians.[26]
Although Mrs. Parker was hailed for "belonging with modern" women,
the literary ladies in her Fortnightly Club thought it "remarkable"
she was foregoing her own self to supplement her husband's "educational

endeavors."
Mrs. Parker was descriptive of the elegant wives and their dresses and dinner tables,
while thoroughly impressed with the performance of her Chinese servants,
whom she contemplated taking home to serve her own residence.
Her moods swung between dichotomous observations,
noticing many times a "longing and sadness in everything the Hawaiians sing."
Still, some nights the exhilaration over impending annexation left her
"so tired with happiness she couldn't go to sleep."
Curious questions arise: With "the Hawaiians feeling very badly over annexation,"
why did she insist "friendly feelings existed between whites and Hawaiians,"
unlike the "contrasting relations between the Southerner and the Negro?"
And even more curious: Why did she evoke for comparison to whites and Hawaiians?
Was she suggesting one group of white subjugators was better received than the other,
therefore, the Hawaiian natives' subjugation was justified?[27]

Epilogue 2: The Cabbie
A cabbie cruising Clark Street
carefully studies the old buildings of Chicago's past
and wonders what secrets of the pioneers they conceal.
Passing an old but bustling school,
he turns onto Arlington Avenue
and notices an energetic girl
bounce out of an apartment building and scurry off to school.
He imagines generations of other girls
spilling out of those doors
and wonders where their futures led.
A little research finds pioneer Flora,
nearly ninety and nearly blind,
on Arlington Avenue "raring to go"
to realize a Francis Parker museum
to house her Hawaiian notes and more
for future researchers to quote and grow[28]

Notes

[1] Nancy Stewart Green, "Flora Juliet Cooke: Progressive Educator," in *Women Building Chicago 1790-1990*, eds. Rima Lunin Schultz and Adele Hast (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001), 180-181; Unknown writer, A page of handwritten information about Flora Cooke being adopted, Home of Cooke's neice, Betty Cant (deceased 1993), Buffalo, New York.

[2] Carol Lynn Gilmer, "Grand Old Lady of Education," *Coronet* (1947), Wisconsin Historical Society, Blaine Collection, box 200, folder 5, 76.

[3] Linda Schott, *Reconstructing Women's Thoughts: The Women's International League* for

Peace and Freedom Before World War II (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1997), 10-11; Flora J. Cooke, "Childhood Education 1833-1933" talk given by Flora J. Cooke at Woman's Building - Century of Progress (October 10, 1933), Flora Cooke Papers, Chicago History Museum, box 10, folder 58, 7; Green, "Flora Juliet Cook," 183; Ibid., 182; Letter from Betsy Herzog to Flora Cooke (August 12, 1945), Flora Cooke Papers, Chicago History Museum, box 29, folder 174.

[4] Cecil K. Dotts and Mildred Sikkema, *Challenging the Status Quo: Public Education in Hawaii 1840-1980* (Honolulu: Hawaii Education Association, 1994), 42, 52.

[5] Flora J. Cooke, "Hawaii And Her Schools," *The Inland Educator* (1900), Flora Cooke Papers, Chicago Museum, box 1, folder 3, 252-255; Letter from Henry S. Townsend to Flora Cooke (August 26, 1933), Flora Cooke Papers, Chicago History Museum, box 10, folder 58, 1; *Benjamin Wist, A Century of Education in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Hawaii Education Review, 1940), 138.

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[7] Letter from Francis W. Parker to Zonia Baber (March 23 1897), Flora Cooke Papers, Chicago History Museum, box 1 folder 2, 1; Gail L. Kroepel, "Flora J. Cooke and the Francis W. Parker School," in *Founding Mothers and Others: Women Educational Leaders During the Progressive Era*, eds. A. R. Sadovnik and S. F. Semel (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 127.

[8] Philip Gerard, *The Art of Creative Research: A Field Guide for Writers* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2017), 1.

[9] Ibid., 18, 176; Maria K. E. Lahman, Veronica M. Richard and Eric D. Teman, "ish: How to Write Poemish (Research) Poetry," *Sage Journals* (January 28, 2018), 11, 18-22.

[10] Rush, "Flora Cooke," 2; Gilmer, "Grand Old Lady of Education," 79; Treudley to To Whom It May Concern, 1; From Sarah Row to Whom It May Concern, Flora Cooke Papers, box 1, folder 1 (March 9, 1891), 1.

[11] Gilmer, "Grand Old Lady of Education," 80; Letter from Francis W. Parker to Flora Cooke (March 31, 1900), Flora Cooke Papers, box 1, folder 3, 1; Harold Rugg and B. Marian Brooks, *The Teacher and Society: An Introduction to Education* (Yonkers-on-the-Hudson, New York: World Book Company, 1950), 481. Rugg and Brooks, *The Teacher and Society*, 481; Dora Wells, in "Luncheon in Honor of Miss Flora J. Cooke," Women's City Club of Chicago (April 7, 1934), Anita McCormick Blaine Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society, box 199, 23; Perry Dunlap Smith, in "Luncheon in Honor of Miss Flora J. Cooke," 4-6.

[12] Flora J. Cooke, "Annual Meeting of the Parents Association: Presentation of Gift to Francis W. Parker School in honor of Flora J. Cooke," (May 28, 1934) Flora Cooke Papers, Wisconsin Historical Society, box 10, folder 62), 6; Flora J. Cooke, "Summer Message Francis W. Parker School," (June 1913), Flora Cooke Papers, Chicago History Museum, box 3, folder 22, 1-2; Gilmer, "Grand Old Lady of Education," 80.

[13] Letter from John Dewey to Flora J. Cooke, (September 20, 1898), Flora Cooke Papers, Chicago History Museum, box 1, folder 2, 1; Letter from Alice C. Dewey to Flora Cooke (September 16, 1898), Flora Cooke Papers, Chicago History Museum, box 1, folder 2, 2; Letter form Caroline Castle to Flora Cooke (August 14, 1898), Flora Cooke Papers, Chicago History Museum, box 1, folder 2, 1, 7-8.

[14] "Hawaii Star," in "John Dewey's Visits to Hawaii," ed. Hunter McEwan, *Educational Perspectives: Journal of the College of Education/University of Hawaii at Manoa* 47, no. 1-2 (2015): 18.

[15] Ibid., 18.

[16] Letter from Francis W. Parker. to Flora Cooke (July 8, 1898), Flora Cooke Papers, Chicago History Museum, box 1, folder 2, 1; Cooke, "Hawaii and Her Schools," 253; Flora J. Cooke, "Opportunities and Episodes of a Teacher's Life in America During the Last Half Century – born 1864 – Teaching Life 1884 to 1934 – Present Date 1941," (1941), Flora Cooke

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[17] Cooke, "Hawaii and Her Schools," 253; Gilmer, "Grand Old Lady of Education," 80.

[18] Letter from Henry Townsend to Flora J. Cooke (August 26, 1933), Flora Cooke Papers, Chicago History Museum, box 10, folder 58, 1; Susan Douglas Franzosa, "Schools Yet-To-Be: Recovering the Work of Nineteenth Century Women in Early Childhood Education," *Vitae Scholasticae: The Journal of Educational* 32, no.1, (2015): 5-6.

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[20] Ethel M. Damon, *Sanford Ballard Dole And His Hawaii* (Palo Alto, CA: Pacific Books, 1957), 1; James Carpenter, *America in Hawaii: A History of United States Influence in the Hawaiian Islands* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Company, 1899), 18-20, 109; Mark Twain, in *Lost Kingdom: Hawaii's Last Queen, the Sugar Kings*, and *America's First Imperial Adventure*, ed. Julia Flynn Siler. (New York: Grove Press, 2012), 65.

[21] Cooke, "Hawaii and Her Schools," 254-255.

[22] David Traxel, *1898: The Birth of the American Century*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), XII; Henry Townsend, "Chicago Educators in Hawaiian Islands," *Chicago Herald* (June 10, 1900), Francis Wayland Parker Scrapbook and Miscellaneous Papers, University of Chicago, Joseph Regenstein Library, Archives, Special Collections, 2.

[23] "Chicago Educators in Hawaiian Islands," 3; Jonathan Zimmerman, *Innocents Abroad: American Teachers in the American Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008), 6.

[24] Cooke, "Hawaii and Her Schools," 253; Warren Nishimoto, "Public Education in Hawaii: Oral Histories: Oral History Interview with Cecil K. Dotts, March 6, 1991, Honolulu, Oahu," Center for Oral History Social Science Research Institute University of Hawaii at Manoa (March 6, 1991), 391, 413-415; Cooke,"Opportunities and Episodes of a Teacher's Life," 100, 5.

[25] Zimmerman, "Innocents Abroad," 254-255.

[26] Francis Stuart Parker, "Extracts from Mrs. Parker's Letters Written on Her Hawaiian Trip," in *Frances Stuart Parker: Reminiscences and Letters* (Chicago: C. L. Ricketts, 1907), 69, 75, 91.

[27] Annie M. Ela, Mary H. Wilmarth, and Alice L. Williams, "Memorial Resolutions: The Fortnightly Club," in *Frances Stuart Parker: Reminiscences and Letters* (Chicago: C. L. Ricketts, 1907), 69, 71, 84, 87-88, 116.

[28] Flora J. Cooke, "A Proposed Historical and Statistical Library and Museum for the Future as a Feature of the Francis W. Parker School," (January 2, 1953), Flora Cooke Papers, Chicago History Museum, box 23, folder 136, 1-2.

Book Review:
Morice, *Flora White: In the Vanguard of Gender Equity*

Thalia M. Mulvihill

Ball State University

Serendipity for educational biographers might best be redefined as a quick right turn off of Highway 2 to Heath, Massachusetts; a nodding postal worker; a President of the Heath Historical Society; and a curious educational historian following leads about a distant relative. Linda C. Morice is that educational biographer and Flora White (1860 - 1948), her great grandaunt, was a child-centered Progressive-era educator brave enough to critique G. Stanley Hall, who stridently argued against educating women. White lived a life that others should learn about and Morice has produced an exquisite telling of that life.

Flora White: In the Vanguard of Gender Equity is comprised of an introduction; eight chapters; an epilogue; an appendix of sources and methodology; acknowledgements; a bibliography; a detailed index; and a blurb about the author. Readers will not want to skip any page contained within the book as each offers a wealth of insight not only about the main subject, Flora White, her time period, and her influence as an educator, but also about the work of educational historians pursuing biographical projects. Given my own biographical work on 19th century educators Emma Hart Willard and her sister Almira Hart Phelps,[1] I had a keen interest in the relationship between Flora White and her sister Mary White. Both sets of sisters were educators who worked together at various stages in their lives and careers. And they all were participating in a rather revolutionary

move at the time for women educators to move physical education into the curriculum against a strong cultural critique.[2]

Gender equity was a driving force behind most of Flora's educational work and Morice's inheritance of Flora's private papers, which included a treasure trove of letters, speeches, newspaper clippings, published articles and books, photographs, brochures, school booklets and catalogues, advertisements, and local and institutional histories made it possible to demonstrate that equity work in detail. Morice identified a particular notebook titled "Life Facts of Flora White and Family Recorded Mar. 18, 1939" that proved especially meaningful and was written by Flora shortly after her sister Mary died in 1938. We learn from Morice that Flora and Mary White worked together until 1885 when Flora left for South Africa to teach English at a private boys' school and Mary remained in Springfield teaching at a public school. Upon Flora's return, the sisters reunited in a joint venture, opening a small home school in Springfield. They later relocated to Westfield and eventually to Concord, where they placed a stronger emphasis on physical culture classes for their students.

Vanguard was an apt word to use in the title of the book as it captures the manner in which this educator carved out her own path and was on the leading edge of many important educational advancements. This educational biography was replete with surprising connections between past and present. For example, Flora White founded the Heath Historical Society in 1900. The historical society was the very entity that later helped to preserve bits and pieces of her own life and influence. Perhaps she was especially pleased when her great-grandniece decided to take a quick right turn off of Highway 2 and take up the task of transporting her life story forward to a new generation of readers. We can now all say her name: Flora White. And as a result, her legacy will move out of the shadows and more substantially into the historical record. I am eager to introduce this book into the graduate course I teach on Women, Gender, and Education and I encourage others to consider the potential for their courses as well. But before you add it to your course booklist, first make a cup of tea and enjoy a full read of this book. It is written so eloquently that you will be inspired both as a reader and writer of educational biography. I feel enriched by coming to know Flora White and grateful for Linda Morice's acumen for shaping such a compelling narrative.

Notes

[1] Thalia M. Mulvihill, "Hart to Hart: Sisters Working in Tandem for Educational Change in Nineteenth Century America," *Vitae Scholasticae: The Bulletin of Educational Biography* 18, no. 1 (1999): 79-95.

[2] Thalia M. Mulvihill, "The Powerful Collaboration Between Deans of Women and Directors of Physical Education: Syracuse University's Contributions to the History of Student Affairs, 1930s – 1950s," in *Empowering Women in Higher Education and Student Affairs: Theory, Research, Narratives and Practice from Feminist Perspectives*, eds. Penny A. Pasque and Shelley Errington Nicholson (Sterling, VA: Stylus Publishing, 2011), 47-60.

Book Review:
Bonura, *Light in the Queen's Garden: Ida May Pope, Pioneer for Hawai'i's Daughters*

Edward Janak

University of Toledo

When many in mainland Americans picture Hawai'i, images of beaches, hibiscus flowers, outrigger canoes, and hula dancers come to mind. It is rare to wonder about the education of the children in the state, and it is rarer still to consider the people who historically developed Hawai'i's schools. Sandra Bonura's work tells a compelling tale of Ida Pope, a daughter of a wealthy family born in Ohio, who adopted Hawai'i as her home and spent her all too short life indoctrinating the young women of Hawai'i into white, Christian modes of schooling. Pope spent her life working tirelessly for Hawai'ian women of all ages; she served as a surrogate mother, "principal, teacher, nurse, bookkeeper, maintenance worker, spiritual mentor, and grandmother to their children"[1].

The book is organized into eighteen short chapters which enhances the readability of the work. Split roughly in half, the first nine chapters present the history of the Pope family in Ohio and explores Pope's role in the development and operations of the Kawaiaha'o Seminary in Honolulu. In this first section, Bonura introduces the tensions between the Christian missionaries and the Hawai'ian royal family, and she discusses gender roles in the late 19th century US; using Pope's education as an example.

Pope's arrival in Hawaii coincided with the death of King Kalakaua in 1891 and the ascension of Queen Liliuokalani, a benefactor of the school. The first section of the book explores Pope's rise to the position of

principal of the school and the conflicts that arose between the European model of schooling and Hawai'i'an cultures. Pope's trip to the leper colony on Molokai, accompanying Queen Liliuokalani, marks somewhat of a transition in the book and in local politics. The remaining chapters in this first section of the book describe the US-led coup of the queen and the ensuing political "revolution" in Hawai'i. Wealthy white businessmen essentially led a coup to overthrow the royal family. While in theory this was to put into place a legislative government, in practice this forced the king to sign a constitution which disenfranchised many aboriginal citizens. The king's sister, Lili'uokalani, assumed the throne upon his death and tried to write a new constitution which would restore the monarchy, but only ruled for two years until she was overthrown by the wealthy White citizens. The first section of the book ends with an exploration of the breach between Pope and the Queen, and closing of the Seminary after Pope's departure.

The second half of the book details Pope's work at the newly-opened Kamehameha School for Girls. This section documents the school's opening and its stark differences from Kawaiaha'o Seminary in discipline and curriculum. This section provides context in order to understand the local world into which graduates of the school would move. It was during these years that Pope made the shift from a heavily Eurocentric model of schooling to one that honored Hawai'ian culture, a shift that Bonura credits to Pope's progressive leanings and resistance to the "Americanization" of the time. As Bonura writes,

> Almost as an apology for nine years of forcing Hawaiian girls into a mold that did not fit, Miss Pope went into a new century full of steam, making sure her pupils knew they had a distinct cultural identity, one that must be acknowledged, respected, and enabled to flourish in the midst of the Americanization of the islands.[2]

Bonura also documents Pope's work in establishing the Ka'iulani Home for Girls; modelled on the work of Jane Addams in Chicago, the home was a residence for graduates of Kamehameha who remained single and were employed in the city, and it quickly expanded into three residences set around the city as need demanded.

Throughout her time as administrator, Pope traveled throughout mainland USA observing the latest in educational trends and attending the University of Chicago. She brought many of the ideals of the reformers with her back to Honolulu, particularly putting together a commission to explore workplace conditions for women. The final two chapters describe the shifts at the school to preparing the girls for occupations such as nursing, the founding of an alumni association, and Pope's untimely death in Chicago at the age of 52. A woman of constant motion and vigor, Pope experienced a bout of extremely high blood pressure which, coupled

with the intense heat of the Chicago summer, caused her death suddenly after dinner one evening.

There are many strengths to the work. It is well researched; the author uses a variety of secondary and primary sources, including Pope's papers, oral histories, diaries and journals, scrapbooks and photos, and correspondence of teachers who worked for Pope. Bonura presents a solid narrative of a woman who was an advocate for women's rightful place in Hawai'ian society, particularly the workplace. Bonura moves even a reader unfamiliar with the history of Hawai'i through the complex sociopolitical climate of the islands and clearly demonstrates Pope's role as observer and shaper of the times. Currently, there is an interest in exploring the lives of women influential in progressive education; Pope's life clearly fills a void in this narrative. Much scholarship in the history of education pertaining to this time period is focused on urban areas such as Chicago and New York; almost all of it is devoted to schooling in mainland USA. Bonura's work begins to fill a substantive void in our knowledge of schooling on the Hawai'ian islands.

Bonura is balanced in her portrayal of the school; for example, she does not shy away from depicting flawed methods and sometimes horrible treatment of the students at the hands of their teachers. However, there is a lack of truly critical analysis of the imperialistic role that schools played in Hawai'ian history, and the role of missionaries in this context. While Pope went through a transition later in life to embracing Hawai'ian culture and history in her school, she continued to tap many pedagogical practices which were culturally unsuited for the population. There exists fairly extensive scholarship looking at the profoundly negative impact of schooling on indigenous peoples such as Joel Spring's *Deculturalization and the Struggle for Equality*.[3] There exists extensive work on the terrible nature of schooling among Native Americans which bear many similarities to the schools described in Bonura's work (punishing students for speaking their language, thinking their religion and traditions barbaric, enforcing uniforms, and the like). Beyond deculturalization, there are political ramifications for these schools which remain unexplored in Bonura's work. For example, Clif Stratton's *Education for Empire*[4] explores how schooling is a tool for American imperialism, devoting one chapter specifically to Hawai'i and schooling in the Pacific Rim. However, these weaknesses in no way take away from the significance of Bonura's work in telling the fascinating story of a life that would otherwise likely be missed in mainland USA narratives.

Notes

[1] Sandra E. Bonura, *Light in the Queen's Garden: Ida May Pope, Pioneer for Hawai'i's Daughters 1862-1914* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2017), p. 257.

[2] Bonura, *Light in the Queen's Garden*, p. 191.

[3] Joel Spring, *Deculturalization and the Struggle for Equality: A Brief History of the Education of Dominated Cultures in the United State*s (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2013).

[4] Clif Stratton, *Education for Empire: American Schools, Race, and the Paths of Good Citizenship* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016).

Vitae Scholasticae: The Journal of Educational Biography

Call For Papers • Special Issue on Biography and Technologies

The work of biography has historically relied on the important resources of the physical archive and the craft of interviewing. However, through technological developments, contemporary trends in life writing allow researchers to access digitized documents and records, reach biographical subjects far and wide through email, social networking sites and web pages, write collaboratively through technological tools, and collect data using video, virtual communities, and social media. Once elusive paper records are now available at the touch of one's fingertips to a keyboard.

With such ease and possibility has also come ethical, conceptual, and practical questions. What transformations occur in the work of biography when researchers extract data from context? How do technologies transform data, researchers, the biographical relationship, and the research process? How are educators using technological tools to narrate their own lives and encourage students to do biographical work? How do elaborate capitalist mechanisms related to historical research, such as ancestry.com (etc.), shape the practice of biography? And how does technology shape the notion of "lives as educative and educator's lives?"

This special issue takes up the complexities and possibilities of the intersections between technology and life history, broadly conceived. We welcome the following formats and contributions:

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Editor: Lora Helvie-Mason
Associate Professor and Head,
Department of Communication Studies
Tarleton State University
254-918-7620
helviemason@tarleton.edu

Lucy E. Bailey
Editor, *VS: The Journal of Educational Biography*
Chair, AERA Biographical and
Documentary Research SIG
Social Foundations and Qualitative Inquiry
215 Willard Hall • Oklahoma State University
Lucy.bailey@okstate.edu

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Stillwater, OK 74078, USA
Telephone: 405-744-9194; Email: Lucy.bailey@okstate.edu

Contributing Authors

Dr. Edward Janak is Associate Professor and Chair of the Department of Educational Foundations and Leadership at the University of Toledo. He earned his PhD in Foundations of Education from the University of South Carolina. His current research explores the impact of the General Education Board on marginalized populations of the U.S. West in the first half of the 20th Century. In addition to his biography of John Eldred Swearingen (*Politics, Disability, and Education Reform in the South*) Dr. Janak has co-edited two collections focused on using popular culture in the classroom (*The Pedagogy of Pop* and *Educating Through Popular Culture*).

Ronald Kellum is a retired reading teacher and middle school history teacher who taught in Newport News, Hampton, and Norfolk, Virginia. Finding Flora J. Cooke has been a research interest since graduate school.

SeungEun (Sunny) McDevitt is an assistant professor in the Department of Education Specialties at St. John's University. Her research focuses on teacher education and teacher diversity in early childhood/special education; immigrant children with disabilities; and on infant and toddler care.

Thalia Mulvihill is Professor of Social Foundations of Education and Higher Education, Ball State University. She is also the Co-Editor of the journal, *The Teacher Educator* (Taylor & Francis/Routledge), and with Raji Swaminathan, she is the co-editor of the books, *Critical Approaches to Questions in Qualitative Research* and *Critical Approaches to Life Writing Methods in Qualitative Research* (Routledge, 2017).

Naomi Norquay is Associate Professor, Faculty of Education, York University, Toronto, Ontario Canada. She teaches in both the pre-service and graduate programs. Her current research interests take her to archives where she is researching the lives of the Black settlers who lived in a now "disappeared" "pioneer" settlement.

Jennifer Ruef, jruef@uoregon.edu, is an Assistant Professor of Mathematics Education at the University of Oregon. She earned her BS in Mathematics and Education and her MS in Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and her PhD in Education at Stanford University. Her research interests include the intersectional spaces within social justice, equity, and mathematics – specifically, how people understand what it means to be "good at math." She believes we are all math people.

Shameen Sandhu is a social worker who has worked in the field of child protection, policing and mental health. She is now the Manager of Social Work and Attendance (Learning Centre 3) at the Toronto District School Board. She completed an undergraduate degree in Science at the University of Toronto, pursued a Masters in Social Work at York University and is currently in her 2nd year of a PhD. Program at York University with interests in how educational segregation impacts racialized youth. Shameen worked with youth who were involved with the criminal justice system and continues to enjoy advocating and supporting youth and families as they navigate through social systems."

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Professor Lucy E. Bailey
215 Willard Hall
Oklahoma State University
Stillwater, OK 74078, U.S.A.

Electronic submissions should be directed to: **Lucy.bailey@okstate.edu**

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