Building Support for Scholarly Practices in Mathematics Methods

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CHAPTER 2

POLITICAL CONOCIMIENTO FOR TEACHING MATHEMATICS

Why Teachers Need It and How to Develop It¹

Rochelle Gutiérrez University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Contrary to popular belief and research, addressing equity in mathematics education will not simply come once teachers understand the content they are to teach; when they find accessible, quality, or motivating activities and instructional strategies to use with students; or even when they develop meaningful relationships with students. Many teachers find their biggest struggle lies in understanding and negotiating the politics in their everyday practice. This is particularly true in mathematics, where teachers may expect their work to be straightforward—universal and culture free (Martin, 1997; Powell & Frankenstein, 1997). Teachers have not been trained to negotiate their local politics. Even teachers who have shown substantial

success with students, especially ones who historically have been excluded from mathematics, suggest their knowledge of content, pedagogy, and students is not enough to maintain that success. Politics get in the way, their work is undermined, or they leave the profession.

Imagine if teachers were trained with as much skill and practice in dealing with the politics of teaching as they were with lesson planning, assessment, strategic instructional decisions, classroom management, connecting topics within mathematics, and relating to students. Instead of just carrying out local practices that are valued or have been in place for years, they might question whether those practices are in the best interest of students. They might be more inclined to engage in dialogue and influence others to consider new perspectives. Rather than stand by while new policies are being created that go against their sense of justice, they might advocate for their students or themselves, and perhaps more talented teachers might stay in the profession longer. In this chapter, I will argue (a) mathematics teaching is political, (b) mathematics teachers need political knowledge, (c) teacher education programs can develop political knowledge with teachers through particular activities, and (d) when mathematics teachers have opportunities to understand and deal with the politics of teaching, they are able to use that knowledge in their practice.

POLITICS OF TEACHING MATHEMATICS

All Teaching Is Political

Teaching has always been political, but we seem to be at an extreme point in history. We see talented and committed individuals reconsidering whether teaching will allow them to be the kinds of people they wanted to be when they entered this profession (Natale, 2014). As teachers are robbed of their ability to use professional judgment, even award-winning teachers are counseling the next generation of students to rethink teaching as a profession (Klein, 2014). Private and charter schools may be able to remain competitive because they can ask poor-performing students to leave or because they can simply close their doors if their school is no longer profitable (Seattle Education, 2015). Public school teachers know they must work with every student who walks through their doors. As such, part of teachers' work is creating a counternarrative to stories of students not having enough "grit" (Tough, 2016) or the view that teachers are slackers (Rosemond, 2004).

More and more, corporate America and billionaires with no expertise in education seek to control our schools. In 2015, Eli Broad and his foundation announced they are moving forward with a \$490,000,000 plan to

privatize the Los Angeles public schate 260 new schools in the next 7 ye campaign that will get families and that charter schools are the next grand Melinda Gates Foundation, as interests in public education. The entensify with the multimillionaire Betsmovement, as the new Secretary of corporations like Pearson have capiexpand to student assessments and districts (Persson, 2015). With teached ent on student test scores, Pearson is allowed to stay in the profession.

Corporations are making huge production and sassessing them, yet the benefit cular, are not so clear. The Common than the Adding It Up report (Nation with the National Council for Teach and Standards for School Mathematics had in our professional community dards are a move away from the eponents of previous standards (NC equity position statement (NCTM, 2 connect mathematics with students been the focus of more NCTM press (Gojak, 2012), yet there is no mention Standards, and accommodations for appendix, something only the term

Content-specific education profes prospective teachers (PTs) and help a teacher. Now, for-profit corporation states and the District of Columbia heromance assessment managed by Pepay \$300 to upload evidence of planhopes of being positively evaluated process, they are required to document tools where they are student teach poration that is seeking to market it them. So, in some ways, our PTs have for-profit corporation.

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ca and billionaires with no expertise sols. In 2015, Eli Broad and his founforward with a \$490,000,000 plan to privatize the Los Angeles public schools (Blume, 2015). The goal is to create 260 new schools in the next 7 years and to launch a massive marketing campaign that will get families and the general public to embrace the idea that charter schools are the next great innovation for the nation. The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, as well as the Walton family, show similar interests in public education. The emphasis on charter schools is likely to intensify with the multimillionaire Betsy DeVos, a leader in the school choice movement, as the new Secretary of Education. Curriculum development corporations like Pearson have capitalized on the standards movement to expand to student assessments and all of the related products to support districts (Persson, 2015). With teachers' salaries and positions partly dependent on student test scores, Pearson is, in a very real sense, controlling who is allowed to stay in the profession.

Corporations are making huge profits by promoting new standards and ways of assessing them, yet the benefits to the public, and to students in particular, are not so clear. The Common Core State Standards are little more than the Adding It Up report (National Research Council, 2001) combined with the National Council for Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) Principles and Standards for School Mathematics (NCTM, 2000), documents we already had in our professional community. In fact, the Common Core State Standards are a move away from the "equity principle," one of six key components of previous standards (NCTM, 2000) and a departure from the equity position statement (NCTM, 2008) that suggested teachers need to connect mathematics with students' cultural roots and history. Equity has been the focus of more NCTM presidents' messages than any other topic (Gojak, 2012), yet there is no mention of equity in the Common Core State Standards, and accommodations for "English/Language learners" are in an appendix, something only the tenacious teacher would find.

Content-specific education professors have always evaluated the work of prospective teachers (PTs) and helped decide who is qualified to become a teacher. Now, for-profit corporations control those decisions. Thirty-five sates and the District of Columbia have adopted the edTPA, a teacher performance assessment managed by Pearson. Under this new paradigm, PTs asy \$300 to upload evidence of planning, instruction, and assessment in hopes of being positively evaluated to become a teacher. As part of the process, they are required to document the kinds of textbooks used in the schools where they are student teaching, important information for a corporation that is seeking to market its products to those not already using them. So, in some ways, our PTs have become data collection agents for a for-profit corporation.

It is not always easy for PTs to understand both the upsides and downsides of new reforms. Take, for example, the Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Careers (PARCC), one of two new national tests

given to measure student learning and growth. The PARCC test seeks to better support students by offering a national standard and holding schools accountable for reaching it, thereby making it easier for parents anywhere in the country to judge the ability level of their students, regardless of the state or neighborhood in which they reside. There are many upsides to ensuring all students are held to high standards, as some fear our nation relies too heavily on social promotion (Balingit & St. George, 2016). However, most PTs do not realize that because the PARCC test was never normed on a national population before requiring states to use it, the test is not a valid measure of learning.2 In fact, some educators have argued that schools are paying a corporation to norm the tests on the backs of their students (Gaines, 2015; Strauss, 2014) and are relinquishing upwards of 6 weeks of instruction to administer such tests. The first set of scores received by students was incredibly low, thereby justifying the need for states and districts to purchase additional materials from Pearson to raise those scores. The cycle often continues with more tests for students, little useful information for teachers about their students' learning, and more profit for corporations. I served on the PARCC item review committee at the high school level. When I raised the issue with Pearson officials in 2013 about consistently low student test scores across the nation and what this meant for students' futures, I was told that Pearson could not be held accountable for any decisions that school administrators made or what the public did with the test; Pearson was "just the people who make the tests." Their goal at that time was for the PARCC test to replace the ACT so that they would gain market share in testing for college. To some extent, their goal is already being realized, as colleges in Delaware, Kentucky, New Jersey, and Colorado are using PARCC scores in admission decisions and entry-level credit for courses. And, although the state of Illinois has recently stopped using the PARCC test (Rado, 2016), most states are still spending millions of dollars on Pearson-related products for PARCC testing. Where corporations might have had market share in textbook adoption, now they are poised to gain market share in college testing. Moreover, Pearson has recently expanded its markets to countries such as the Philippines with Affordable Private Education Center (APEC) secondary schools (Kamenetz, 2016) and intends to impact more than 200 million students worldwide by 2025 (Pearson.com). The increased influence of corporate America, high-stakes testing, and the deprofessionalization of teachers are all signs of an extreme point in the history of public education.

There is so much happening in the public sphere that it would be hard for a PT to keep track of it all or know how to make sense of it without guidance. Most teachers cannot understand how corporations or "philanthropists" could make money off of public schools. I list here just a few things that I have shared with my PTs. Pearson has a \$32 million contract to

administer tests with the state of New terman, 2011; Phillips, 2014). Califor mon Core. PARCC and Smarter Bala U.S. Department of Education. Ther or delays in reporting scores, design for testing, and untimely reporting of not only teacher's salaries but also mext level of schooling. For-profit co tests used to decide who stays in tead in the first place (e.g., edTPA) and a through this process. Pearson's EnV gerate claims of impact and generali while grossing a minimum of \$320 i with a potential revenue stream of \$2 Race to the Top money, charter school and other charter schools play by th tions Academy, a group of virtual ch age new standards and new product Pearson places gag rules in test cont questions about the tests. Pearson l cial media to stop testing leaks (Stra mathematics and reading language than aspiring lawyers who sit for the return. Pearson was implicated in an practices in a \$1.3 billion deal to pro in the Los Angeles Unified School Di

Fortunately, there is a movement teachers, students, and journalists where teachers, students, and journalists where the teachers are the past decade of the past decade, we have had near the past decade, we have had near the past decade of \$3.7 billion in federal pened their doors (Persson, 2015).

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he public sphere that it would be hard now how to make sense of it without derstand how corporations or "philanf public schools. I list here just a few s. Pearson has a \$32 million contract to administer tests with the state of New York and \$500 million in Texas (Otterman, 2011; Phillips, 2014). California is spending \$900 million on Common Core. PARCC and Smarter Balanced received \$330 million from the U.S. Department of Education. There is a long history of errors in scoring or delays in reporting scores, design flaws, insufficient memory in systems for testing, and untimely reporting of scores. Students' test scores influence not only teacher's salaries but also students' chances of getting into the next level of schooling. For-profit corporations are in control of not only tests used to decide who stays in teaching but also who becomes a teacher in the first place (e.g., edTPA) and are collecting data about textbook use through this process. Pearson's EnVisionMATH has been found to exaggerate claims of impact and generalizability to students of all ability levels, while grossing a minimum of \$320 million per year on this one product, with a potential revenue stream of \$2 billion/year (Singer, 2014). Fueled by Race to the Top money, charter schools are popping up everywhere. (KIPP and other charter schools play by their own rules. Pearson owns Connections Academy, a group of virtual charter schools.) Corporations encourage new standards and new products for districts (yet little new content). Pearson places gag rules in test contracts to prevent teachers from raising questions about the tests. Pearson has been caught monitoring kids' social media to stop testing leaks (Strauss, 2015). Students who take PARCC mathematics and reading language arts tests will spend more time testing than aspiring lawyers who sit for the bar exam. And they will get nothing in return. Pearson was implicated in an FBI investigation for unfair bidding practices in a \$1.3 billion deal to provide curriculum via iPads to students in the Los Angeles Unified School District (Singer, 2014).

Fortunately, there is a movement of growing resistance from parents, eachers, students, and journalists who are bringing together visions of education that move beyond testing and to highlight the lack of transparency and the attacks on public education. Researchers crunching large data are providing a picture of what is happening in public education, noting that, in the past decade, we have had nearly 2,500 charter schools that have received a total of \$3.7 billion in federal funding but have closed or never opened their doors (Persson, 2015).

As the influence of corporate America intensifies, individuals are joining forces with others to reclaim this profession of ours. Their response is not that education should give up all testing. National tests have helped us understand which populations of students are being served well by the school stem and which are not. Rather, individuals are finding resources on the stemet such as Fair Test, Change the Stakes, New York Core, Saving Our Schools, Creating Balance in an Unjust World, Rethinking Schools, Teachers Social Justice, TODOS Mathematics for All, and many local groups who fighting for a definition of education that moves beyond standardized

tests. Some teachers and principals are taking matters into their own hands by writing blogs to help distribute information to help families opt out of high-stakes tests (LaReviere, 2015). Others are writing letters to their students or to public officials that can create a wider public debate about not just testing but the nature of education and its place in our society (Goosetree, 2015; Lifshitz, 2015; Look-Ainsworth, 2015; Vilson, 2012).

Although these politics affect everybody, inner-city schools that lack the infrastructure or resources to carry out newer assessments or whose students need more support to reach learning goals based on new standards are more severely impacted. With edTPA and its associated text-heavy forms of evaluation, we may be discouraging or preventing individuals whose first language is not English from entering teaching. Given such politics, it is hard to imagine that we will be able to recruit and retain a large cadre of teachers of color into the profession. Regardless of where they work, PTs and mathematics teacher educators (MTEs) alike will need support to deepen their knowledge of the sociopolitical context of mathematics teaching and learning so that they can make informed decisions about their work (Association of Mathematics Teacher Educators [AMTE], 2017).

All Mathematics Teaching Is Political

How do the aforementioned politics relate to mathematics education in particular? I take as an example two schools—Railside and Union. Railside is a school in Northern California so noted for its success in mathematics that it has been studied by various researchers (Boaler, 2006; Boaler & Staples, 2008; Horn, 2004; Jilk, 2010; Nasir, Cabana, Shreve, Woodbury, & Louie, 2014); Union is a school in Chicago, also noted for its success (Gutiérrez, 1999, 2002a, 2014). Both schools serve low-income, largely Latin@/x³ populations; both have had teachers who underwent extensive professional development for students to develop conceptual understanding over mere procedures; both have created a departmental community that held a common vision for advancement and a commitment to all students; both have used the Interactive Mathematics Program (Alper, Fendel, Fraser, & Resek, 1997) and showed clear signs of success. Their students have demonstrated the ability to make conjectures and defend their arguments publicly, attained higher test scores than peers in other schools, demonstrated higher classroom engagement overall, and produced a unimodal distribution of engagement from adolescents of different backgrounds. Students have worked in two languages, and a higher percentage of students took calculus (over 40% of the senior class at Union in the 1998–1999 school year).

Yet the efforts of both of these high school mathematics departments were derailed by district politics—a back-to-basic-skills movement in

bicago and a teaching-to-the-test in the locations, highly successful te secumbed to district mandates that ments or left their school or the provided and are getting historically expected and are getting historically expected and are getting historically expected and to perform though the public and many mathematics and to perform though the public and many mathematics that the most difficult part at the get teachers to develop deep and problem with a technical solution into play, and these are the hear

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Is it just mathematics teaching that is political, or is there actually something about mathematics as a discipline that is political? A number of researchers across the globe have begun to highlight the ways in which knowledge, power, and identity are interwoven with mathematics, something called the "sociopolitical turn" (Gutiérrez, 2010/2013; Stinson & Bullock, 2015). Early examples that highlighted how power, identity, and knowledge relate to teaching, learning, and teacher education named these as "sociopolitical dimensions of mathematics education" (Valero & Zevenbergen, 2004); a "socio-political orientation" (Chronaki, 1999, p. 19); or simply "power" in mathematics education (Walkerdine, 1988; Walshaw, 2001). For example, Chronaki (1999) suggested that a "political view on mathematics education" should focus on "fostering of citizenship" (p. 19). In general, one distinction is that sociocultural dimensions tend to have enculturation as their goal, whereas sociopolitical dimensions concern themselves with emancipation. In writing about the sociopolitical turn, I chose not to hyphenate the word because I did not believe the social (issues of identity in particular) and the political (issues of power in particular) could be extracted from each other—there is no social without political and vice versa. In fact, sometime after 2010, when the sociopolitical turn was published, most researchers seem to have adopted the term sociopolitical instead of socio-political.

The way mathematics operates in our world and the politics that mathematics brings are important for MTEs to consider. On many levels, mathematics itself operates as Whiteness. Who gets credit for doing and developing mathematics, who is capable in mathematics, and who is seen as part of the mathematical community is generally viewed as White. School mathematics curricula emphasizing terms like Pythagorean theorem and pi perpetuate a perception that mathematics was largely developed by Greeks and other Europeans. Perhaps more importantly, mathematics operates with unearned privilege in society, just like Whiteness. Mathematics is viewed as so pure that

it has become the discipline by which we measure other disciplines. See for example, the XKCD comic (n.d.) that depicts mathematicians so far removed from other disciplines that they hardly recognize other scientists.

We treat mathematics as if it is a natural reflection of the universe. When we identify mathematics in the world around us (e.g., Fibonacci sequences in pinecones, fractals in snowflakes), we convince ourselves that mathematics occurs outside of human influence. Rather than recognizing that we may see patterns we want to see (because we set the rules for finding them), we instead feel mathematics is a way of encoding the universe with eternal truths, a natural order of things that should not be questioned. And so mathematics is viewed as a version of the world that is proper, separate from humans, where no emotions or agendas take place.

Because of its perceived purity, we assume mathematics should be the basis for how we think about the world and what is important. Currently, mathematics operates as a proxy for intelligence. Society perpetuates the myth that there are some people who are good at mathematics and some who are not (Mighton, 2004). If you tell someone you are a mathematician or mathematics educator, often you are met with two reactions: confession (e.g., "I was never really good at mathematics") or adulation ("You must be really smart!"). As MTEs, we need to ask ourselves whether we are challenging that adulation or simply accepting it because we enjoy the benefits of increased status and economic gains. Are we really smart just because we do mathematics? As researchers, are we more deserving of large grants because we focus on mathematics education and not social studies or English? Is there something inherent in mathematics as a discipline and human activity that merits higher prestige and higher paychecks?

When we combine the belief that mathematics operates with no values, no judgments, no agenda, with the idea that it properly confers intelligence and importance in society, it can impact how one thinks of oneself. Beyond how well students do in mathematics courses or whether they can imagine themselves pursuing a STEM-based career, they are influenced by this notion of what counts as intelligent. If one is not viewed as mathematical, there will always be a sense of inferiority that can be summoned, especially because the average citizen will not necessarily question the role of mathematics in society. The effects are lasting. So many people are walking around in society who have experienced trauma, microaggressions from participating in math classrooms where the idea of being a successful person, being an intelligent person, is removing oneself from the context, not involving emotions, not involving the body, and being judged by whether one can reason abstractly. Those are all messages that we can unknowingly transmit. It is not just that teaching is political; mathematics is also political. Therefore, whether we recognize it or not, mathematics teaching is a highly political activity.

All Mathematics Teachers Need to Be Successful

When we acknowledge a sociopol ucation, it raises questions about wh knowledge and skills they need. Man develop "ambitious" teaching practic rewarded for their efforts and their cases of Union and Railside High, the education, Response to Intervention i and the latest packaged reforms can best interest of our students and th teachers to become professionals, the sess whether PTs can successfully de teachers, students, or public education Guggenheim & Kimball, 2010) or W Nor can the edTPA identify teachers reform movements like "growth mine movies and reforms address equity by tion. However, the savvy educator uni best interests of charter schools and o the idea that public schools need a l can realize that growth mindset and for students, situate the problem of vation and ignore broader institution: are unable to deconstruct the deficit themselves, their students, or public advocate for policies and practices tha

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All Mathematics Teachers Need Political Knowledge to Be Successful

When we acknowledge a sociopolitical perspective on mathematics education, it raises questions about whether PTs are receiving the kinds of knowledge and skills they need. Many are being prepared as if once they develop "ambitious" teaching practices (Lampert et al., 2013) they will be rewarded for their efforts and their students will learn. As we saw in the cases of Union and Railside High, this reality does not exist. High-stakes education, Response to Intervention initiatives, Race to the Top campaigns, and the latest packaged reforms can keep us from acting on what is in the best interest of our students and their learning. In terms of preparing teachers to become professionals, there is nothing in edTPA that will assess whether PTs can successfully deconstruct the deficit messages about teachers, students, or public education in movies like Waiting for Superman Guggenheim & Kimball, 2010) or Won't Back Down (Barnes & Hill, 2012). Nor can the edTPA identify teachers who can see limitations in the latest reform movements like "growth mindset" or "grit." On the surface, these movies and reforms address equity by helping students get a better education. However, the savvy educator understands that these movies have the best interests of charter schools and corporate America in mind, instilling the idea that public schools need a hostile takeover. An effective teacher can realize that growth mindset and grit, although important characterisics for students, situate the problem of learning in individual student motivarion and ignore broader institutional and systemic inequities. If teachers are unable to deconstruct the deficit messages circulating in society about themselves, their students, or public education, they cannot successfully advocate for policies and practices that are research-based or ethically just.

The majority of professional development that PTs and practicing teachers receive from teacher education programs, their districts, and professional societies like NCTM do not focus on helping teachers understand or negotiate the politics they regularly face. Though we have made many advances in such things as how to appropriately use technology or how build upon the linguistic and cultural resources that students bring to school, most programs in teacher education still work largely from the same set of assumptions about the kinds of knowledge bases teachers of mathematics need, which were developed in the late 1980s. Whether we call it pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1986) or mathematical knowledge for teaching (Hill et al., 2008), teachers are expected to become fluent in content knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, and knowledge of students.

POLITICAL CONOCIMIENTO FOR TEACHING

I am arguing for a fourth kind of knowledge—political knowledge for teaching. I refer to this knowledge as *political conocimiento*, and I explain more thoroughly what that means in other papers (Gutiérrez, 2012, 2013b). What is important to understand here is that although the Spanish term *conocimiento* translates to "knowledge" in English, I am borrowing a version from Anzaldúa (1987) that acknowledges that all knowledge is relational. Things cannot be known objectively; they must be known subjectively. This is comparable in English to when we say, "Do you know that restaurant?" We are not expecting that knowledge to be a universal objective set of facts. Instead, the speaker is getting at your relationship with that restaurant: Are you familiar with it? What experiences do you have with it? Your knowledge of that restaurant may overlap with the knowledge that others have of it, but it will not be the same. For our purposes, key features of *conocimiento* are subjectivity, solidarity with others, and interdependence.

For mathematics teachers, political *conocimiento* is the kind of knowledge that helps you deconstruct and negotiate the world of high-stakes testing and standardization. It helps you connect and explain your mathematics to community members and district officials. It buffers you from a system or helps you reinvent or reinterpret systems so that you can be an advocate for your students. In essence, political *conocimiento* is the kind of knowledge that allows you to see how politics permeates everything we do, in education in general and mathematics in particular, and affects how we are connected to each other today and how we might envision a different, more humane connection for the future.

The key difference in this model versus other models is the idea that knowledge is *with* students and communities, not knowledge *of* them or *for* them (see Figure 2.1). We come to "know" students not in some kind of

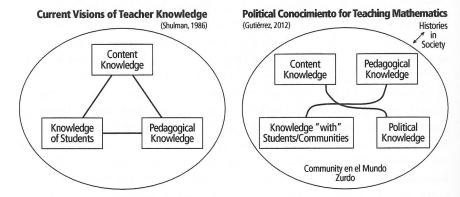


Figure 2.1 Teacher knowledge.

objectified way (Gutiérrez, 2009) be committed to being interdependent not as individual teachers but in a sterm el mundo zurdo recognizes this esolidarity among people of color, perphysically challenged, and resisting & Anzaldúa, 1981). The presence of that mathematics has been and is being the world. We are in a particular modern mathematics, but in terms mathematics and education today.

PTs who have developed political that helps them deconstruct deficit teachers, or public education-are l around them and to use their profe sions about the kinds of learning opp the benefits of using achievement da being served well by the school system defining equity around such things as understand that, more than just gett same on tests of achievement, we should come the kinds of people they want to for themselves, which can mean diffe 2002b). Teachers with political conoci when outside entities come in and tell ids or that we need to develop a gr are telling students that it is really imp ance and grit or grow new dendrites to sacked against them, is that really a h the point of view of students of color a tat just sound like a new version of When PTs and practicing teachers lac knowingly adopt simplistic reform pa feel they are effectively addressing equ

Creative Insubordination

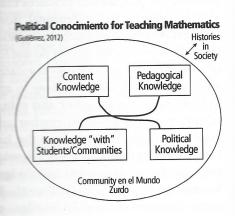
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IENTO FOR TEACHING

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wersus other models is the idea that munities, not knowledge of them or for know" students not in some kind of



objectified way (Gutiérrez, 2009) but rather by standing alongside them, committed to being interdependent with them. All of this work is done not as individual teachers but in a supportive community with others. The term el mundo zurdo recognizes this community as the left-handed world of solidarity among people of color, people who are queer, historically looted, physically challenged, and resisting various forms of colonization (Moraga & Anzaldúa, 1981). The presence of the term histories in society recognizes that mathematics has been and is being practiced in different ways throughout the world. We are in a particular moment in time, not just in terms of modern mathematics, but in terms of what is happening with respect to mathematics and education today.

PTs who have developed political conocimiento—that useful knowledge that helps them deconstruct deficit narratives in society about students, teachers, or public education—are better prepared to question the world around them and to use their professional judgment when making decisions about the kinds of learning opportunities students need. They can see the benefits of using achievement data as a first step to identify who is not being served well by the school system, but they recognize the limitations of defining equity around such things as "closing the achievement gap." They understand that, more than just getting all kids to perform better or the same on tests of achievement, we should be invested in helping students become the kinds of people they want to be, fulfilling goals they have defined for themselves, which can mean different, not same outcomes (Gutiérrez, 2002b). Teachers with political *conocimiento* are able to question authority when outside entities come in and tell us that we need to focus on "bubble kids" or that we need to develop a "growth mindset" in our students. If we are telling students that it is really important for them to develop perseverance and grit or grow new dendrites to get smarter, but the system remains stacked against them, is that really a healthy perspective to promote? From the point of view of students of color and historically looted students,⁵ does that just sound like a new version of "pull yourself up by your bootstraps"? When PTs and practicing teachers lack political conocimiento, they can unknowingly adopt simplistic reform packages and slogans that make them feel they are effectively addressing equity and social justice.

Creative Insubordination

When PTs are developing political *conocimiento*, they often feel a desire to something to address the injustices they witness. This is where creative insubordination comes into play. *Creative insubordination* is a term grounded in 1980s, a term I heard growing up in an activist family, a term used on a regular basis in my community. I later learned that creative insubordination

was published in literature on principal leadership because some principals were found to stand up to the establishment to protect their teachers when decisions were being made that did not seem fair (Crowson & Morris, 1985). I find it extremely helpful for naming the work that community leaders and exceptional teachers do as a matter of their everyday practice (Gutiérrez, 2013a, 2015a, 2015b; Gutiérrez & Gregson, 2013; Gutiérrez, Irving, & Gerardo, 2013). Creative insubordination recognizes innovative work that individuals, in collaboration with others, do when they need to get a job done but when doing so will be met with resistance from those protecting the status quo. Teachers who are creatively insubordinate learn to bend rules and interpret things in ways that rely on a higher ethical standard. Rather than simply following what others around them are doing or telling them to do, they reflect deeply and base their decisions on professional judgment guided by doing right by students. I emphasize the creative part to highlight the fact that this work is not done foolishly or naively. It is done in a way that keeps teachers from being fired. In this sense, like any other professional knowledge, it requires skill and precision.

Teacher Education Programs Can Develop Political Knowledge

One set of issues in which mathematics teachers need to be able to reinterpret or bend rules is equity. When PTs enter classrooms for observation or student teaching, they receive strong messages that equity is about the achievement gap; equity is about growth mindset; equity is about grit and other things. So before they enter those sites, I try to help them grapple with a more sophisticated notion of equity. I present for them four dimensions of equity/learning (Figure 2.2) that they should consider: access,



Figure 2.2 Dimensions of equity/learning.

achievement, identity, and power (Gidentify particular scenarios as being sions (Gutiérrez, 2006).

In doing so, they come to recognize out in our work as mathematics teac That is, our work can remain neat a tors and policymakers as well as the ents, if we adhere to a mainstream d only with access (e.g., students havin terms like "quality" teachers and "rig (e.g., equal outcomes on standardize courses taken, equal representation refer to collectively as the dominant of beliefs held by most educators, pare ask ourselves, is this definition of equ about the kinds of identities that stud classrooms? Does this definition of e seen as legitimate participants in mat "standard algorithm" or speak Englis definition of equity make sense if stu historical and cultural aspects of ma this definition of equity encourage te be used as a lens to identify inequitie inequities in one's home community dents getting good grades and access

What I aim for in my teacher ed away asking themselves, "For any give when given the opportunity to think learning that circulate in society and understand the importance of idention the diagram. Here, I mean critical in a critique of the status quo. This arrow students' perspectives. Wheneve equity for what purpose and from whether the status quo is the status quo.

The four dimensions of equity/lear ping space. Rather than being a defir the four dimensions provide language tions that arise in the teaching of ma mathematics for all, closing the achievem capture. This language also helps PTs involve helping students to "play the gest standardized tests and develop profice ematical Practice (National Governor

al leadership because some principals shment to protect their teachers when r seem fair (Crowson & Morris, 1985). I be work that community leaders and exeir everyday practice (Gutiérrez, 2013a, 13: Gutiérrez, Irving, & Gerardo, 2013). nnovative work that individuals, in coleed to get a job done but when doing so protecting the status quo. Teachers who bend rules and interpret things in ways Rather than simply following what oththem to do, they reflect deeply and base ment guided by doing right by students. light the fact that this work is not done that keeps teachers from being fired. In mowledge, it requires skill and precision.

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natics teachers need to be able to reinn PTs enter classrooms for observation rong messages that equity is about the rowth mindset; equity is about grit and those sites, I try to help them grapple equity. I present for them four dimen-2) that they should consider: access,



Change the game

achievement, identity, and power (Gutiérrez, 2007, 2009) and get them to identify particular scenarios as being more or less about particular dimensions (Gutiérrez, 2006).

In doing so, they come to recognize the complexity and tensions that play out in our work as mathematics teachers (Gutiérrez, 2009, 2015a, 2015b). That is, our work can remain neat and tidy, aligned with most administrators and policymakers as well as the general public, including many parents, if we adhere to a mainstream definition of equity that concerns itself only with access (e.g., students having equal opportunities to learn, loaded terms like "quality" teachers and "rigorous" curriculum) and achievement (e.g., equal outcomes on standardized tests, equal numbers of mathematics courses taken, equal representation in the STEM pipeline). This is what I refer to collectively as the dominant axis of equity because it dominates the beliefs held by most educators, parents, and policymakers. But we might ask ourselves, is this definition of equity/learning adequate if we also care about the kinds of identities that students develop inside and outside of our dassrooms? Does this definition of equity reflect justice if, in order to be seen as legitimate participants in mathematics, students can only follow the "standard algorithm" or speak English while doing mathematics? Does this definition of equity make sense if students never come to understand the historical and cultural aspects of mathematics as a human practice? Does this definition of equity encourage teachers to model how mathematics can be used as a lens to identify inequities in society and to then address those inequities in one's home community? Or is it simply concerned with students getting good grades and access to college?

What I aim for in my teacher education courses is that PTs will walk way asking themselves, "For any given definition of equity, who benefits?" hen given the opportunity to think deeply about definitions of equity and raming that circulate in society and in coursework, most PTs are able to ederstand the importance of identity and power, which is the *critical axis* the diagram. Here, I mean critical not as in fundamental or key, but as a critique of the status quo. This axis considers what will be meaningful students' perspectives. Whenever we think of equity, we always ask, equity for what purpose and from whose point of view?"

The four dimensions of equity/learning are a useful taxonomy and mapping space. Rather than being a definition that PTs will adopt uncritically, four dimensions provide language for discussing more nuanced situations that arise in the teaching of mathematics, something that terms like matics for all, closing the achievement gap, or simply equity do not easily pure. This language also helps PTs recognize that part of their job may helping students to "play the game" of mathematics, as in do well on adardized tests and develop proficiency in the eight Standards for Mathematical Practice (National Governors Association, 2010). Not to attend to

such goals would put students in jeopardy of not having all options open in terms of career, college, or earning potential. The goal would be to attend to this axis at least enough for students to decide their own futures rather than having others dictate those futures. But another part of teaching may involve helping students to "change the game"—supporting students' identities and power, even when those are at odds with things like scoring well on standardized tests. Helping students to change the game may arise by using social justice mathematics curricula (Esmonde, 2014; Gregson, 2013; Gutstein, 2003, 2006; Turner & Strawhun, 2005) or assigning projects that draw upon students' experiences in home communities (Aguirre, Zavala, & Katanyoutant, 2012; Turner, Gutierrez, & Diez-Palomar, 2011). It could also involve changing the ways that we, as teachers, relate with mathematics and with our students and, again, it may require us to use our own sense of justice rather than that provided by our school or district. Changing the game is important because by not preparing students to do so, teachers are potentially keeping students from becoming the kinds of people they aim to become or from seeing a broader and more humane version of the activity we call mathematics. PTs may grapple with these cross-cutting goals, but those goals force them to think about their stance. What are they willing to stand for as a teacher? What definition of social justice will they use, and how will they know they are achieving it? A sophisticated definition of equity/learning would not allow a teacher to know she is achieving it without input from her students.

In the center of the diagram, there is the concept of *Nepantla*, a form of Nahua metaphysics. Nepantla is not only a space of tensions but from a kind of cosmological perspective is a way of interacting in the world that recognizes opposing forces and values and maintains those tensions rather than trying to shut them down (Anzaldúa, 1987; Anzaldúa & Keating, 2002). It is different from how we traditionally think of dealing with opposing views. Many PTs are familiar with cognitive dissonance, the psychological discomfort one experiences when recognizing two viable but seemingly irreconcilable perspectives (Festinger, 1957). They are able to value the idea that noticing competing views is an important component to motivating change in students. However, the goal in cognitive dissonance is to eliminate the dissonance, to choose one thing over another. With Nepantla, we want to maintain that dissonance for a while, to become comfortable with the tensions, because that is how we develop new knowledge.

The idea of Nepantla not only allows me to help PTs grapple with important tensions and ethics in teaching mathematics, it allows them to recognize that if their work as teachers will involve helping students to play the game and change the game, they, as teachers, will need to be able to do so as well. And by extrapolation, we as MTEs will need to learn how to play the game and change the game, a point I will return to later in this chapter.

As I have described, one way to he cimiento is to offer opportunities for the tions of equity, learning, and mathematal language for talking about mathemata question the status quo in ways that status quo in schools where they may we

Conceptual Framework

Elsewhere, I have described how reprogram that allows us to support tead conocimiento with each other (Gutté Figure 2.3 shows some of the key struct our model.

This is our tapestry weave framework certain structural components—semin professional development sessions, an mentoring—that support the kinds of ing and challenging knowledge, devel

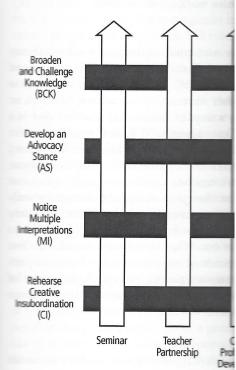


Figure 2.3. Conceptual framework for tea

ardy of not having all options open in otential. The goal would be to attend ats to decide their own futures rather res. But another part of teaching may he game"—supporting students' idene at odds with things like scoring well nts to change the game may arise by cula (Esmonde, 2014; Gregson, 2013; mun, 2005) or assigning projects that home communities (Aguirre, Zavala, rrez. & Diez-Palomar, 2011). It could e, as teachers, relate with mathematics may require us to use our own sense wour school or district. Changing the paring students to do so, teachers are coming the kinds of people they aim and more humane version of the activple with these cross-cutting goals, but t their stance. What are they willing to ion of social justice will they use, and ig it? A sophisticated definition of eq-

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her to know she is achieving it without

me to help PTs grapple with impormathematics, it allows them to recoglinvolve helping students to play the teachers, will need to be able to do so TTEs will need to learn how to play the will return to later in this chapter. As I have described, one way to help develop teachers' political *cono- cimiento* is to offer opportunities for them to interrogate mainstream definitions of equity, learning, and mathematics. By introducing a framework and
a language for talking about mathematics teaching, MTEs help them learn
to question the status quo in ways that set the stage for them to question the
status quo in schools where they may work one day.

Conceptual Framework

Elsewhere, I have described how my research team and I created a program that allows us to support teachers to more fully develop political *conocimiento* with each other (Gutiérrez, 2015a; Gutiérrez et al., 2013). Figure 2.3 shows some of the key structural and conceptual components of our model.

This is our tapestry weave framework, and we use it to show that there are certain structural components—seminars, a teacher partnership, critical professional development sessions, an after-school mathematics club, and mentoring—that support the kinds of conceptual ideas we value. Broadening and challenging knowledge, developing an advocacy stance, noticing

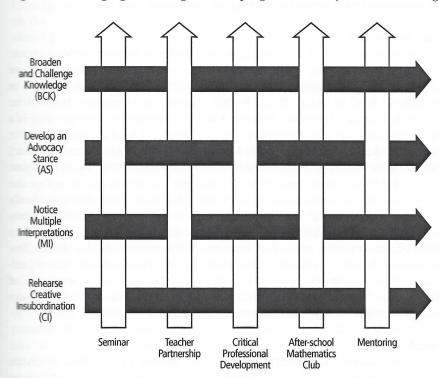


Figure 2.3. Conceptual framework for teacher education.

multiple interpretations, and rehearsing for creative insubordination are all things that we hope our PTs will develop as they move through the program. Our model involves more than just readings and reflections. The structural components provide the backbone for the conceptual components to take root, and all of these threads intertwine and provide support for each other to create the tapestry. At times, it involves becoming a Nepantler@ (one who is comfortable living with tensions) and also becoming the "other" (one who is marginalized). It involves engaging with youth in nonschool settings and engaging with others who model creative insubordination, and it will help them rehearse for the kinds of political encounters that they will face as teachers. This model highlights that no single activity or aspect of the methods courses I teach prepares teachers to develop political conocimiento. Instead, they are exposed to a variety of situations and course assignments that reinforce that they should take seriously the idea that being a professional requires making professional judgments in connection with others; that such judgments require political clarity, a commitment to ethics; and that such judgments need to be defensible to parents, students, and other stakeholders. This is the basis upon which teachers will be able to carry out creative insubordination in their future work environments.

The Mirror Test

One key feature of the language and philosophy that undergirds my teaching is something I call the Mirror Test. The Mirror Test is a way of thinking about the profession that uses one's internal ethical compass as opposed to an external one, whether external is corporate America or one's district or professional society's ways of measuring whether one is a qualified professional. The Mirror Test suggests PTs look themselves in the mirror and ask: "Am I doing what I said I wanted to do in education when I set out to be in this profession? And, if I'm not, what am I going to do about that?" I do not mean to imply that a teacher candidate simply writes out why they want to enter teaching, what they plan to do, and then constantly returns to that list over the course of their career in order to decide if they are doing a good job. New teachers do not know everything they plan to stand for in teaching when they start out. What constitutes the Mirror Test is constantly being refined by the kinds of new knowledge bases, experiences, and solidarities that one creates with other groups. At the heart of the Mirror Test are one's core values and the willingness to act upon those values in order to advocate for students.

In My Shoes

In My Shoes is an activity I use with PTs during one of four methods courses. It provides PTs an opportunity to rehearse creative insubordination strategies and is explained in greater detail in the chapter by Gutiérrez,

Gerardo, and Vargas (see Chapter 10 leader (a practicing teacher, student to situation in which they found themsecould be a new policy that is being ment or a new textbook adoption that interests in mind. It could be hearing handle a more rigorous curriculum the she's not helping me just because I'm is asking the group, "What would you

After a scenario is raised with the gr a role-play ensue. PTs discuss the situ the teacher leader who presented the revealing the response to that scenar peats back to the group the list of pos Next PTs identify, partly upon conser sible actions seems most worthy of ta with the idea in mind that it will be th A member of the group volunteers or (protagonist) in the scenario. The role on the rare occasion, the protagonist r others prepare for their roles. PTs role acting as the protagonist who carries members of the group take on differen vocates who aim to make it difficult for action in a productive manner. In this the role of the antagonist, or the one the first place. Next, PTs debrief how t protagonist felt about their actions ar might do differently. Other members of role-play they thought the protagonis (including actions by the antagonist or their efforts. The entire process can tal

Unlike other kinds of rehearsals to on a particular thing to learn about the and are dependent on the perspective of the group. The goal of this activity important or even likely scenarios that of teaching. Rather, In My Shoes is an possible things they might do in a given like to engage in the complex process where power dynamics are at play, when with their points of view. More importantice responding in a strategic manner of the complex process.

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with PTs during one of four methods unity to rehearse creative insubordinaeater detail in the chapter by Gutiérrez, Gerardo, and Vargas (see Chapter 10). The activity begins with a teacher leader (a practicing teacher, student teacher, or peer) describing a difficult situation in which they found themselves and were unsure what to do. It could be a new policy that is being enacted in the mathematics department or a new textbook adoption that does not seem to have students' best interests in mind. It could be hearing a colleague remark, "Students can't handle a more rigorous curriculum" or a student who says, "I can't believe she's not helping me just because I'm Black." In essence, the teacher leader is asking the group, "What would you do if you were in my shoes?"

After a scenario is raised with the group, several rounds of discussion and a role-play ensue. PTs discuss the situation and ask clarifying questions of the teacher leader who presented the scenario without the teacher leader revealing the response to that scenario. The facilitator then normally repeats back to the group the list of possible actions that have been offered. Next PTs identify, partly upon consensus in the group, which of the possible actions seems most worthy of taking up further through discussion, with the idea in mind that it will be the focus of the rehearsal or role-play. A member of the group volunteers or is chosen to become the main actor (protagonist) in the scenario. The role-play may take place immediately or, on the rare occasion, the protagonist may be asked to leave the room while others prepare for their roles. PTs role-play, with one member of the group acting as the protagonist who carries out the recommended action. Other members of the group take on different roles, including playing devil's advocates who aim to make it difficult for the protagonist to carry out their action in a productive manner. In this phase, the teacher leader takes on the role of the antagonist, or the one who caused the difficult situation in the first place. Next, PTs debrief how the role-play went, including how the protagonist felt about their actions and whether there was anything they might do differently. Other members offer feedback on which points of the role-play they thought the protagonist performed well and which points (including actions by the antagonist or devil's advocates) seemed to derail their efforts. The entire process can take upwards of an hour.

Unlike other kinds of rehearsals that may be scripted or are focused on a particular thing to learn about teaching, these role-plays are organic and are dependent on the perspectives and lived experiences of members of the group. The goal of this activity is not to prepare PTs for all of the important or even likely scenarios that they will face in their first few years of teaching. Rather, In My Shoes is an opportunity to reflect on all of the possible things they might do in a given situation and to feel what it will be like to engage in the complex process of negotiation inherent in situations where power dynamics are at play, where others will not necessarily agree with their points of view. More importantly, In My Shoes allows PTs to practice responding in a strategic manner and feeling all of the emotions that

come with trying to articulate your view in the moment and standing up for something you feel is right.

From the point of view of the PTs, they know that the goal is not to come up with the right answer to the scenario. They also know that they are not simply trying to guess what the person who is offering the scenario actually did as a response. The beauty of In My Shoes is that one must learn to think like a marathoner, not a sprinter. Rather than going after every fight in a school, PTs need to pick their battles. They need time to ponder which things most warrant taking a stand. With The Mirror Test, one cannot stand for everything and all people and all things; one must have political clarity and pick the things that are really important in terms of advocating for students. These are the things that will run through one's mind when looking in the mirror each day. PTs, at this stage of their career, need to consider a variety of moves that they could use and the kind of language that would accompany those moves. Rather than assuming that PTs will figure that out on their own or see examples of it in their school placements, we structure opportunities for them to learn these moves. Negotiating the local politics in schooling is not a simple thing. Like other aspects of teaching that benefit from planning and rehearsals, helping PTs learn to deal with politics in a creative way that advocates for students while allowing them to keep their jobs is also an important skill worthy of rehearsing.

Teachers Learning Political Conocimiento

One way I identify if teachers have grown in their political *conocimiento* is when they participate in more sophisticated ways with others (e.g., peers, instructors, people in schools), more like professionals who have a clear stance on the field and less like students who are pleasing their professor or simply following what their cooperating teacher does (Brown & McNamara, 2005). Early in their program, few PTs see teaching as a political act; almost none would agree that mathematics is political. By the end of the program—partly through assignments where they are required to follow blogs or Twitter feeds; develop a working definition of mathematics; create critical dialogues with their cooperating teachers; and reflect on current events in teacher evaluations, national assessments, and learning standardsthey are slowly exposed to the politics of teaching, and most demonstrate their understanding that teachers often need to take a stand one way or another if they are going to be able to look themselves in the mirror. It is unreasonable to expect PTs to have the level of sophistication that veteran teachers who possess political conocimiento would. Instead, I look for signs of growth. Those include the ability to deconstruct competing messages about concepts like equity, mathematics, and learning that circulate in society; consideration of not just systemic, and institutional aspects of dents; the propensity to take a stand look like in practice; and a well-devel claims that they are putting students approach to teaching.

With respect to In My Shoes, in able to move from immediately sugg vice-to recognizing the importance tion and weighing the different kind see growth when PTs are not just wil text of the situation and are able to the situation, but are willing to bec Other signs of growth are making of scenario and other scenarios they have role-play. They might remark, "So, so week in my school." If PTs can make meta-analysis-recognizing that two same underlying theme—that will alle discourses that operate in schools. It new scenarios to the group regardles in their response to that scenario, I idea that political situations have eas I liken our teachers who are good a to teachers who get good at identifying They develop a shared language and other that is meaningful and useful for

Partly as a result of various opportuand rehearsing for political situation whom I have worked report doing a advocate for students. Some of these curred while they were student teach for a year or more. They include cortaking a stand in a given situation an organizing with other teachers in the did not want to explicitly inform pare out of high-stakes tests; challenging disregarded students who put their pleted no mathematical work in class workshops on Complex Instruction ful ways to position students as experimental than the results of the property of the reachers in the results.

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they know that the goal is not to come ario. They also know that they are not son who is offering the scenario actu-In My Shoes is that one must learn to ter. Rather than going after every fight mles. They need time to ponder which With The Mirror Test, one cannot stand things; one must have political clarity portant in terms of advocating for sturun through one's mind when looking stage of their career, need to consider e and the kind of language that would n assuming that PTs will figure that out their school placements, we structure se moves. Negotiating the local politics ike other aspects of teaching that benelping PTs learn to deal with politics in lents while allowing them to keep their of rehearsing.

nocimiento

e grown in their political conocimiento is histicated ways with others (e.g., peers, re like professionals who have a clear ents who are pleasing their professor or ting teacher does (Brown & McNamaw PTs see teaching as a political act; almatics is political. By the end of the prowhere they are required to follow blogs definition of mathematics; create crititeachers; and reflect on current events ssessments, and learning standards ics of teaching, and most demonstrate often need to take a stand one way able to look themselves in the mirror. have the level of sophistication that vetconocimiento would. Instead, I look for ability to deconstruct competing mesathematics, and learning that circulate in society; consideration of not just one-to-one interactions but historical, systemic, and institutional aspects of schooling that affect particular students; the propensity to take a stand, even if PTs are unsure what that will look like in practice; and a well-developed evidence base that can back their claims that they are putting students' best interests first and supports their approach to teaching.

With respect to In My Shoes, in particular, I see growth when PTs are able to move from immediately suggesting actions to be taken—giving advice—to recognizing the importance of first gathering additional information and weighing the different kinds of approaches one could take. I also see growth when PTs are not just willing to consider more deeply the context of the situation and are able to offer viable actions for the teacher in the situation, but are willing to become the protagonist in the role-play. Other signs of growth are making connections between a given political scenario and other scenarios they have faced once the group is debriefing a role-play. They might remark, "So, something similar happened to me last week in my school." If PTs can make these connections and begin to do a meta-analysis—recognizing that two seemingly different scenarios have the same underlying theme—that will allow them to begin to understand larger discourses that operate in schools. Moreover, when they are able to bring new scenarios to the group regardless of how pleased or confident they felt in their response to that scenario, I see that they are moving beyond the idea that political situations have easy or correct answers. In some respects, Liken our teachers who are good at identifying these political situations to teachers who get good at identifying group-worthy problems (Horn, 2005). They develop a shared language and way of learning from and with each other that is meaningful and useful for teaching.

Partly as a result of various opportunities to develop political conocimiento and rehearsing for political situations through In My Shoes, the PTs with whom I have worked report doing a number of things in their schools to advocate for students. Some of these acts of creative insubordination occurred while they were student teachers and others once they had worked for a year or more. They include convincing others of the importance of taking a stand in a given situation and offering some viable ways to do it; organizing with other teachers in the building to challenge a principal who did not want to explicitly inform parents about their students' rights to opt out of high-stakes tests; challenging a cooperating teacher who blatantly disregarded students who put their heads down on their desks and completed no mathematical work in class; offering professional development workshops on Complex Instruction (Featherstone, 2011) and other useful ways to position students as experts; and creating spaces (e.g., Google Hangouts) for other teachers in the region to share their specific struggles,

values, and approaches to deconstructing school policies and practices when they are not in the best interest of their students.

CONCLUSION

In doing this work, I have learned that teaching is about so much more than just planning for and carrying out instructional activities. In the same way that those teaching strategies that support emergent bilinguals and multilinguals tend to work well for other students, political *conocimiento* for teaching mathematics is critical for students who have been historically excluded or marginalized in mathematics, but such *conocimiento* is also helpful for all students. This kind of work is collaborative and intergenerational, meaning that the knowledge we create needs to be collaborative and in partnership with those who have come before us and will come after us. In our research group and in our interactions with PTs, we like to say, "We act ourselves into new ways of thinking, not vice-versa." That is, it is not just work we think about and create philosophy statements about; this work is action-oriented.

The language and frameworks to which we expose PTs go a long way towards helping them make sense of the profession. In the same way they would plan for and deal with students' conceptions of particular mathematical topics, they learn to recognize the politics and be able to plan for and deal with it when it arises. Moreover, it is not just what one learns in a teacher education program but actually how one learns that matters. If the forms of knowledge that we expect teachers to develop arise from habits of mind and actions that value tensions, rely on ethics, acknowledge politics, and are largely guided by what is in the best interest of students, this is modeling for them how they will do this work as lifelong learners. In other words, as I move forward in my career as a teacher, if I am learning through rehearsals and out-of-school spaces, if I am attending conferences and movies with veteran teachers and novices, if I am debriefing with others, it means that I am not going to expect to do this work on my own as a teacher. It also means that I am going to want to attend events with other people and debrief with other people. It means that I am not just going to look to textbooks or professors or peers for official knowledge, that I will continue to do this work in community with a diverse group of people, face-to-face and through blogs, social media, and using whatever means necessary.

The climate of high-stakes testing, new teacher evaluations, corporate America's growing interest in education, and the dismantling of schools like Railside and Union High show us that teaching mathematics requires much more than learning how to develop inquiry-based lessons and assessments, or cultivating relationships with students, or having goals of ambitious teaching in ways that have been traditionally defined. We must

prepare teachers to take a stand and to complete the complete that it, and power. They need to be able tiety sends to us about what is important.

As we move forward as a field, I a Mirror Test as MTEs: By what standar lent? Who or what will we look to in a good job in our teaching? Will we loo reviews to decide we are excellent? O compass that can tell us we are consi for students in the public schools, en ministrators, colleagues, or PTs who fe status quo? Can we honestly say we are realities they will face if we ignore poli education community has talked about for all." From the point of view of stud can Indian, recent immigrants, emerging torically looted, if we do not prepare o mathematics teaching, then we are do chairs on the deck of the Titanic.

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- 1. This research was funded by the 0934901. Any opinions, findings, are pressed in this material are those of the views of the National Science For so graciously shared their teaching seesearch assistants include Sonya E. lela E. Vargas.
- PARCC is not the only test with probeen found to have egregious flaws (
- 3. I use the term Latin@/x to indicate s lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, c Latin@ and Latinx represent a dece Spanish language whereby groups of to with the "o" (male) ending as well some, the circular line radiating out ers, the "x" represents a variable win sented. My choice to use this term reto name themselves.
- 4. I cite this article as 2010/2013 because in 2010 and some researchers began

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d the dismantling of schools aching mathematics requires inquiry-based lessons and asstudents, or having goals of raditionally defined. We must prepare teachers to take a stand and to reclaim the profession of mathematics education. Prospective (and practicing) teachers need opportunities to understand the broader education landscape as it relates to capital, identity, and power. They need to be able to deconstruct the messages that society sends to us about what is important in learning, teaching, and justice.

As we move forward as a field, I ask us to think hard about what is our Mirror Test as MTEs: By what standards will we judge ourselves to be excellent? Who or what will we look to in order to decide if we are really doing a good job in our teaching? Will we look externally to promotion and tenure reviews to decide we are excellent? Or will we have developed an internal compass that can tell us we are consistent with our ethics and what is best for students in the public schools, even if that means standing up to administrators, colleagues, or PTs who feel more comfortable maintaining the status quo? Can we honestly say we are preparing beginning teachers for the realities they will face if we ignore politics? For a long time, the mathematics education community has talked about equity, about a kind of "mathematics for all." From the point of view of students who are Black, Latin@/x, American Indian, recent immigrants, emergent bilinguals or multilinguals, or hissorically looted, if we do not prepare our teachers for the political nature of mathematics teaching, then we are doing little more than rearranging the chairs on the deck of the Titanic.

NOTES

- 1. This research was funded by the National Science Foundation, Grant # 0934901. Any opinions, findings, and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Science Foundation. Thank you to the teachers who so graciously shared their teaching struggles and accomplishments with me. Research assistants include Sonya E. Irving, Juan Manuel Gerardo, and Gabriela E. Vargas.
- 2. PARCC is not the only test with problems. Smarter Balanced tests also have been found to have egregious flaws (Heitin, 2015).
- 3. I use the term Latin@/x to indicate solidarity with individuals who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, questioning, and queer (LGBTQ). Both Latin@ and Latinx represent a decentering of the patriarchal nature of the Spanish language whereby groups of males and females are normally referred to with the "o" (male) ending as well as a rejection of the gender binary. For some, the circular line radiating outward represents gender fluidity; for others, the "x" represents a variable whereby any gender form could be represented. My choice to use this term reflects my respect for how people choose to name themselves.
- 4. I cite this article as 2010/2013 because it was published online through JRME in 2010 and some researchers began citing it as such then. It was not released

- in print in JRME until 2013, and some researchers have cited it as such since. Because the focus of the article is on a particular point in history, the work should reflect the earlier date.
- 5. I use the term *historically looted* to emphasize the fact that certain students and their families are not just "low income." They have not been able to accrue wealth because others have stolen that wealth from them. See, for example, Madrigal (2014) for the inconsistent ways in which the Federal Housing Administration loans were distributed to citizens who were Black or White. See Weinberg (2003) for a brief history on how American Indians, Blacks, and poor Whites have been exploited for their labor.

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