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Intergroup Dialogue with Pre-Service Teachers:

Measuring attitudes, comfort and action among social justice educators

A thesis submitted in partial satisfaction

of the requirements for the degree

Master of Arts in Education

2016

ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS

Intergroup Dialogue with Pre-service Teachers:

Measuring attitudes, comfort and action among social justice educators

by

Rebecca Elizabeth Cannara

Master of Arts in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2016

Professor Rashmita S. Mistry, Chair

Current events in the United States have brought the detrimental effects of discrimination to the forefront of American mainstream politics and discourse. School climates often reflect societal tensions and can be fueled by the unconscious biases of teachers. This can result in differential treatment of youth by race, sexuality, gender, ability and class (Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002) and can affect students' sense of belonging, motivation, and academic performance (Tajfel, & Turner, 1986; Derks, van Laar, & Ellemers, 2006). Many teachers report feeling uncomfortable addressing social justice issues with their students (DiAngelo, 2012; White, Mistry, & Chow, 2013). Intergroup dialogue (IGD), which is grounded in Longitudinal

Intergroup Contact Theory, proposes not only that the contact between social groups matter, but that the duration and nature of that contact is also key (Pettigrew, 1998). Often used to reduce discriminatory behavior on college campuses, IGD brings together individuals with different social identities, over a sustained period of time, in order to lead to social change. The current mixed methods study employed quantitative (e.g., surveys) and qualitative (e.g., journals, interviews) data to assess the effects of a sustained dialogue intervention on pre-service teachers' attitudes, comfort, experiences and actions related to their training as social justice educators. More specifically, 34 K-12 pre-service teachers--enrolled in a teacher education Master's program, located at a premier, public university in Southern California--participated in two separate identities courses as part of their training. Participants in the comparison group were enrolled in the standard practice identities course, whereas the intervention group participated in a pilot 10-week IGD course. Data were collected over eight months, through pre- and post-intervention surveys and interviews and from the journals of intervention participants. While survey results indicated that both cohorts of students entered the program and study with high social justice mindsets, qualitative findings suggested that while an identities course was beneficial for pre-service teachers' professional development, the IGD format enhanced this curriculum by promoting deeper levels of awareness and comfort in navigating interpersonal and intergroup relations for students. Logistical implications and other challenges are discussed.

The thesis of Rebecca Elizabeth Cannara is approved.

Sandra H. Graham

Jennie Katherine Grammer

Rashmita S. Mistry, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2016

DEDICATION

I dedicate my master's thesis to Anya and Deva for their loving and patient support, hugs and cuddles that keep me pushing forward each and every day, and to Noah for always believing in me. I also dedicate this thesis to K-12 teachers, for whom I have the deepest respect and appreciation of their dedication and commitment to the well-being of our children.

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Intergroup Dialogue with Pre-service Teachers:

Measuring attitudes, comfort and action among social justice educators

Recent events in the United States have highlighted the prevalence of a long history of discrimination of individuals on the bases of race/ethnicity, social class, immigration status, ability, gender and sexuality. Due in part to the efforts of organizations like Black Lives Matters and Occupy Wall Street, mainstream political and public discourse has turned its focus to the detrimental effects of discrimination and inequality. Amidst this public discourse, children are developing an understanding of their own social identities and how this relates to social systems (Brown, 2000; Umaña-Taylor et al, 2014), yet teachers are often not prepared or comfortable facilitating discussions of inequality and discrimination (Rogers & Westheimer, forthcoming). In addition, research findings highlight that teachers' expectations and biases influence student biases (Bigler, Jones & Lobliner, 1997; Rattan, Good, & Dweck, 2012), and that value-diversity models, such as multiculturalism, cultural consciousness, and intergroup dialogue, may reduce bias more successfully than colorblind approaches (Apfelbaum, Pauker, Sommers, & Ambady, 2010; Dovidio et al., 2004). Teacher education programs have moved to include more multicultural training, however they vary in levels of preparation and do not always address issues of social justice (Gorski, 2009). At the same time, intergroup dialogue has gained attention for the ways in which participants build relationships, explore commonalities and differences, while discussing systems of power and privilege, and engage in action planning and alliance building (Zúñiga, Nagda, Chesler & Cytron-Walker, 2007; Schoem & Hurtado, 2001). Intergroup dialogue (IGD) is grounded in Longitudinal Intergroup Contact Theory, which proposes that in order to reduce prejudiced behaviors, not only does contact between different

social groups matter, but the duration and nature of that contact can act to reduce prejudice by promoting cross-group friendships and alliances (Pettigrew, 1998; Allport, 1954). The current study explored one social justice focused teacher education program to evaluate how IGD may support the program's standard "Exploring Identities" (EI) curriculum by preparing pre-service teachers to be more comfortable addressing prejudice and discrimination in the classroom. More specifically, a cohort of K-12 pre-service teachers—enrolled in a teacher education Master's program, located at a premier, public university in Southern California—participated in two separate identities courses as part of their training. Participants in the comparison group were enrolled in the standard practice identities course, whereas the intervention group participated in a pilot 10-week IGD course. Because dialogue provides tools for constructive communication in addition to discussions of social identities and systems of power and privilege, I anticipated that the dialogue format would aid pre-service educators in developing skillful methods for managing difficult discussions about inequality with students and colleagues. My hope was that these findings would not only further the research on intergroup dialogue, but benefit the work of teacher education programs.

Before discussing the specific research questions guiding this study, I will first review the current literature on the challenges of preparing teachers to address social justice related issues and explore how dialogue may offer an opportunity for pre-service teachers to arrive at a deeper level of understanding and comfort than a course that already offers explorations of identity and teacher positionality.

For the purposes of this study, I rely on the definition of "social justice" as:

> The virtue which guides us in creating those organized human interactions we call institutions. In turn, social institutions, when justly organized, provide us with access to what is good for the person, both individually and in our associations with others. Social justice also imposes on each of us a personal responsibility to work with others to design and continually perfect our institutions as tools for personal and social development. (Center for Economic and Social Justice, 2016, retrieved online)

Within this definition lies an understanding of social justice as a guiding virtue that requires a sense of responsibility to act accordingly. It is with this framework that I discuss the preparation of teachers to adopt social justice values and actions.

A growing public discourse on bias has highlighted the detrimental effects of discrimination, particularly how implicit biases result in differential treatment of youth (Vega, 2014) on the bases of race, sexuality, gender, ability level, and class (Skiba et al, 2002), which, in turn, has been shown to affect students' sense of belonging, motivation, and academic performance (Tajfel, & Turner, 1986; Derks et al, 2006). Historically, U.S. classrooms have been dominated by "colorblind" approaches (Lewis, 2001; Pollock, 2005; Pahlke, Bigler, & Suizzo, 2012) and "White silence" (e.g., white adults avoiding discussing race with children when opportunities arise for fear of instilling racist beliefs) (Delpit, 1995; DiAngelo, 2012), despite the fact that these approaches likely perpetuate inequality and discrimination (Pahlke et al., 2012; Apfelbaum et al, 2010). Teachers are often unaware of the biases they hold and how these biases relate to their expectations and treatment of students (Marx, 2002; Wynne, 1999), and studies have shown how teachers can develop deficit-based perceptions of their students that can lead to teachers' attitudes of antipathy, resentment and lower academic expectations (Marx, 2002).

Teacher preparation. Teacher education programs act as mediators of teachers' identity development (Philip & Benin, 2014) and play a key role in addressing how much teachers truly understand about inequality, their positionality within systems of power, and how comfortable and prepared they feel to teach about inequality to their students. The National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) has called for multicultural education to be part of the accreditation process and added the term "social justice" to their list of desired teacher qualities. Yet there lacks a consistent set of curriculum and adherence to this mandate, and pushbacks exist at institutional and interpersonal levels (Ambe, 2006; Guillén, Gimenes, & Zeichner, *in press*).

Gorski's (2009) evaluation of 45 teacher education programs' multicultural education syllabi found that a majority of programs were not sufficiently educating teachers according to "the defining principles of multicultural education" (p.316) which situate the teacher's role within a political movement and process that works to secure social justice and equity through institutional reform and critical analyses of systems of power and privilege. These programs were therefore not sufficiently training teachers to carry out multicultural practice in the classroom. Gorski calls for teacher education programs to revise their policy, practices and consciousness in order to adhere to the NCATE requirements for multicultural, socially just education (ibid.). The review made apparent the wide range of teacher education programs that claim to be social justice oriented but may act to uphold existing hierarchies of inequality.

There is a growing body of literature that provides examples of programs that call for teachers who are committed to social justice and activism in urban schools (Cochran-Smith, 2005; McDonald & Zeichner, 2009; Philip & Zavala, 2015), including programs that aim to shift teacher's mindsets and practice toward a more critically aware and social justice oriented

framework. However, the authors also list many of the challenges that impede them from achieving these goals (Gorski, 2009). For example, teachers' responses to activities that help them to reflect on their own personal biases have mixed responses (Clark & Zygmunt, 2014), and teachers can be trained to celebrate diversity while they simultaneously continue to develop deficit beliefs, as exemplified by research and critiques of Ruby Payne's professional development programs (e.g., *A Framework for Understanding Poverty*, discussed in Bomer, Dworin et al, 2008). The challenges in addressing these attitudes, beliefs and subsequent behaviors lie in how training programs can help pre-service teachers understand their own positionality and how they support varied comfort levels in discussing inequality.

Teacher comfort levels. The literature suggests that many teachers, who may otherwise consider themselves proponents of diversity, do not feel prepared and/or comfortable discussing social inequalities in the classroom. In addition, new teachers often feel unprepared to work with diverse populations, even after diversity training (National Comprehensive Center for Teacher Quality and Public Agenda, 2008). This lack of training on how to address economic inequalities can lead to varied educational practices that may perpetuate acceptance of structural inequality (White et al., 2013). White and colleagues found that, whereas teachers expressed comfort discussing many social differences (e.g., ethnicity, gender, family structure) with children, they struggled to find ways to address income inequality, particularly because of the income inequality evident among the students in their classrooms (ibid.). Studies that evaluate teaching about social class and economic inequality have highlighted how many teachers often fear backlash from employers or parents, avoid making children feel uncomfortable or raise tensions, feel unprepared to talk about the subject (e.g., not having enough facts or holding misunderstood

concepts), or need to keep the class focused on standards- and test- driven curriculum (Rogers & Westheimer, forthcoming).

When teachers have received appropriate training, they may still explicitly support diversity, but implicitly hold biases that create social distance between themselves and students of more marginalized social identities. Studies have shown that teachers tend to hold more conservative beliefs, compared to individuals in the broader society (Slater, 2008), and can hold different beliefs depending on personal or professional contexts (Pohan & Aguilar, 2001). An evaluation of data from the National General Social Surveys on public racial attitudes (1994-2004) showed that White teachers' attitudes mirrored the general social attitudes on race, but were less tolerant of racial differences when considering intermarriage or sending their own children to schools with more than 50% Black students (Hinojosa & Moras, 2009). Studies highlight how discussing inequalities may challenge White teachers' own perceptions, and require them to address a subject they may not be very experienced discussing (DiAngelo, 2012). Another recent study found that while teachers may have felt comfortable addressing negative behaviors, such as bullying of transgender youth, they felt less comfortable or prepared in answering general questions or facilitating conversations about the experiences of those who identify as transgender (Gay, Lesbian & Straight Education Network, 2012). However, the findings also indicate that teachers express a desire for additional professional development to support their understanding and engagement. Attending to this type of professional development can result in practices that extend beyond including transgender experiences to inclusion of culturally diverse and multi-racial families in the classroom setting (ibid.).

It is striking that teacher comfort levels in discussing difficult and complex subjects such as social inequality may be driving the quality of engagement students receive about these issues.

The above cited studies highlight the ways that some teachers may struggle, feel unprepared, or choose paths of less resistance rather than address social justice in the classroom. The preparation of teachers must therefore provide opportunities to increase pre-service teachers' awareness and knowledge of the detrimental effects of inequality and to develop strong communication skills to navigate uncomfortable discussions with students, parents and administrators. For this reason, there are an increasing number of calls for improved multicultural preparation and the crucial need for pre-service teachers to seek out and be provided opportunities to develop critical thinking and self-reflection skills that dig beyond surface level understandings of oppressed cultures. In this way, pre-service teachers may better recognize oppressed groups' agency, assets and contributions and facilitate conversations that situate disparities within an understanding of larger systems and their historical context (Ambe, 2006; Philip, 2012; Philip, Way et al, 2013).

Intergroup dialogue. In general, the literature supports the notion that those who oppose prejudice—for example those who have adopted colorblind approaches—will feel guilt and will be motivated to inhibit biases as they become aware of them, and look for ways to do so (Devine, Forscher, Austin, & Cox, 2012; Amodio, Devine, & Harmon-Jones, 2007). However, there is little literature that evaluates how to achieve long term reductions in bias and what type of interventions are required to do so (Devine et al, 2012). Mistry et al. (2012) suggest that explicit discussion about inequality should be sustained and personalized underlying principles about power, privilege, stereotypes and bias. Referencing Freire's 1970 work, Philip and Zavala (2015) described dialogue as "a creative, generative experience by which people name the world and by naming it enter the historical struggle to transform it" (p.6). DeKoven (2011) insisted that "only

through open, honest, and properly facilitated dialogues can people begin to work through their own prejudices, misconceptions, and fears about “other” people” (p.155).

Proponents of intergroup dialogue (IGD) argue that to achieve social justice, we need to move beyond discomfort or guilt to acceptance, and ultimately to allyship, and do so in a safe, effective space over a sustained period of time (Schoem & Hurtado, 2001, Zúñiga et al., 2007). These values stem from Contact Theory, which suggests that productive intergroup contact must satisfy four conditions--equal group status within the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation and social sanction (Allport, 1954). Longitudinal Intergroup Contact Theory adds that truly constructive contact and reduced prejudice require a quality of engagement over time that make it possible for individuals to perceive the potential for cross-group friendships and alliances (Pettigrew, 1998). Through dialogue, participants explore their social identities, long-held stereotypes, and situate very personal discussions within an academic understanding of systems of power and privilege, in order to reduce bias and improve intergroup relations. At the same time, participants develop skills in self-reflection, communication, and empathy and work toward building cross-group alliances (Dovidio et al., 2004). In this way, participants work together to reduce negative out-group perceptions (Stephan & Finlay, 2002) and evaluate their own roles as “target,” “agent,” “bystander” and “ally” with regard to the experiences of others (Schoem & Hurtado, 2001). Dialogue concludes with participants exploring actionable steps to fight discrimination in one’s own personal and professional life (ibid.).

There is a wealth of information on the benefits of intergroup dialogue within communities and organizations (e.g., Schoem & Hurtado, 2001), and studies have discussed the positive educational outcomes that participants have experienced after completing an intergroup

dialogue (Yeakley, 2012, Gurin, Nagda and Zúñiga, 2013). The Multi-University Intergroup Dialogue Research (MUIDR) study **(**Gurin et al., 2013) evaluated the longitudinal effects of the University of Michigan model of intergroup dialogue (used in the current study) across 9 universities across the United States. 720 students were assigned to experimental groups, 717 students were assigned to control groups of waitlisted dialogue applicants, and 438 students were randomly selected to form comparison groups from traditional lecture-discussion social sciences courses with similar themes (race and gender). The study was founded on the IGD critical-dialogic model that proposes that distinctive communication processes foster cognitive and affective psychological processes (ibid.). Results indicated increases in cognitive involvement and positive affectivity, increased structural understanding of inequality, increased intergroup empathy and increased action and motivation to bridge differences for the dialogue participants as compared with the wait-listed control participants. In comparison to participants in social science courses, dialogue participants reported similar complex thinking and thinking about society, however, dialogue participants showed significantly greater increases in intergroup understanding, collaboration and action. An interesting finding of the MUIDR study was that self-assessed skills in dealing with conflict showed no immediate effects of dialogue until much later. A year after the dialogue, participants reported feeling more skilled in dealing with conflict in a constructive way as compared to control and comparison groups (ibid.). In addition, the MUIDR study found negative effects from dialogue, as measured by the frequency of negative emotions (e.g. worried, anxious, tense or fearful) and interactions due to reports of negative interactions across differences. However, the authors of the study pointed out that this is to be expected when discussions of power and privilege are situated within the context of personal experiences. The authors pointed out that while these types of conversations can elicit feelings of

anxiety, guilt, anger, and other emotions, the dialogue format supported participants to employ constructive communication tools as they pushed past their comfort zones. A year out, the negative emotions subsided, with only positive effects of dialogue reported, such as higher comfort in communication across differences, more complex thinking, and increased skills dealing with conflict (ibid.).

Yeakley (1998) found that alongside outcomes of increased understanding of different experiences and perspectives, participants have also reported increased and decreased levels of comfort and connection. She found that two key processes played significant roles in participants' experiences of positive and negative outcomes: 1) "connecting through a depth of personal sharing" as a positive outcome and 2) "disconnecting in response to hurtful intergroup conflicts" as a negative outcome (Yeakley, 2012, p. 23-24). These two processes resulted in 4 levels of positive and 4 levels of negative change, which represent the many ways conflict can be experienced and processed by participants and facilitators in a dialogue (see Table 1). Outcomes can vary depending on whether facilitators helped to process the conflict and whether participants were open to processing together or were at various levels of conflict avoidance. Whether the conflict felt resolved or not may differ among participants (ibid.). Yeakley also speculated that where agent group members in her study reported more positive outcomes compared to target group members, this may have been due to agents having more to learn at the start of a dialogue and targeted members having more potential to get retriggered from dialogue comments (ibid.). The current study builds on such findings, to explore what outcomes pre-service teachers experience after completing a 10-week intergroup dialogue course.

One ideal outcome for dialogue, aside from increasing one's critical consciousness and action, is for the adoption or recognition of productive communication. By providing

opportunities to practice skills in active listening and respectful communication, developing more comfort in navigating conflict, and building an awareness and appreciation of commonalities and differences, dialogue has the potential to move individuals from any place on the spectrum of identity development away from dichotomous, individualistic and stereotype-based thinking. By navigating difficult "hot" topics within the framework of common guidelines, dialogue can promote participants' reframing of conflict as an opportunity for growth, with the potential to arrive at previously unforeseen outcomes. Dialogue promotes an intersectional and developmental understanding of the complexities and connections of individuals' identities across context and time.

There are few studies that evaluate how dialogue can be incorporated within the professional training of teachers. One study highlighted ways in which elementary school teachers benefited from a sustained dialogue with members of their local LGBTQ community (Dessel, 2010), and another showed how dialogue helped pre-service teachers to expand their understanding of their own positionality, raised their awareness of the impact of race and racism in schools, and led them to feel empowered and committed to action (Rodriguez-Scheel, 2015). For this reason, I was interested in comparing outcomes for pre-service teachers who are required to explore their social identities and positionality as part of their first year of preparation in a social justice oriented program.

The Current Study

As evidenced by the literature discussed in this review, while teacher preparation programs vary in the level of social justice oriented training they provide, extant research

highlights a need to support pre-service teachers' intellectual *and* affective experiences in preparing to bring socially just values into their classrooms. This may help the next generation of teachers to feel more comfortable addressing inequality and increase their awareness of how they can better include diverse communities within their classrooms. While teacher education programs increasingly offer multicultural and social justice oriented curriculum, it is unclear how much teacher education programs address the affective experiences of pre-service teachers and how deeply new teachers understand their positions within systems of power and privilege. As such, the current study evaluated intergroup dialogue as a possible intervention within a social justice oriented teacher education program for more deeply exploring one's identity, increasing perspective taking, reducing bias and negative out-group perceptions and increasing participants' comfort in taking action in their personal and professional lives. I employed quantitative (e.g., surveys) and qualitative (e.g., journals, interviews) data to assess the effects of a sustained dialogue intervention on pre-service teachers' attitudes, comfort, experiences and actions related to their training as social justice educators. I hypothesized that while pre-service teachers in a social justice education program may not show very much change in their social justice mindsets after an intergroup dialogue, participation would influence the quality of engagement that pre-service teachers demonstrated in their identities class and could lead to deeper understandings of others' perspectives and experiences and increase motivation for meaningful action in their personal and/or professional lives. The following research questions guided the current study:

1) Do pre-service teachers' social justice and diversity related attitudes, beliefs, and actions differ as a result of completing an IGD course in their first year of training, as compared to taking a general identities course?

2) How do pre-service teachers describe their experience in taking an identities course (general/dialogue format), and how do they describe their likelihood of engaging in social justice related actions after completing the course?

    a) As a related question, how do pre-service teachers describe their experiences engaging in dialogue?

Methods

This study used a mixed methods research approach to evaluate changes in participants' attitudes, beliefs, comfort and actions related to diversity and social justice as a result of participating in a 10-week IGD course as compared with a general identities course. It included a comparative (comparison-intervention) design, with pre- and post-intervention surveys as well as qualitative interviews with a subset of participants from both conditions. In addition, participants in the intervention condition completed weekly journal entries during the IGD course that acted to inform the responsive facilitation of the dialogue.

Setting and Study Participants. Participants were recruited from a teacher education Master's program, located at a premier, public university in Southern California. The program aims to promote a more just, equitable and humane society and transform public schooling. The program's promotional material specifically lists the preparation of social justice educators for urban settings as its goal. Pre-service teachers are trained in academic courses and in urban, public school placements. All participants were required to take a 3-part series of courses during their first year in the program that focused on bridging theory and practice. During their first quarter in the program, students explored communities through a community inquiry project and took a course focused on understanding the social foundations and cultural diversity of American

education. The second quarter course explored pre-service teachers' positionality through the study of their own identities and their identities as social justice educators. The third quarter course explored family and school connections and concluded with an action plan for the classroom and for working with families. The current study focused on the second quarter identities course. Study participants were not assigned to intervention and comparison groups randomly. Rather one cohort attended an identities class as usual (EI) while the second cohort participated in an intergroup dialogue version of the identities course (IGD). All participants were first year graduate students who self-selected into a social justice oriented teacher education program. Because of the small samples in the interviews, I have provided gender neutral pseudonyms for each participant, and use "they" pronouns for further confidentiality."

Study participants were 34 pre-service teachers (n=17 intervention; 17 comparison participants) enrolled in one of two separate courses as part of their training, with the "Exploring Social Identities" course as the comparison condition, and a 10-week intergroup dialogue focused on the intersectionality of identities as situated in systems of privilege and power as the intervention condition. Comparison group participants ranged in age from 21 to 29 years *(M* = 25, *SD* = 2.74). 65% of comparison group participants identified as female, 59% as people of color, 76% as heterosexual, 53% as middle class, and 94% as religious or spiritual. They were a somewhat racially and ethnically diverse sample, with 35% indicating that they were of European-American heritage, 53% Latino/a, 6% African American, and 6% as Other. A slight majority (53%) reported having prior teaching experience and 29% had prior experience with intergroup dialogue (See Table 2). Intervention group participants ranged in age from 22 to 27 years (*M* = 24, *SD* = 1.46), 82% identified as female, 77% as people of color, 100% as heterosexual, 65% as middle class, and 76% as religious or spiritual. Participant reports for the

intervention group also indicated a racially and ethnically diverse sample: European-American (12%), Latino/a (41%), biracial/ethnic: Latino/a (18%), African American (12%), and other (18%). 18% of intervention participants also had prior teaching experience and 27% had prior experience with intergroup dialogue (See Table 2). Overall, there were few group-related differences in terms of socio-demographic characteristics: comparison group participants were more likely to have had prior teaching experience, as compared with those in the intervention groups (Comparison $M = .53$, $SD = .51$; Intervention $M = .18$, $SD = .39$; $t = 2.25$, $p < .05$), and had individuals who identified as non-heterosexual. (Comparison $M = .77$, $SD = .44$; Intervention $M = 1.00$, $SD = 0$; $t = -2.15$, $p < .05$).

Procedures

Overview. Participants in both conditions participated in an identities course as part of their first year in a teacher education program, with the comparison group's identities course led by their advisor, while the intervention group participated in an intergroup dialogue, facilitated by two graduate student peers (including the author). The cohort's advisor was an additional participant. Data were collected through (1) pre- and post-intervention surveys covering topics such as critical consciousness, personal and professional beliefs about diversity, concern about discrimination, and growth mindset, (2) pre- and post-intervention interviews with a subset of participants across both conditions that included questions covering such topics as intergroup relations, comfort with addressing discrimination and attitudes toward conflict, and (3) weekly online journal submissions, completed by those in the IGD course only, to inform the weekly dialogue (see Figure 1 for a timeline). For the interviews, a subset of ten participants (five from each condition) were blindly selected based on self-reported social identities reported in the pre-interventions surveys in order to capture a cross-section of each group. Prior to the start of the

identities courses (at the start of the Winter quarter) and again after the conclusion of the course (beginning of Spring quarter), interview participants were individually interviewed by the author in a private room. Due to attrition only 8 participants were interviewed (4 from each condition) post-intervention.

IGD intervention: curriculum design and implementation. The goals of the two identity courses (i.e., EI; IGD) were similar, but differed in terms of format and the structure of the course implementation. Both groups attended 2-hour, weekly sessions for 10 weeks. The EI course involved advisor-led discussions, a final positionality paper, and 9 assigned readings (one per week) focused on the various components of identities, and how they are situated in systems of privilege, marginalization and power. The advisor asked guiding questions related to the readings to lead discussions in small and large groups. The IGD participants were assigned 2-3 readings per week, completed an implicit associations test, participated in weekly interactive activities, and wrote personal reflections designed to co-construct their understanding of their own identities and those of their cohort, while situating these within an understanding of power, privilege and individual, institutional and structural discrimination (see Appendix for IGD syllabus). The IGD curriculum followed the University of Michigan Model of intergroup dialogue (Maxwell, Nagda, & Thompson, 2012) which comprises four stages that build on common group communication guidelines and lead to difficult discussions around topics of discrimination and oppression. Stage 1 involves forming and building relationships and raising consciousness, Stage 2 explores differences and commonalities of experience, Stage 3 uses “hot topics” to advance intergroup dialogue and to connect personal experiences and beliefs with structural and institutional inequalities, and Stage 4 culminates the dialogue with action planning and alliance building. The IGD curriculum for this study was adapted for pre-service teachers by

two graduate students (including the author), who were trained in facilitating IGD at the University of California Los Angeles. The dialogue was carried out in 4 stages over 11 weeks (with a one week break after week 9). The stages and topics were planned for in advance but adapted to support the fluid nature of an intergroup dialogue, including the evolving needs and concerns of participants and themes that arise. Therefore, certain activities were added or dropped as needed. Table 3 provides a chronological overview of this study's dialogue topics, as well as journal prompts and additional assignments.

Measures

Pre- and Post-intervention surveys. To examine pre-service teachers' social justice mindsets (Research Question #1), pre- and post-intervention surveys included questions assessing teachers' critically conscious attitudes and actions (e.g., egalitarianism, diversity and actions that fight discrimination), concern about discrimination, and personal and professional beliefs about diversity, as described below. In addition, to examine how pre-service teachers describe their experience in an identities course (general/dialogue format) (part of Research Question #2), post-intervention surveys included questions assessing teachers' positive and negative outcomes.

Critical Consciousness Scale. Participants' social justice mindset and related actions were measured using responses to 22 items, categorized by 3 subscales: *Perceived Inequality, Egalitarianism and Sociopolitical Participation* (Diemer, Rapa, Park, & Perry, 2014).

Critical Action. Participants' socio-political participation was measured using responses to 9 items *(*e.g., *"Participated in a discussion about a social or political issue.*") answered on a 6-point-Liktert-type scale, ranging from 1 = Never Did This to 6 = Did This At Least Once a

Week. The scale demonstrated adequate reliability (Cronbach's alpha = .74). Responses to the 9 items were averaged to create a total score, with higher values indicating higher social justice related activity throughout the year.

Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality. Participants' perceptions of inequality were measured using responses to 8 items (e.g., *"Poor children have fewer chances to get a good high school education.")* answered on a 6-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 = Strongly Disagree to 6 = Strongly Agree. The scale demonstrated adequate reliability (Cronbach's alpha = .92). Responses to the 8 items were averaged to create a total score, with higher values indicating higher perceived societal inequality.

Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism. Participants' egalitarian values were measured using responses to 5 items (e.g., "*It is a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.*") answered on a 6-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 = Strongly Disagree to 6 = Strongly Agree. The scale demonstrated adequate reliability (Cronbach's alpha = .81). Responses to the 5 items were averaged to create a total score, with higher values indicating stronger promotion of egalitarian values.

Concern About Discrimination. Participants' concern about discrimination was measured using responses to 4 items (e.g., *"People need to stop focusing so much time and energy worrying about racial discrimination.";* Devine et al., 2012) answered on a 6-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 = Strongly Disagree to 6 = Strongly Agree. The scale demonstrated adequate reliability (Cronbach's alpha = .57). Responses to the 4 items were averaged to create a total score, with higher values indicating higher levels of concern about discrimination.

Personal and Professional Beliefs about Diversity Scale. Participants' personal and professional beliefs about diversity, on the basis of race/ethnicity, social class, gender, religion, language and sexuality, were measured using responses to 39 items, categorized into two sub-scales: *Personal Beliefs About Diversity and Professional Beliefs About Diversity* (Pohan & Aguilar, 2011).

Personal Beliefs About Diversity. Participants personal attitudes and beliefs about diversity were measured using responses to 15 items (e.g., "*It is a good idea for people to develop meaningful friendships with others having a different sexual orientation.*") answered on a 6-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 = Strongly Disagree to 6 = Strongly Agree. The scale demonstrated adequate reliability (Cronbach's Alpha = .83). Responses to the 15 items were averaged to create total score, with higher values indicating stronger personal values toward diversity.

Professional Beliefs About Diversity. Participants' professional beliefs about diversity were measured using responses to 24 items (e.g., "*Only schools serving students of color need a racially, ethnically, and culturally diverse staff and faculty."*) answered on a 6-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 = Strongly Disagree to 6 = Strongly Disagree. The scale demonstrated adequate reliability (Cronbach's Alpha = .82). Responses to the 15 items were averaged to create total score, with higher values indicating stronger professional values toward diversity.

Positive and Negative Change. Participants' self-reported positive and negative outcomes were measured using responses to 6 items adapted from Yeakley's (1998) study (e.g., "*After your identities class, did you experience connection/friendship with cohort members any of the following with members of your cohort?"*) answered on a 3-point Likert-type scale, ranging from 1 = Decreased to 2 = No Change, to 3 = Increased. Responses to the items were

reviewed for individual item means in order to understand trends in positive and negative self-reported outcomes.

Pre- and Post-Intervention Interviews. The subset of participants invited to participate in the pre- and post-qualitative interviews were asked a series of semi-structured and open-ended interview questions designed to get at their experiences with intergroup relations and discrimination prior to the identities course, and to understand their experiences and social justice mindset after the course. The responses were audio-recorded and transcribed by members of the research team. Interviews varied from 15 to 32 minutes and were conducted by the study author in a quiet room.

Comfort and conflict. Pre-and post-intervention interviews included questions that asked participants to describe their experiences with discrimination and how comfortable they would be addressing discrimination in their classroom settings. Participants were also asked to complete the sentence "Conflict is…" to assess their comfort with and attitudes toward conflict before and after exploring identities with their cohort.

Journal Entries. Participants in the dialogue group only completed weekly journals (submitted online), which were evaluated by the author and IGD co-facilitator in order to keep discussions in subsequent sessions relevant to the specific participants. Table 3 lists journal prompts for each week.

Analysis Strategy

Group-related differences on the set of quantitative (i.e., survey) measures were assessed using either t-tests (with the appropriate adjustments for the number of tests conducted) or chi-square analyses. Qualitative data (i.e., interview data, journal entries, facilitator notes from the

IGD course) were independently reviewed by the author and IGD co-facilitator for common themes, using an iterative process. After initial coding, a cross-case analysis was conducted to compare the data across the intervention and comparison groups (where appropriate) to help finalize theme selection. Data from the intervention group journals helped to triangulate interview data and researcher notes.

Positionality statement. Due to the interpretive nature of qualitative research, my role as both researcher and co-facilitator of the dialogue must be taken into consideration in order to better understand how it may influence the study (Creswell, 2014). As a white, heterosexual, able-bodied, upper middle-class, cisgender female, my positionality is mainly that of privilege. In introducing myself to participants, and during our first stage's cultural chest activity, I openly stated my understanding of these privileges, and my experience having been raised and educated with colorblind ideologies. I addressed how my more recent introduction to intergroup dialogue was a defining moment for me personally and professionally, as I came to understand the ways that my diverse friendships and working relationships have been affected by the ways in which I did not deeply explore how friends' and colleagues' experiences differed from my own or take action to challenge inequalities. Throughout this project I made sure to offer space for questions about my positionality. My interest as a researcher and member of society is to constantly push myself to think and to act more critically, to learn more about and connect more with individuals from different backgrounds, especially those with whom I have the least contact, and to find ways to move from a bystander to ally in my life. In addition, I am aware that my experiences

differ from that of my co-facilitator and participants and that our joint participation in the dialogue was situated within a system of power and privilege that expresses itself in different forms and emotions for each individual participant. For this reason, as a facilitator of the dialogue and as a researcher, I looked for ways in which to challenge power dynamics to the best of my ability. For example, as facilitators, my colleague and I made sure to pay attention to what voices were being represented throughout the dialogue and encouraged participants to utilize the dialogue skills that make space for less dominant voices to come forward. At several points during the course of the dialogue sessions, we reminded the group that we are also graduate students, but are trained to facilitate the dialogue, and that while we were bringing activities and providing assignments, the learning was co-constructed through a dialogue that brings participants' own experiences to the forefront.

My colleague and co-facilitator identifies as a first generation Indian-American immigrant from a working class family and is also a first-generation college goer. Growing up in India and then moving to the United States starting in middle school, she could not escape the realities of racism and intergroup contact. However, it was not until she attended college that she was able to explore her own biases and the pain she had experienced due to the social identities she holds. She made every effort to explain to participants that she acted as co-facilitator and researcher for this study.

Everyone, including the facilitators, enters dialogues at different levels of comfort with disclosure and conflict, and different levels of understanding of their own identities and others'

experiences. Facilitators have the added responsibility to provide a supportive space that honors this. Yeakley (2012) recommends that facilitators "1) Create a 'safe space', 2) recognize warning signs of negative processes, 3) support a depth of personal sharing, 4) work with conflict, 5) attend to (identity) group dynamics that reflect differences in power and privilege" (p.24). These were our guiding principles as we facilitated the dialogues each week.

Results

Aim 1: Do pre-service teachers' social justice- and diversity-related attitudes, beliefs and actions differ after intervention?

Table 4 summarizes the pre-intervention results of pre-service teachers' attitudes, beliefs, and actions across the intervention and comparison group classes. The only significant difference between Exploring Identities (EI) and IGD pre-service teachers was in their personal beliefs about diversity, with IGD participants more likely to reinforce stronger personal values for diversity (M = 5.60, SD = .28) as compared with EI participants (M = 5.30, SD = .55, $p < .05$), t = 2.23, $p < .05$. That said, overall participants in both courses demonstrated high social justice mindsets, as measured with the critical consciousness scale, high concern about discrimination, and strong personal and professional beliefs about diversity at the start of their academic year (see Table 4 for group means and standard deviations). This is likely due, in part, to participants' decision to apply to and attend to a social justice oriented teacher education program (see Setting description in Method section). On the other hand, both EI and IGD participants demonstrated

comparably low levels of sociopolitical action at the start of their program (EI: M = 2.18, SD = .66; IGD: M = 1.9, SD = .47).

Post-intervention results also showed few differences in outcomes between the two groups. As with the pre-intervention results, both EI and IGD participants demonstrated high social justice mindsets, high concern about discrimination, and strong personal and professional beliefs about diversity, yet low sociopolitical action (See Table 5). In addition to mean-level differences in outcomes by condition, I also evaluated differences in the extent to which participants' scores changed over the course of the intervention. In general, there was little change in participants' social justice mindsets (see Table 6). However, whereas participants in the general identities course showed a slight increase in personal (M = .22, SD = .37) and professional beliefs (M = .24, SD = .28) about diversity, those in the IGD course showed a slight decrease (M = -.13, SD = .31; M = -.0, SD = .29, for personal and professional beliefs, respectively), t = -2.96, $p < .05$; t = -2.4, $p < .05$ (for personal and professional beliefs, respectively). While these differences between the groups were significant the overall mean change for each group was extremely small.

In summary, survey results showed that the pre-service teachers in this study presented comparably high levels of social justice mindsets at the beginning of their teacher education program, and exhibited little change in these beliefs after completing courses that explored their social identities and positionality. Likewise, they demonstrated high concern about discrimination, strong personal and professional beliefs about diversity, and low levels of sociopolitical action.

Aim 2: How do pre-service teachers describe their experience in taking an identities course (general/dialogue format), and how do they describe their likelihood of engaging in social justice related actions after completing the course?

To answer the second research question, I examined participants' responses to items included in the post-intervention survey that assessed their reflections on the personal and professional benefits, comfort, and connection with members of their cohort after having completed the identities courses (general/dialogue format). In addition, I assessed prevalent themes across the interviews completed by the subset of participants.

Pre-intervention interviews. First, results of the themes from the pre-intervention interviews provided insights into participant similarities, regardless of identity course format. Specifically, all 10 interviewees shared similar motivations for becoming teachers, including the support they received from past mentors and their desire to give back to the community. These early interviews also exposed an openness on the part of many of the interviewees to get to know individuals of different social identities and to participate in discussions around intergroup relations. Eight (8) of 10 (n=4 EI; n=4 IGD) participants described past experiences with witnessing discrimination or being discriminated against, and all 10 demonstrated a willingness to confront discrimination, though their levels of comfort and experience doing so varied.

Post-intervention surveys. I examined participants' responses to items included in the post-intervention survey that assessed their self-reflected reports of personal and professional benefits, comfort, and connection with members of their cohort after having completed the identities courses (EI/IGD formats) (see Table 5). Participants in both conditions were likely to report that the courses were personally and professionally beneficial, that they somewhat increased their comfort in disclosing personal information by the end of their identities course,

and that they perceived little to no change in their levels of connection, conflict and resentment toward other cohort members. Participants in both conditions were also likely to report increased levels of understanding of different perspectives and experiences after completing the identities course. I also assessed participants' compliance with the course requirements. Specifically, participants in the general identities course were more likely to report having read most of the readings (M = 3.73, SD = .59) as compared to those in the IGD course (M = 2.4, SD = .99), t = 4.49, $p < .01$). It is important to recall that the intervention group had more than twice the number of assigned readings on any given week.

Post-intervention interviews. While responses to the survey items reflected similar perceptions across participants in the EI and IGD courses, post-intervention interviews provided more detailed information about participants' experiences and revealed several themes regarding the benefits of taking an identities course and the types of personal and professional (social justice related) actions participants consider afterward. In addition, the interviews revealed several practical issues related to implementing identities curriculum in a teacher education program. In describing these themes that were shared across EI and IGD interviewees' responses, I will also highlight some of the differences that emerged.

Increased awareness of one's own social identities. Comparison group participants' responses to prompts about their own understanding of their multiple and intersectional identities varied. Some felt they had not really learned anything new, but Casey had a positive experience and found security in knowing oneself deeper through the language provided in the class: "I have so much more language to describe who I am, what I face. I feel like I was given the tools and when I mean tools I simply am just talking about language… I feel like I really know who I am… First I was confident but now I feel safe." Other participants in the comparison group did

not express such deep, personal change, but did demonstrate raised awareness about their own social identities and those of others. Many of the IGD participants' responses reflected increased awareness. For example, Kelly shared, "I guess, I hadn't spent much time thinking about all of my identities… I feel like I've been thinking about them a lot lately: [race], my social class, like I feel like I have spent more time thinking about those because I feel like those are ones that do come up more often... because those are ones that we're considering when we think about our students a lot." IGD participants also discussed how this self-reflection is an ongoing learning process. For example, Taylor shared, "What I learned is that I still need to check myself. Um and I thought I was doing like an alright job until this class, I'm going like 'you still have a lot of work to do' ... So I need to just constantly be informed, so all of the articles and stuff I had to I was reading … and to understand that even if I think I know who I am, I still need to keep digging."

While participants in both groups demonstrated a raised awareness of their own identities, two comparison group participants' responses suggested that their identities course may not have covered as many themes and may not have deeply explored the intersectionality of dominant and oppressed identities. For example, Sam explained that,

> I think what was upsetting was people weren't pushing themselves to really investigate their own identities. I heard one peer say that 'I have very few privileges like the only privilege I have is being educated…' I kept thinking like 'you're not undocumented. Your first language is English, um you live in the United States,' so it's like those kinds of things people weren't really like, they were ok … with kind of embracing like 'I'm on the oppressed category, that's clearly my lane and that's where I'm going to stay.'

In contrast, understanding privileged and oppressed roles and providing a language to express them was a prevalent theme in the dialogue interviews. For example, Drew described their understanding as follows:

> I was thinking if you were to ask me about intersectionality or identities and um recognizing those different aspects of my identity as a whole, I think that [dialogue class] gave me a language to look at it, maybe. I think there are ideas that I had before, but I could never explain in a way that made sense to others… What resonated with me the most are ideas of my own privilege...I don't want to say that I was a victim the entire time, but there was little to no acknowledgement of my own privileges.

Positionality as social justice educator. While participants reported more understanding of their own identities, they were also processing their identities as social justice educators and the types of classrooms they envision leading. A few participants in both groups talked about how they have come to see that people have different understandings of what it means to be a social justice educator, and that the process of educating from a social justice perspective takes time. For example, Devon, an EI participant, stated, "I think it made me think in a more nuanced way about what it means to be a social justice advocate and how even if you're all for social justice it can have its... your personal places where maybe it's harder for you to press for equality than others." Taylor, an IGD participant, described increased comfort or readiness in modelling social justice values in the classroom: [regarding addressing discriminatory remarks]

> I'm never 100% like 'yeah bring it on' but it wouldn't be the end of the world that it once was, like what if a student says this about a group or another student or how do I even begin to approach it? ...from this class especially knowing that what is discussed sometimes puts people in situations that are that are uncomfortable and sometimes this

> discomfort can last beyond that point. Sometimes students carry--sometimes people carry--views with them that can't be changed in a conversation or a day, and … that's why I think knowing that it's a long process and that as long as you're addressing it that's a step in the right direction.

Bringing social justice values into the classroom. As demonstrated by Taylor's comments, discussions of positionality were linked to envisioning the types of actions one would take as a social justice educator. Interviewees from both conditions thought about these actions in relation to their current student placements. Each of the EI participants emphasized the benefits of having a guiding teacher at the placement who can model how to address discrimination in the classroom. They felt comfortable with that person in the room and the way that proximity allowed for immediate training and feedback. Two of the EI participants, however, expressed feeling less comfortable considering their future classroom where the available supports would be less proximal and where students may bring up biased behavior they have not yet seen addressed or haven't yet discussed in class (e.g., transgender, mental health). In contrast, the remaining two EI participants felt confident about their abilities to address discrimination in their future classrooms.

Dialogue interviewees also expressed confidence in addressing discrimination and bringing social justice values in the classroom. They provided examples of what they were doing in order to advocate for social justice in their current classroom placements and in their personal lives. For example, Kelly stated:

> I feel like I can better articulate now like when I hear a racist joke, instead of just going 'oh that's racist I don't like it,' I can talk more about how that's reproducing these images that people have of oppressed groups and how that's going to negatively impact… So

> I've become much more verbal in a less emotional 'I don't like that' kind of way and into a more constructive way.

Some participants in the dialogue group also expressed plans for further professional development around social justice and specific plans for bringing social justice lessons into the classroom. In the interviews, participants both EI and IGD groups discussed the types of social justice related actions that they were interested in or were taking at the time. These actions ranged from updating curriculum with social justice messages to organizing students within the schools to getting involved in the school's local community. Devon, from the EI group, described their interest in organizing student groups as a teacher, but reflected, "I don't know that I'm necessarily adequately prepared to do so." Case, another EIparticipant described what they were already doing in their student placement: "I'm talking to them about oppression, identity markers, how it plays out in the world, in society, and they're very open to it. They have a lot of things to say." Similarly, Drew from the IGD group shared,

> I think that as a teacher… I want them not necessarily to only learn through projects, but I want at least opportunities for them to work within an authentic real context that leads to action and I want I would prefer that action ... lean in the direction of social justice… I just know the next step right now is trying to create... that sort of environment in my own future classroom and inviting parents to be a part of it. I think it should start with the parents and students.

Meanwhile another IGD participant, Sydney, was actively planning curriculum for their future students:

> One of the ideas I've been thinking about [are] the 5 critical media literacy key questions, like who constructed the message and what techniques are they using and …. I was

> thinking that what if I taught history through that point of view, like who's writing the history, you know? What are we learning about it, whose perspectives are represented… How might people from different perspectives view this differently? And then… I could teach history through that framework, and…. it will help them think a little bit deeper about what they are learning.

Challenges of bringing social justice lessons into the classroom—moving from idealistic to realistic understanding. While EI participants discussed the ways in which they have learned to incorporate social justice values from their mentor teachers at student placements, several IGD participants had different experiences. They had related conversations from their class to conversations they were having with guiding teachers, and expressed concern about the challenges in bringing social justice to the classroom. For example, Taylor explained,

> My guiding teacher... Social justice isn't at the top of his agenda. He said that explicitly to me, so I wanted to just like talk… like it was really scary to see someone who, like he's a great teacher,…so thinking about like it's not his thing but it might be 20 like 25 of those kids' things in the future, you know… And then for me I'm just like, I'm wondering if I will be that teacher to push and just be fired from every job.

Taylor continued to think about how teachers with this mentor teacher's mindset could affect children negatively and connected their experience with what they learned from one of the dialogue sessions about LGBTQ issues. Taylor expressed the tension between their ideological value of being a social justice educator and the practical implications of risking pushbacks and consequences from families and administrators. During the interview, Taylor resolved, "I do not have to settle for not having conversations surrounding social justice …[or]… settle for my lesson plans being like his... I try to make sure that whatever space I'm in I'm always always

constantly aware of the inconsistencies, the inequalities of this world." Sydney, another IGD participant, had similar, reflections, but was still deciding where they stood in terms of taking action:

> I've been thinking about social justice recently a lot and like particularly LGBT stuff and… it made me think a lot about where is there room for social justice education in public schools. Like nobody is willing to take that step and if administrations don't seem to support that a lot... It's nice in theory, but I've never seen it done in practice yet, and teachers that I've had or have talked to or some of my peers, the ones who I've [talked with] about their teachers seem to not be so concerned about that as a priority and so it's making me question where there's space for that… like of course I would sacrifice. [but] … if I want to be able to make a difference in kids' lives even if it's in small ways, I feel like that might be sometimes more important than like fighting everything.

Practical implications of implementing identities curriculum. The final theme that arose from the post-intervention interviewees and was shared across the study sample was the practical issues around implementing an identities course within a teacher education program. Interviewees from both conditions discussed their experiences with the format of the identities course, including the assigned readings, timing, mentorship, and whether they were supported in navigating difficult discussions around inequality and social identities.

Background readings. When asked about their experience in their identities class, all of the EI interviewees mentioned the readings. These participants seemed to agree that the readings for their class were mainly focused on white privilege and didn't necessarily represent several aspects of their identities. EI interviewees mentioned that they would have liked to have seen other identities represented more, including more articles written by people of color, and articles

on issues faced by transgender youth and youth experiencing mental illness. As discussed in the methods section, participants in the two conditions received a different set of readings, with the dialogue group receiving a broad range of readings focused on communication skills, multiple identities, privilege, systems of oppression, and ally roles. While fewer IGD participants completed the complete set of readings (as compared to the EI participants), several IGD participants spoke about how the readings impacted them. For example, Kelly shared, "[The readings] got more helpful as the quarter went on and when I talk about now understanding or now having the language to talk about why I would prefer not hear this joke or would prefer not to see someone wearing like this pattern, I can, like these readings are part of what I feel like has equipped me to do that."

Timing of course within program. Interviewees across both conditions also discussed the complexities of their experience as graduate students—juggling coursework, traveling to and from their K-12 school placements and preparing for state exams. EI participants expressed a desire to change the structure of the program, while IGD participants were more likely to bring up the specific timing of and intensity of the IGD course. Sydney bluntly stated, "The timing sucked… time of day sucked, time of week sucked, time of year." Other IGD interviewees expressed that two hour sessions were not long enough, since the dialogues often really started to go deeper after an hour and a half. For example, Kelly reflected on how the timing may have constrained deeper discussions, "I do think the timing is a big thing. I think it needed more time, because talking about uncomfortable things, it takes a while to get started and by the time it started then it ended and I think a lot of people again felt like um they were being cut off…So I think that that sort of causes people to hold back when they know that there's an end, regardless of what the needs are." The timing within the academic year may have also affected participation

in the dialogue. Often dialogues include strangers coming together for the first time, but dialogue within a teacher education program involves a cohort of individuals who are in several classes together and who rely on these relationships as key supports throughout their program and beyond. Journal entries during the early weeks of the dialogue and post-intervention interviews showed that many participants were concerned that they would be risking the stability of these relationships. For example Kelly shared, "I think it might be better to do it earlier on,…we have all of these other classes together and we are our only support for student teaching... we also would not have already invested in these relationships that we're now afraid are not going to be ok." That said, Kelly still found the IGD course to have benefited them personally: "I know that there was a point where I was sort of nervous about how the relationships would be at the end of the quarter and … Like I don't feel like we ended on a bad note. It definitely was a lot more positive than I anticipated... I feel like definitely closer to a lot of people."

Mentors. As mentioned earlier**, s**everal of the EI and IGD interview participants reported different experiences with their guiding teachers. The following examples do not serve to critique the actual guiding teachers working with these participants. Instead, they offer insight into the ways that participants perceived their classroom placements after having participated in an identities course. For example, EI interviewees valued the mentorship they received and identified ways in which their guiding teachers incorporated social justice values into their classroom placements. For example, Casey explained, "We talk a lot about all of the identity markers we talked about in our identities classes … the boys say sexist things,… and so I'm very fortunate to have a guiding teacher who handles it so amazing… learning from her and seeing her in the classroom, I get to address it the same way she does… I feel very comfortable when I'm in my own classroom to discuss that." While three of the EI participants listed ways in which

their guiding teachers have modeled social justice ideals in the classroom, two of the IGD participants shared how they approached their guiding teachers about bringing LGBTQ curriculum into the classroom. They were able to have an open dialogue with both teachers but expressed feeling a lack of evidence of social justice values and curriculum among their guiding teachers. Sydney stated,

> My last guiding teacher was a great teacher... social justice focus? Not at all. [the new teacher] does a little more I think… and sometimes I can see like a snippet here and there, but it's not like a theme in the class...the first thing I think of is like that they're too comfortable, like it's really comfortable to just teach grammar and capitalization and the missions, … you don't have to worry about backlash about um you know upsetting people I guess and so it's it's comfortable.

Navigating difficult discussions around inequality and social identities. Several of the EI and IGD interviewees' recollections of the format of the class varied in terms of their feelings of whether one could have deeper conversations in the class. For example, Devon said about the EI course,

> I think there are still hesitancies among our cohort, in terms of being polite and considerate of other people's experiences, but it was definitely interesting… everyone still kind of had a bit of a nice face filter on. It was kind of difficult to understand what everyone's real views were and what their views were that they felt able to express in the class in that moment.

Devon also expressed feeling discomfort and pressure from the social justice focus of the program: "There is a very clear set of ideas that you are supposed to uphold that there's a very clear right answer and right way of being and that to admit that you think otherwise is not a

position yet that anyone really feels comfortable stepping into." Pat, also from the EI group, supported this view:

> Rarely do we actually go into a really in depth discussion where there could be disagreements, ...I don't think our cohort is open to having discussions and actually like 'ok that's where you stand and I see it and I understand it but I don't agree with it... We never agreed or talked about if we have disagreeing points of view how would we discuss this in a mature way.

However, Sam, also from the EI group, felt that over time they were able to have more difficult and deeper discussions: "There were times when we had like disagreements in the classroom between students and we got the opportunity to let it out… I would just voice my opinion but I wouldn't go back and forth and back and forth with someone and for that reason I feel like I was able to let it go." While these two perspectives differ, none of the EI participants interviewed mentioned specific values that the cohort shared in working through difficult conversations as a group. In fact, two EI participants discussed ways in which they preferred to avoid conflict.

In contrast, IGD participants went through activities that explored the potential for positive outcomes of conflict, and provided opportunities to talk through difficult discussions using their established ground rules and dialogue skills. For example among the IGD participants, Taylor considered the positive outcomes of having conflict with a fellow participant:

> I can say from that same experience [of conflict with a fellow cohort member] I've learned a lot from [name]… I respect [name]'s beliefs… And having to see that and we're arguing about something but just from a different perspective but again I feel like

> I'm supposed to learn from [name] more about how to come up against people... who are different from me but have the same mission but we don't have the same agenda to get to that same mission.

During pre- and post-intervention interviews, all interviewees, across conditions, completed the sentence "Conflict is…" to gauge their comfort levels with conflict (See Table 7). Participants in both groups reported varied levels of comfort with conflict, which I categorized in terms of positive, negative and neutral attitudes. For the most part, participants in both groups, had more neutral explanations of conflict post intervention. However, two interviewees from the EI group still expressed somewhat negative impressions of conflict. For example, Casey had negative associations with conflict at the outset: "Conflict is irritating. I try to stay away from it… I hated arguing." After completing the course, Casey felt that "Conflict is a battle I need to be ready for. I still feel like I'd rather not stir up any conflict with peers, but sometimes it's necessary and I need to get better at knowing when it's okay to use that energy." Of the EI participants interviewed, Pat had the most positive response to conflict pre-intervention: "Conflict is interesting; if it's not violent it's interesting," and moved to a somewhat neutral assessment of conflict after intervention: "After being in this program I want to say that conflict can be used or transformed to have dialogue… I think people who are mature and are open to dialogue and open and understanding of people's different point of views... For other people, no, unfortunately." Participants interviewed from the IGD group started from negative or neutral positions on conflict but all moved to neutral explanations post intervention. For example, Drew moved to a more nuanced description of conflict post-intervention. Pre-intervention, Drew stated, "Conflict is growth," while after IGD, they stated "Conflict is potential...It's the potential for growth, resolution, understanding. It's the potential for a lot of negative things as well,

violence or or um unhappiness, but I think that potential sums it up because conflict can go either way."

In summary, results for the second research question found that after completing both general and dialogue format identities courses, pre-service teachers' self-reported benefits include increased understanding of their own social identities and positionality, increased perspective taking, understanding of different experiences, and ideas and practice for how they will bring social justice values and actions into their future classrooms. They also described several practical challenges, such as quality of the background readings provided, timing of the course, mentorship, and the need for support navigating difficult discussions that can act to boost or constrain outcomes. However, post-intervention interviews also revealed ways in which the IGD participants describe more complex understanding of interpersonal and intergroup relations.

Aim 2a: How do pre-service teachers describe their experiences engaging in dialogue?

Post-intervention interviews and journal entries provided insight into the specific experiences of the participants of the IGD course. Through the journals, participants in the IGD group processed many different emotions, reflected on their learning and explored their opinions in light of their weekly dialogue experiences. Table 8 provides representative samples from the journals for each week of the dialogue. The results for this third question suggest that participants in the IGD course experienced additional benefits from the dialogue format, including developing more comfort navigating difficult conversations, a focus on self-reflective processes, and knowledge and practice of dialogue skills.

Navigating difficult conversations. Based on results from post-intervention interviews with IGD participants, two events that occurred during the dialogue strongly resonated with the IGD participants. They are also referred to in the journals. The first event occurred during a

difficult discussion where the group was asked to reflect on our own roles in racism, and the second event was a dialogue about LGBTQ issues in schools. Both events highlighted where the dialogue format and curriculum provided support navigating conflict and valuing different perspectives within a social justice mindset. While participants described the first event as uncomfortable, many of them worked through the conflict and dialogued directly with each other. Participants were able to demonstrate their use of dialogue skills through *active listening, I statements, stepping up and stepping back, asking clarifying questions, bringing one's authentic self, assuming best intentions* and *stating that all reactions are valid.* Some of the conflict was resolved to some people's liking, some was not, and some students expressed feeling better after having addressed the conflict. Participants left feeling vulnerable or uncomfortable, but also wrote about a deeper understanding of cohort members' personal experiences. In discussions during and after class and through journals, participants processed how the program and class were affecting the group. In the post-intervention interview, Drew shared,

> "I have been thinking about that and observing people… if anything just to appearances, it seems like if anything people walk away with a deeper understanding of each other which what I was hoping would happen… I think by pushing deeper beyond that anger or disagreement I think that it puts you in a different perspective. At least that's what I hope it is, but I think that the conflict is good."

In the interviews, IGD participants also suggested the timing in the educational program contributed significantly to the intense emotion felt.

The other event persisted in the minds of participants was the Week 8 Hot Topic dialogue on LGBTQ issues in schools. Participants voted to use the hot topic time to explore LGBTQ issues, since they felt less connected to this social identity. When asked the question of whether

they would send a note home before introducing LGBTQ curriculum, participants for the first time shared a wide range of opinions of what they would do as teachers. By the end of the dialogue, participant journals reflected participant feelings that while they ended the dialogue still with many different opinions, they had much greater depth in understanding why they believed what they did and a newfound consideration of the nuanced ways in which teachers navigate relationships with administrators, students and families. Two of the participants discussed their experiences with this hot topic dialogue in the post-interviews because it came up in a one of the IGD participants' student placements.

These two key events demonstrated ways in which the dialogue experience provided students with opportunities to practice dialogic skills in order to navigate difficult conversations. Participants leaned on the values they had established through their ground rules in order to express their feelings and opinions and employed self-reflection and perspective taking to better understand the perspectives of others. Journals and interviews highlighted many examples of participants processing about interpersonal relations in order to reach a deeper understanding of themselves and others.

Self-reflection. Post-intervention interviews provided evidence of some self-reflection and listening skills among EI participants, but there is a rich collection of IGD participants' journal entries and interview responses that reflect ongoing self-reflection and development of constructive communication skills. In addition, IGD interviewees provided several concrete examples of putting these skills into use with family, in the classroom and with their guiding teachers. This difference between EI and IGD experiences stood out especially because some EI participants discussed ways in which they avoided conflict with fellow cohort members. For example, Sam described the ways in which they have acted to avoid conflict with another cohort

member: “Anytime I kind of anticipate more confrontation, I just, it’s like I’d rather not. I feel like that would be even more difficult just seeing how [cohort member] has been when there is confrontation, I’d rather just not deal with it, just cuz it seems like [cohort member] never budges.” In contrast, IGD participant, Kelly, shared how they have found ways to address conflict through dialogue: “I’m more consistent or more confident… There’s constant conflict [at the school placement] so I feel like just in the like two and a half weeks that I’ve been there I’ve gotten a lot of practice. Like’ ok you speak, you speak, share, like talk to each other,’ sort of facilitating that interaction more and and making it smoother.”

Dialogue skills. As discussed above, IGD participants demonstrated continued development and practice of dialogue skills throughout the intervention. IGD interviewees also listed several examples of dialogue skills, such as *active listening, withholding assumptions, and stepping up, stepping back.* For example, Drew discussed active listening, and explained how their perspective has changed:

> “I’ve always known to listen, you know people tell you to listen; it’s something that I’m sure if you ask anyone they’ll say ‘oh yeah listening is important’ but there’s a difference between actually knowing it and practicing it and I can see it’s been easier to transition into this classroom I’m in… where they’re encouraged to come up with as much ideas and just listen and guide the conversations and bring up ideas if necessary and I think the first time I practiced that was this class.”

In addition, Taylor shared how meaningful it has been to practice withholding assumptions, and Kelly shared how they have appreciated stepping up and stepping back:

> “In the beginning of the quarter when we had ourselves go to the different corners based on how much you talk, I put myself in the more talkative one but it was like as we had

> also talked it was more of a processing thing... I've always tried not to speak over the people that I'm trying to support but definitely in classes I feel like I'm much more aware of how much I'm contributing and how much other people are and I'm trying really hard not to jump in and talk."

Additionally, Drew shared how helpful it has been to remember to ask clarifying questions: "It's actually a topic that I've broached with my [sibling] who often says statements like I used to say when I was [their] age, and it's not like 'well you know what I learned in school, you shouldn't say that'... but it's something that I can ask [them] questions about, 'well then what about this?', and 'how would you feel about this?'"

In summary, the sample of pre-service teachers that experienced the dialogue format of an identities class expressed several additional benefits, including developing comfort navigating conflict and difficult conversations, a focus on self-reflection and gaining knowledge of and opportunities to practice dialogue skills, such as *active listening, I statements, stepping up and stepping back, asking clarifying questions, withholding assumptions, bringing one's authentic self, assuming best intentions* and *stating that all reactions are valid*

Discussion

Overall, results from the current study demonstrated the ways in which the general requirements of a teacher education program, the identities course curriculum, and an intergroup dialogue format shaped participants' experiences (See Figure 1). Results indicate that both social identities courses (EI or IGD formats) were beneficial for this sample of pre-service teachers, in terms of promoting social justice mindsets, increasing awareness about their own social identities, and broadening their understanding of how their positionality relates to classroom engagement. In addition, post-intervention interviews with the IGD participants indicated that

the dialogue format promoted feelings of comfort navigating difficult conversations about inequality, opportunities for self-reflection, and a focus on the value of constructive communication skills (i.e., *active listening, "stepping up and stepping back," withholding assumptions, assuming best intentions,* and *asking clarifying questions*), which have the potential to help equip teachers with tools to better address uncomfortable conversations related to discrimination and inequality. In addition, findings highlighted the practical issues related to implementing curriculum that explores pre-services teachers' identities within systems of power and privilege. Implications for the study's major findings are discussed below.

Aim 1: Pre-service teachers' social justice- and diversity-related attitudes, beliefs and actions after intervention. Overall, this diverse sample of pre-service teachers reported very high social justice mindsets at the beginning of their teacher education program and little change upon completing the identity-related courses that explored their social identities and positionality. Across both the EI and the IGD courses, participants' responses to pre- and post-intervention surveys showed high concern about discrimination, strong personal and professional beliefs about diversity, and lower levels of sociopolitical action. These findings are not surprising, when considering that many participants in the pre-intervention interviews reported seeking out this particular teacher education program for its social justice philosophy. Lower sociopolitical action did not change over the course of the study, likely due to the rigorous schedule and commitments of the teacher education program. The study's findings for the remaining questions serve to better understand participants' experiences and outcomes.

Aim 2: How do pre-service teachers describe their experience in an identities course (general/dialogue format) and how do they describe their likelihood to engage in social justice related actions? In general, participants interviewed from across both course types

provided several examples of the ways in which pre-service teachers can benefit from a course that explores identities during their novice year of a teacher education program. Not only did participants report an increased awareness of their own social identities, but they gained insight into how these identities related to their role as a social justice educator. In interviews and surveys conducted after the conclusion of the identities courses, participants shared the ways in which the course readings and in-class discussions provided a language through which they could better understand themselves and the systems within which they exist and how this language helped them to feel more confident in addressing discrimination and communicating social justice-related values to their students.

Aim 2a: The dialogue experience. For the final question, results from the study indicated that the dialogue format acted to broaden the scope of an identities class and deepen pre-service teachers' understanding through its personalization of the experience, the breadth of background readings provided, and promotion of key communication and perspective taking skills. In addition, the dialogue's final stages of alliance building and action helped IGD participants to think of concrete ways in which to employ social justice actions and values in their personal and professional lives. All of the IGD participants interviewed post-intervention described ways in which they could move from bystander to ally roles and take more social justice related actions. While participants in the EI course also reported a general understanding of the social justice related actions they would like to take as educators, IGD participants provided concrete descriptions of what they were currently doing and the types of communication skills they needed to employ in order to do so. In addition, EI participants did not attribute their skills to the identities class, but to watching and learning from their guiding teachers while IGD participants reported drawing more connections between what they were

learning in the coursework and what they were observing in their mentors' classrooms. For example, they reported ongoing, social justice related discussions with their guiding teachers. These discussions ranged from feeling unsatisfied with the lack of social justice related curriculum in the classroom to continuing a discussion with a former guiding teacher about praxis.

While data from the current study do not permit a strong causal claim about the value-added from an intergroup dialogue identities course, the pattern of findings are consistent with those observed in Gurin et al.'s (2013) comprehensive , and experimental design MUIDR study of the effects of IGD on undergraduate students. As discussed in the literature review, the MUIDR study found long-term, positive effects on navigating conflict, and reduction in negative effects over time. As with the MUIDR study, the outcomes of dialogue do not necessarily emerge immediately after the dialogue ends. Instead, IGD raises awareness and critical thought processes that can be carried on as former IGD participants move through "the real world." It can be beneficial to understand this concept of "unfinishedness" and the ongoing process of reflection and dialogue required to navigate tensions that can arise as teachers enter a career where multiple identities intersect and engage with each other (Philip & Zavala, 2015).

Similarities across EI and IGD. In the current study, participants in both groups reported increased and decreased levels of comfort, connection and friendship. These findings highlight the ways in which constructive outcomes may contain both positive and negative feelings after completing an identities course (Yeakley, 2012). A reduced sense of comfort for one person may be perceived as a negative outcome but may also be construed as being a positive outcome, from a social justice perspective, if that person also experiences increased awareness and understanding of different experiences and perspectives. This discomfort may

represent a privileged individual's heightened awareness of their own privileges and may lead to more willingness to "step up and step back" in conversations. As the MUIDR study found, feelings of negative emotions associated with IGD are to be expected and can result from the depth and complexity of personalized discussions of inequality, and longitudinal findings suggest that these negative feelings subside over time (Gurin et al, 2013).

Adding affective dialogue to the academic discussion. Yeakley (2012) emphasized the uniqueness of dialogue in that learning comes from participants' exchange of shared experiences and perspectives within the framework of their multiple social identities. The dialogue format requires academic background reading, but the reading acts as contextual support that participants draw on to situate their understanding of the personal experiences shared within the group. What matters most is the quality of the engagement in dialogue and whether it acts to enhance or constrain (detract from) the overall effects of the experience. Yeakley (2012) described this key engagement as "the extent to which [participants] share honestly, actively listen, challenge each other's assumptions, and seek to understand each other's perspectives" (p.23). Likewise, in the current study, key principles and skills were valued by participants, but enactment was hindered by time constraints and other logistical issues imposed on the class. The MUIDR comparison to social sciences curriculum showed how dialogue impacted students beyond providing content knowledge. Students learned a set of communications skills and processes that they practiced as they encountered difficult subjects and conversations. The process included personal storytelling, which "draws participants into the experiences and world views of their classmates and turns abstract issues such as racism, sexism, discrimination, and prejudice into personal issues that concern people they care about"(Wong, Gurin, Nagda, & Ford, 2013, p.209). Through the act of storytelling, participants in the MUIDR study reported

feeling validated by the active listening of their peers and more courageous to share as they heard others share. "Appreciating difference was more than distant knowing about others; it also involved feeling others' realities" (ibid., p.206). These findings demonstrated that sharing the complexity of experiences through personal stories elicited empathic understanding in a way that went beyond the academic understanding of different experiences. Relational and critical empathy, the most salient themes to emerge from the MUIDR qualitative findings, grew from the complex feelings (e.g. anger, sadness, frustration, denial) that arose when hearing about the different and complicated experiences of peers. This experience led to deeper understanding first, and feelings of appreciation and connection later (Gurin et al, 2013). Future evaluation of the current study's data will explore similar themes that emerge from pre-service teachers' self-reflection journals across the 10-week dialogue.

Dialogue skills. The dialogue curriculum provides a balance between critical analysis and attending to the emotional connection to the content discussed in order to address emotional experiences that can arise from discussion of social identities and systems of inequality. This, in turn, aids in promoting joint sense-making among the group in a constructive manner (Gurin et al., 2013). As part of the larger MUIDR study, Stassen et al. (2013) found that dialogue participants described 3 key aspects of engagement that contributed to IGD effects: active listening, speaking and thinking (divided into active processing and active insight.). They emphasized that while speaking is naturally encouraged in classroom discussions, dialogue encourages active listening and reflective thinking as fundamental aspects of engagement. Similarly, through the current study's journals and in post-intervention interviews, IGD participants expressed their varied levels of comfort with conflict and described how they processed their responses as tensions arose in the program and in the dialogue. From the post-

intervention interviews, IGD participants reported neutral descriptions of conflict after their identities course. However, EI participants expressed tendencies to avoid conflict in reference to discussions and interpersonal relations with cohort members. The IGD participants who were interviewed listed many of the dialogic skills that enabled them to navigate difficult discussions in a constructive manner.

Allyship and Action. In addition to adding an affective element to an identities curriculum that serves to create brave spaces, bolster constructive communication skills, and supportively navigate participants through difficult discussions, the findings from the current study also highlight the way in which the dialogue format promotes alliance building and action planning as a concrete step in the process. As Tatum (1992) summarized in her discussion of student resistance to discussions of race in the classroom,

> The introduction of these issues of oppression often generates powerful emotional responses in students that range from guilt and shame to anger and despair. If not addressed, these emotional responses can result in student resistance to oppression-related content areas. Such resistance can ultimately interfere with the cognitive understanding and mastery of the material. This resistance and potential interference is particularly common when specifically addressing issues of race and racism. Yet, when students are given the opportunity to explore race-related material in a classroom where both their affective and intellectual responses are acknowledged and addressed, their level of understanding is greatly enhanced. (p.1-2)

Because individuals can resist in-depth explorations of their roles in systems of power, even pre-service teachers with strong social justice mindsets can be remiss in their understanding of their own role in these systems. This issue presents a challenge for the preparation of teachers

to understand and ultimately teach about inequality and social justice. Allies are defined as members of the dominant group who work to support and advocate for an oppressed group (Washington & Evans, 1991). To be an ally, one must understand one's own positionality in larger systems of inequality and recognize the power and privileges they benefit from at the expense of other non-dominant group members (Helms, 1984; Washington & Evans, 1991). However, as with social identities, developing one's role as an ally is a fluid process that develops over time (Washington & Evans,). Without constructive communication skills, it may be challenging for a cohort of pre-service teachers to navigate discussions of identity when they are at varied stages of developing their identities as individuals, social justice educators and allies. Philip and Zavala's (2015) analysis of a pre-service teacher of color's wish to eschew members of his cohort whom he considered racist and non-critical, highlighted the risk pre-service teachers face of entering dichotomous attributions of oneself or others as critical or non-critical, racist or non-racist, and prevent them from finding meaningful ways to engage in dialogue. Without certain dialogic skills and values, we risk losing opportunities for alliance building among social justice-minded educators that would benefit their developing awareness of their positionality and provide supportive relationships that carry beyond the academic setting. Approaches that embed the academic content within a dialogue format may ultimately better serve pre-service teachers in training, as they have been shown to do for undergraduates across 9 universities (Gurin et al, 2013).

The MUIDR study also established the importance of moving beyond promotion of dialogic relationships and critical consciousness to providing the means to explore and reflect on social action once commonalities and differences have been adequately explored. Similarly, the current study's IGD participants reported examples of intergroup action resulting from their IGD

course. For example, all four participants described ways in which they were continuing intergroup conversations related to either the dialogue or their intergroup alliance project. Two participants in the dialogue reported planning to continue their intergroup alliance project into the fall, when they assumed they would be working as teachers, and one dialogue participant continued to talk with their prior guiding teacher about the community they visited as part of their alliance project, discussing how that will apply to their future classroom. Finally another dialogue participant sought out various perspectives from peers and guiding teachers and even potential employers about their experience dialoging about LGBTQ issues in schools. The only parallel from the comparison group were participant reports of having guiding teachers help to "check themselves" at school placements.

Logistics. The current study's findings also offered insight into the ways in which the format of the two identities classes acted to constrain or broaden participants' understandings of their own role within systems of power and privilege and their navigation of these systems. In general, the results suggest that implementing a curriculum that asks pre-service teachers to explore their social identities is challenging, even within a teacher education program focused on social justice. Discussions of identities, privilege, oppression, and inequality are inherently difficult and as participants in the current study reported, people have different understandings and definitions of social justice and are at different stages of identity development. Interview participants in the EI and IGD courses reported somewhat different experiences with the format of their courses. For example, several participants in the EI course felt that the background course readings did not represent the diverse identities of the cohort or of the students they aimed to serve, while IGD participants described how their course's assigned readings aided them in broadening self-reflection and awareness of systems of oppression. The assigned readings acted

to constrain or enhance participants' learning, depending on whether they felt like they were receiving the information they needed as a social justice educator. In addition, study results demonstrated that the timing of identities curriculum—including time of year, day and week—can help or hinder the discussions, and that significant support must be provided in anticipation of conflicts that can arise from having difficult discussions around identity and oppression. Participants across both conditions discussed the complexities of their experiences as graduate students—juggling coursework, traveling to and from their K-12 school placements, and preparing for state exams. Some participants shared how their comfort in disclosing information related to how busy or stressed they felt in their graduate life. Because the dialogue format personalized what are often academic conversations, it added an additional emotional element that some participants may not have been comfortable drawing from at the end of the day. Indeed, several participants expressed that they wished that the dialogue was not held after a long day at their K-12 school placement.

Another practical issue that arose was the way in which support was provided in the class and program, such as supportive guiding teachers and providing interpersonal support to navigate difficult discussions. Again, interviews with EI and IGD participants suggested very different experiences. Whereas the EI participants interviewed expressed appreciation for the social justice mindsets modeled by their guiding teachers in their student placements, some of the IGD participants expressed disappointment in the lack of evidence of social justice values and action in their placements. In all but one instance where the guiding teacher stated that social justice "was not his thing" it is not clear if their guiding teachers truly lacked social justice values or if the IGD participants were evaluating their guiding teachers' actions with a more critical lens, after completing the IGD course. Pohan and Aguilar (2011) found that pre-service

teachers' personal and professional beliefs about diversity related to having participated in multicultural training. They found that this was not the case for practicing teachers and speculated that practicing teachers held lower professional beliefs about diversity because they may have been exposed to less multicultural training and because the complexities of teaching may have led them to make choices of convenience or efficiency rather than what they may believe personally. They also found that those with more cross-cultural experiences demonstrated higher personal values of diversity. This disconnect between the social justice goals of the program and the assigned guiding teacher, however, presented an opportunity for the IGD participants to practice their dialogue skills and further explore their positionality as social justice educators.

In summary, this study supports the provision of identities curriculum in teacher education programs, especially when paired with communication and logistical supports that help participants to constructively make sense of the content they are learning. Survey results showed high social justice mindsets for pre-service teachers, irrespective of the format of the identities course in which they were enrolled (EI versus IGD). This was true when participants beliefs were assessed at the beginning of their education program, and their attitudes showed little evidence of change after course completion. Participants demonstrated high concern about discrimination, strong personal and professional beliefs about diversity and lower levels of sociopolitical action. The survey and qualitative results also highlighted pre-service teachers' self-reported benefits after completing the identities courses, including increased understanding of their own social identities and positionality, increased perspective taking, and understanding of different experiences, and time and opportunities to think about how they might best represent the identities of students in the classroom. Participants also described several practical

challenges, such as quality of the background readings provided, the timing of the course, and interpersonal and mentor supports that can act to boost or constrain outcomes. However, IGD participants described complex understanding of interpersonal and intergroup relations following completion of the IGD course than prior to taking the course. Finally, pre-service teachers who participated in the dialogue format of an identities class expressed several additional benefits, including increased comfort navigating conflict, and deeper self-reflection. Moreover, they supported the use of dialogue skills such as *active listening, withholding assumptions, and stepping up, stepping back.* These outcomes can enable individuals to model social justice values and to comfortably facilitate deeper discussions around discrimination and inequality.

Study Limitations, Implications and Future Directions

As with all studies, this study has several limitations which should be kept in mind when interpreting its findings. First, participants for the study were not randomly selected, as they were participants in two cohorts within a teacher education program. While the study was not afforded a random sample, it did offer insight into the ways in which cohorts process their experiences, such as the high importance they place on the relationships they develop while in the program. In addition, due to the strong social justice focus of the participants' teacher education program, it is not surprising that participants already exhibited high social justice mindsets at the outset of the current study. Future research could focus on implementing identities curriculum in a general teacher education program that may not have the same level of self-selection bias. In this way, research can expand our understanding of the ways in which dialogue may enhance pre-service teachers' awareness and understanding of social justice related issues.

In addition, the timing of the identities course within the overall program requirements influenced participants' responses to the IGD curriculum. As previously stated, the identities

course was the second course in a three-course sequence and was offered mid-year (Winter quarter) and mid-week, for two hours at a time. This timing constrained the dialogue process in several ways. Because the cohorts had other course and teaching requirements in addition to the identities course, the only time available for both cohorts to meet was for two hours on a Wednesday after a full day of teaching. In order to implement the IGD curriculum within these parameters, the dialogue facilitators reduced the original syllabus from 30 to 20 hours of curriculum, including requiring fewer readings to be completed each week. Furthermore, participants in both conditions expressed how the pressure of their schedules affected their participation. For example, several IGD participants reflected on how the conversations were just going deeper when the dialogue would have to end for the day. This limited facilitators' abilities to address difficult conversations and to provide a complete curriculum. However, despite these limitations, the space between sessions and the fact that cohort members were in communication with each other throughout the week may have enabled the discussions to continue outside of the Wednesday session. While the logistical constraints on the dialogue limited the time available to address issues as they arose this study highlights the ways in which dialogue can be adapted to serve the needs of various contexts and still make an impact.

Dialogue is often offered as a voluntary activity. However, this course was part of the first year requirements of the teacher education program. While having a choice to participate may help to alleviate some of the resistance that participants express when asked to confront difficult themes, such as self-reflection of implicit biases and roles in systems of oppression, the study outcomes suggest that the required participation did not pose a serious issue. Indeed, IGD participants did not think that the requirement was problematic, but offered suggestions for better timing within their academic year. For example, it may be better to provide a dialogue course on

identities at the beginning of the first year, possibly for 1-2 weeks as a 4-hour daily retreat, when participants are still strangers. Not only would it help to set the tone for process and practice of communication skills and social justice related themes, but it may alleviate some of the fears that new friendships could be threatened. Another suggestion was to provide the dialogue in the second year on a weekend day during pre-service teachers' residency. Furthermore, pre-service teachers may find it more applicable to their training if the IGD is offered as a facilitator training for social justice educators, where they can explore the curriculum within the professional realm of facilitation techniques and communication skills. These different forms of implementation could help to explore how to maximize the contributions that IGD has to offer. Future research can also combine the measures in this study with those of the MUIDR study in order to better pair research on IGD with that on pre-service teachers.

In the current study, participants were more diverse, with only a handful of white men and women, but the fact that groups were not evenly spread along lines of race/ethnicity was a limitation. It would have been a more optimal configuration to have had equal representation from each ethnic/racial affinity group and gender, given contact theory's emphasis on establishing equal status among participants (Allport, 1954). Despite this limitations, IGD addresses power relationships through "the dialogic communication processes of engaging self and appreciating difference set the stage for both preventing these problems or addressing them constructively as they developed" (Gurin et al, 2013, p.309). These processes (e.g. addressing hopes and fears, building dialogue skills in stage 1)acted to promote productive conversations and critical reflective processesthat helped to address misunderstandings
and microaggressions that can arise in intergroup relations. Finally, the final stage of alliance building "specifically addresses the challenges posed by the divergent goals of high-power and

lower power groups in relation to action, namely, preferences for prejudice reduction and individual change versus collective action for social change." (p.311).

Conclusion

In conclusion, while teacher education programs that focus on social justice attract pre-service educators with high social justice and critically-oriented attitudes and beliefs, offering an identities course (general versus dialogue format) can provide students with increased awareness of their own social identities and how that relates to their positionality as social justice educators. While implementation of an identities curriculum has challenges, results from the current study suggest that a focus on the breadth of the literature, the specific timing of the course, and the depth of support provided to participants as they navigate difficult discussions may help to alleviate some of the challenges such curriculum faces. In addition, adding the dialogue format to the curriculum can potentially help to promote critical discussions, self-reflection and key communication and perspective-taking skills that can equip educators to bring social justice values and curriculum into the classroom. The dialogue format adds to academic discussions by requiring a personal level of connection that transcends stereotypes and other ways in which we distance ourselves from others. It provides opportunity to learn and practice skills to move through conflict and navigate relationships with those with whom we do not necessarily feel initially comfortable. This study contributes to the research on how dialogue can serve to move beyond tolerance to an appreciation for the commonalities, differences and interdependence of individuals with different social identities and status. Despite various logistical constraints, this study's dialogue provided the space, time and practice for a sample of pre-service teachers to develop the skills that can better equip them to create the inclusive, socially just classrooms that they envisioned.

Table 1

Levels of Positive and Negative Change Related to Intergroup Dialogue

(adapted from Yeakley, 2012, p25-27)

Positive Change	**Negative Change**
1. Increased comfort 2. Increased connection/friendship 3. Increased understanding of different perspectives 4. Intergroup understanding/ increased understanding of identity experiences	1. Increased stereotyping/prejudice (intergroup distancing, but no conflict) 2. Increased separation (temporary/resolved conflict) 3. Increased resentment (unresolved conflict, single experience) 4. Increased disconnection (unresolved conflict, multiple experiences)

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics for Study Sample (N = 34)

Variable	EI N = 17 *M*(*SD*)/ %	IGD N = 17 *M*(*SD*)/ %	Statistical Test	
Sample Demographics				
Gender (% female)	65%	82%	$t(31) = -1.54$	.14
Age	25 (2.74) (range 21- 29)	24 (1.46) (range 22-27)	$t(31) = 1.63$	.11
Identified as heterosexual	76%	100%	$t(31) = -2.15$	.04*
Race/ethnicity				
White/Caucasian	35%	12%	---	---
Latino/a	53%	41%		
Biracial/ethnic: Latino/a and other	—	18%		
Black/African American	6%	12%		
Other	6%	18%		
Identified as person of color	59%	77%	$t(32) = -1.09$	.29
Identified as religious/spiritual	94%	76%	$t(32) = 1.46$	.16
Identified as middle class	53%	65%	$t(32) = -.68$	.50
Prior teaching experience (1 = yes; 0 – no)	53%	18%	$t(32) = 2.25$	.03*
Prior dialogue experience (1 = yes; 0 – no)	29%	24%	$t(32) = .378$	.06

Note: Racial and ethnic backgrounds are based on participant responses to the open-ended interview question, which asked them to describe their racial or ethnic group.

p values of different levels are indicated by *p<.05, **p<.01 and ***p<.001

Table 3

Chronological overview of this study's dialogue topics, journal prompts, and additional assignments

Dialogue stages, curriculum, and activities					
Stage	**Week**	**Dialogue Topic**	**Key Activities**	**Journal Prompt**	**Next Assignments**
Stage 1: Forming and Building Relationships; Consciousness Raising	**1**	Introduction to Dialogue and to Class Participants	Four corners with types of speakers; ground rules	Questions to address (1) What do you hope to accomplish by participating in this dialogue? (2) What do you need to accomplish your goals (from yourself, your peers, and the facilitators)?	Bring two items that represent one or more of your social identities (refer to social identity handout
	2	Sharing personal histories, developing listening skills and advancing comfort with conflict	Hopes/fears; ground rules	What did you learn about yourself from today's activities? What stood out to you about your interactions with others? How are you feeling about being able to open up around your cohort as this dialogue progresses?	Bring two items that represent one or more of your social identities
	3	Sharing personal histories, developing listening skills and advancing comfort with conflict	Cultural chest	Write about your experience either presenting your cultural chest item, or learning about others' items.	(1) fill out anonymous survey (stereotypes) (2) take two IATs (Implicit Associations Test)[1] www.implicit.harv

[1] The Implicit Associations Test (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee & Schwartz, 1998) measures participant responses online when linking concepts to a value-based association. The measure requires the participant to respond quickly to a series of associations tasks, under the assumption that the faster one responds, the more likely it measures one's cognitive, implicit associations and avoids what may be more socially desirable responses. When White teachers have taken implicit associations tests on race and skin color, their emotions have ranged from disregard, disbelief, acceptance, discomfort or distress (Clark, & Zygmunt, 2014). While the researcher did not track the results of the IAT, the dialogue provided an opportunity for participants to process their feelings about results of the test in a nonjudgmental and supportive setting. Participants were asked to take at least two online tests that they had not taken before and reflect on the experience in their journals.

ard.edu)

Stage 2: **Exploring Differences and Commonalities of Experience**	**4**	Exploring differences and commonalities - define social identities Activities	Stereotypes in racial affinity groups Fishbowls Debrief Implicit Association Tests	Please write for 20 minutes about your experience in Week 4's class. Here are some guiding questions: What did you learn about yourself as we explored stereotypes today? What did you learn about others? Did anything surprise you about your results on the implicit associations test? What were your reactions? How do you think this relates to Wednesday night's dialogue? How does this relate to being a teacher?	
	5	Working Through Conflict and Understanding Power, Privilege and Oppression	Conflict role-play; Me, myself and identities	Please reflect on Wednesday's dialogue. What did you learn about yourself from the identities activity? What are you taking away from the experiences that others have shared today? From the conflict activity, what, if anything changed for you in how you think about conflict? What fears still remain about conflict? How do you think you will approach conflict when it next arises? How does this all relate to being a teacher?	Intergroup Alliance Project summary paragraph
	6	In-class conflict; comfort with speaking about these issues	Target/agent/bystander/ally worksheets	End-of-class quick write (no journal)	Draft of positionality paper
	7	Understanding Privilege and Social Class	American Dream Game	*Beginning of class quick-write and journal:* Reflect on today's dialogue. What information was new or surprising? How did it feel to play the game? What do you currently understand about the structural and institutional level of inequality? How did you relate this to social class and social/cultural capital? What does this all mean for your positionality as a teacher?	Vote on hot topic and post two articles
Stage 3: Using Hot Topics to advance intergroup dialogue and to connect personal experiences and beliefs with structural and institutional	**8**	Hot topic: LGBTQ issues in schools	Heterosexual Questionnaire Genderbread worksheet Take a stand: LGBTQ issues in education	Reflect on your experience today. Were you surprised by others' perspectives? If so/not, why? Did your perspective/opinions change as a result? How does this affect your view of your role as a teacher?	

inequalities					
Stage 4: **Action Planning and Alliance Building**	**9**	From bystander to ally -- Critical actions	Actions have taken and wish to take Lesson planning: most difficult social justice issues to teach	Please reflect on your experience in the dialogue tonight. How did it relate to your sense of social justice and related action for your personal life or relationships? How did it relate to your sense of social justice and action for your role as a teacher?	Alliance Project reflection; bring words of appreciation for all classmates; prep presentations of projects
	10	Strength in numbers -- alliances and appreciation	Gallery with projects Alliance building appreciations	Alliance project reflection	Final draft of positionality paper

Table 4

Significance Tests for Comparison (EI) and Intervention (IGD) Groups at Time 1 (Pre-Intervention)

Variable	**EI** N = 17 *M*(*SD*)	**IGD** N = 17 *M*(*SD*)	**Statistical Test**	***p*-value,** equal variances assumed
Research Question 1: Do pre-service teachers' social justice and diversity related attitudes, beliefs, and actions differ after intervention?				
Critical Consciousness: Critical Action *(range = 1 to 6, with 6 reflecting more active participation in promoting social justice issues)*	2.18 (.66)	1.90 (.47)	*t*(32) = -1.38	.18
Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality *(range = 1 to 6, with 6 reflecting higher levels of perceived inequality)*	5.23 (.79)	5.12 (.58)	*t*(32) = -.44	.66
Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism *(range = 1 to 6, with 6 reflecting higher egalitarian values)*	5.49 (.66)	5.54 (.64)	*t*(32) = .21	.83
Concern *(range = 1 to 6, with 6 reflecting higher levels of concern about discrimination)*	5.56 (.75)	5.87 (.32)	*t*(32) = 1.57	.13
Personal Beliefs about Diversity* *(range = 1 to 6, with 6 reflecting stronger personal values for diversity)*	5.30 (.55)	5.60 (.28)	*t*(32) =2.23	.03*
Professional Beliefs about Diversity *(range = 1 to 6, with 6 reflecting stronger professional values for diversity)*	5.10 (.54)	5.28 (.35)	*t*(32) = 1.12	.27

p values of different levels are indicated by *p<.05, **p<.01 and ***p<.oo1

Table 5

Significance Tests for Comparison (EI) and Intervention (IGD) Groups at Time 2 (Post-Intervention)

Variable	**EI** n=15 *M*(*SD*)	**IGD** n= 17 *M*(*SD*)	**Statistical Test**	***P*-value,** equal variances assumed
Research Question 1: Do pre-service teachers' social justice and diversity related attitudes, beliefs, and actions differ after intervention?				
Critical Consciousness: Critical Action *(range = 1 to 6, with 6 reflecting more active participation in promoting social justice issues)*	2.17 (.57)	1.87 (.56)	*t*(30) = -1.5	.15
Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality *(range = 1 to 6, with 6 reflecting higher levels of perceived inequality)*	5.58(.52)	5.16 (.72)	*t*(30) = -1.87	.07
Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism *(range = 1 to 6, with 6 reflecting higher egalitarian values)*	5.16 (.59)	5.21 (.89)	*t*(30) = .19	.85
Concern *(range = 1 to 6, with 6 reflecting higher levels of concern about discrimination)*	5.73 (.63)	5.77 (.46)	*t*(30) = .16	.87
Personal Beliefs about Diversity *(range = 1 to 6, with 6 reflecting stronger personal values for diversity)*	5.54 (.47)	5.49 (.30)	*t*(30) = -.33	.74
Professional Beliefs about Diversity *(range = 1 to 6, with 6 reflecting stronger professional values for diversity)*	5.42 (.37)	5.28 (.32)	*t*(30) = -1.20	.24
Research Question 2: How do pre-service teachers describe their experience in taking an identities course (general/dialogue format) and how do they describe their likelihood of engaging in social justice related actions after completing the course?				
How many of the assigned readings did you complete? *(1 = none; 2 = some; 3 = most; 4 = all)*	3.73 (.59)	2.4 (.99)	*t*(28)= 4.49	.00**
How professionally beneficial was your identities course? (1 = not; 2 = somewhat 3 = very)	2.4 (.51)	2.18 (.53)	*t*(30)= 1.22	.23
How personally beneficial was your identities course? (1 = not; 2 = somewhat 3 = very)	2.13 (.64)	2.18 (.81)	*t*(30)= -.17	.87
How did you feel about disclosing personal information...before identities course? (1 = not comfortable at; 2 = rarely; 3 = somewhat; 4 = Very comfortable)	2.73 (.70)	2.41 (.80)	*t*(30) = 1.20	.24

How did you feel about disclosing personal information...after identities course? (1 = not comfortable at; 2 = rarely; 3 = somewhat; 4 = Very comfortable)	2.87 (.84)	2.65 (.79)	$t(30) = .77$	.45
Comfort with cohort after identities course (1 = decreased, 2 = no change, 3 = increased)	2.47 (.64)	2.06 (.75)	X^2 (2, N = 32) = 2.66	.26
Connection/friendship with cohort after identities course (1 = decreased, 2 = no change, 3 = increased)	2.53 (.64)	2.29 (.69)	X^2 (2, N = 32) = 1.16	.56
Understanding of different perspectives after identities course (1 = decreased, 2 = no change, 3 = increased)	2.6 (.63)	2.77 (.44)	X^2 (2, N = 32) = 1.27	.53
Understanding of different experiences after identities course (1 = decreased, 2 = no change, 3 = increased)	2.73 (.59)	2.71 (.47)	X^2 (2, N = 32) = 2.17	.34
Conflict with cohort members after identities course (1 = decreased, 2 = no change, 3 = increased)	2.2 (.68)	2.29 (.47)	X^2 (2, N = 32) = 2.69	.26
Resentment toward cohort members after identities course (1 = decreased, 2 = no change, 3 = increased)	2.13 (.74)	2.18 (.39)	X^2 (2, N = 32) = 5.73	.06

p values of different levels are indicated by *p<.05, **p<.01 and ***p<.001

Table 6

Significance Tests for Comparison (EI) and Intervention (IGD) Groups Mean differences

Variable	**EI** n=15 *M*(*SD*)	**IGD** n= 17 *M*(*SD*)	**Statistical Test**	***P*-value,** equal variances assumed
Research Question 1: Do pre-service teachers' social justice and diversity related attitudes, beliefs, and actions differ after intervention?				
Critical Consciousness: Critical Action *(range = 1 to 6, with 6 reflecting more active participation in promoting social justice issues)*	-.082 (.58)	-.03 (.33)	*t*(30) = .31	.76
Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality *(range = 1 to 6, with 6 reflecting higher levels of perceived inequality)*	.34(.54)	.04 (.48)	*t*(30) = -1.69	1.02
Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism *(range = 1 to 6, with 6 reflecting higher egalitarian values)*	-.30 (.39)	-.33 (.78)	*t*(30) = -.16	.87
Concern *(range = 1 to 6, with 6 reflecting higher levels of concern about discrimination)*	.20 (.55)	-.10 (.53)	*t*(30) = -1.60	.12
Personal Beliefs about Diversity* *(range = 1 to 6, with 6 reflecting stronger personal values for diversity)*	.22 (.37)	-.13 (.31)	*t*(30) = -2.96	.01*
Professional Beliefs about Diversity* *(range = 1 to 6, with 6 reflecting stronger professional values for diversity)*	.24 (.28)	-.01 (.29)	*t*(30) = -2.40	.02*

p values of different levels are indicated by *p<.05, **p<.01 and ***p<.001

Table 7

Pre and post-interview responses to the prompt "Conflict is…" (N = 10)

Type of change	**Participant(s)** EI response	IGD response
From Neutral to Negative	**Devon** *Pre-intervention*: "Conflict is when a combination of factors make it so you don't know how to respond to a given situation." *Post-intervention:* "Conflict is not being able to see eye to eye or even understand the other person's perspective… it's one of those things where you don't even try to push further because you know you are ideologically opposed."	
Negative to negative/ neutral	**Sam** *Pre-intervention:* "Conflict is irritating. I try to stay away from it… I mean whenever there was debate class, or when we were studying persuasion in class… I hated arguing." *Post-intervention:* "Conflict is a battle I need to be ready for. I still feel like I'd rather not stir up any conflict with peers, but sometimes it's necessary and I need to get better at knowing when it's okay to use that energy."	**Sydney** *Pre-intervention:* "Conflict is complicated … there's a line down the middle and either you are on this side or you are on this side, but there is a lot of stuff that doesn't get shared in between sides...and it's the stuff, the grey area in the middle that really complicates things. I think that if you think conflict is simple then you don't know the whole story." *Post-intervention:* "I think I said last time I think I said necessary,... but now because I have this memory of everybody crying I'm like ah conflict's so uncomfortable!"
From Neutral to Neutral	**Casey** *Pre-intervention:* "Conflict is personal. For it to be a conflict, it must mean something to you. If it means something to you it's immediately personal." *Post-intervention:* "Conflict is when two people fail to agree to disagree."	**Kelly** *Pre-intervention:* "Conflict is complicated in that it has the potential to cause harm but also the potential to create growth." *Post-intervention:* "Conflict is tension cuz that could result from misunderstanding or understanding and disagreeing. It also doesn't have to be outright anger, but it's not harmony either. So…and it's not always the like extreme negative that a lot of people tend to think of but it definitely hasn't gotten to this place yet where it's closer to harmony. Cuz harmony also doesn't have to be agreement necessarily." **Taylor** *pre-intervention:* "Conflict is misunderstood anger. Conflict is definitely not the listening part… I don't think all conflict is bad conflict. If you are actively listening."

		Post-intervention: "Conflict is lack of understanding between both parties or multiple parties. Conflict is lack of understanding without um without each party wanting to try to understand each other. So you can have lack of understanding because you just don't know or you can have lack of understanding based on your ignorance... or your proven just stubbornness of not trying to. So that's what conflict is… You have to be willing to want to resolve it, like you have to be willing to want to listen, you know, and without wanting to listen you'll never resolve the conflict."
Positive to Neutral	**Pat** *Pre-intervention*: "Conflict is interesting. If it's not violent it's interesting." *Post-intervention:* "The first word that comes to mind is bad but I'm trying to say, think if I can say something more constructive. After being in this program I want to say that conflict can be used or transformed to have dialogue… I think people who are mature and are open to dialogue and open and understanding of people's different point of views... For other people, no, unfortunately."	**Drew** *Pre-intervention:* "Conflict is growth." *Post-intervention:* "Conflict is potential...It's the potential for growth, resolution, understanding. It's the potential for a lot of negative things as well, violence or or um unhappiness, but I think that potential sums it up because conflict can go either way."

Table 8
Sample entries from weekly journals

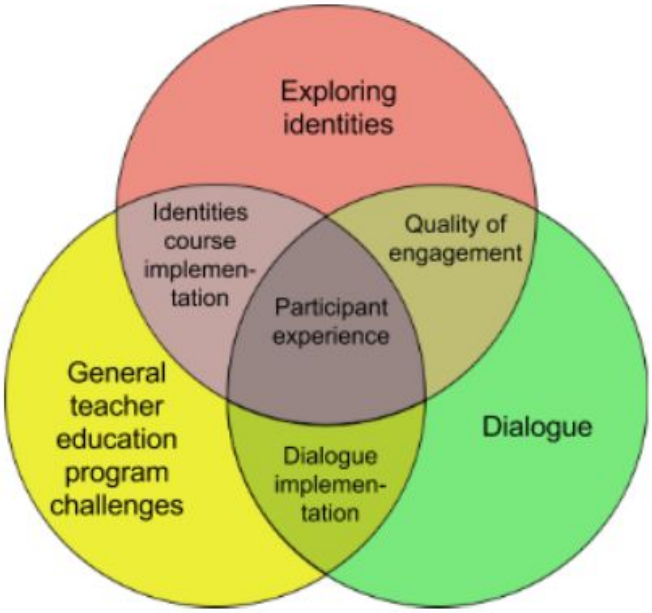
Dialogue Stage	Week	Dialogue Topic	Example from journals
Stage 1: Forming and Building Relationships; Consciousness Raising	**1**	Introduction to Dialogue and to Class Participants	Hopes: "I hope to get to know my peers better by sharing experiences, learning more about their background and what shapes their identity. It would be great to learn how to develop these dialogues with elementary school students. I hope we can learn more ways to develop compassion and respect in our classrooms." Fears: "I am afraid that if deeper issues arise and cannot be settled, that the dynamic in our cohort will change."
	2	Sharing personal histories, developing listening skills and advancing comfort with conflict	"I found learning about the different between dialogue, discussion, and debate to be really interesting. It is not something that I had considered before, especially the notion that each of these three forms of talking have different goals. I have been reflecting upon which type of communication that I use most often in my life and which ones that I feel most comfortable with." "I learned a lot about myself as both a listener and a speaker this week. I have continued thinking about the listening practices we discussed and have begun reflecting on my behaviors as a listener."
	3	Sharing personal histories, developing listening skills and advancing comfort with conflict	"Through this experience, I felt more connected to my peers, comfortable, and vulnerable as each person shared. Before this program I had not had that sort of interaction with my peers in a class setting, where we share and open up about our cultural identity. When I was sharing, it felt I was opening up about things I don't regularly talk about and things that carry more meaning and significance than I was able to verbally express." "I loved seeing and hearing about what everyone brought in. I think that activity is so great because it allowed us to get to know things about one another that don't generally just naturally come up in conversation... On the way home [X] and I had a great conversation about how cool it is to think about how parts of our identity inform how we think."

Stage 2: Exploring Differences and Commonalities of Experience	**4**	Exploring differences and commonalities - define social identities Activities	"I think all of our conversations can be boiled down to the importance of acknowledging intersectionality and hidden identities in our students. What we think makes our students different or what we assume might be the most salient identity of our students may not be the case.... it is our job to be willing to learn and listen and be mindful to not make assumptions about them. We never really know what might be beyond the surface." "I think this dialogue has the capacity to create some very uncomfortable situations and I wish we had more time in this class to complete some of those uncomfortable conversations, but I definitely realize there are connections to teaching. As teachers, we have limited time to talk about such issues with our students and also as teachers, we have to feel comfortable having such conversations to help deepen our understandings of what our students go through." "When we first started this course, I wondered how we would come to disagree much given that we were all in a relatively specific teacher education program and generally shared the same views regarding social justice. I learned that, despite these similarities and aspirations, the vehicle that drives and pushes these goals (present in each of us) can look very different."
	5	Working Through Conflict and Understanding Power, Privilege and Oppression	"During the conflict activity it was interesting to see where we agreed and disagreed. It made me rethink what each person means by conflict, and that it is important to define it as a group so we know what we are referring to when we use that term. Perhaps when we see conflict in the class, we can first clarify and ask specific questions about the situation to understand the depth of it." "It was not easy to encounter this behavior, it was uncomfortable for me at first to address the issue, but having seen positive progress, it helps me feel better able to address conflict in my future classrooms." "I do have many gay friends, and… being around them does make me acknowledge the challenges and stresses they face daily, but I never thought of the fact that the same reason their lives might be more difficult is the same reason mine might be easier."
	6	In-class conflict; comfort with speaking about these issues	*Quick writes:* "Right now, I'm feeling stressed. This quarter is hard! There's so much going on and it's hard to keep track of everything. I held back from dialogue today for myself. I did not want to share anything too personal because I knew how hard it is to get back from." "I'm feeling pretty exhausted and bummed out because I want to have these conversations -- I think they are important-- but maybe because we are all so tired/emotional from our lives, we are not able to have them without hurting each other. Which is always going to be hard to do in these convos."
	7	Understanding Privilege and Social Class	*Start of class quick writes:* "I learned a lot about some of the people in the cohort and I can't help but think that the group is on very different pages in terms of identity development and that this is where a lot of the tension came from. Some people are being asked to look at their identities with a microscope for the first time."

			"I don't think we have had an open dialogue yet--I know people hold back (because they have told me) and we have seen people not listening openly. I did see some progress this afternoon, though, in seminar. I saw people consider their statements more fully to make sure their sharing was respectful and that their stances were fully explained in connection to personal experiences. I also saw much more listening than I had before." *Journals:* "I respect this class because it is a reminder to who I am. I am reminded that even though we are in this social justice education program everyone is not at the same level to admit what that looks like in themselves but we all have some clarity of what we want it to look like. However, this class is reminding us that we can point the finger all we want however, we are a part of this society and need to examine ourselves as well." "I was always aware that race was not the only factor society noted when giving privileges to some and denying them to others, but I guess it was never explicitly made clear to me what a huge impact other qualities such as citizenship or gender could have on individual lives."
Stage 3: Using Hot Topics to advance intergroup dialogue and to connect personal experiences and beliefs with structural and institutional inequalities	**8**	Hot topic: LGBTQ issues in schools	"This week's dialogue was awesome to be a part of for me; as my classmates shared their opinions during the activity, I noticed some of us switching sides, which to me showed how they were listening and processing what was being said." "I think overall, these conversations are making me think about how to be a more inclusive teacher and really expand my definitions of what inclusive means. I think we've often discussed social justice in terms of race and gender, but pairing our conversations this week and last week, I'm really sitting with ideas around intersectionality and keeping multiple identities in mind when planning curriculum for my kids to include lots of variety and inclusivity." "I don't want to create students who think just like me, I want to give them the skills and tools to think for themselves, to take in information, to question, and form their own belief system and values that mean something to them and the greater good of the community. This is my role and I'm proud of that."
Stage 4: Action Planning and Alliance Building	**9**	From bystander to ally -- Critical actions	"I really enjoyed seeing the other instances when my classmates acted in defense of something they believed in. I made me feel encouraged, especially seeing situations that I would have wanted to act… Seeing that others have acted in situations where I have not lets me see that it is possible and it is justified to speak up." "The activity tonight where we posted the things we had done to work towards social justice and the things we would like to do really encouraged me. I have been reflecting lately on how slow progress is and how little I feel like I can accomplish, but seeing the sum of our small actions together made me realize that individual actions do come together to achieve something. " "Working in a [grade level] classroom, I had a hard time thinking of different ways to make these topics relatable to the younger ones. Nonetheless, my group and I talked a lot about how important it is to create that space where the young ones get a chance to voice their thoughts on these issues. Often times we tend to not hear younger people, especially young

		students, when it comes to hot topic issues. ”
10	Strength in numbers -- alliances and appreciation	“Much like the experiences we had in our dialogue class I found myself wanting to just think about the experiences of homeless people. How Is life emotionally different for them? What are the stigmas and stereotypes they face? …I was challenged to not hold so many deficits against the community and to not see every homeless person I encounter as dangerous.” “I consider myself a feminist and acknowledge there are many types of perspectives and experiences that shape the feminist perspective we hold. Although I see my views on women’s sexuality as liberal, it is still something that I am constantly adjusting and revisiting as it is regularly challenged when I learn more about the experiences of other women from various backgrounds, and how that relates to my existence and experience as a woman.” “We walked away with powerful advice that tended to center on not gendering activities or groups of students—which we already know can be beneficial in the struggle for gender equality. I am excited to incorporate these practices in my classroom culture, especially when I see how divisively gender is still used in some classrooms, and will find other means of grouping students or organizing activities.” “I think that in the here and now, we have to think about what we are doing on the individual level to change today’s reality: are we voting, speaking out, teaching others, or turning a blind eye? I know that I am guilty of being painfully uninformed of much of what is happening in our world today and I hope that the experience at the museum can be a wake-up call to be actively speaking and acting against injustices not only in the US but also around the world.” “[NAME] has always been open about her ideas in class and I feel like we have often had conversations in class where I have gotten to hear her ideas, but during I project, I got a better understanding of how her thinking has been shaped by her experience… in our conversations, we talked about how actually meeting people different from yourself helps understanding. Groups that are, for whatever reason, feared, are humanized when a connection is made.”

Figure 1 *Participant experience as it may be shaped by teacher education program and coursework*



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