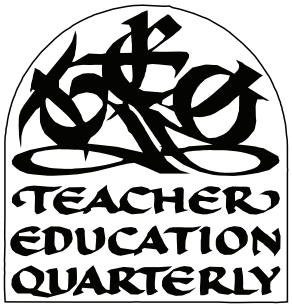

Preparing Teachers to Teach Successfully in Historically Marginalized Communities

Ken Zeichner

Abstract

This article addresses a major and continuing problem in teacher education in the United States and internationally: the ability of programs to prepare teachers to teach successfully and stay over time in historically marginalized communities. After discussion of the factors that have led to the failure of programs to accomplish this goal, several recommendations are made to address this failure, including both a more hybrid and less hierarchical structure for teacher preparation programs and external policies and supports that will help programs provide and sustain a high-quality culturally responsive education for all children.

The Problem

Teacher education today faces many challenges internationally, and I will briefly discuss one of them here that has been a major challenge throughout the 47 years that I had been active as a teacher educator. Although I'll discuss this challenge as it has been experienced in the United States, this issue has existed in some form in most other countries. The challenge is concerned with the need to recruit and prepare teachers to be successful and stay over time in schools in rural and urban

Ken Zeichner is professor emeritus with the University of Washington Seattle and the University of Wisconsin Madison. Email address: kenzeich@uw.edu

communities that have been highly impacted by poverty. These communities (I will refer to them as *historically marginalized* or *nondominant communities*) are those that "have been impacted by systemic oppression such as marginalization based on race, class, language, or immigration status" (Ishimaru, 2020, p. 9). In the United States, these are also the communities, as Barajas-Lopez and Ishimaru (2020) have pointed out, that have experienced "challenges of health care, housing, immigration, transportation, and other underlying dynamics impacting schools" (p. 39), as well as those that have suffered from an inequitable distribution of resources, including in public education funding and a lack of access to an equitable share of fully prepared and experienced teachers who teach in their areas of expertise and certification (Baker, 2018; Darling-Hammond, 2013).

In the United States, the majority of students who attend public schools live in poverty as measured by their qualified status for the federal free or reduced-price meal program. In 2017–2018, 52.3% of pupils were in this category (National Center for Educational Statistics [NCES], 2021). Although 53% of students in U.S. public schools were non-White in 2018, 72.3% of U.S. public school teachers were White at this time (Wilson & Kelley, 2022). Additionally, students of color who attend U.S. public schools are concentrated in high-poverty schools in historically marginalized communities (NCES, 2021).

In the United States and other countries that have experienced a growth in refugees and immigrants in their populations, teachers who work in nondominant communities where many Indigenous people, immigrants, refugees, and others live who are experiencing poverty are faced with a situation in which they often bring very little personal experience on which to draw when trying to connect with their students and their families (Epstein & Sanders, 2006). Very often, teachers do not live in or have much life experience with the kinds of nondominant communities in which they teach, and relatively few of them have been adequately prepared in their teacher education programs in how to work in culturally respectful ways. This includes inadequate preparation in culturally respectful interactions with students' families and communities, in learning about the expertise and cultural wealth in these communities, and in how to connect their curriculum and classroom instruction with students' lives outside of the classroom in culturally responsive and sustaining ways (Alim & Paris, 2017; de Bruïne et al., 2014; Hong, 2019; Zeichner, 2024). Neither are most teachers in schools in nondominant communities provided with continuing professional learning opportunities and encouragement from their school administrators to support their efforts to engage with their students' families and to learn more about their communities beyond communicating student and school information to them (Kirmaci, 2019).

Even when teacher candidates and teachers have opportunities to learn how to learn from families and communities, there is often lack of attention to helping them learn how to incorporate what they learn into culturally responsive and sustaining curriculum, teaching, and management practices within their classrooms

(Zeichner, 2019). It cannot be assumed, as is often the case, that teachers can automatically translate knowledge about families and communities into culturally responsive and sustaining pedagogy (Villegas & Lucas, 2002). In other words, as Smolcic and Katunich (2017) have put it, intercultural competence is not the same thing as culturally responsive pedagogy. Teacher candidates and teachers need to learn and practice how to integrate family and community funds of knowledge and cultural wealth into their curriculum and instruction and must be mentored in doing so (Hong, 2019).

It is very clear from decades of research that teachers' abilities to connect in positive ways with their students and their families and to connect learning within the classroom with their students' lives out of the classroom in positive ways enhance the quality of student learning. If teachers are not able to do this, student learning will suffer. According to Philip et al. (2013), "when schools are not inclusive of the communities' languages, practices, and knowledge, they tend to alienate students and their families and thus put these students at continued risk for failure in dominant educational settings" (p. 175).

Teacher Education Programs Have Not Generally Done a Good Job

It is widely agreed in the United States among scholars, teacher educators, primary and secondary school educators, and people in nondominant communities that overall, teacher education programs have not been very successful in recruiting and preparing teachers for schools in nondominant communities who are successful in educating students and who continue working in these communities over time. Teacher education programs have mostly prepared teachers from dominant, White-majority and middle-class communities to teach students whose backgrounds are like their own, rather than preparing them to teach the diverse students who are actually in the public schools (e.g., Wilson & Kelley, 2022). In the United States, teacher educators are mostly White, and like teacher candidates, they often lack meaningful life and teaching experiences with nondominant communities, and what is taught in program courses often lacks relevance to the contexts in which teacher candidates are learning to teach (Zeichner, 2024).

Overall, teacher preparation programs have done a poor job of helping teacher educators learn about these contexts and have not required instructors to make their courses relevant to the contexts in which they will be utilized by their students. A notable exception to this common flaw is the Chicago Teacher Education Pipeline, a program run by Illinois State University in which faculty who teach in this program are required to spend time in the communities in which teacher candidates complete their clinical experiences and to revise their courses with help from community mentors to make them more relevant to these settings (Mustian et al., 2021).

In other countries, such as Australia and several European countries, we can also

see evidence of the recognition of the inadequacy of teacher preparation programs in preparing teachers for schools in Indigenous, refugee, economically poor, and historically vulnerable communities and attention to changing the structure and epistemology of teacher preparation programs to better serve these communities (e.g., de Bruïne et al., 2014; Gomila et al., 2014/2018; Lampert, 2021; Naidoo & Brace, 2017).

The Lack of Support for Culturally Responsive Teacher Education Programs

One factor contributing to teacher education's inability to address this challenge has been the failure within many countries to provide teacher preparation programs with the supports that are needed to prepare teachers to teach in culturally responsive and sustaining ways. This includes preparing teacher candidates to engage students in nondominant communities in the deeper learning that is routinely available to many students in more privileged communities.

Throughout my career in the United States, teacher preparation programs have operated in a relatively hostile context where, first, arts and sciences faculties in colleges and universities resisted the incorporation of teacher education programs from single-purpose and lower-status institutions, such as normal schools, into colleges and universities and sought to denigrate the academic quality of teacher preparation coursework and clinical experiences (e.g., Fraser, 2007; Koerner, 1963). Over time, teacher education has rarely been a priority in the colleges and universities that have hosted teacher preparation programs in the United States (Goodlad, 1990; Labaree, 2004).

Also, beginning in the 1980s, instead of investing in strengthening the preparation of teachers for nondominant communities in college and university programs, the federal government and some state governments promoted and invested in the establishment of alternatives to college and university programs that resulted in many underprepared beginning teachers being hired to teach in schools in nondominant communities (Zeichner, 2018). In too many cases, these underprepared teachers completed their preparation programs while serving as full-time teachers of record in historically marginalized communities, and some of them taught subjects outside of their areas of expertise and certification (Peske & Haycock, 2006). In many states, some teachers are still prepared today in these fast-track programs. Teachers who are prepared to teach in these programs typically leave their schools in historically marginalized communities at a higher rate than do fully prepared teachers (Cardichon et al., 2020).

This situation has led to difficulties in providing families in these communities with equitable access to experienced teachers who are teaching in their areas of expertise and certification. At the same time, as teacher education standards in states were being relaxed to provide enough teachers to staff schools in nondominant

communities, the federal government and many states increased regulations for college- and university-based preparation programs and promoted the questionable idea of evaluating the quality of these programs based on the standardized test scores of the pupils of program graduates after they had completed their programs (Zeichner, 2015).[1]

Over the last decade, the promotion of alternatives to college- and university-based teacher education has accelerated into an aggressive push supported by the federal government, philanthropists, and "social entrepreneurs" to deregulate and "disrupt" the teacher education system that critics argue is broken and needs to be scrapped and replaced (Zeichner & Sandoval, 2015). These same forces for privatizing teacher education have been operating in other counties as well (Ellis et al., 2016; Furlong et al., 2009; Moon, 2016).[2] In the last few years, the federal government has backed off its aggressive push to fund alternative, fast-track forms of teacher preparation and has begun to increase funding to hybrid programs like teacher residency programs (Saunders et al., 2024) and "grow your own" programs (Garcia, 2024).

The push to privatize teacher education in the United States that is still present parallels similar efforts to expand the number of privately managed charter schools in public school systems across the country. In fact, several alternative teacher preparation programs were founded by privately run charter school networks to prepare teachers for their schools and other charter schools (Stitzlein & West, 2014; Zeichner, 2016).

While all of this was going on, state governments across the United States substantially reduced their financial support to the public universities that prepare the majority of U.S. teachers (Lyall & Sell, 2006). Teacher education institutions, which were never adequately funded to support high-quality, clinically based programs, found themselves in serious difficulty maintaining even the inadequate level of support that existed before the state funding reductions.

I was the faculty director of teacher education at the University of Washington during one of these periods of large budget cuts in higher education, and I had to struggle each year to maintain funding to support adequate coaching and mentoring for teacher candidates and even to maintain the existence of some courses. As pressures increased on teacher education faculty to get external grants to support their graduate students, and to initiate any kind of innovation in teacher preparation programs to attract external grant funds, teacher education program administrators in the United States became more and more dependent on hiring less expensive temporary adjuncts over full-time permanent faculty (Besas, 2021). This surge in hiring people to teach particular courses has not typically included money for adjuncts to participate in the kind of programmatic work that builds and maintains program coherence (Flaherty, 2020), which is an important feature of high-quality programs (National Academy of Education, 2024).

Although some federal and foundation grants have been available to fund

special initiatives in teacher preparation programs, such as school–university partnerships, these were developed in relatively few colleges and universities, and teacher educators were often not able to sustain the funded initiatives beyond the life of their grants, although there were efforts to spread these reforms to the large public regional universities that continue to prepare most teachers in the United States (Wilson & Kelley, 2022). For the most part, these institutions have not had the capacity to implement these reforms in ways that enabled many teacher education partnerships to become more than superficial and temporary alliances (Zeichner, 2021a). Also, along with the financial cuts by states to public universities came increased pressure on faculty to focus on activities that would potentially bring external money into their institutions (e.g., teaching more and larger classes, obtaining external grants to support programs) and to spend less time doing the necessary, labor-intensive work of teacher preparation.

Insufficient Support for School-Based Teacher Educators and for Schools as Sites for Teacher Education

In addition to the insufficient support for teacher education in many of the postsecondary institutions that host teacher preparation programs in the United States, there is also a lack of adequate support for high-quality teacher education programs in the public schools that host most of the clinical experiences for teacher candidates. This funding problem is especially prevalent in schools located in historically marginalized communities, which typically receive fewer resources than schools in wealthier communities with a larger tax base and have a disproportionate number of inexperienced teachers (Baker, 2018). One example of the lack of support for schools and mentor teachers to provide consistently high-quality clinical experiences for teacher candidates is the failure to provide them with resources and support needed for the work of mentoring teacher candidates.

Most states do not require any mentor teacher preparation and ongoing support, and most mentor teachers across the nation do not receive these supports (National Academy of Education, 2024). In addition, most mentor teachers are asked to do the important work of mentoring teacher candidates in addition to their 100% teaching loads, often with minimal, if any, financial compensation for their work. I will give a few examples of some of the things that need to be done to remedy this and other problems related to enhancing the capacity of schools to be able to participate in the kind of hybrid teacher education that I believe is needed.

Optimism for the Future

Despite what might seem to some like a pessimistic view of this issue, I believe that it is possible to create a situation in which teacher education programs are more successful in preparing teachers to teach students in culturally responsive and sustaining ways in historically marginalized communities who stay there over

time. I also believe that it is possible to secure the funding and to create and sustain the contextual conditions needed to do so. Major changes will need to take place in the funding, structure, and curriculum of teacher education programs as well as in the accountability systems for evaluating, encouraging, and supporting the improvement of programs.

As I noted earlier, changes will also need to take place in the support that is provided to public schools and mentor teachers to host more consistently high-quality clinical experiences for teacher candidates. One of the most basic supports needed in schools is financial compensation that enables teachers to give up some of the extra jobs they take on because of their relatively low salaries in most states. A recent report issued by the U.S. Senate Committee on Health Education and Labor (Sanders, 2024) documented the long-term problem of the underfunding of public schools and low salaries for teachers as well as the recent adoption of universal school voucher programs "that drain hundreds of millions of dollars from state budgets to fund unaccountable private schools" (Sanders, 2024, p. 1).

Also in this transformation process, we need to rethink and redefine who the teacher educators are and whose knowledge is needed to educate teachers for schools in nondominant communities. To put it simply, teacher education, to date, in many countries has been dominated by college and university faculty and staff in designing and implementing preparation programs, with educators in the schools playing a largely secondary role and family and community members most often playing no role (Zeichner, 2018). This situation must change, and the creation, governance, and implementation of teacher preparation programs must become more of a shared responsibility between institutions of higher education, schools, teacher's unions, and communities.

Various parts of this vision have been attempted, although their implementation has often been superficial and temporary. For example, despite the frequent attention to teacher education partnerships, colleges and universities have often retained most of the power in making decisions about teacher preparation programs, often leaving school and community partners in a position of "second-class" participants who are expected to follow the lead of the college and university teacher educators. Overall, there has been a failure to establish a "rightful presence" (Barton Calabrese & Tan, 2020) for school and community partners in teacher education partnerships. There is a big difference between asking school and university partners to participate in conceptualizing and designing innovations and only asking them to react to things already conceptualized by others (Ishimaru, 2020). This situation has often prevented teacher educators and teacher candidates from benefiting from the expertise that experienced teachers, families, and communities have to offer and has contributed to the underfunding of teacher preparation (Zeichner, 2010).

The result has also been continued failure to prepare teachers who are successful in schools in historically marginalized communities over time, except in the relatively few programs in which power and knowledge hierarchies have been

disrupted and university, school, and community expertise has been brought together in synergistic ways (Kretchmar & Zeichner, 2016; Zeichner, 2024). The goal, in my view, is to figure out ways to enable teacher candidates to access the knowledge and expertise of the program faculty and staff in postsecondary institutions or other program sponsors, educators who work in primary and secondary schools who host clinical experiences, and the families and community members who send their kids to schools in historically marginalized communities and who support the work of these schools through their advocacy work on a range of issues. My colleagues and I have referred to this transformation project as one of democratizing teacher education (e.g., Payne & Zeichner, 2017; Zeichner et al., 2015).

Pathways to Democratic Teacher Education

I see two major pathways to overcoming the problems with dominant forms of teacher education partnerships and achieving the goals that I have briefly identified. One path is doing a better job in preparing teachers from outside historically marginalized communities to teach students in culturally responsive and sustaining ways—teachers who see their work as serving the community as a whole, rather than as trying to "save" students from their communities.[3] The second path is to do a better job of recruiting, preparing, and retaining diverse teachers who live in particular communities to stay there and teach.

The most important thing that must be done in both cases is to admit that what we have done so far has not worked well and that we need to think more collaboratively with our school and community partners about different ways to approach these goals and to be open to creating new program structures within which to implement them. We also need to recognize from the beginning that this kind of genuinely collaborative work is necessarily messy and complicated as a result of the power and knowledge hierarchies that have existed in teacher education for a long time (Guillen & Zeichner, 2018). If things seem to be going very smoothly without any tension or conflict, we are probably doing something wrong.

To reach a place where teacher education programs are more successful over time in preparing diverse teachers for historically marginalized communities, we also need to recognize that many teacher educators also lack teaching and other meaningful life experiences in historically marginalized communities. To mobilize the expertise needed, it is necessary to shift the center of gravity in teacher preparation programs from partnerships where colleges and universities run program teacher education programs with reactions and advice from schools and communities into more inclusive partnerships with schools and organizations and with individuals in communities where schools and communities are brought into the transformation process at the very beginning and are treated as colleagues (Zeichner, 2010).

College and university teacher educators will have to relinquish some of the power and privileges that they have assumed to be theirs in collaborations with

schools and communities if the subjugated knowledge and expertise in schools and communities is to influence and improve programs' responsiveness to the cultural contexts in which the programs operate (Hyland & Meacham, 2004).

To create this kind of hybrid and genuinely collaborative partnership for the preparation of teachers, school and community participants will have to be compensated and rewarded for their work. Additionally, given that school administrators and teachers already work full-time at educating students, changes will need to be made in the structure of their work to include their participation in this collaboration as part of, and not in addition to, their primary roles as educators of students. There have been precedents for these kinds of positions both in campus laboratory schools that have been part of the history of teacher preparation in the United States and in schools in other countries, such as the teaching schools in Finland (e.g., Fraser, 2007; Hammerness et al., 2017).

Precedents for this work can also be found in the way in which the U.S. federal government has long supported teaching hospitals in medical education. A decade ago, the annual allocation per year for graduate medical education exceeded $15 billion (Berwick & Wilensky, 2014; Chung, 2015). This funding came from Medicare, Medicaid, and a variety of other federal programs and agencies. Hospitals wanting to become teaching hospitals have to go through a rigorous approval process and meet certain quality standards to receive federal support. In education, the pattern has been for the government and philanthropists to fund the development of model teacher education partnerships in relatively few institutions in the hope that these models will spread to other programs and will be sustained by the institutional partners. Given the chronic underfunding of public postsecondary institutions, where most teacher education is still situated, and the underfunding of public schools (particularly in historically marginalized communities), this has never succeeded.

The new partnerships that are needed in teacher education need to be very different from the superficial partnerships that have dominated teacher education in the last 50 years. In many teacher education partnerships, university or other program staff continue to try to maintain their positions of power and control. Also, unless we see the solution as one of educating both teacher educators and teacher candidates together about the conditions and perspectives of partners in schools and communities, we will not accomplish much.

There are many potential obstacles to bringing the perspectives of teachers, families, and communities to a more central place in teacher preparation programs. For example, there is evidence that teacher candidates often bring deficit perspectives about students and their families who live in nondominant communities to their teaching in these communities (Banks et al., 2005). Many candidates bring a missionary perspective, whereby their goal is to rescue their students from their allegedly broken communities, rather than building in a positive way on the existing strengths within students' families and communities. This frequently results in

resistance by some candidates to learning from students' families and others living in their communities.

The good news is that there is growing evidence from research on forms of hybrid teacher preparation that there are ways to overcome these deficit perspectives and to help prospective teachers and teacher educators see the value of their teaching in learning from families and communities. For example, one important part of overcoming deficit perspectives is placing community perspectives and expertise at the center of teacher preparation programs in nondominant communities and ensuring that institutions of higher education and the schools are responsive and accountable to marginalized communities in the conduct of their preparation programs (e.g., Clark et al., 2021; Harfitt, 2019). In the community engagement work that my colleagues and I participated in at the University of Washington, the community-based mentors of teacher candidates were very influential in helping to change candidates' deficit perspectives and to stimulate a reexamination by teacher candidates of ideas that they had internalized over time about families in nondominant communities (Zeichner et al., 2016). I have also learned over the years about other teacher preparation programs in the United States where schools and communities play a genuinely central role in program decisions and in the instruction of teacher candidates (e.g., Clark et al., 2021; Zeichner & Melnick, 1996).

In recent years, I've learned about examples of programs in several other countries that contain pieces of what I have briefly outlined as the two pathways to improving the preparation of teachers for historically marginalized communities. These include new forms of hybrid structures for teacher preparation programs, whereby the programs are funded, governed, and implemented by educators and community members from institutions of higher education, primary and secondary schools, and families and community members, including leaders of local community advocacy groups (Zeichner, 2024).

The teacher residency model in the United States is an example of this new kind of hybrid program (Guhya et al., 2016; Saunders et al., 2024). For example, the Seattle Teacher Residency Program is a program that I helped to develop over several years with colleagues at the University of Washington, administrators and teachers in the Seattle public schools, leaders of the local teacher's union, and community leaders in nondominant communities in Seattle.[4]

Some residency programs are based in higher education institutions, some in school districts, and some, like the one in Seattle, in community organizations. In the state of Washington, the state teacher's association has recently started a teacher residency program.[5] One of the features of these programs that facilitates the ability of teacher educators to develop deeper partnerships with school and community partners is the context-specific nature of the residency program preparation (Kapadia & Hammerness, 2014).

I've also learned about other, more traditional programs based in institutions of higher education where genuine partnerships have been formed between teacher

educators in institutions in higher education, educators in schools, and leaders in community-based organizations and local advocacy groups based in historically marginalized communities. Illinois State University's Chicago Teacher Education Pipeline and a collaboration between Ball State University and an African American community and its schools in Muncie, Indiana, are two examples of traditional university programs that have managed to fully include school and community partners in all aspects of planning, implementing, and evaluating teacher preparation programs—and they have done so for over a decade (Clark et al., 2021).

There are also successful examples of community-based "grow your own" teacher programs and Indigenous programs in which communities play a central role in recruiting and preparing teachers from the communities to stay and teach there. Examples of these programs include the Indigenous teacher preparation programs that have existed for some time in Australia, Aotearoa New Zealand, Canada, and, more recently, the United States (e.g., Haig-Brown et al., 2019). For example, the Indigenous Teacher Education program in British Columbia, Canada, involves a partnership between the University of British Columbia and the First Nations Educational Council and has been in existence for over 47 years, continuing to prepare Indigenous teachers for Indigenous communities in British Columbia. According to Archibald (2015), who directed the program for many years, Indigenous people have been centrally involved in the planning of the program and throughout its ongoing development: "The program is an Indian idea, is Indian controlled, and its philosophy is Indian, although the program falls under the jurisdiction of the University of British Columbia" (p. 15).

Also, a community-based "grow your own" program was initiated by a local community organization in the Logan Square neighborhood of Chicago, a community composed mainly of Latinx immigrant families. This program, which includes a partnership with the Chicago public schools and several local universities, was designed to help Latinx immigrant women and a few men who were employed as teaching assistants become fully certified teachers in their own community. This program has been genuinely community driven and was aimed at educating teacher educators about the funds of knowledge and cultural wealth in this community, in addition to preparing individuals from the community to stay there and teach (see, e.g., Gillette, 2018). There is strong evidence that well-designed "grow your own" and Indigenous programs have increased teacher retention in the communities that have seen in the past a revolving door of young, outsider teachers coming and going (Gist et al., 2019; Skinner et al., 2011).

Many of the programs that I have discovered and studied are relatively new ones, except for a handful of programs that have been in operation for a decade or more. As I mentioned earlier, one of the endemic problems in teacher education has been our failure to sustain innovations to address the challenges that I have discussed here, and others as well. I do not have the space to go into detail about what I see as necessary to create the conditions to support and sustain the program

transformations that I have discussed here, but I will share an outline of some of the major pieces of what I think needs to be done.

What Needs to Be Done to Support Sustainability

First, I believe that we need to recognize the often invisible and underappreciated good work that is currently being done by many teacher educators in preparing teachers for schools in historically marginalized communities and the difficult conditions they face in doing this work in their underfunded institutions of higher education. I prefer incentives (i.e., carrots instead of sticks) as a general method of encouraging transformations in teacher preparation programs, although I believe that program accountability systems also need to be restructured to support these reforms.

One specific thing that I think should be done is to provide opportunities for programs to receive grants to fund the development of new structures for teacher preparation that are more inclusive of the genuine participation of elementary and secondary school educators and community members. The shared conceptualization and development of new program models and shared responsibility for implementing programs would be a condition of receiving the grant money. Funders of these innovations must be clear about the conditions for disrupting typical forms of hierarchy in these programs and for asking applicants to demonstrate in their proposals a plan for the collaborating institutions to sustain the costs of innovation beyond the life of the grant.

One example of a way in which underfunded public schools have contributed to the sustainability of hybrid programs, such as teacher residency programs, is their gradual shift of funds that were used to replace teachers because of high teacher turnover (which is often a result of inadequate teacher preparation) to the support of the teacher preparation programs that help cut teacher turnover. There are sources available that can support districts in making teacher residency programs sustainable over time, from places like Prepared to Teach, which was organized by Bank Street College of Education;[6] the National Center for Teacher Residencies;[7] the Statewide Residency Technical Assistance Center in California;[8] and the Residency Lab.[9]

Additionally, program approval processes should specify approval standards that call for program accountability to schools and marginalized communities as a condition for approval. Currently some state program approval processes in the United States specify that programs must gather data from the school administrators who hire graduates from their programs, and sometimes it is also required of programs to show that they have made efforts to respond to schools' criticisms of their programs. Accountability to communities, however, particularly to marginalized, nondominant communities, is mostly absent from both state program approval standards and national and voluntary program accreditation standards. Here teacher education programs must do much more than make data on their programs publicly available for marginalized communities to supposedly examine. Community accountability in teacher education

with regard to marginalized communities should involve face-to-face dialogue with a variety of community members to listen to what they have to say about the quality of teachers in their children's schools and about the preparation that teacher education programs have provided to them. And like the accountability in some states that requires programs to show how they have responded to feedback from local schools, state program approval standards should require programs to show how they have responded to feedback from local communities.

When I came to the University of Washington in 2009 as the faculty teacher education director, one of the first things that I was asked to do was to join a recently started "study group" composed of a few of my colleagues, Indigenous leaders in education in the state and American Indian studies faculty, to discuss the perspectives of Indigenous communities in the state about the quality of our programs for preparing teachers and educational leaders for their communities and the overall responsiveness of our College of Education to the tribal communities in the state. These meetings continued over several years and resulted in the collaborative development of a Native Education certificate program[10] that educates University of Washington teacher candidates and teachers throughout Washington about the tribal cultures in the state, about issues related to local Indigenous history, and about the concept of tribal sovereignty. It also has increased efforts to recruit and prepare more Indigenous teachers. Tribal communities and educators played a central role in these efforts, and the program is managed today by an Indigenous faculty member. The study group evolved into a permanent Indigenous education advisory board that monitors the progress of the program and other efforts within the college. This is the kind of interaction between teacher education program and communities that should become a part of teacher education programs' efforts to become more accountable to historically marginalized communities.

Conclusion

Although I believe that some of the ideas that I have mentioned herein are important for restructuring teacher preparation programs to become more accountable and responsive to historically marginalized communities, I want to be clear in also saying that I am not suggesting that the preparation of teachers alone will solve the problems of public education in marginalized, nondominant communities. It is clear from research over many decades that although good teaching makes a difference, out-of-school factors like poverty play a much greater role in determining school outcomes (Berliner, 2013).

One of the issues that I have been thinking about in recent years is an examination of the tensions between teacher and teacher educator professionalism and meaningful and influential participation in schooling and teacher education by members of historically marginalized communities. A long history of debate has centered on the issue of whether the democratic potential of public education can

be realized without undermining the dignity and professionalism of teachers and teacher educators (e.g., Driscoll, 1998).

I have come to believe in the idea of preparing teacher educators and teachers as democratic professionals as an alternative to the traditional and managerial forms of professionalism that have dominated teaching and teacher education in recent decades (Anderson & Cohen, 2018). Without getting into the details of this argument here (see Zeichner, 2019, 2021b), democratic professionalism is a form of professionalism whereby educators seek to enhance broader public engagement and deliberation about issues of teaching and teacher education (Anderson & Cohen, 2018). Australian scholar Sachs (2003) has argued that democratic professionalism

> seeks to demystify professional work and build alliances between teachers and excluded constituencies of students, parents, and members of the community on whose behalf decisions have traditionally been made either by professions or by the state. . . . The core of democratic professionalism is an emphasis on collaborative, cooperative action between teachers and other education stakeholders. (p. 153)

When teachers and their teacher educators give up some of the power that educators have traditionally exercised in schools in nondominant communities and in teacher preparation programs that prepare teachers for teaching in nondominant communities, not only will education and teacher education benefit from community expertise and wealth but also teachers and teacher educators will do more to work together with parents and activists in nondominant communities to fight for the resources both inside and outside of schooling that will support high-quality education for everyone's children. In the United States, we have already seen some teacher's unions begin to form alliances with community advocacy groups to bargain in teacher contracts for things that communities are fighting for, in addition to the traditional focus on salaries and working conditions (Strauss, 2015). It is time for teacher educators to step up and join the struggles by historically marginalized communities to secure the resources for affordable housing, access to nutritious food, and so on, in addition to their advocacy for a high-quality education for their children. These alliances will result, as we have seen in some countries, such as Brazil, Canada, and Mexico, in advocates' in historically marginalized communities greater support for the struggles of teachers and teacher educators for the resources to provide the high quality of teaching and teacher education that all communities deserve.

Acknowledgments

This article is a revised version of a talk that I presented at a seminar on Current Challenges in Initial Teacher Education at the University of Malaga in Spain in 2023 that was later published in a 2023 special edition of the university's journal, *Revista de education de University of Malaga*, in honor of the career contributions of my longtime friend Professor Angel Perez Gomez.

Notes

[1] For a summary of the research supporting this negative assessment of the usefulness of value-added methods in evaluating the quality of a teacher preparation program, see National Academy of Education (2024).

[2] The Teach for All network is an example of the international nature of these problems; see https://teachforall.org/

[3] See Larry Cuban's (1969) thoughtful essay on the importance of teachers seeing their work as teaching students within communities and what needs to be done by school systems to support this work.

[4] https://seattleteacherresidency.org/

[5] https://www.washingtonea.org/events-training/residency/

[6] https://www.bankstreet.edu/residency-partnership-resources/

[7] https://nctresidencies.org/

[8] https://srtac.sccoe.org/

[9] https://cdefoundation.org/cde_programs/thelab/

[10] https://education.uw.edu/programs/necp

References

Alim, H. S., & Paris, D. (2017). What is culturally sustaining pedagogy and why does it matter? In D. Paris & H. S. Alim (Eds.), *Culturally sustaining pedagogies: Teaching and learning in a changing world* (pp. 1–24). Teachers College Press.

Anderson, G., & Cohen, M. (2018). *The new democratic professional in education: Confronting markets, metrics, and managerialism*. Teachers College Press.

Archibald, J. (2015, April). *Indigenous teacher education: Struggle and triumph for justice and more* [Paper presentation]. American Educational Research Association annual meeting, Chicago, IL, United States.

Baker, B. (2018). *Educational inequality and school finance: Why money matters for America's students*. Harvard Education Press.

Banks, J., Cochran-Smith, M., Moll, L., Richert, A., Zeichner, K., Darling-Hammond, L., & Duffy, H. (2005). Preparing teachers for diversity. In L. Darling-Hammond & J. Bransford (Eds.), *Preparing teachers for a changing world* (pp. 232–274). Jossey-Bass.

Barajas-Lopez, F., & Ishimaru, A. M. (2020). Darles el lugar: A place for nondominant family knowing in educational equity. *Urban Education*, *55*(1), 38–65. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085916652179

Barton Calabrese, A., & Tan, E. (2020). Beyond equity as inclusion: A framework of "rightful presence" for guiding justice-oriented studies in teaching and learning. *Educational Researcher*, *49*(6), 433–440. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X20927363

Berliner, D. (2013). Effects of inequality and poverty vs teachers and schooling on American youth. *Teachers College Record*, *115*(12). https://doi.org/10.1177/016146811311501203

Berwick, E. J., & Wilensky, D. (Eds.). (2014). *Graduate medical education that meets the nation's health needs*. National Academies Press.

Besas, M. (2021, March 15). Tenured faculty continue being replaced by adjuncts across US. *College Post*. https://thecollegepost.com/tenured-faculty-replaced-adjuncts/

Cardichon, J., Darling-Hammond, L., Yang, M., Shields, P. M., & Burns, D. (2020). *Inequitable opportunity to learn: Student access to certified and experienced teachers.*

Learning Policy Institute.
Chung, B. (2015). The state of graduate medical education funding and meeting the nation's healthcare needs. *Journal of the American Osteopathic Association*, *115*(8), 478–481. https://doi.org/10.7556/jaoa.2015.101
Clark, P., Zygmunt, E., Tancock, S., & Cipollone, K. (Eds.). (2021). *The power of community-engaged teacher preparation*. Teachers College Press.
Cuban, L. (1969). Teacher and community. *Harvard Educational Review*, *39*(2), 253–272. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.39.2.n7614t6x509xl3n1
Darling-Hammond, L. (2013). Inequality in school resources: What will it take to close the opportunity gap? In P. L. Carter & K. G. Welner (Eds.), *Closing the opportunity gap: What America must do to give every child an even chance* (pp. 77–97). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199982981.003.0006
de Bruïne, E. J., Willemse, T. M., D'Haem, J., Griswold, P., Vloeberghs, L., & van Eyende, S. (2014). Preparing teacher candidates for family–school partnerships. *European Journal of Teacher Education*, *37*(4), 409–425. https://doi.org/10.1080/02619768.2014.912628
Driscoll, M. E. (1998). Professionalism versus community: Themes from recent school catalyst for change in higher education institutions. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *73*(1), 89–127. https://doi.org/10.1080/01619569809538879
Ellis, V., Maguire, M., Zeichner, K., Are, T., Yang, X., & Qui, R. (2016). Teaching other people's children elsewhere for a while. *Journal of Education Policy*, *31*(1), 60–80. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2015.1066871
Epstein, J. L., & Sanders, M. G. (2006). Prospects for change: Preparing educators for school, family, and community partnerships. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *81*(2), 81–120. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327930pje8102_5
Flaherty, C. (2020, April 19). Barely getting by: New report on adjuncts says many make less than $3,500 per course and live in poverty. *Inside Higher Education.* https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2020/04/20/new-report-says-many-adjuncts-make-less-3500-course-and-25000-year.
Fraser, J. (2007). *Preparing America's teachers: A history*. Teachers College Press
Furlong, J., Cochran-Smith, M., & Brennan, M. (Eds.). (2009). *Policy and politics in teacher education*. Routledge.
Garcia, A. (2024, July 11). *Grow your own teachers: A 50-state scan of policies and programs.* New America. https://www.newamerica.org/education-policy/reports/grow-your-own-teachers/
Gillette, M. D. (2018). Walking into the community: Community partnerships as a catalyst for change in higher education institutions. In M. R. Warren & D. Goodman (Eds.), *Lift us up, don't push us out: Voices from the front lines of the educational justice movement* (pp. 118–127). Beacon Press.
Gist, C. D., Bianco, M., & Lynn, M. (2019). Examining grow your own programs across the development continuum: Mining research on teachers of color and nontraditional educator pipelines. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *70*(1), 13–25. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487118787504
Gomila, M. A., Pascual, B., & Quincoces, M. (2018). Family–school partnership in the Spanish educational system. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, *44*(3), 309–320. https://doi.org/10.1080/02607476.2018.1465641
Goodlad, J. (1990). *Teachers for our nation's schools*. Jossey-Bass.
Guhya, R., Hyler, M. E., & Darling-Hammond, L. (2016). *The teacher residency: An innovative*

model for preparing teachers. Learning Policy Institute. https://learningpolicyinstitute.org/product/teacher-residency

Guillen, L., & Zeichner, K. (2018). A university–community partnership in teacher education from the perspectives of community-based teacher educators. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *69*(2), 140–153. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487117751133

Haig-Brown, C., & Kawehau Hoskins, T. (2019). Indigenous teacher education in Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand. In *Oxford research encyclopedia*. Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.013.746

Hammerness, K., Ahtian, R., & Sahlberg, P. (2017). *Empowering educators in Finland*: *How high performing systems shape teacher quality*. Jossey-Bass.

Harfitt, G. (2019). Community-based experiential learning in teacher education. In G. W. Noblit (Ed.), *Oxford research encyclopedia* (pp. 1–23). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.013.986

Hong, S. (2019). *Natural allies: Hope and possibility in teacher–family partnerships*. Harvard Education Press.

Hyland, N. E., & Meacham, S. (2004). Community knowledge–centered teacher education: A paradigm for socially just educational transformation. In J. L. Kincheloe, S. R. Steinberg, & A. Bursztyn (Eds.), *Building a quality school of urban education* (pp. 113–134). Peter Lang.

Ishimaru, A. (2020). *Just schools: Building equitable collaborations with families and communities*. Teachers College Press.

Kapadia, K., & Hammerness, K. (2014). Unpacking the "urban" in urban teacher education: Making the case for context-specific preparation. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *65*(2), 128–144. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487113511645

Kirmaci, M. (2019). Reporting educators' experiences regarding family–school interactions with implications for best practices. *School Community Journal*, *29*(2), 129–156.

Koerner, J. D. (1963). *The miseducation of American teachers*. Houghton Mifflin.

Kretchmar, K., & Zeichner, K. (2016). Teacher preparation 3.0: A vision for teacher education to impact social transformation. *Journal of Education for Teaching*, *42*(4), 417–433. https://doi.org/10.1080/02607476.2016.1215550

Labaree, D. (2004). *The trouble with ed schools*. Yale University Press.

Lampert, J. (2021). A community-engaged framework for the preparation of teachers for high poverty communities. *Australian Educational Researcher*, *48*(3), 449–466. https://doi.org/10.1007/s13384-020-00406-8

Lyall, K. C., & Sell, K. R. (2006). The de facto privatization of American public higher education. *Change: The Magazine of Higher Learning*, *38*(1), 6–13. https://doi.org/10.3200/CHNG.38.1.6-13

Moon, B. (Ed.). (2016). *Do universities have a role in the education and training of teachers?* Cambridge University Press.

Mustian, A. L., O'Mally, J., Garcia, G., Millan, C., & Zamudio-Mainon, M. L. (2021). Whose voices matter? Intentionality and shared vision. In P. Clark, E. Zygmunt, S. Tancock, & K. Cipollone (Eds.), *The power of community-engaged teacher preparation: Voices and vision of hope and healing* (pp. 59–78). Teachers College Press.

Naidoo, L., & Brace, E. (2017). The Refugee Action Support Program in Sydney, Australia: A bridge between cultures. In L. Hoyt (Ed.), *Regional perspectives on learning by doing: Stories from engaged universities around the world* (pp. 81–102). Michigan State University Press.

National Academy of Education. (2024). *Evaluating and improving teacher preparation programs* (K. M. Zeichner, L. Darling-Hammond, A. I. Berman, D. Dong, & G. Sykes, Eds.). National Academy of Education. https://naeducation.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/Evaluating-and-Improving-Teacher-Preparation-Programs.pdf

National Center for Education Statistics. (2021). *The condition of education*. https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator/cge

Payne, K., & Zeichner, K. (2017). Multiple voices and participants in teacher education. In D. J. Clandinin & J. Husu (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook on research in teacher education* (pp. 1101–1116). SAGE. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781526402042.n63

Peske, H., & Haycock, K. (2006). *Teaching inequality: How poor minority students are shortchanged on teacher quality*. Education Trust.

Philip, T., Way, W., Garcia, A., Schuler-Brown, S., & Navarro, O. (2013). When educators attempt to make "community" a part of classroom learning: The dangers of misappropriating students' communities into schools. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *34*, 174–183. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2013.04.011

Sachs, J. (2003). *The activist teaching profession*. Open University Press.

Sanders, B. (2024, June). *By the wealthy, for the wealthy: The coordinated attacks on public education in the United States*. U.S. Senate Committee on Health, Education, and Labor. https://www.sanders.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/06.24.24-Education-Privatization-Report.pdf

Saunders, R., Fitz, J., DiNapoli, M. A., & Kini, T. (2024). *Teacher residencies: State and federal policy to support comprehensive teacher preparation*. Learning Policy Institute/Ed Prep Lab. https://doi.org/10.54300/358.825

Skinner, E., Garreton, M. T., & Schultz, B. (Eds.). (2011). *Grow your own teachers: Grassroots change in teacher education*. Teachers College Press.

Smolcic, E., & Katunich, J. (2017). Teachers crossing borders: A review of research into cultural immersion field experiences for teachers. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, *62*, 47–59. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2016.11.002

Stitzlein, S. M., & West, C. K. (2014). New forms of teacher education: Connections to charter schools and their approaches. *Democracy and Education*, *22*(2). https://democracyeducationjournal.org/home/vol22/iss2/2/

Strauss, V. (2015, September 25). The surprising things Seattle teachers won for students by striking. *Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/answer-sheet/wp/2015/09/25/the-surprising-things-seattle-teachers-won-for-students-by-striking/

Villegas, A. M., & Lucas, T. (2002). *Educating culturally responsive teachers: A coherent approach*. State University of New York Press.

Wilson, S., & Kelley, S. (2022). *Landscapes of teacher preparation programs and teacher candidates*. National Academy of Education. https://naeducation.org/evaluating-and-improving-teacher-preparation-programs-commissioned-paper-series/

Zeichner, K. (2010). Rethinking the connections between campus courses and field experiences in college and university-based teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *89*(11), 89–99. https://doi.org/10.5902/198464442362

Zeichner, K. (2015, December 5). The disturbing provisions about teacher preparation in No Child Left Behind rewrite. *Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/answer-sheet/wp/2015/12/05/the-disturbing-provisions-about-teacher-preparation-in-no-child-left-behind-rewrite/

Zeichner, K. (2016). *Independent teacher education programs: Apocryphal claims, illusory*

evidence. National Education Policy Center. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315098074-6

Zeichner, K. (2018). *The struggle for the soul of teacher education*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315098074

Zeichner, K. (2019). Preparing teachers as democratic professionals. *Action in Teacher Education*, *42*(1), 38–48. https://doi.org/10.1080/01626620.2019.1700847

Zeichner, K. (2021a). Critical unresolved and understudied issues in clinical teacher education. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *96*(1), 1–7. https://doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2020.1864241

Zeichner, K. (2021b). Tensions between teacher professionalism and authentic community voice in public schools serving nondominant communities. In D. Berliner & C. Hermanns (Eds.), *Public education: Defending the cornerstone of American democracy* (pp. 176–188). Teachers College Press.

Zeichner, K. (2024). *Keywords in teacher education*: *Communities*. Bloomsbury.

Zeichner, K., Bowman, M., Guillen, L., & Napolitan, K. (2016). Engaging and working in solidarity with local communities in preparing the teachers of their children. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *67*(4), 277–290. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487116660623

Zeichner, K., & Melnick, S. (1996). The role of community experiences in preparing teachers for cultural diversity. In K. Zeichner, S. Melnick, & M. L. Gomez (Eds.), *Currents of reform in preservice teacher education* (pp. 176–198). Teachers College Press.

Zeichner, K., Payne, K., & Brayko, K. (2015). Democratizing teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education*, *66*(2), 122–135. https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487114560908

Zeichner, K., & Sandoval, C. P. (2015). Venture philanthropy and teacher education policy in the U.S.: The role of the New Schools Venture Fund. *Teachers College Record*, *117*(5), 1–44. https://doi.org/10.1177/016146811511700508