URBAN EDUCATION RESEARCH AND POLICY ANNUALS

Article

Subversive Scholarship: Exploring Fugitive Pedagogy at a Historically Black College and University in Texas. Do We Do it?

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ABSTRACT

Pre-service teacher curriculum represents the complex interplay between governance and teacher education. Current mandates for teacher certification include stricter certification and licensing provisions. Prioritizing cultural relevance and Black empowerment, HBCUs have a history of resisting oppressive societal attitudes and systems. Likewise, their teacher preparation courses offer Black preservice teachers the opportunity to practice their legacy of fugitive pedagogy openly and systematically. Nevertheless, they are required to confront their past accomplishments while adhering to state-sanctioned regulations on imparting educators with "official teacher knowledge" for certification. Using a conceptual framework that integrates official knowledge and fugitive pedagogy through the lens of governmentality, this chapter conducted a content analysis between the one course within a teacher preparation program at a Historically Black College and University (HBCU) in Texas against standards of official knowledge provided by Texas Education Agency (TEA). The results suggest that HBCUs maintains their distinctive educational mission despite state control and regulation, albeit not fully. Accordingly, recommendations for further study and practice are provided.

KEYWORDS: Teacher education, Historically Black College and University, Fugitive Pedagogy, Content Analysis

INTRODUCTION

To be certified as a teacher, the required knowledge has significantly expanded. It now includes not only subject matter, curriculum, and pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) but also broader themes like global issues and multiculturalism (Ben-Peretz, 2011). This "official teacher knowledge," defined by educational authorities and policymakers, is considered essential for effective teaching. Accordingly, authorities use specific methods to ensure

this knowledge is taught to all (Foucault, 1982). Teacher certification standards are the methods used to impart this knowledge. The content of this "official teacher knowledge" is not neutral. They reflect the dominant educational philosophies, values, and priorities of the prevailing ideology (Apple, 2000). However, restrictive state and federal policies can undermine educator autonomy in using this knowledge for effective instruction (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2012; Toldson et al., 2019). Despite these challenges, educators continue to advocate for their voices in their preparation, with Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) providing a crucial space for this advocacy.

HBCUs have provided alternative spaces and frameworks that center Black experiences and viewpoints in knowledge production and dissemination (Williams et al., 2021). Yet, they must do so within while being cognizant of and adhering to prevailing paradigms and ideologies on teacher education. To identify how HBCUs still work to subvert the climate of anti-Blackness underlying teacher preparation programs (Kohli, 2009), a content analysis was conducted between an HBCU teacher education instructional planning course and accreditation standards set by the Texas Education Agency (TEA). Documenting and understanding these lived realities are critical to an interruptive strategy in building counter-hegemonic alliances that create and defend alternatives to dominate (read: white) knowledge Apple, 2020).

LITERATURE REVIEW.

TEACHER EDUCATION POLICY AS WHITE SURVEILLANCE

To certify teachers, HBCUs must receive accreditation status. Achieving accreditation demonstrates that the university and its program have met standards set by organizations (read: overseers) representing the academic community and other stakeholders (CAEP, 2015). Accreditation implies that an educational institution appropriately prepares students with "foundational" teacher knowledge necessary for effective teaching. With this stamp of approval, teacher education programs (TEPs) believe they are highly effective and culturally competent teachers prepared to teach in diverse contexts (Allen et al., 2017). Unfortunately, the current climate of surveillance significantly hampers efforts to create culturally responsive educators.

Current educational reforms, which increases accountability for TEPSs and strengthens standards and rigor for all students (Ginsberg et al., 2020), does not emphasize integrating discussions of diversity and equity across coursework and fieldwork (Allen et al., 2017). Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) passed in 2015, reauthorized the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and replaced the 2002 No Child Left Behind (NCLB) mandate. ESSA emphasized strengthening standards and rigor for all students, using evidence-based practices to support student learning, and using data-based instructional decision-making (Slanda & Little, 2020). Since this mandate, teacher education has seen increased surveillance to ensure they adequately prepare teachers to master official teacher knowledge. Amid this high-stakes teacher certification and program accreditation era, developing culturally relevant teachers is not the priority, and attempts at doing so are often relegated to one course on race, urban education, or equity (Milner, 2008). Given that low priority, it can be argued that these teacher accreditation standards is a proxy for the white gaze.

Teacher accreditation standards can act as a proxy for the white gaze via its Eurocentric framing, reliance on standardization and uniformity, and intense surveillance. Accreditation standards often reflect Eurocentric norms and expectations. These standards prioritize teaching methods, curricula, and assessment practices that align with white, middle-class values and marginalizes non-white, non-affluence experiences, thereby reinforcing a narrow view of what constitutes "quality" education. For example, high-stakes testing has contributed to educators' narrowing the curriculum, de-emphasizing higher order learning, retaining students in-grade, and excluding types of students (i.e., non-dominant cultural and linguistic communities, students with disabilities) who tend to fare poorly on standardized tests (Darling-Hammond, 2004; McNeil, 2000) These standards are also framed to include hidden curricula that implicitly convey messages about race and power. The type of material used in TEPs can subtly reinforce stereotypes and biases, perpetuating a white-centric view of education (Allen et al., 2017). This socialization makes teachers reproduce inequitable societal relations in their classrooms (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2012). Simultaneously, teacher accreditation standards emphasize standardization, promoting consistency and uniformity.

Teacher accreditation standards call for standardization, which pushes for consistency and uniformity. Standardization in education refers to a process of establishing consistent educational standards, curricula, and

assessments across educational systems (Darling-Hammond, 2004). Teacher education has become standardized via legislation like NCLB and ESSA, impacting the role, type, and use of these standards (Call, 2022). Call (2022) suggests that neoliberal market-driven agendas have influenced the professionalization of teaching, emphasizing competition, innovation, and accountability. This shift has caused philosophical divides regarding the purpose and application of professional standards in education (Hess & Eden, 2021). The establishment of standardized professional standards ensures that TEPs adhere to a consistent set of expectations that ensures a uniform level of information regarding the knowledge, skills, and competencies required of teachers. Uniform standards not only limit the ability of educators to adapt their teaching methods and materials, but also places them under great stress and anxiety.

A key aspect of the standardization of teacher education is its emphasis on enhancing accountability and transparency. This high-stakes evaluation and accountability measures often place teachers under intense scrutiny. ESSA requires states to develop and implement teacher evaluation systems covering multiple dimensions of teacher performance. These evaluations often incorporate student achievement data, classroom observations, and other metrics, which can feel like increased scrutiny for teachers (Hess & Eden, 2021). ESSA also mandates the collection and reporting of various data performance standards. This data while intended to ensure that all students have access to high-quality educators, it also means that teachers' performance is more closely monitored (Valli & Buese, 2007). Moreover, states are required to keep their own accountability systems measuring teacher effectiveness (Slanda & Little, 2020). These systems are designed to identify and support struggling schools and educators, but the increased diagnostic and achievement tests, curriculum changes, and accountability measures increased, expanded and intensified teachers jobs. Teachers report compromised relationships with students, increased stress, feeling demoralized, ineffective, and creating classrooms that reflect test-preparation classroom culture (i.e. teaching to the test classrooms) resulting in teacher turnover (Stillman, 2011; Valli & Buese, 2007). Furthermore, these systems do not account for the additional challenges faced by teachers working in under-resourced schools or those serving marginalized communities, disproportionately affecting teachers of color who primarily inhabit these spaces. Today, increased high school graduation and college enrollment rates and historic low dropout, provide a firm foundation for ESSA achievements, but results remain mixed, particularly for Black students (Hess & Eden, 2021. Thus, Black students continue to face a racialized educational landscape throughout their P-20 matriculation, prompting many to seek refuge in institutions specifically designed for their success.

HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES (HBCUS)

Engaging in this type of research requires placing Black teachers and their experiences at the forefront of the discussion. Historically, Black teachers have played a crucial role in the fight for educational justice and social change for Black Americans (Allen et al., 2013; Anderson, 1988; Duncan, 2022; Redwine Johnson et al, 2024; Walker, 1996). They have consistently helped Black students navigate a society that often perceives them as problematic (Walker, 1996; Williams, 2005). Since the arrival of the first ships carrying Africans as cargo to North America, Black teachers have been educating Black students in pursuit of emancipation (Anderson, 1988; Duncan, 2022). For example, recognizing that literacy could aid them in escaping slavery and gaining citizenship, enslaved Africans risks their lives to teach others (Duncan, 2022; LeMelle, 2002; Williams, 2005; Williams et al., 2019).

With a sense of responsibility, Black teachers from the North migrated to the South during Reconstruction to help newly emancipated Africans acquire an education (Anderson, 1988). These educators viewed their work as a political act against the efforts of southern Whites who wanted to maintain the antebellum power structure (Duncan, 2022). Accordingly, Black teachers maintained high standards and were deliberate in their choice of curricular materials, refusing to use tools that conveyed messages of Black inferiority, even when resources were scarce (Williams, 2005). Despite Jim Crow laws, segregation, and underfunded schools, Black teachers continued to see their vocation as one of collective racial improvement (Walker, 1996). Through their pedagogy and legacy of uplifting, Black teachers modeled the importance of perseverance in the face of adversity. The legacy of Black teachers in uplifting the Black community is structurally represented by institutions that specifically support the Black community, such as Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs).

HBCUs were established to educate the freed descendants of enslaved Africans in the United States (Anderson, 1988). The need for these institutions arose from a history of racism legitimizing Black enslavement and justified criminalizing their education (Anderson, 1988; Williams et al., 2019). Correspondingly, HBCUs emphasize

education as a tool for personal and collective liberation, teaching students to challenge societal constraints and aspire toward greater social mobility and civic engagement (Green, 2022; Johnson et al., 2017). Literature reveals that HBCU campuses are often characterized as familial environments where many Black students feel supported (Green, 2022). These supportive networks, which include peers, faculty members, and administrators, help foster overall academic, social, and emotional success for those who have borne the brunt of an inequitable K-12 systems (Green, 2022; Johnson et al., 2017; Williams et al., 2019; Williams et al., 2021).

Most HBCUs were founded between 1865 and 1900, with the greatest number established two years after the Emancipation Proclamation (Thurgood Marshall College Fund, n.d.). Initially, HBCUs provided limited education and training options for students of African descent, focusing on teaching, theology, and industrial arts to offer an educational foundation that would enable economic independence and self-sustainability (Thurgood Marshall College Fund, n.d.). Over time, HBCU education has expanded significantly, and their practices affirm Black students' capacity to succeed (LeMelle, 2002; Williams et al., 2019). Correspondingly, HBCUs have produced over 80% of Black Americans in medicine and dentistry, are the leading institution in awarding baccalaureate degrees to Black students in STEM, and provided the undergraduate training for ¾ of all Black PhD holders, ¾ of all Black officers, and 4/5 of all Black federal judges (Johnson et al., 2017). As W. E. B. DuBois poignantly stated, "Had it not been for the Negro schools and colleges, the Negro would, to all intents and purposes, have been driven back to slavery" (DuBois, 1935), underscoring the relevance and importance of HBCUs to Black Americans. Building on the foundational role that HBCUs play in fostering environments where Black students thrive, culturally responsive pedagogy emerges as a powerful form of resistance within these institutions, challenging dominant educational norms and affirming the cultural identities of students in the face of systemic oppression.

CULTURAL RESPONSIVENESS AS RESISTANCE

Given the local nature of the teacher labor force, HBCUs have a significant footprint in the regions in which they are located, both rural and urban (Gasman & Conrad, 2017). Due to the oversight from federal legislation TEPs becomes ill-equipped to offer solutions for eliminating racism in the classroom (Kohli, 2009). However, HBCUs with a heritage of fugitive Black education offer opportunities to prepare diverse teacher candidates and educators who engage in culturally sustaining pedagogies (Ginsberg et al., 2020). MSI, such as HBCUs, serve as alternative spaces for teacher preparation programs at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) (Ginsberg et al., 2020). Black Americans understood that their lived realities were characterized by white surveillance and violence, so they built an institutional realm that allowed them to create learning experiences of Black joy and empowerment (Givens, 2021; LeMelle, 2002; Williams et al., 2019). Accordingly, teacher education at HBCUs reflects HBCUs' unique history as institutions founded to support Black education (Ginsberg et al., 2020; Givens, 2021). They offer a distinct educational experience and environment conducive to Black liberation through educational practices of culturally relevant and culturally sustaining pedagogy (CSP) that prioritize Black experiences and perspectives.

As a catchall phrase for any instructional approaches that acknowledge and incorporate discussions on race or cultural diversity, the phrase "culturally relevant pedagogy" (CRP) has gained considerable traction in education (Ginsberg et al., 2020). As defined by Allen et al. (2013), CRP can be loosely defined as learning intentionally centered on providing meaningful curriculum and instruction for students. Conversely, culturally-sustaining pedagogy (CSP) can be considered an approach to teaching that centers and sustains multiculturalism, linguistic and cultural pluralism, and diverse students' experiences and ways of knowing (Paris, 2012). Emerging research underscores that the principles of CRP and CSP, particularly the ethos of care, asset-based teaching with high expectations, disrupting institutional racism, and social change and empowerment-oriented community engagement, as long landmarks of HBCUs (Gasman & Conrad, 2017). It is their commitment to equitable and social justice-oriented learning built from their TEPs that allow them to provide deeper learning for their students (Darling-Hammond & Oakes, 2021). However, TEPSs "are situated within the institution's context and must subscribe to overarching institutional policies" (Allen et al., 2017, p. 9). So, HBCU TEPs must contend with their legacies of fugitivity within the governmentality of official teacher knowledge.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The governmentality of official knowledge determines the content and regulation of formal and hidden curricula. The governmentality of official knowledge can be thought of as a process where government authorities endorse and validate specific forms of knowledge, endorsing specific ideologies, narratives, and views that align with the interests of those in authority (Apple, 1993a; 2013). They endorse "official knowledge" through state-sponsored sanctions (Foucault, 1982). Thus, the curriculum given to students socializes them to a specific comprehension of the world and their societal positions. Likewise, teacher education content and certification are also regulated by government bodies that endorse and validate specific views of "official" teacher knowledge (Allen et al., 2017). School curriculum, teacher preparation framework, and certification content and standards are based on the governmentality of official teacher knowledge, which is also not neutral.

OFFICIAL KNOWLEDGE

The politics of official knowledge in education embodies the conflict over what is considered legitimate knowledge and who holds the power to define it. This power is not simply about the explicit exercise of control; rather, it permeates curriculum, teaching, and evaluation (Apple, 1993b; 2020). The decisions about what counts as legitimate knowledge, how it is organized, who has the authority to teach it, and what constitutes an appropriate display of having learned it all play a pivotal role in reproducing and altering societal dominance and subordination (Apple, 2020). Official knowledge refers to the sanctioned information and practices endorsed by institutional authorities (Apple, 1993a). In this context, official knowledge refers to the focus on whose rather than what knowledge is most worthy (Apple, 1993a; 2013). Governmentality of official knowledge refers to how governments or authoritative institutions exercise control and influence over "official" knowledge production, dissemination, and utilization within a society (Apple, 2000).

In this chapter, official knowledge within teacher education refers to information necessary for teacher certification in the American education system. Teacher official knowledge is governed by governmental authorities such as TEA. Thus, what TEA produces and disseminates with the label teacher knowledge is automatically legitimized as official teacher knowledge, but this curriculum is not neutral. It stems from a particular culture of "we," combining business and conservatism, which normalizes business conservative-oriented behaviors and mindsets (Apple, 1993b). Thus, by focusing on whose knowledge is the most worthy, we can pay attention to the connection between official knowledge of teacher education and the existing relations of domination, subordination, and resistance against official knowledge as the only knowledge for effective teaching.

FUGITIVE PEDAGOGY

Given that Black Americans were socialized to believe they were devoid of everything, Black educators used curriculum and various pedagogical practices to subvert their negative socialization and transform the educational experiences of their Black students (Givens, 2021). Thus, these consistent attempts to humanize Black identity through the curriculum is an act of political disobedience, especially because curriculum and pedagogy inform culture, which is a producer and reproducer of values and power relations (Apple, 2000) This genealogy shows a fugitive character in a Black educational heritage. The historical teachings of Black educators have, thus, nurtured a community and shared vision of social justice. This shared vision culminated in the creation of HBCUs (Givens, 2021), a space of at the margins.

Foucault reminds us that if we want to understand how power works, we must look at the margins (Foucault, 1982). bell hooks (1989) emphasized the importance of reclaiming the marginal space because of its implications for giving the most marginalized a voice, and fugitive pedagogy represents the margins. Fugitive pedagogy represents alternative, grassroots forms of education that argued to challenges official knowledge as the only form of knowledge (Givens, 2021). Fugitive pedagogy refers to the intentional subversive educational practices of Black educators. Marginalized spaces can be sites of creativity and power, where individuals can resist oppressive structures and form a community of resistance (hooks, 1989). Givens (2021) shows the genealogy of fugitive planning in the evolution of black education. Teaching Black students involved more for Black teachers

than just helping them acquire basic academic skills. Fundamentally, it was about confronting and surpassing anti-Black prejudice that pervaded their lived realities (Anderson, 1988; Walker, 1996).

While not the same, CRP, CSP, and fugitive pedagogy all aim to create more equitable and inclusive educational environments by valuing and incorporating the cultural identities and experiences of marginalized students. They share a commitment to challenging systemic inequalities and empowering students to use their education to effect social change. These pedagogies invite, not force, students to critically engage with their education, questioning, challenging, and developing an action lace to the governmentality of official knowledge. They help students have the ability to use education as a tool for social change, rather than its functions as a site of cultural reproduction. For example, by using fugitive literacy practices, Ohito (2020) affirmed students as empowered producers of knowledge, which provided them with agency and a platform for expressing their perspectives and experiences, contributing to a sense of empowerment and validation.

Purpose

Education serves as a method for creating governmentalized mindsets, so schooling becomes an important governance tool (Apple, 2000; 2013). In this context, it can be argued that education shapes people's minds to accept societal control and, as a result, internalize the educational "knowledge" that the governmental authorities deem valuable. This process constrains not only behavior but also conceptions of what behaviors are appropriate, and while this process is clear for students, it also works within teacher education and certification. Examining state-regulated teacher preparation curricula through the lens of governmentality shows how the formal corpus of teacher knowledge is bound by power relations that align with predetermined standards, values, and goals (Apple, 1993b; 2020). The guiding research question asks:

1. Are the distinctive features of fugitive pedagogy positioned within instructional planning teacher preparation course syllabi at an HCBCU to obtain the educational principles prioritized by TEA?
2. If present, what features of fugitive pedagogy were the most prevalent?

Methods

A content analysis was conducted on the syllabi of an instructional planning course from a public 4-year HBCU's teacher preparation program. TEPSs at public universities are highly structured and in Texas must adhere to specific standards set by the Texas Education Agency. Thus, it was important to only include a public university to ensure that the teacher education coursework was aligned to the Texas state standards for teacher certification, meaning that they reflect the ideals and stated learning objectives (SLOs) determined by ESSA and the university. Given the complexity of the investigation, the scope of this investigation was limited to one public institution. An HBCU was chosen due to its history of embracing and nurturing fugitive pedagogies while also navigating the constraints of official knowledge. A Texas-based HBCU was selected for its proximity to the research site, which facilitated ease of access and logistical convenience. Finally, an instructional planning course was chosen because it was the only publicly available full course syllabi from the HBCU TEP, and the course was taught recently in fall of 2023.

Following procedures by Saldana (2015), the first coding cycle involved pilot coding of the syllabi. During this stage, the author reviewed TEA's commissioners' rules concerning educator standards of the Texas Administrative Code. The course syllabi were examined to identify which Texas Educator Standards were pertinent to the course. Standard 1-Instructional Planning and Delivery, Standard 3-Content Knowledge and Expertise, and Standard 5-Data Driven Practice were the standards identified in the syllabus—thereby were the standards that were reviewed in the administrative code. Within each standard, information that aligned with or contradicted the principles of fugitive pedagogy, CRP, and CRP were highlighted. For example, Standard 1 on instructional planning and delivery states, "Teachers demonstrate their understanding of instructional planning and delivery by providing standards-based, data-driven, differentiated instruction that engages students, makes appropriate use of technology, and makes learning relevant for today's learners." The term "standards-based" were highlighted as contradictory, while "differentiated instruction," and "makes learning relevant" were highlighted as aligned. Aligned sections were matched to specific tenets best aligned with fugitive pedagogy, CRP, and CRP. This practice continued with Standards 3 and 5 to create an initial codebook.

A codebook was created based on concepts of fugitive pedagogy, CRP, and CRP. Accordingly, codes were informed by a synthesis of research about fugitive pedagogy, CRP, and CRP (Gay, 2002, 2018; Givens, 2021; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Paris & Alim, 2017). This method was appropriate because fugitive pedagogy is relatively new but describes long-standing educational practices among Black educators who have historically taught in ways that resist and subvert dominant oppressive norms. Given its emerging conceptualization and articulation in academic discourse and its intimacy with the other two concepts, it seemed appropriate to create a codebook of fugitive pedagogy complemented by tenets of culturally relevant teaching and CRP.

After creating the initial codebook, the second stage involved refining the codebook to categorize the initial codes into more focused and selective categorical codes. During this process, codes were grouped together if a relationship between them was identified. For example, using informal and formal methods and differentiated curriculum were related and coded as personalized learning. The final stage of coding involved refining categorical codes to create core codes, resulting in the five final core codes: Academic Excellence, Power and Dynamics, Cultural Competence, Community and Agency, and Divergent Instructional Planning (see Table 1). For example, personalized learning was grouped with categorical codes such as in-depth content knowledge and creativity to create the core code Divergent Instructional Planning. Codes emphasized resistance to oppressive norms and the sustenance of cultural practices.

These five core codes were chosen because they are all interconnected within the three concepts. All three concepts emphasize the importance of academic excellence as a core tenet. They encourage critical consciousness development to navigate challenging power dynamics in educational spaces. They involve understanding and valuing the diverse backgrounds of their students via class, race, religion, gender, sexuality, and physical and intellectual ability. Finally, they recognize that collective agency through families, educators, and students is critical to resist oppressive norms and sustain cultural practices and that students learning is deeply connected to their communities and cultures. Following the final stage of creating the codebook, I extracted relevant sections on the syllabi related to course objectives, course assignments, readings, and assessment methods and coded the syllabi. Specifics about each research question's coding process and analysis are included below.

Analysis

The first research question asks if the distinctive features of fugitive pedagogy are positioned within the course syllabi at an HCBC to obtain the educational principles prioritized by TEA. The analysis was conducted in MaxQDA to determine the frequency of all distinctive features of fugitive pedagogy. To do this, the syllabi were downloaded into MaxQDA and, using the codebook, scanned the relevant sections, and then the frequency of each code was quantified. The second research question asks about the prevalence of codes related to fugitive pedagogy. To answer this question, the quantified frequencies were examined to see which features of fugitive pedagogy had the highest frequency.

Results

Distinctive Feature of Fugitive Pedagogy Across the Syllabus

The term "fugitive" implies escaping (Givens, 2021), and in this context, it pertains to the secretive pursuit of culturally conscious education while adhering to accreditation structures. This study conducted a content analysis of the teacher preparation course material on instructional planning to see if elements of fugitive pedagogy are embedded within HBCU teacher preparation programs while achieving TEA-prioritized educational ideals. Findings reveal the presence of fugitive pedagogy across the HCBCU's course syllabi on instructional planning. The frequency of codes was collected from four class objectives, three class prerequisites, three major course assignments, five assigned readings, and six benchmarks for course grades. The course had other major and minor course assignments; however, access was not permitted for those, making coding those assignments improbable. Analysis revealed 38 codes across course objectives, prerequisites, major course assignments, assigned readings, and benchmarks for course grades associated with fugitive pedagogy. The codes were not equally distributed with two of the five codes having the highest frequency counts. Most codes were spread between readings, course objectives, and major course assignments.

Table 1. *Qualitative Coding Categories and Description*

| Coded Category*	Description
Cultural Competence	Materials that teach candidates to value multicultural diversity and encourage their lesson plans to understand the world from various perspectives.
Power Dynamics and Equity	Materials that help preservice teachers understand power dynamics in school settings
Academic Excellence	Described as items that made pre-service teachers think about how to structure lesson plans that are asset-based teaching with high expectations
Community and Agency	Materials that help preservice teachers think about how to structure lessons that get students to empowerment-oriented community engagement
Divergent Instructional Planning	Materials that teach candidates to value multicultural diversity and encourage their lesson plans to understand the world from various perspectives.

Note: Based on tenets of culturally relevant teaching and culturally sustaining pedagogy (Gay, 1994, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Nieto, 1999; Paris & Alim, 2018)

FUGITIVE PEDAGOGY FREQUENCY

To answer research question two regarding the frequency of codes related to fugitive pedagogy, the study found that the most prevalent in the analysis was Academic Excellence (n =15), followed by Divergent Instructional Planning (n=12), Power Dynamics and Equity (n=3), Cultural Competence (n=3), and Community and Engagement (n=2) (see Figure 1). Accordingly, the academic excellence code was the most frequent on an instructional planning syllabus in a teacher preparation program at an HBCU in Texas. This code was the most prevalent among course readings, assignments, and learning outcomes. Divergent instructional planning was the most prevalent among learning outcomes and course assignments.

Figure 1. *Fugitive Pedagogy Frequency Counts*

Distribution of Categories
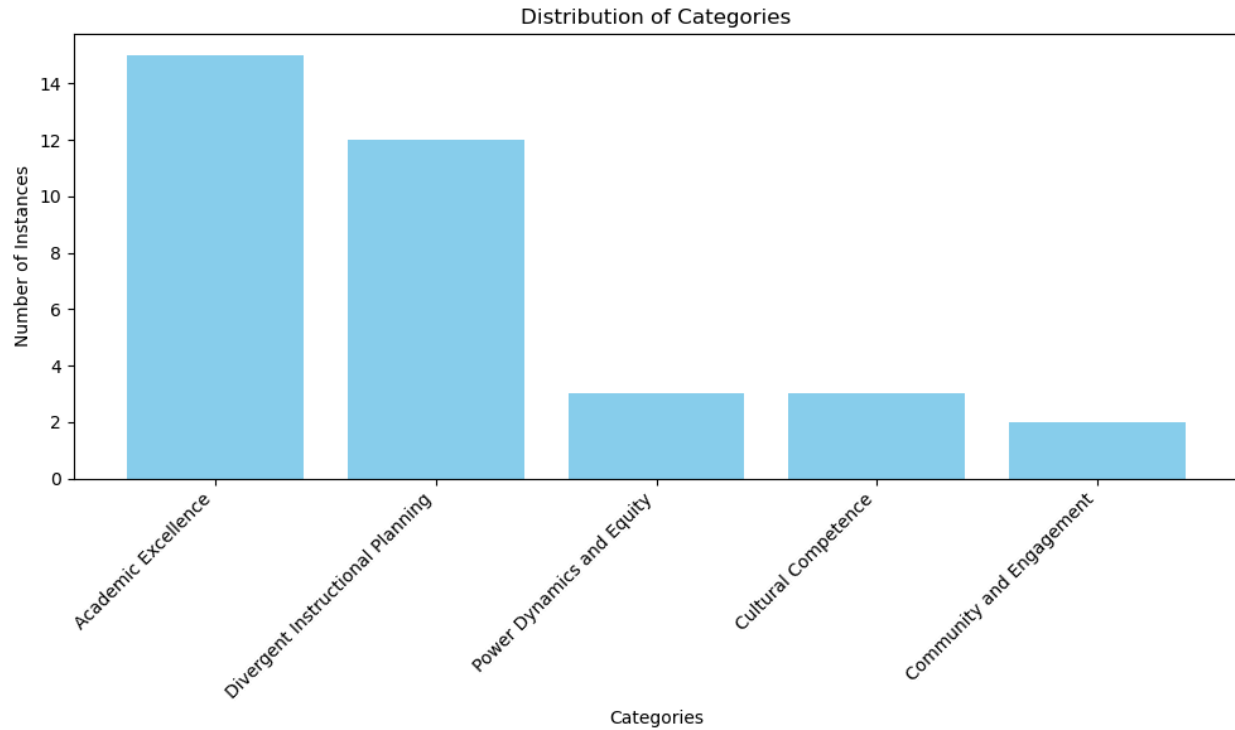
DISCUSSION

Using the concept of official knowledge and fugitive pedagogy, this study explored how one instructional planning course at an HBCU TEP in Texas engaged in fugitive pedagogy to impart the educational principles prioritized by TEA. Using governmentality as a conceptual tool implies that the government's thinking, whether concerned with the production of truth or the creation of reality, can be investigated and exposed. This is manifested in the educational benchmarks for teacher accreditation as relayed by TEA. Results revealed that this HBCU incorporated fugitive pedagogy into their instructional planning course. However, the extent to which the principles of fugitive pedagogy were integrated varied.

Analysis of the first question revealed all five core categories were present in this instructional planning course. This suggests that PSTs at this HBCU are engaging with educational pedagogy and practices that makes them aware and trains them to challenge dominant historical and cultural narratives. This is consistent with the legacy of HBCUs, who impart content that counters mainstream narratives grounded in anti-Blackness (LeMelle, 2002; Williams et al., 2021, Walker, 1996). hooks (1990) argues that Black people cannot learn or have respect for themselves while seeped within the culture white supremacy. Therefore, by being training at this HBCU, they are provided a radically different space where they can live truthfully and learn how to enact culturally responsive teaching, which is important for their future classrooms. In a study on how learning can be understood as a fugitive act, occurring in the shadows of, in spite of, and as a consequence of traditional schooling, Zaino (2021) found that teachers implemented pedagogical strategies that supported students' agency, autonomy, and critical engagement with the curriculum despite the constraints imposed by the educational system. These fugitive acts of learning enhanced students' educational experiences by providing them with opportunities for critical thinking, empowerment, and agency within oppressive educational structures.

The concept of fugitivity emphasizes HBCUs' active and deliberate attempt to create and sustain a site of possibility (Givens, 2021). The space is fugitive not because of the absence of white people or palpable antiblackness but rather because of what the teachers are up to: Black liberation (Stovall & Mosely, 2023). While explicitly focusing on preparing Black PSTs ability to achieve the Texas Commissioner's official teacher knowledge,

the instructional planning course also provided PSTs a site to engage in Black dreaming. Dreaming allows Black teachers to experience the transformative power of co-constructing a space where they can show up authentically and express emotions like joy and anger without being labeled stereotypically (Stovall & Moseley, 2023). Importantly, this HBCU's ability to blend "official teacher knowledge" with information related to Black advancement (Givens, 2021) provides evidence of their institutional relevance. Yet, although the spirit of fugitive pedagogy was embedded within the curriculum, the magnitude of its tenets was not distributed equally.

Analysis of the section research question found that while all core categories were present some were more apparent than others. Academic Excellence had the highest frequency, followed by Divergent Instructional Planning, Power Dynamics and Equity, Cultural Competence, and Community and Engagement. The code Academic Excellence referred to materials in the course that prompted PSTs to have mastery of content and high achievement

The high-frequency counts of this code acknowledged the important of teacher expectations as an educational input for students' educational achievement. The second highest category was Divergent Instructional Planning. Given the nature of the course, having this high frequency practices made sense. Moreover, differentiation of instructional planning allows teachers to tailor instruction to individual student needs, increasing student achievement (Stronge, 2018). Power Dynamics and Equity, Cultural Competence, and Community and Agency had the lowest frequency counts.

The low prevalence of the other three categories, Cultural Competence, Power Dynamics and Equity, and Community and Agency provide insight into the focus and priorities of the educational content for this course. An instructional planning course is the development of a sequence of steps, events, or activities that lead the teacher to the achievement of desired objectives. The course syllabus also wanted their PSTs to develop and applying teacher-made tests to assess students' progress. Thus, this course focused on PSTS to application of their mastery of content and assessment data to help them gather information, materials, and strategies for building a lesson that is aligned with state and national standards.

A high frequency of Academic Excellence and Divergent Instructional Planning suggests a strong focus on preparing PSTs are well-rounded to achieve and promote academic success in their future classrooms. It also could indicate a focus on an emphasis on flexibility and creativity in teaching, which could cater to diverse learning styles and needs. This is important for teachers because learners do not have the same level of development, so to be more effective, instructors need to get to know the learners within groups, which is achieved by using different methods (Ismajli & Imami-Morina, 2018). The combination of Academic Excellence and Divergent Instructional Planning reflects a blend of traditional and progressive educational approaches, but the lower frequency of the other three categories does not suggest that issues of equity, social justice, cultural responsiveness, and collective agency.

This study additionally aimed to uncover the implications of engaging in subversive education within a climate focused on improving teachers' cultural competency in an era of heightened high standards and accountability mechanisms (Slanda & Little, 2020 Toldson et al., 2019). Some could argue that this presents a gap in preparing PSTs to recognize and navigate the power imbalances and cultural differences in their future classrooms. Yet, this is one course within a sequence of TEPs, and so while this course may prioritize academic success and innovative teaching methods it does not mean that before graduation PSTs will not receive education on equity, social justice, and cultural responsiveness. Furthermore, their reliance on traditional measures of academic success is due to the confines of accreditation policies and structures.

In today's climate, the Right has been able to build a new hegemonic compromise, allowing conservative tendencies to dominate public discourse over education (Apple, 2000). This has resulted in a highly polarized context for teaching diversity, equity, and inclusion (DEI) concepts. DEI concepts are relegated as not constituting value in the canon of official knowledge, requiring governance to control where, when, and how these concepts are imparted (Apple, 2000; 2013; 2020). Texas state regulations require adherence to standardized curricula and teaching methods, which limits the flexibility needed to implement fugitive pedagogical practices. These practices often involve non-traditional, critical approaches that may not align with state-mandated standards. HBCUs must also meet specific accreditation standards that may not support the inclusion of critical pedagogical approaches. This can restrict the ability to incorporate diverse and inclusive content that challenges dominant narratives.

Teacher accreditation standards informed by the political climate and the political climate in some states may not be supportive of educational practices that challenge the status quo or address systemic inequalities. This can create an environment where fugitive pedagogy is viewed with skepticism or resistance. Recent legislation in Texas, prohibits state colleges and universities from establishing or maintaining DEI offices and related initiatives (Villalobos, 2024). This political interference by Texas Republicans to reshape higher education restrict discussions on race, equity, and social justice in the classroom, directly impacting the ability of HBCUs to implement fugitive pedagogical practices.

The administrative burden of complying with state regulations can divert time and resources away from developing and implementing fugitive pedagogy. This can make it difficult for HBCUs to prioritize these practices within their teacher preparation programs. These legislative barriers as a result of the state's political climate is the primary reason higher education faculty seek to leave the state (Evans & Heintzelman, 2023). Within the confines of accreditation policies and structures, what counts as valid knowledge, valid knowledge transmission, and valid knowledge production within this HBCUs instructional planning course are contested by including more non-traditional forms of learning and teaching. Having all core categories present suggests that these teacher graduates will have a socially conscious approach to teaching "official K-12 knowledge" because what teachers are inundated with in their preparation carries over into their teaching practice (Stronge, 2018).

Moving Forward

Findings offer implications for future research and practice. Note that while the TEPS at one HBCU does not represent the experience of teacher candidates at all HBCUs, examining one teacher preparation program at an HBCU can provide some preliminary critical insights. It was revealed that fugitive pedagogy is integrated into the curriculum, but the distribution of its principles among tenants is uneven. Further investigation is required to analyze if the principles of fugitive pedagogy as it relates to official knowledge is present across an entire TEPS sequence. A comparison with other HBCUs would offer more compelling proof of a culture that promotes teaching methods that challenge established norms, while adhering to officially recognized accreditation requirements. Additional research could also analyze and juxtapose various TEPs across institutional types and certification routes.

HBCUs are central to a strategy for creating a Black teacher pipeline. Their affirmative practices are not only a homage to the legacy of Black education (Givens, 2021) but help diversify and transform teacher education to be more culturally responsive and sustaining. Accordingly, educators should continue to strive to include the spirit of fugitive pedagogy within their courses. Yet, increased regulatory oversight and a divisive sociopolitical climate can limit the autonomy of HBCUs to design and implement their own curricula and teaching methods. This can stifle innovation and the adoption of pedagogical practices that are critical and transformative, so some creative thinking on the part of individual teacher educators may be necessary to promote PST preparation. Nevertheless, I have some recommendations.

First, HBCU TEPs should ensure they have culturally responsive resources embedded throughout the entire TEP sequence. This can be a bit tricky because each educator has their own unique epistemology guiding their teaching, but it would be good if the department had a consensus on the type of educators they want to produce. Moreover, this will help ensure that the content of their sequenced courses is not fragmented. Within their classrooms, teacher educators would implement teaching methods that are culturally responsive to the identities of the PST and curricular material that is culturally relevant, in that they talk about the most pressing issues for their future students. Curricular content would include a range of modified materials, such as case studies, games, and self-reflection activities that PST used while in their TEP, but that they could take with them and revisit any time during their career. Teacher educators would create a supportive and inclusive classroom environment conducive to open dialogue, where conversations and debate on social justice, politics, and equity, etc., are encouraged. These conversations would allow PST to learn from each other as much as they are learning from the teacher educator. Teacher educators should take the time to get to know their PST, so that their teaching methods would resonate with students' cultural experiences, for example, using storytelling, music, art, and other oral methods not normally valued as a traditional way to impart knowledge. While these culturally relevant pedagogical practices offer significant benefits, it is important to acknowledge the limitations and challenges of this study.

LIMITATIONS

While findings suggest that fugitive pedagogy is embedded within the curriculum of an instructional planning course at an HBCU in Texas, the growing racial, ethnic, and linguistic diversity of the American population means that classrooms will continue to represent a wide variety of cultural backgrounds. Therefore, an essential goal of TEPs is to ensure that graduates are prepared to work with diverse learners (Stronge, 2018). In the wake of DEI backlash, the secretive pursuit of inundating preservice teachers (PST) with counter-narratives to mainstream education while meeting state-sanctioned benchmarks has the potential to forge new models of teacher education where quality and diversity go hand-in-hand (Ginsberg et al., 2020).

However, as with other content analyses, this study presents several limitations. This study focused on one HBCU in Texas and one course within the teacher preparation sequence, which limits the generalizability on if this HBCU teacher preparation program embes fugitivity within their TEP sequence and if other HBCU TEPs. Additionally, TEPSs are subject to state regulations, including making their course syllabi publicly available. Because of this, it is acknowledged that the course syllabi may not fully represent the fugitive pedagogical climate that the professor created. Still, while the content of what took place in the classroom is not available, the course syllabi remain a strong example of what was likely covered during the course.

CONCLUSION

It is emphasized that educators from all racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds can transform learning for any student group, regardless of their backgrounds (Ladson-Billings, 2011; Milner, 2008). However, it is also acknowledged that teacher educators must possess specific knowledge, skills, and mindsets to nurture academic achievement, cultural competence, and critical consciousness within their students. These concepts must be acknowledged as integral to being a highly-effective and thus developed within teachers so they can effectively utilize them in their instruction. HBCUs understand that to produce teachers who are highly qualified to teach in urban or "high-risk" schools, they must go beyond mandated content areas to include topics related to social justice and socio-emotional learning (Toldson et al., 2019). This approach is necessary to humanize Black students and inspire them to push for social transformation, requiring a form of camouflage (Givens, 2021; Villalobos, 2024). Navigating a climate of intense white surveillance and state sanctions is challenging, yet HBCUs continue to succeed. Their adept use of fugitive pedagogy stands as a testament to the enduring legacy of Black education's commitment to democratic principles.

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