Critical Education & New Teachers' Beliefs: A New Niche for Educational Research

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Abstract

Beliefs about teaching influence practice and can play a powerful role in the day-to-day decision-making of teachers. Pre-service teachers commonly accrue their original set of beliefs about teaching from teacher preparation programs or personal experiences, but unlike teachers with more experience, new teachers are most susceptible to changing their beliefs about teaching once they become official teachers of record. If these beliefs change in a negative way, such as by adopting a set of beliefs that views students and communities through a deficit lens, or only capable of achieving less than their privileged counterparts, then schools will continue to foster tendencies for social reproduction instead of tendencies for social justice. There is little research that investigates how new teachers and their beliefs' about teaching are influenced during their first year. This article argues that critical education cannot occur without first examining the belief-shaping mechanisms that often engulf new teachers. Directions for future research are proposed.

Keywords: beliefs, social justice, teacher preparation

"Think twice before you speak because your words and influence will plant the seed of either success or failure in the mind of another."

- Napoleon Hill

Beliefs seem to play a powerful role in the long-term and day-to-day decision-making of teachers, but have especially strong implications for new teachers (Aston & Hyle, 1997). New or existing beliefs can be impacted by the social relationships within a school community. Spillane, Kim, and Frank (2012) investigated these social relationships and their effect on teachers' beliefs and decision-making in 30 elementary schools and found that social relationships do influence the knowledge

sharing and decision making of English Language Arts and Mathematics teachers. These findings suggest that the "formal organizational structure can influence advice and information seeking behavior among school staff" (p. 29). Beliefs create a framework for new teachers to filter information and decide which knowledge to retain or ignore (Stenberg, 2011). If social relationships play a significant role in the development or reinforcement of new teachers' beliefs and an indirect role in new teachers' professional development and practice, then educational researchers should investigate the interactions of new teachers with existing faculty and also how these interactions could potentially shape or change beliefs.

Exactly how social reproduction in schools manifests is still difficult to understand (Anyon, 1997). Many beginning teachers enter the profession with a cultural competency that can override the current status quo of the school culture (Selley, 2013); however, if new teachers are influenced by current faculty, they could forgo their intentions to teach for social justice and unknowingly reinforce the cycle of social reproduction. This article addresses the need to study new teachers' beliefs through a critical research paradigm in an effort to understand how new teachers' beliefs are either reinforced or compromised by normalized institutional factors. By understanding these processes and the potential barriers that thwart socially just teaching practices, change agents can better understand the dynamic solution needed to combat social reproduction in schools.

Teachers' Beliefs

All teachers possess beliefs about students, professional responsibility, and daily classroom norms (Pajares, 1992). Such beliefs are defined as the evaluative opinions, held consciously and unconsciously, that teachers accept as true (Borg, 2011). These beliefs shape behavior and practice and can influence other teachers (Aelterman, Vansteenkiste, Van Keer, & Haerens, 2016; Ayers & Schubert, 1992; Pajares, 1992), and can hold particular influence over new teachers (Brock & Grady, 2007). The research on teachers' beliefs exploded during the 21st century with studies conducted across the globe (e.g., see Blay & Ireson, 2009; Correa, Perry, Sims, Miller, & Fang, 2008; Fonseca, Costa, Lencastre, & Tavares, 2012; Mattheoudakis, 2007; Zohar, Degani, & Vaaknin, 2001), but this is not a new field of research. Many studies have examined teachers' beliefs and to an extent, new teachers beliefs. Some studies have even examined how teachers'

beliefs can be detrimental to student learning, especially when beliefs are tied to a deficit lens of students and the communities in which students and their schools are situated. What is still more mysterious, is how these beliefs are formed in the first place and how they, in turn, affect student learning and social reproduction in schools. There is little research that examines how the beliefs of new teachers are influenced and shaped during their first years in the classroom as teacher of record.

Historical Understandings of Teacher Beliefs in Educational Research

Since the publication of *Pygmalion in the Classroom* (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968), teachers' beliefs and their impact on instruction have warranted concern. In the famous study, Rosenthal and Jacobsen (1968) conducted an experiment on elementary students in San Francisco to assess teachers' beliefs of under-privileged, urban elementary students' abilities and how these beliefs are affected by others' beliefs. Essentially, the researchers wanted to see what would happen if teachers were told that particular students had greater potential than other students.

The students in the study sample were given a standardized IQ test with the disguised name of "Harvard Test of Inflected Acquisition" and the researchers told the teachers that students who excelled on this test were about to experience an "intellectual bloom" or significant growth in their IQ score. Researchers then randomly selected students (with random IQ scores) and informed teachers that these students had scored significantly higher than the rest of the students and would experience a great growth in their IQ score soon. Over the next two years Rosenthal and Jacobsen (1968) found that the teachers' expectations and moment-to-moment interactions were more frequent and encouraging toward the students that they believed had greater potential and alleged higher IQ scores. Consequently, the IQ scores of these randomly appointed students also improved even though their starting IQs were not exceptional. The study showed that even though their potential was no different than any other student's potential, the teachers reacted differently and showed more favorable teaching toward the students they believed had greater IQ potential. Today, much debate still exists about teachers' expectations and abilities to influence IQ. Essentially one group of researchers argues that expectations do influence IQ (MacLeod, 2009; Raudenbush, 1984, 1994), and another group argues that expectations do not influence IQ (Jussim & Harber, 2005).

The rich history of teachers' beliefs continues with Fenstermacher (1979) who first argued that teachers' beliefs would become very important in determining teacher effectiveness. Brown and Cooney (1982) then moved this relevance of teachers' beliefs forward when they investigated how pre-service mathematics teachers internalize information based on their beliefs. The researchers found that mathematics teachers do not use the knowledge they garnered during their pre-service years in their classrooms as teachers of record. They also suggested that understanding the nature of belief systems, in general, would help understand how teachers internalize messages and ultimately practice what they learn from teacher education courses. Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) argued that beliefs influence behavior through the theory of reasoned action, which states that behavioral response is caused by one's personal understanding and attitude toward a subject. This theory is demonstrated in Ernest's (1989) work that illuminated how teachers' beliefs about mathematics and beliefs concerning the processes of teaching mathematics are more impactful on classroom outcomes than pedagogical or curricular knowledge alone. In the early nineties, Pintrich (1990) examined psychological literature to deduce implications for teacher education and urged for more researchers to investigate how beliefs influence learning in pre-service teacher coursework. He argued that these contributions from the psychological world of research would become exceptionally valuable to the field of teacher education.

Hamre et al. (2012) examined the idea that beliefs foresee changes in teaching practice and child outcomes by examining how teachers internalize various professional development coursework methods. His team of researchers randomly assigned 440 teachers to different courses of professional development. The control course of the study emphasized teacher learning from a traditional perspective. Under this perspective, it was important to focus on changing the beliefs of teachers first and then using the effects of these changes to change teaching practices. This course followed the assumption that belief, knowledge, and skill mediate change in classroom behavior. The first experimental course used the traditional model that beliefs and knowledge precede behavior, and the second experimental course focused on specific instructional strategies "in which teachers [imitated] effective behaviors learned in course videos" (p. 8). Teachers who participated it the last course that emphasized imitation to procure effective instruc-

tional strategies were more likely to report a change in their "intentional teaching beliefs and demonstrated greater knowledge and skills in detecting effective teacher child-interactions" (p. 16). Teachers in the imitation group also reported stronger beliefs about the importance of teaching early literacy and language skills. These findings suggested that observing and then imitating effective teaching behaviors is a valuable strategy for altering existing beliefs. This strategy of imitation and observation aligns with Bandura's (1986) social learning theory that suggested teachers learn how to behave, and ultimately believe, in large part by observing others. It also corresponds with Schank's (1982) dynamic memory theory, which posited that people develop certain schemas and scripts by watching others. If new teachers learn new behaviors by watching others, there may also be implications that they develop new beliefs through watching others. New teachers are most susceptible to belief changes that ultimately influence teaching practices and behaviors. Understanding how these influences contribute to new teachers' personal dynamic learning processes could shed light on how teachers forgo or uphold socially just teaching beliefs and practices against new tendencies that foster social reproduction in schools.

Impact of Beliefs on Classroom Practice

Today, it is widely understood that teachers' beliefs or expectations can influence student behavior (Borg, 2011; Hart & DiPema, 2017; Pajares, 1992). More specifically, beliefs can influence classroom practice (Beswick, 2012; Prestridge, 2012), and this practice is "likely to be the mechanism by which teachers affect students" (Grossman et al., 2010, p.1). Beliefs are often categorized as a second-order barrier that prevents the integration of various teaching and learning methods (Ertmer, 2005). Second-order barriers such as teachers' beliefs are much more insidious and difficult to overcome than first-order barriers which include issues of access to resources such as technology (Prestridge, 2012).

These beliefs or expectations of teachers could be affected by teaching experience, teaching subject and educational background, or school level (Isikoglu, Basturk, & Karaca, 2009), but also could be affected by teachers' social networks (Frank & Yasumoto, 1998). In a review that covered over 35 years of research on teachers' beliefs of student outcomes, researchers Jussim and Harber (2005) found that "teacher expectations clearly do influence students—at least sometimes" (p.

131). The researchers also extended the findings of Rosenthal and Jacobsen's (1968) study by discussing how both the advocators and detractors have addressed the claim that teachers' expectations influence IQ.

Most recently, Sorhagen (2013) found that teachers' expectations for students have a strong effect on student outcomes. The study investigated first grade teachers' perceptions of student reading, math, and language skills while controlling for the effects of different student demographics. The study found that the teachers' beliefs in students' math, reading, and language ability in first grade actually predicted students' standardized test scores in these same subjects in high school. The study also found that teachers were more likely to hold deficit beliefs of students' abilities when they came from low socioeconomic backgrounds. This suggests that teachers' over- or underestimation of ability has an even stronger impact on students from lower income families.

Compelling evidence also suggests that beliefs impact not only teachers' practice, but also their motivation, attitude, and job satisfaction (Day et al., 2006; Schommer, 1990), their self-efficacy in regards to teaching ability (Tschannen-Moran & Woolfolk Hoy, 2001), and their response to reform efforts (Spillane & Hopkins, 2013). This merits concern for new teachers, as they are the most likely group to fall to the influences of new ways of teaching, learning, and executing classroom procedures (Alsup, 2006; Cohen, 2008; Trent, 2011).

Belief Origin

New teachers generally enter the profession with a set of beliefs acquired through various experiences, including pre-service training, field experiences, personal experiences, and familial upbringing (Levin & He, 2008). This "starting point" of beliefs is often the result of countless hours of practice through university coursework and can be more persistent and powerful than recently acquired beliefs (Alger, 2009). At this entry point, teachers' visions of good teaching strongly influences their willingness to adopt or reject new information and beliefs (Horn, Nolen, Ward, & Campbell, 2008). During this phase, new teachers are more optimistic and believe that they will not face the common problems faced by others. They also view themselves as superior teachers (Pajares, 1992). Yet, even if new teachers possess a strong confidence in their ability, they are more likely to question their actions and their ability during the first year than at any other time in their career (Brock & Grady, 2007). This vulnerability

makes new teachers susceptible to influence and change.

In a study that examined how teachers learn from each other, Ayers and Schubert (1992) found that new teachers are more likely mold their beliefs based on their interactions with other teachers as they progress in their careers. Pajares (1992) described this exchange of one set of beliefs for another as happening subtly, whereas Anderson and Holt-Reynolds (1995) described the exchange of beliefs as an "overhaul" of research-based methods acquired during training for more traditional practices witnessed on a regular basis. New teachers are susceptible to changing their beliefs, professional practices, and visions of good teaching (Anderman, Andrzejewski, & Allen, 2011).

Teachers' beliefs and attitudes "are closely linked to teachers' strategies for coping with challenges in their daily professional life and to their general well-being" and can "shape students' learning environment and influence student motivation and achievement" (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, 2009, p. 89). By understanding how new teachers form their initial beliefs or exchange a previous belief for a new belief, researchers can begin to examine what support structures are necessary for the development and protection of social justice beliefs.

Social Reproduction & Diversity in Schools

In today's schools and world of public policy, there is a notion that any child can grow up to be whatever he or she wants to be; it is simply a matter of how hard he or she is willing to work. This achievement ideology, or meritocracy belief, posits that all individuals are given the same set of opportunities and that success is based on merit, and social and economic inequality are due to difference in ability and ambition (Macloed, 2009) This idea argues that individuals do not inherit social status, but instead attain it on their own merit and work ethic. This belief in meritocracy is upheld by the majority of American society (Ladd, 1994).

While this notion is encouraging to those who have thrived in the world of meritocracy, aggregate statistics suggest another narrative among marginalized socially constructed class groups. Social reproduction is defined as a system that perpetuates inequalities from one generation to the next, and social inequality experts argue that this divide between white middle-class families and minority families will continue to exist if the system is not challenged (Kozol, 2012; Ladson-Billings &

Tate, 1995; Lewis & Diamond, 2015). Douthat (2005) discussed this inequality further in his findings from the 2000 *National Education Longitudinal Study*:

> If you hope to obtain a bachelor's degree by age twenty-four, your chances are roughly one in two if you come from a family with an annual income over $90,000; roughly one in four if your family's income falls between $61,000 and $90,000; and slightly better than one in ten if it is between $35,000 and $61,000. For high schoolers whose families make less than $35,000 a year the chances are around one in seventeen. (p. 2)

Poor minority students disproportionately comprise the demographics of urban schools, and substantial gaps in educational achievement remain for disadvantaged groups such as African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans (Kao & Thompson, 2003). Researchers Neild and Balfanz (2006) found that even with greater alternative offerings, students still preferred to attend large comprehensive high schools that served their particular residential area.

These students are also disproportionately affected by school sanctions. In a study investigating the indices of school suspension and expulsion based on race, the Office for Civil Rights (2012) found through a survey of over 71,000 schools that, even though Black students make up only 18% of those enrolled in schools, they account for 35% of one-time suspensions and 46% of more-than-one-time suspensions. Black students also represent 39% of all expulsions in schools. Overall, Black students were three-and-a-half times more likely to be suspended or expelled than their White peers (Office for Civil Rights, 2012). In a study that surveyed 561 elementary school children to determine if a student's race or ethnicity played a role in the formation of teacher expectations, researchers found that African American children were more likely than White children have teachers that underestimated their ability (McKown & Weinstein, 2002). These statistics suggest that, despite the belief of most Americans that all students have a chance to succeed in today's society and education system, there is actually an implicit bias for the socially constructed class group in which one identifies.

Critical Theory & Teachers' Beliefs

In a book that examines privilege, oppression, and difference, Johnson (2001) argues that we all identify by our socially constructed view of age, race, ethnicity, gender,

physical ability, and sexual orientation. We also identify based on backgrounds such as socioeconomic status, marital status, military experience, religious beliefs, geographic location, parental status, and education. Johnson (2001) suggests that the trouble around diversity is not that we just identify with different groups, but instead how society uses these groups differences "to include or exclude, reward or punish, credit or discredit, elevate or oppress, value or devalue, leave alone or harm" (p. 16). Some groups are afforded privilege and others are oppressed according to this model. If schools are supposed to serve as the great leveler of these differences amongst students, but teachers are reinforcing the marginalization of some groups and privileging others, what are the implications for students subject to this behavior?

Social Justice as a Tool for Teaching

Social reproduction theory asserts that certain activities and structures transmit social inequality from one generation to the next (Doob, 2013). One such structure that perpetuates this agenda is school. Reproduction theorists have found that "schools actually reinforce social inequality while pretending to do the opposite" (MacLeod, 2009, p.11). Bowles, Gintis, and Groves (2008) argue that different standards exist for students from different socially constructed class groups. Specifically, they argue that lower-class citizens undergo a more regimented curriculum that has an emphasis on following the rules while upper-class citizens are taught to think freely, challenge authority, and work with less supervision. Through this lens, schooling is a place for reinforcing the fragmentation of groups in regards to dominance and subordinacy.

In explaining how difficult it can be to teach for social justice through a certain belief mindset, Delpit (2006) said, "We do not really see through our eyes or hear through our ears, but through our beliefs" (p. 46). She stresses the importance of beliefs derived from a position of power. Teachers are in an ideal position to affect student outcomes, perceptions, and self-assessment. By addressing teachers' beliefs, we address teachers' power "that stems from merely being the majority, by being unafraid to answer to raise questions about discrimination and voicelessness of people of color, and to listen to, not *hear*, what they say" (p. 47). Teachers hold a special form of authority in the classroom, and that authority reflects a certain socially constructed group. This type of authority is portrayed through

teachers' beliefs and can affirm and sustain a student's cultural backgrounds or further marginalize a student's identity.

Anyon (1997) spent much of her life's work investigating schooling distinctions amongst social classes. In one of her studies, Anyon (1981) followed five elementary schools over the course of a full school year. She found that students from different economic backgrounds were already being prepared to occupy particular rungs on the social ladder. In the working class schools, for example, students were given academic tasks that required them to follow steps or procedures, which were typically very mechanical and allowed for very little decision-making or choice. In middle class schools, student success was about getting the right answer. These "right" answers were typically found in books and from listening to the teacher. This style of work called for very little independent thinking and reinforced working-class school behaviors. On the contrary, in the most affluent schools, students were encouraged to be creative and work independently. Here, students were encouraged to express themselves and apply concepts and ideas to their own independent projects. These ways of teaching varied by the degree to which a student group (or in this case school) fell into a socially constructed category. Some groups, such as those in the working class schools, were marginalized and excluded from the more advantageous ways of learning. While the privileged upper-class students were given the advantage of learning. These two styles of teaching and their direction toward a particular group foster tendencies for schools to continue the cycle of social reproduction.

In Anyon's (1981) study, the affluent students were taught using constructivist-teaching strategies. Here students were able to facilitate their own inquiry and find multiple solutions (not just one right answer) to problems they solve independently.

New Teacher Impact

Many beginning teachers enter the profession with cultural competency coursework under their belt, and many employ constructivist teaching strategies for all students in their new classrooms, but may be susceptible to changing this to direct transmission style if it is used widely within their social networks in their new schools (Selley, 2013). If new teachers form relationships with existing groups of teachers that perpetuate the marginalization of some groups of students and privileging of others through their beliefs on teaching and learning, what is the likelihood they will forgo their

constructivist beliefs about teaching for direct transmission beliefs that harbor sanctions for the continuation of social reproduction in schools?

Culturally sensitive pre-service coursework is only effective if the teacher of record uses it in the classroom. Understanding how new teachers form their social networks and how these network dynamics affect new teachers' beliefs, may have bold implications for understanding the mechanism through which social reproduction continues in schools today. Many researchers have elaborated on Anyon's (1981) work and discuss this deficit between social classes, including its pervasiveness in schools (Brantlinter, 2003) and ideologies that govern classroom management (Casey, Lozenski & McManimon, 2013). There is a good deal of research that asserts that the role of education is a means to reproduce an unequal system of social classes, however we lack an empirical understanding of ways in which teaching beliefs and the social networks of new teachers "contribute to the reproduction of distinction and relations of social class" (Anyon, 1981, p. 118). Analyzing the behaviors of new teachers in regards to their social network formation may shed light on this process of reproduction.

Teacher Leadership in Social Networks

The interactions of new teachers with all teachers (including new and veteran teachers) depends on the school structure and can thus have great variation by school (Spillane & Hopkins, 2013). We know that social networks tend to have more influence on teachers' beliefs than school experiences alone (Aston & Hyle, 1997), but exactly with whom, where, when, and how frequently these interactions occur is still uncertain.

Studies examining teacher beliefs are not uncommon (Pajares, 1992), but new interest has emerged in examining how beliefs influence student behavior (Hamre, et al., 2012; Hamre et al. 2013). However, how these beliefs develop over time and influence classroom practices is still largely underdeveloped (Basturkmen, 2012; Tsangaridou, 2006). Some scholars argue that the difficulty in studying teachers' belief formation stems from poor conceptualizations, definition problems, and competing understandings of beliefs and belief structure (Pajares, 1992). New research examines teachers' beliefs, but does little to investigate how social surroundings can influence teachers' beliefs (Anderson & Stillman, 2013). If we can better understand how new teachers adopt

new beliefs and who influences the acquisition of direct transmission beliefs or constructivist beliefs, then we can attempt to intentionally modify the institutional and structural conditions that allow for social reproduction of privileged and marginalized groups in schools.

Ideologies & Beliefs on Teaching

Combined with personal perceptions and understanding for how subjectivities and identities contribute to oppression and privilege, and historic institutional pre-conditions that have influenced the demographics of schools, these ideologies and beliefs on teaching could act as a mechanism for reinforcing or discouraging student learning behavior that perpetuates or deconstructs social reproduction in schools. The conceptualization of new teacher beliefs to effect greater social norms in regards to marginalizing some groups while privileging others is best explained by examining their constructivist or direct transmission beliefs on teaching. Teachers with constructivist beliefs about teaching see students as participatory learners in their own learning. The teacher's' role is more to facilitate a student's own inquiry and aid in the development of a student's thinking and reasoning process. Through this set of beliefs, teachers assert that the student possesses complete agency over his or her learning process. In contrast, direct transmission beliefs about teaching employ the teacher as the ultimate authority, and students are subordinate to the teachers' expertise and knowledge. Through this set of beliefs, students are expected to solve a problem in the fashion that the teacher commands, and there is an emphasis on getting the one and only right answer.

Bowles and Gintis (1976) argue that standards and socialization mechanisms are different for students from underprivileged backgrounds and assert that lesser class students adhere to a more regimented curriculum that emphasizes conformity and obedience. The opposite is true for higher class, privileged groups. Here, students are encouraged to think critically and often have less supervision (Bowels & Gintis, 1976). If schools are working to deconstruct the social reproduction of socially constructed class groups, one would likely see teachers using constructivist teaching approaches that encourage student input and value students' thinking and critical reasoning process over obedience and docility. Social reproduction in schools is not only influenced by teacher expectation and actions. It could also be influenced by school structure, health services, discipline policies, etc. However,

many researchers argue that student performance is mostly a result of teacher quality (Darling-Hammond, 2000; Stronge, Ward, & Grant, 2011). Therefore, if teachers possess the greatest ability to affect student performance, and ultimately offer the chance to achieve above past familial achievements, then we should investigate the mechanisms of how teachers' beliefs on teaching could perpetuate or deconstruct social reproduction in their classrooms.

Schools that contribute to social reproduction may harbor teachers who possess deficit beliefs and oppress students through a regimented curriculum that allows for little student input. Through this model a student is locked into a set group with certain procedural or transactional skills that he or she can later exchange for positions in society that reinforce their status as subordinate to other technocratic dominances. Schools that deconstruct social reproduction may harbor teachers who hold constructivist beliefs and empower students to achieve through creative and collaborative tasks.

Investigating Social Networks

These challenges make teaching in urban schools difficult and detrimental to new teachers wanting to make an impact on the lives of students in under-resourced, urban settings. During the first year, teachers are likely to form their permanent styles of teaching (Bullough, 1989), and new teachers vying for belonging often turn to veteran teachers for advice and support (Mastropieri, 2001). Organizational theorists have examined the professional cultures and subcultures of schools for decades. Schein (1992) defines a professional culture as:

> A pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems (p. 12).

Once a new member, or in this case new teacher, enters the group they embark on understanding and deciphering the group's norms, social behavior, and assumptions about teaching and learning. In a study that further examined new teachers experiences with their colleagues, researchers Kardos and Johnson (2007) surveyed 486 first- and second-year teachers in Michigan, California, Florida, and Texas. The researchers found that many new teachers do not have supportive and well-integrated professional cultures.

Hopkins and Spillane (2014) found that new teachers are more inclined to seek advice from veteran teachers than teachers with less experience, and that the physical proximity of a new teacher's classroom to another teacher's classroom influences the likelihood that they will regularly communicate with that nearby teacher. In a study that examined 30 elementary schools in an urban setting, Parise and Spillane (2010) found that new teachers adopt new advice, knowledge, and information from on-the-job interactions with their colleagues. The researchers argue that these collegial interactions are just as significant to the changes in teachers' instructional practice as formal professional development. In a study investigating social tie formation, Spillane et al. (2012) found that new teachers interact with other teachers and form social ties based on their personal identities, such as race or gender, and through formal organizations, such as grade-level assignments and formal positions. Diamond, Randolph, and Spillane (2000) investigated teachers' expectations in a low-income urban elementary school that served a predominance of African American students and found that low expectations for students became embedded within the organizational habitus of the school, suggesting that beliefs amongst teachers shape a group narrative and way of being and understanding.

This turnover of teachers in schools could not only limit the educational experience of under-privileged students, but could also impact students' social development. Further investigation of the ongoing experiences of new teachers could shed light on the current factors affecting teacher attrition and burnout. More research could also help interpret the messages teachers receive regarding their beliefs toward students and how this affects their own beliefs, behaviors, and ability to reinforce or deconstruct social reproduction norms in under-resourced, urban schools. This could inform how urban schools can best structure their environments to allow for positive interactions amongst teachers who teach for social justice, emphasize student assets, proactively respond to student challenges, and mitigate stressors that contribute to early burnout and attrition.

Research Direction and Reflection

Social theorists challenge the power of schools to change outcomes for under-privileged groups and argue that social reproduction in schools is inevitable (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Bourdieu, 2011; Giroux, 1983). Yet, many new teachers enter the teaching profession with the

confidence and beliefs that they can make a difference for subordinate groups and deconstruct the path of repetition (Haberman, 1995). There is something unique that happens during urban teachers' early-career years that causes a shift from this idealistic outlook to a feeling of disillusionment, powerlessness, and inability to fight the status quo (Byrne, 1998; Rushton, 2001). How this shift in beliefs and outlook takes place and why it occurs for some new urban teachers and not others should be the focus of future educational research.

We know that new teachers turn to social relationships for advice when they encounter challenge (Mastropieri, 2001) and that the beliefs of new teachers are easily influenced by interactions with others (Carter & Doyle, 1996); yet, we still need to understand how and when new teachers change their beliefs and what influences these changes most significantly. If we can better understand how beliefs are affected by social networks, then we can better implement and sustain policy efforts to correct injustice, foster tendencies that combat social reproduction in schools, and improve education for students in all communities.

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