Chapter 20
Transformative Mixed Methods: A Missed Opportunity

Check for updates

Carey E. Andrzejewski, Benjamin Arnberg, and Hannah Carson Baggett

Abstract In this chapter, we argue that our current sociopolitical context, rife with partisan ideology and 'post-truth' discourse, is fertile ground for transformative mixed methods in education research. We draw on a specific example of an application for grant funds to study school discipline policy and practice in Alabama; we unpack reviewers' responses to the application to highlight the ways that a transformative mode of inquiry not only reconciles tension in method, and the paradigmatic foundations thereof, but positions researchers to engage in work that is situated in sociopolitical commitments toward justice and equity. Moreover, we underscore the ways in which a rejection of findings supported by both narrative and numeric data must prompt critics to acknowledge that their opposition is rooted in ideology rather than onto-epistemology and methodology.

Methodological Tensions

Once upon a time, methodological conversations centered on the 'paradigm wars' (Guba & Lincoln, 1994); attempts were made to legitimize and instantiate one methodology at the expense of all others (i.e., quantitative vs. qualitative methods). Research and research approaches were debated, contested, and dismissed on onto-epistemological grounds. These debates continue in some circles, and rhetoric swirls among education researchers about qualitative methods as 'loose,' 'just stories,' 'anecdotal,' and 'hocus pocus,' and quantitative methods as 'benign,' 'detached,' 'dehumanizing,' and even 'unethical.' As scholars, we are concerned, however, with

All authors contributed equally to this manuscript

C. E. Andrzejewski (✉) · B. Arnberg · H. C. Baggett
Auburn University, Auburn, AL, USA
e-mail: cea0011@auburn.edu; benjamin.arnberg@auburn.edu; hcb0017@auburn.edu

the ways that research for social justice, and in particular studies of race/racism in education, are seen as partisan on ideological as well as paradigmatic grounds. That is, critics of justice-oriented research in education may use methodological arguments to reject the work, or they may reject the underlying assumption of the work—that institutionalized oppression and discrimination are the sources of systematic disparities. Critics often explain disparate outcomes with deficit perspectives (moral, cultural, and/or intellectual) of students, families, and other stakeholders in education. In this chapter, we build on the work of Mertens (2007, 2010) to explore the ways that transformative mixed methods approaches may be powerful avenues for educational change, particularly regarding research about and with marginalized groups, in that they position researchers to be responsive to both onto-epistemological and methodological critiques.

Historically, critical education researchers have rejected the use of quantitative methods to generate knowledge about social outcomes, as these methodologies are rooted in positivist/postpositivist (i.e., colonizing) traditions; the objective stance of discovering some absolute 'truth' about social causes and effects has been regarded as fallacious by those who position themselves as critical scholars. Reducing individuals and social outcomes to numbers may serve to create seemingly causal relationships between and among demographic backgrounds and outcomes where none are present, thus reinforcing deficit perspectives of certain groups (e.g., how education research has promulgated discourse about the 'achievement gap' between White students and students of Color). Moreover, numeric data and inferential statistical analyses may often conceal dominant discourses and 'encode' information about societal processes, particularly with regard to structural and institutional racism in education (Gillborn, 2010, p. 253) and oppression of historically marginalized groups. Critical race theorists, for example, are skeptical of using numbers to create a narrative (Parker & Lynn, 2002), given the emphasis in critical race theory (CRT) on the experiences of individuals and 'counterstorytelling,' which provide alternative perspectives to dominant discourses (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Similarly, critical feminist researchers often rely on narrative data to privilege and lift up the everyday lived experiences of women navigating oppressive contexts (St. Pierre & Pillow, 2000). Since all knowledge is value-laden, value-mediated, and shaped by hegemony (Kincheloe & McLaren, 1994), it follows that interpretivist methods are more commonly used by critical (and feminist, queer, decolonizing, etc.) scholars to highlight discourses that are marginalized in positivist/postpositivist approaches to education research.

Narratives, however, are vulnerable to critique. For example, while CRT emphasizes (counter)stories as valid ways of constructing knowledge about race and racism (Bernal, 2002; Delgado, 1995), "legal criticisms have dismissed the use of narrative and storytelling in CRT, positing that stories about racism are unreliable, unverifiable" (Parker, 1998, p. 49). Further, education policymakers rely predominantly on 'hard numbers' to make decisions that ultimately affect public schools and teachers' and students' experiences in the classroom. In the wake of No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top initiatives, this emphasis on quantitative methods and 'evidence-based strategies' (wherein the evidence is derived from large-scale,

quantitative studies) is now well established in educational research (Ravitch, 2016). Caracelli (2006) issued a call to include ethnographic data in program and policy evaluation studies, making them inherently mixed methods. This call, however, has been largely unheeded, rendering narratives from students and teachers as somehow separate and distinct from formal policymaking. (More broadly, researchers have called for the use of critical mixed methods in efforts to offer 'hard numbers' and simultaneously highlight and validate the experiences of individuals; see, for example, DeCuir-Gunby & Walker-Devose, 2013 for an explanation of critical race mixed methods). In this emphasis on numeric data and trends at the expense of narrative methods, researchers may "neglect dynamic conditions in the field of practice" (Carter & Hurtado, 2007, p. 27) that come with the inherent complexities of understanding the social world. Moreover, a focus on numbers and statistics may serve to obfuscate and ultimately dehumanize participants and perspectives represented by those data. Thus, here we focus on exploring the utility of complementary quantitative and qualitative methods, with emphasis on both numeric and narrative data in transformative mixed methods designs.

Overview of Mixed Methods

As with any mode of inquiry, there are differing views on what constitutes mixed methods research (see Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007, for an overview of conceptualizations). In this section, we position our understanding of mixed methods inquiry as it relates to Greene's (2006) four domains for social inquiry, which must be addressed regardless of method: (1) philosophical assumptions and stances (i.e., paradigmatic matters); (2) inquiry logics (i.e., what is traditionally thought of as methodology); (3) guidelines for practice (i.e., methods and procedures); and (4) sociopolitical commitments (i.e., arguments for the location and purpose of inquiry in society). Mixed methods research, particularly transformative mixed methods research as defined by Mertens (2007, 2010, 2012), positions researchers to address these domains in ways that are compelling and persuasive to a variety of audiences.

Creamer (2018) synthesized four philosophical foundations and arguments for the use of mixed methods that appear in the extant literature. The first, complementarity, suggests that the different paradigms or philosophical commitments that undergird qualitative and quantitative inquiry complement, rather than contradict, one another. The idea of complementarity has a long history in the social sciences. For example, Maslow (1954) asserted that understanding human behavior required both measuring and observing it (i.e., numeric data) alongside gaining first-person perspectives about the behavior (i.e., narrative data). Similarly, both Cooley (1930) and Weber (1949) argued for the use of both statistical, or rational, and empathic knowledge. This argument for mixed methods speaks directly to Greene's (2006) call for methodologies of social inquiry to address paradigmatic matters and situates mixed methods work as attending to the paradigmatic positions of multiple audiences.

The second argument for mixed methods is compatibility (Creamer, 2018). The distinction between qualitative and quantitative methods is indeed a false dichotomy: both involve constructing and interpreting meanings (Morrow & Brown, 1994). This addresses Greene's (2006) second domain—logics of inquiry. The third and fourth arguments for mixed methods are combination and triangulation to enhance validity (Creamer, 2018), which directly address Greene's (2006) third domain: guidelines for practice. Both of these arguments are about data and interpretation. Combination means collecting both numeric and narrative data, which results in a more robust data corpus. Triangulation/convergence focuses our attention on the ways in which numeric and narrative data can point to the same conclusions, rendering the case for their validity stronger. Of course, Mertens (2010) reminds us that one of the powers of transformative mixed methods is the discovery of divergence, which may be particularly meaningful in research contexts focused on oppressed or marginalized individuals and groups. Mixed methods, be they focused on convergence or divergence, position researchers to address multiples audiences' preferences for how research should be done.

These four arguments for mixed methods, as presented by Creamer (2018), do not, however, directly address Greene's (2006) fourth domain—sociopolitical commitments (i.e., ideology), which has become a site for contestation in research. We suggest that mixed methods research has the potential to be more persuasive, even in the face of ideological opposition, because mixed methods positions researchers to satisfy multiple audiences with regard to the other three domains. That is, as our example below demonstrates, critics may reject work on what they claim to be methodological or paradigmatic grounds, but that argument may really be a mask for an ideological qualm. Inasmuch as engaging explicitly in transformative mixed methods positions researchers to address methodological and paradigmatic critiques, detractors are then pushed to acknowledge that their rejection is ideological or political (e.g., rooted in White supremacist cisheteropatriarchy). Furthermore, the use of transformative mixed methods positions researchers to respond to Giddens' (1979) calls to: (1) provide alternative perspectives to dominant narratives and opportunities for participant empowerment, and (2) attempt to make findings accessible and credible to those who do not share a critical worldview, or who may see the findings as a threat to their protected or privileged status.

Our Example

To restate, transformative mixed methods reconciles tension in method, and the paradigmatic foundations thereof, and positions researchers to engage in work that is situated in sociopolitical commitments toward justice and equity (Mertens 2007, 2010, 2012). Mertens (2010) posits that "the transformative ontological assumption recognizes that there are many versions of what is considered to be real…it holds that there is one reality about which there are multiple opinions" (p. 470). This ontological grounding has implications for the questions that transformative researchers ask,

including: (1) "Whose reality is privileged in this context?"; (2) "What is the mechanism for challenging perceived realities that sustain an oppressive system?"; (3) "What are the consequences in terms of who is hurt if we accept multiple versions of reality or if we accept the 'wrong/privileged' version?" (pp. 470–471). In our study of school discipline policy and practice in Alabama public schools, we sought to highlight how current discipline policies and practices affect students of Color in dehumanizing ways, and how school-based practitioners have the power to disrupt those practices. Our project positioned us to develop a counternarrative to the accepted ostensibly colorblind/colormute 'reality' in education spheres that some students are inherently bad and behave in ways that deserve punishment and exclusion from their peers; sometimes that behavior is so bad that a student warrants contact with a law enforcement official who may be stationed in their school (i.e., a school resource officer). In accepting that privileged 'reality' or dominant narrative in public school discourse, however, we neglect to account for the ways that school officials in Alabama routinely and unjustly suspend and exclude students of Color via in- and out-of-school suspension, referrals to alternative schools, and referrals to law enforcement officials. School officials also often mete out corporal punishment to students of Color, a practice which is still legal in Alabama as in many other states.

A few semesters ago, we submitted an internal grant proposal for funding of a multiphase, mixed methods analysis of discipline policy and practice in Alabama. We had much of the data we planned to work with in the study: numeric data about school discipline practices in public schools retrieved from the Alabama State Department of Education, interview and observational data collected from alternative school students about their experiences with school discipline, and interview data from school administrators and school resource officers about their discipline philosophies and practices. As we crafted our proposal, we anticipated that the evaluators would be from colleges and departments on our campus where quantitative methods and positivistic perspectives were privileged. That is the norm on our campus, as it is at many institutions. Thus, we focused on including pilot study findings and extant literature that were grounded in numeric data and analyses; we did so at the expense of the inclusion of the narrative data and findings we had generated from our work with school-based practitioners and students. Ultimately, the proposal was rejected, and the feedback we received contested the methods by which we proposed to collect additional data and conduct further analyses. This rejection of method was also accompanied by a stronger, more explicit rejection of the ways in which we conceptualized school discipline: that is, we took a critical lens to data generation and analyses, centered on the foundational assumption that school discipline policy and practice are inherently racialized and function as part, and products, of institutionalized racism and the school-prison nexus (Meiners, 2007).

In retrospect, we realize in crafting the grant proposal to privilege numeric data, we first missed an opportunity to illustrate the power of mixed methods research by including both numeric and narrative data that pointed to similar conclusions (i.e., triangulation). We also missed an opportunity to humanize the students adversely affected by school discipline practices, thus undermining our goals for research to advance equity and justice. Mixed methods appeal to audiences because the mix

illuminates numbers with stories, and each strand (numeric and narrative) is stronger in concert than solo (i.e., complementarity). This epistemic synergy is especially true in education research, where teacher and student voices are often lost in conventional statistical modeling. As evidenced by the feedback on our proposal, which we explore later, the sociopolitical context in which we live and research now may increasingly be a space wherein it is easier for both laypeople and scholars to dismiss approaches to and findings of research, depending on whether they align not only with one's paradigmatic commitments but also with one's partisan ideology. Thus, our current sociopolitical context, rife with partisan ideology and 'post-truth' discourse, is fertile ground for transformative mixed methods in education research. That is, it is more difficult to reject findings supported by both narrative and numeric data, regardless of paradigmatic or partisan commitments. To do so requires critics to disclose that their opposition is to the lived experiences of the research participants, experiences which are represented in the aggregate from numeric data and humanized via narrative data.

When we developed our proposal, we thought we were navigating territory still shaped by the paradigm war. Assuming (post)positivists would review our internal grant proposal, our strategy was to front-load and emphasize numeric data. What we did not anticipate was that our interpretation of those data would be rejected, not only on paradigmatic or methodological grounds but seemingly on ideological grounds. First, our reviewers did not see justice-oriented scholarship as research. Second, they took issue with our assumption that discipline disparities are the result of systemic inequity and institutionalized racism. Had we situated our work in a transformative mixed methods approach, with more balance between numeric data and individual stories that emphasized triangulation across data sources to warrant our interpretations, it may have been more difficult, or at least uncomfortable, for the reviewers to dismiss our work on these grounds.

We reflected on reviewer comments extensively to determine where the feedback might be useful for future grant proposals and manuscripts. We learned from one review that observation/description might not be viewed as research, despite the fact that much research rooted in the humanities and social sciences is descriptive. The reviewer began, "They know already what they plan to gain further evidence for in order, hopefully, to evoke change. Again, worthy goals. But not research goals." These statements positioned an issue of social justice (exemplified through examining and disrupting the effects school discipline has on students of Color) as a "worthy goal" but not a "research goal." The crux of the reviewer's criticism rests on the absence of an identifiable 'hypothesis' or 'thesis to be tested.' The work we articulated was 'descriptive,' even as description was seen as incompatible with research. There is much to unpack within these epistemic assertions. We wondered: can social sciences, specifically social justice research, begin with hypotheses? Perhaps, but hypotheses imply eventual experimentation to render the hypothesis true or null; what does it mean to position research as capable of 'nullifying' the narratives of participants? In other words, a rejection of description and a refocusing on experimentation do not serve the interests of justice- and equity-oriented work if

it renders (in our case, students') lived experiences (with often violent school discipline policy and practice) as possibly 'null.'

Field work, which forms the basis of the qualitative component(s) in mixed methods studies, does not start with a hypothesis. Researchers in the field start by observing and talking to people. From observations and conversations (which include method conventions like interviewing, thick description, reflection and audit journaling, member checking, and data assemblage), researchers in the field begin to piece together a vision of the context of their research. As this vision develops, a researcher may hypothesize about correlations (patterns) within the context. Inferential statistics, then, become useful to determine *the extent to which* those speculated correlations may be present or even causal. Here we can see the fundamental flaw in the strategy we enlisted in our proposal: by foregrounding an inferential analytical plan, we put the cart before the horse. Hypotheses follow holistic, immersive field work and using that work to construct holistic, immersive narratives. We should have first given voice to the population before presenting a proposal meant to illuminate correlations between those voices and the institutional violence that often stifles and disciplines them. The reviewer targeted a core component of our proposal for comment. They quoted us:

> In some of the poorest school systems in the western part of Alabama, no students were referred to law enforcement. Further, there were few referrals (25 of 671 total referrals; ~4%) in the counties that comprise what is known as the 'Black Belt,' where African American students often attend highly segregated, drastically underfunded schools. These preliminary findings suggest that African American students who attend schools with more White students may suffer harsher consequences for disciplinary infractions than their White peers across Alabama, than their African American peers who attend predominantly African American schools.

We must point out that we articulate a hypothesis in this statement, which the reviewer did not recognize. The term 'suggest' is the identifier; we observed that there were more referrals to law enforcement as a disciplinary consequence in schools with high White populations, and we knew, based on the analyses of other researchers in other locations as well as media coverage, that students of Color are considerably more likely to be arrested at school than their White peers. We then hypothesized that these outcomes were due to the ways in which students of Color are likely to be perceived as misbehaving (e.g., Gilliam, Maupin, Reyes, Accavitti, & Shic, 2016) rather than an inherent inclination to misbehave; indeed, there are decades of research on the racialized nature of school discipline to support this hypothesis. The reviewer's reaction to this quote was: "I would think that it shows that 'they do suffer harsher penalties,' but it tells us nothing about why that is."

Had we been given an opportunity to respond, we would have argued: we already know why that is: White supremacy and institutionalized racism are the culprits. The purposes of our proposed study were to explore just how egregious these problems are (there has been little to-date exploration of school discipline in Alabama) and to work toward disrupting those patterns by confronting school-based practitioners with both numeric and narrative data. We also realized that our absence of vivid, emotionally laden narrative in the proposal obfuscated some of the 'why.'

The Missed Opportunity

When one examines the history of corporal punishment in the United States, for example, it is easy to see how the absence of contextual narrative alters the interpretation of the numeric data. In the landmark Supreme Court case on corporal punishment, *Ingraham v. Wright* (1977), the plaintiff alleged that '20 licks' with a paddle violated the 'conscience-shocking' standard by which state agents are liable for cruel and unusual punishment. Without contextual and personal detail, 20 licks may not necessarily sound traumatizing. In *Archey v. Hyche* (1991), a student received 'five licks' for a disciplinary infraction, far fewer than the 20 received in the Ingraham case. It would be easy to conclude, based on numeric data, that Gary Shane Archey, Jr.'s case was less severe than James Ingraham's. What would their narratives have revealed? Archey received 'five licks' for humming in the bathroom. The 'licks' caused a hematoma on the buttocks. Ingraham was accused of tardiness and, because he refused to turn his back to the principal to be paddled, he was held down and paddled 20 times. He too suffered a hematoma and was treated at a hospital. In *Peterson v. Baker* (2007), a teacher administered 'one lick' to Jonathan Peterson, who has a hearing impairment. This 'lick' involved choking him as a consequence for not responding to the teacher's instructions. None of these events was found by the courts to 'shock the conscience.' These examples demonstrate why narratives are essential when communicating the complex psychosocial ramifications of school discipline policies on children. When numbers are stripped from context, they may seem less frightening than reading a more holistic account that includes imagery such as hematomas or deaf students being choked or, in *Neal v. Fulton County Board of Education* (2000), an eye dislodging from its socket when a White coach struck an African American student on the head with a metal lock. Without the narrative to accompany the number, Durante Neal's experience is summed: 'one lick.'

At this point, one might read our methodological reflection as an earnest (and maybe even bitter) attempt to improve our mixed methods modeling and reporting. However, the reviewer's final comment left us bewildered and pessimistic about the possibility of our social-justice-oriented work ever being seen as legitimate by this and other similarly minded colleagues, reviewers, or readers. The reviewer wrote:

> You would expect at least that we would see some attempt to correlate those geographical areas where punishment in high schools seem disproportionately imposed on blacks and areas where judicial punishment seems disproportionately imposed on blacks. *But even this won't be enough, not nearly enough*, to justify the causal claim in the first paragraph. (Emphasis ours)

In short, even if we demonstrated a correlation between school discipline and subsequent incarceration, that would not be enough to convince that a school-to-prison pipeline exists, or at the very least, that exclusionary discipline contributes to the school-to-prison pipeline and that exclusionary discipline is racially biased. The reviewer closes, "Nothing in the proposed study will begin to show this." What evidence could be produced to identify the school-prison nexus? This reviewer suggests that no form of evidence will be enough to conclusively identify a correlation, much

less causation. If they are reluctant to trust numeric data, which already point to a correlation, would fuller mixed methods approaches suffice? And, if not, what methodological options remain? When the methodological options are exhausted, and readers still refuse to view research claims as legitimate, it can be assumed the rejection stems from ideological rather than onto-epistemological and methodological qualms.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have highlighted the ways that transformative mixed methods are useful in research for justice and equity, especially in addressing and situating research as reflective of sociopolitical commitments. As Greene (2006) argued:

> One vitally important role for mixed methods social inquiry is to trouble taken-for-granted understandings of assumed common meanings of constructs by incorporating a diversity of perspectives, voices, values and stances. In this role, mixed methods inquiry honors complexity alongside diversity and difference, and thereby resists simplification of inherently contextual and complex human phenomena. (p. 97)

In our research about school discipline policy and practice in Alabama, we sought to trouble the common assumption that students of Color who are more frequently and severely punished in K-12 schools somehow deserve those punishments, including exclusion and corporal punishment. We aimed to capture and describe students' experiences with racialized school discipline practices in a way that humanized the numeric trends and added depth and nuance to understandings about (perceptions about) student (mis)behavior. By unpacking the ways that reviewers responded to a grant proposal, we reflected on our 'missed opportunity' in putting forth numeric data about school discipline trends at the expense of narrative data that captured the lived experiences with school discipline practices of students of Color in Alabama public schools. We suggest that, in the unification of both numeric and narrative data, it becomes more difficult for critics to reject research on the basis of onto-epistemology and methodology; instead, mixed methods may push critics to reckon with the ideological and partisan worldviews that they bring to their evaluation of research. When data are humanized, as when numeric and narrative data are combined in transformative mixed methods research, rejecting the claims made with them is a dehumanizing act that reflects more on the critic than the research.

Suggested Readings

We suggest the following readings for researchers interested in developing mixed methods research for justice and equity. First, Donna Mertens has written a comprehensive body of scholarship on transformative mixed methods where she positions this mode of inquiry, in particular ontological, epistemological, and axiological beliefs:

Mertens, D. M. (2007). Transformative paradigm: Mixed methods and social justice. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 1*(3), 212–225.

Mertens, D. M. (2010). Transformative mixed methods research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 16*(6), 469–474.

Next, we join Mertens in suggesting these three exemplar articles that feature transformative mixed methods:

Hodgkin, S. (2008). Telling it all: A story of women's social capital using a mixed methods approach. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 2*, 296–316.

Huato, J., & Zeno, K. W. (2009). Class, race, and the spousal income gap: The effects of family income, educational attainment, and race-ethnicity on the husband-wife income ratio in the United States, 1980, 1990, 2000. *American Behavioral Scientist, 53*, 261–275.

Silka, L. (2009). Partnership ethics. In D. M. Mertens & P. E. Ginsberg (Eds.), *Handbook of social research ethics* (pp. 337–352). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Finally, for further readings about mixed methods, more broadly, we suggest:

The Journal of Mixed Methods Research, SAGE.

Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. (Eds.). (2010). *SAGE handbook of mixed methods in social and behavioral research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

References

Archey v. Hyche, 935 F.2d 269 (1991).

Bernal, D. D. (2002). Critical Race Theory, Latino Critical Theory, and Critical Raced-Gendered epistemologies: Recognizing students of color as holders and creators of knowledge. *Qualitative Inquiry, 8*(1), 105–126. https://doi.org/10.1177/107780040200800107

Caracelli, V. J. (2006). Enhancing the policy process through the use of ethnography and other study frameworks: A mixed-methods strategy. *Research in the Schools, 13*(1), 84–92.

Carter, D. F., & Hurtado, S. (2007). Bridging key research dilemmas: Quantitative research using a critical eye. *New Directions for Institutional Research, 133*, 25–35.

Cooley, H. E. (1930). *Sociological theory and social research*. New York, NY: Scribner's.

Creamer, E. G. (2018). *An introduction to fully integrated mixed methods research*. Los Angeles: Sage.

Decuir-Gunby, J. T., & Walker-Devose, D. C. (2013). Expanding the counterstory: The potential for critical race mixed methods studies in education. In *Handbook of critical race theory in education* (pp. 268–279). New York, NY: Routledge.

Delgado, R. (1995). *Critical Race Theory: The cutting edge*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Giddens, A. (1979). *Central problems in social theory: Action, structure, and contradiction in social analysis* (Vol. 241). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Gillborn, D. (2010). The colour of numbers: Surveys, statistics and deficit-thinking about race and class. *Journal of Education Policy, 25*(2), 253–276. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680930903460740

Gilliam, W. S., Maupin, A. N., Reyes, C. R., Accavitti, M., & Shic, F. (2016, September). *Do early educators' implicit biases regarding sex and race relate to behavior expectations and recommendations of preschool expulsions and suspensions?* Yale Child Study Center. Retrieved from

http://www.addressingracialmicroaggressions.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Preschool-Implicit-Bias-Policy-Brief_final_9_26_276766_5379.pdf

Greene, J. C. (2006). Toward a methodology of mixed methods social inquiry. *Research in the Schools, 13*(1), 93–98.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). Competing paradigms in qualitative research. *Handbook of Qualitative Research, 2*(163–194), 105.

Ingraham v. Wright, 430 U.S. 651 (1977).

Johnson, R. B., Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Turner, L. A. (2007). Toward a definition of mixed methods research. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 1*(2), 112–133. https://doi.org/10.1177/1558689806298224

Kincheloe, J. L., & McLaren, P. L. (1994). Rethinking critical theory and qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 138–157). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Maslow, A. (1954). *Motivation and personality*. New York, NY: Harper.

Meiners, E. R. (2007). *Right to be hostile: Schools, prisons, and the making of public enemies*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Mertens, D. M. (2007). Transformative paradigm: Mixed methods and social justice. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 1*(3), 212–225. https://doi.org/10.1177/1558689807302811

Mertens, D. M. (2010). Transformative mixed methods research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 16*(6), 469–474. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800410364612

Mertens, D. M. (2012). Transformative mixed methods: Addressing inequities. *American Behavioral Scientist, 56*(6), 802–813. https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764211433797

Morrow, R. A., & Brown, D. D. (1994). *Critical theory and methodology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Neal ex rel. *Neal v. Fulton County Board of Education*, 229 F. 3d 1069 (2000).

Parker, L. (1998). 'Race is race ain't': An exploration of the utility of critical race theory in qualitative research in education. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 11*(1), 43–55. https://doi.org/10.1080/095183998236881

Parker, L., & Lynn, M. (2002). What's race got to do with it? Critical Race Theory's conflicts with and connections to qualitative research methodology and epistemology. *Qualitative Inquiry, 8*(1), 7–22. https://doi.org/10.1177/107780040200800102

Peterson v. Baker, 504 F. 3d 1331 (2007).

Ravitch, D. (2016). *The death and life of the great American school system: How testing and choice are undermining education*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Solórzano, D. G., & Yosso, T. J. (2002). Critical race methodology: Counter-story-telling as an analytical framework for educational research. *Qualitative Inquiry, 8*(1), 23–44. https://doi.org/10.1177/107780040200800103

St. Pierre, E. A., & Pillow, W. S. (Eds.). (2000). *Working the ruins: Feminist poststructural theory and methods in education*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Weber, M. (1949). *The methodology of the social sciences*. Glencoe, IL: The Free Press.