"IT'S TENSIOUS WORK": A CASE STUDY OF ANTI-RACIST EDUCATORS

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of
San Francisco State University
In partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree

AS

35

2016

EDD

• S65

Doctor of Education

In

Educational Leadership

by

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San Francisco, California

January 2016

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“IT’S TENSIOUS WORK”: A CASE STUDY OF ANTI-RACIST EDUCATORS

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2016

Disparities in educational opportunities and outcomes between Black and Latino students and their White peers are well-documented and have been reported continuously since the government-issued Coleman Report was published in 1966 (Coleman, 1966; Darling-Hammond, 2010). The role of teacher bias has been examined as a cause of these disparate outcomes, but studies of how to address both educator and institutional racism are limited in number and scope. Using two tenets of Critical Race Theory, this case study examines a self-described anti-racist high school to understand how educators work to combat this historical trend of inequitable school outcomes. Findings suggest that the core processes of anti-racist teaching is paradoxical tension. Within the larger racist context of the U.S., anti-racist teaching is a necessary but insufficient intervention for addressing racial disparities in educational outcomes.

I certify that the Abstract is a correct representation of the content of this dissertation.

Chair, Dissertation Committee

12/16/15

Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is dedicated first and foremost to my students. Your love, creativity, determination and resilience help me know, without doubt, that another world is possible and that through vigilance and faith we can bring that world to fruition. I thank the teachers and administrators at my study high school for allowing me, an unknown outsider, to conduct my study there. I owe a special debt of gratitude to my parents, who have been believing in me and letting me know they believe in me since the moment I took my first breath. For my Grandma Margaret, who got her degree in accounting because she saw a different way, and for Grandma Schirmer who didn't finish high school because she was told there was no other way, this is for you both; I finished because one could and I finished on behalf of one who couldn't. I hope I made you both proud. For Andy, who always asked me, "When are you going to finish your education?" It took me longer than the days you were given here on earth, but this is for you too. To my friends—Julie, Jose, Damali, Abby, Cindy, Yvette, Jay, Kathleen, Elaine, Sherry, Eddy, cohort 2012—who have been an invaluable and inexhaustible well of love, resources, feedback, learning and laughter during this process (and throughout our friendship), I am deeply and humbly grateful. I thank my Untraining community for providing space and tools for me to examine my white privilege and conditioning with compassion and commitment. Finally, I thank my committee for pushing me to think more critically about what it means to be a social justice educator and to engage in the struggle for liberation. I am especially grateful to my committee chair, Jamal Cooks, for your investment of time, for your feedback and guidance, and for your unwavering confidence in my ability to complete this project.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

There is a long, often sad history of race in America, and it is not over. The United States was born as a racially divided nation, had a civil war over race, created new systems of racial subordination with the conquest of Indian nations and half of Mexico's territory, and lived under the doctrine of "separate but equal," with rigid segregation and no equality, for six decades before the Supreme Court declared school segregation in the South "inherently unequal" and unconstitutional. That was nearly six decades ago.

--Gary Orfield (2014, p. 274) .

Over the past three years as I have conducted this research and written this project, the deaths of unarmed, innocent Black people at the hands of police and vigilantes have been headline news on an almost weekly basis. This violence is nothing new for the communities experiencing it, but with the advent of cell phone cameras it has been documented and made broadly available in communities that were ignorant to this reality. Witnessing many of the videos of this violence—Eric Garner gasping his final words, "I can't breathe," as police held him in a chokehold; John Crawford getting gunned down while chatting idly on his phone while shopping at Wal Mart; 12 year-old Tamir Rice getting gunned down within 2 seconds of police arriving at the park where he was playing with a toy gun; Sandra Bland being pulled violently from her car after refusing to extinguish her cigarette during a routine traffic stop, the prelude to the end of

her short life—set the backdrop against which I went into the field to conduct my research. Watching the Black Lives Matter movement respond to this violence, as well as the many student protests of racist school policies and ineffectual responses to racism on high school and post-secondary campuses was another piece of the context within which this research was conducted. Sitting in my apartment in Oakland, California, writing this dissertation, I have frequently listened to the sounds of police helicopters circling over protests that have taken over downtown in the past several years. Within this context, I collected data, read professional journal articles, dialogued with friends and classmates, and contemplated questions about racism in the U.S.

Although with the election of Barack Obama in 2008 many people have joyously proclaimed that we live in a “post-racial” society, national data on incarceration rates, graduation rates, college-going rates, unemployment rates, rates of death by police, and health outcomes disaggregated for race reveal that racism is alive and well in the United States. The purpose of this study is to examine how racism plays out in one sector of public life—education—and to investigate the efforts of a group of educators to interrupt its patterns. I do not operate under the illusion that this study will address the racism that organizes our daily lives and lived experiences, but it does document the work of educators trying to create a different way. Almost all of us interact with schools in some way for some part of our lives, and schools play a key role in shaping and maintaining the social order. As outlined in detail in Chapter 2, pedagogies created around the theory of liberation see schools as sites of resistance, with teachers and students in a dialogue to

recognize their “ontological vocation” to be more fully human (Freire, 197). As such, classrooms have potential to be sites of resistance and transformation in the fight to end race oppression.

And yet, disparities in educational opportunities and outcomes between Black and Latino students and their White and Asian peers have been reported continuously since as early as 1966 (Caroll, Fulton, Abercrombie and Yoon, 2004; Barton and Coley, 2008; Coleman, 1966, Darling-Hammond, 2010; Stillwell and Sable, 2013). While a multitude of causes have been cited for this phenomenon—from student culture to inadequate school buildings to teacher quality—all research points to the same outcome: serious disparities in academic achievement between Black and Latino students and their White and Asian peers. The purpose of this study is to understand how one group of educators, committed to anti-racism in their teaching practices, engage this work and in what ways they are able to meet their intended goal of being excellent educators for Black and Latino students.

Researcher Identity

I am a White woman who is among the third generation in my family to graduate from college. I grew up in majority White, predominantly middle class communities in Indiana, Washington and California. While my maternal grandparents, the children of Italian and Basque immigrants, had many stories about being “outsiders” in the United States due to accents, poverty, and in the case of my grandmother, discrimination due to

anti-Italian sentiment, my experiences growing up in predominantly White, middle class communities and schools gave me no perspective on or awareness of the role that racial and ethnic identity play in shaping lived experience and social outcomes. I did not understand that I have a racial identity, and while I understood that racism was a bad thing, I conceived of it only as overt acts of bigotry (white hoods, forbidden words) that mostly had ended at some time in our nation's history long before my birth. I did not understand that I and my family enjoyed much of our upwardly mobile success as a result of privilege conferred on us by the color of our skin.

My understanding of racism and whiteness evolved considerably during the 14 years of my career in which I worked with low-income, first-generation college-bound youth of color through college access, retention and support programs. For five of those years, as the director of Stanford College Prep (SCP—formerly Upward Bound), I worked with high school students and their families over the entire course of their four years in high school and, in many cases, while they were in college as well. The majority of students enrolled in this program were Latino, and with the exception of two White students, all other program participants were students of color (primarily Pacific Islander and Black students). All students resided in neighborhoods often described as “pockets of poverty” among the great wealth of the Silicon Valley, and were bused out of their communities to attend public schools in which the majority of students were White and from affluent families. In short, their lived experiences and related educational opportunities were very different from my own.

Traveling with my students on college tours throughout California and staying with them on Stanford University's campus each summer during our residential program gave me insight into how they were perceived and treated in majority White spaces. I noticed how we were trailed by security in every store we entered; I saw White women grab their bags closer to their side as we approached, and I saw White parents move their children away from our group on college tours. Once campus police threatened to charge my students with vandalism when they were using chalk to work out a calculus problem on the sidewalk (not only were they under their teacher's supervision, but also chalking is a common practice among undergraduates at Stanford); a White professor interrupted the middle of one of our academic classes, taught by a Black Stanford doctoral student, claiming the space was rightfully his because he is "with Stanford," a declaration that presumed these students and their teacher could not be; in the dining halls, where my students shared space with the majority White and Asian summer camps, camp counselors would constantly complain to me about my students' behavior—"threatening" and "inappropriate" were the adjectives most commonly used to describe how my students ate their meals. (Among staff we came to describe going to the dining hall as going into battle.) Within the Center that hosted the program, non-program staff would accuse our students of stealing office supplies (my favorite accusation was in regard to a missing box of paper reams) and generally being responsible for anything bad that happened in the Center, which was left unlocked 24/7 and had high traffic from undergraduates, graduate students, and staff. These moments, and many more like them,

were so common and so absurd, but helped me see a phenomenon that White people are conditioned not to see: racism is a constant in the daily lives of people of color in the United States; it is pernicious and goes unnoticed by its perpetrators, embedded as it is in the psyches of everyone whose socialization took place in this country, but has very real impact on its recipients.

I saw how this racism is embedded in our institutions as well, in the ways my students were disciplined, the ways their access to college preparatory classes was constantly questioned, the ways their parents' wishes were minimized or disregarded entirely. One student whom I will call Luis, as a 14 year-old freshman suffering from depression and anxiety, was accused of making terroristic threats against his school when he went to his counselor to seek help. His mother, who assumed the school was there to serve her son's best interest, had encouraged him to go to his counselor after he had been sleepless, crying, and inconsolable for a week. Ultimately this student was removed from his school. The principal told us one story in an initial meeting with Luis' mother and older brother and me; when we found pro bono legal representation, the principal changed her story drastically. While the principal believed removing Luis from her school was a "win-win" solution, I do not believe that she ever really considered how there was no win possible for my young student after he had been strip-searched in his counselor's office, had a bomb squad search his parents' home, had spent a weekend in a psychiatric ward and been told he would be taken directly from the psychiatric ward to juvenile detention, all while in an already incredibly fragile mental and emotional state.

There is no way that a child seeking support for his mental health being met with suspicion and policing is going to win. I am confident that had Luis been from his school's predominantly White and wealthy student population, his experience would have been quite different from what it was as the Latino child of undocumented immigrants who are unable to make significant financial contributions to the school's parent foundation.

These experiences changed my life. When I began teaching, and even when I became the director of the Upward Bound program, I believed that all young people could succeed with the right amount of support and encouragement. My perspective was informed by the hegemonic conception of schools as neutral spaces and individuals as accountable for their own outcomes. While I understood in those early years that my students' racial and socio-economic identities placed them at a distinct disadvantage in the schooling process, I still believed that their mindset—believing in themselves—and hard work would allow them to overcome. My five years with Upward Bound showed me something different: no amount of hard work by my students and no amount of support and encouragement from the program and their families could change the force field of white supremacy they walked into every day in their schools. When I saw what happened to Luis, not just during the event described above but for the four years of high school and one year of community college that followed, I felt completely defeated. I realized how entrenched racial bias is in our institutions, and how they are structured to sort out and discard students like those in my Upward Bound program. Legal

representation could not alter the trajectory that school put Luis on; interventions from psychologists could not reverse the trauma he experienced in that event; the unconditional love of his family and our program staff could not make a dent in that barricade. This is not to say that my students could not or did not “make it”—successfully matriculate to and graduate from postsecondary education institutions. Many did, in spectacular ways. But they did so in spite of the racism that they confronted throughout their schooling experiences.

I decided to return to school to pursue my doctoral degree because I was incredibly angry with and frustrated by the ways in which racism is both built into institutions and enacted (consciously and unconsciously) on students of color such that their educational trajectories are dramatically impacted, not to mention their spirits and their sense of themselves as precious and worthy human beings. Unlike my early conceptions of racism as overt, bigoted acts of violence between individuals, I now understand racism as a force that works individually and interpersonally because it is structurally embedded into our social fabric. I undertook this study on behalf of my students: given all that they have shared and entrusted me with, and given what I have witnessed and experienced through my work in education over the last 16 years, I feel responsible to pursue research into improving educational experiences for all underserved, disenfranchised youth, and especially for youth of color. To this end, I chose to study a school attempting to name and address the racism enacted by educators within its walls. I also undertook this study on behalf of my students’ children, who will

be in the second generation in their families to attend college, provided they successfully navigate all of the hazards that our racist public institutions place before them. And finally, I undertake this study on behalf of my nieces and nephews, children who will be among the fourth generation in our family to attend college, who are growing up in majority White, middle class communities, and who, without intervention, will grow up in the same ignorance that I did, that so many White people do, a phenomenon that perpetuates white supremacy.

The stories outlined above delineate my personal observations and experiences; they are anecdotes. Sometimes when sharing these stories, I am asked how I know that what was happening to my students was racist. That's the problem with racism: if it's not transacted in overt interactions, its victims experience it while its perpetrators can pretend it is not there. Looking at race on an institutional level, however, reveals the ways that these individual anecdotes add up to larger social phenomena. The next section describes how educational outcomes in the United States are not equitable among racial groups, explores how these disparities are a natural outcome of the historical construction of public schools in the U.S., and outlines the necessity for studying racism as a real factor impacting the well-being and life course outcomes for communities of color.

Background

Kantor and Lowe (2013) suggest that in the U.S., a deeply held belief that public education is the vehicle through which we can redress unequal opportunity is one of the most distinctive features of our social policies. However, the historical roots of public

schooling reveal a framework that was from its beginnings designed to perpetuate gaps in opportunity and outcomes. In its earliest inception, public education in the U.S. was formulated on a model borrowed from Prussia, the *Volksschule*, compulsory education that historians view primarily as a vehicle of social control, designed around the goal of creating a “pious and patriotic” population (Barkin, 1983, Gatto, 2000). The *Volksschule* model organized students into a three-tiered system of tracks determined by their family’s class status. These tracks were intended to maintain a 1% of students at the top being trained in critical thinking skills, complex processes, writing, argument, and “the tasks of command” (Gatto, 2000, p.5). A small percentage of students were to be trained as engineers, architects, doctors, lawyers and civil servants, and the majority of students were to attend “peoples’ schools,” where their primary lessons were in obedience, cooperation and “correct” attitudes (Gatto, 2000). It should be noted that not even these segregated learning opportunities were made available to Native American, Black American and many Mexican American people, who were actively excluded from public education for much of the early part of this nation’s history, and then subjected to separate and unequal education once given access to schools (Darling-Hammond, 2010).

In this way, schools were designed to organize people into a social hierarchy that put White, upper-class men at the top. A version of this segregation continues today, with the highest concentrations of students of color being found in the country’s highest-poverty schools (Logan, Minca, Adar, 2012). Nationally, according to data from the U.S. Department of Education’s Office of Civil Rights (2014), Black students are four times as

likely and Latino students are three times as likely as their White peers to attend schools where teachers do not meet all of the state teaching requirements. Moreover, 25% of the schools with the highest Black and Latino student enrollments do not offer Algebra II, while 30% of these same schools do not offer chemistry. One study reveals that Latino students whose test scores make them eligible for college preparatory classes are still less than half as likely as their White peers to be placed in those classes (Darling-Hammond, 2010). Finally, when it comes to discipline, Black students are suspended three times as often as White students, and 50% of all preschool students who were suspended more than one time in 2012 were Black children. These data highlight the ways in which youth of color do not have equitable access to and are disproportionately removed from the educational opportunities that can set them up for long-term success.

In California, these inequities play out similarly. A report from the Education Trust—West (2012) reveals that within the state, Black and Latino students are twice as likely as their White and Asian peers to be assigned to classrooms with less effective teachers. Teacher quality is a critical component to student learning and achievement (Darling-Hammond, 2010). Additionally, access to rigorous high school coursework is an important factor in students' access to and success in higher education (Moore, Offenstien, and Shulock, 2011). And yet this same report shows that White students are four times as likely as their Black peers and twice as likely as their Latino peers to take Calculus, and two to three times as likely as their Black and Latino peers to take and pass AP exams. Finally, while 14% of Black students and 7% of Latino students were

suspended in 2011, only 5% of their White peers experienced the same disciplinary consequences. Exclusionary discipline removes students from the learning environment, reducing their access to instructional time and the likelihood that they will be able to thoroughly learn and absorb academic content. But even students who are in class are getting short-changed: sixty-percent of California's school districts have shortened their instructional time since 2008, and the state's highest poverty schools were more likely to do so than low-poverty schools.

Policy has not done much to mitigate these disparities. The Supreme Court's 1954 decision on *Brown v. Board of Education*, while intended to give Black students access to the educational resources enjoyed by White students, never fulfilled its promise. Ten years after the *Brown* decision, 98% of Southern schools targeted by the legislation remained segregated; only after federal intervention in 1964 did this change (Orfield and Frankenberg, 2014). In California, officials initially denied that the state had a segregation problem, and even refused to count their students or publish data on the segregated state (Orfield and Ee, 2014). Although the California Supreme Court declared the primacy of desegregation in the 60's, and the state legislature enacted the Bagley Act in 1971 making California school officials responsible for desegregation, in the early 70's a series of voter referendums reversed these orders.

In 1972 when Superior Court Judge Gitelson ordered LAUSD to begin desegregating and eliminate minority-majority schools, the ruling was attacked by the LA mayor, the state superintendent of public instruction, Governor Ronald Reagan and

President Nixon (Orfield and Ee, 2014). Meanwhile, officials in California denied that the state had a segregation problem in spite of a long history of segregating Mexican American and Native students through manipulations of school boundaries and residential segregation, and a history of strict segregation for Black students (Orfield and Ee, 2014). In other words, although policies were put in the books to end the racist practices of segregation, the mindset of those tasked with enforcing these policies remained entrenched in a racist order, and they used their power and status to uphold the racist status quo.

Current data reveal that Black students remain in schools that are as segregated today as they were in 1960, and Latino students are in more highly-segregated schools today than 50 years ago (Orfield and Ee, 2014). As Kozol (2005) documents, segregated schools perpetuate inequalities in the grossest manner, cloistering low-income, predominantly youth of color into under-resourced schools. Darling-Hammond (2010) highlights the impact of such segregation:

Concentrated poverty is shorthand for a constellation of inequalities that shape schooling. These schools not only typically have less qualified and less experienced teachers and fewer learning resources, but they also have lower levels of peer group support and competition, more limited curricula taught at less challenging levels, more serious health and safety problems, much more student and family mobility, and many other factors that seriously affect academic achievement. (p. 37)

Practices that relegate students of color to under-performing schools or to less rigorous classes within schools reinforce racial boundaries and serve to feed commonly held misconceptions about the race and academic ability (Tyson, 2013).

Statement of Problem

The ideal end-point of the K-12 system, successful college admission, requires navigation of a complex pipeline process involving a series of transitional points at which students may be left behind (Grubb et al., 2011). Due to the nature of the structural racism described above, disproportionate numbers of Black and Latino students across income levels fall off at each milestone, contributing to the gap in outcomes that we see in education nationally and within California (Darling-Hammond, 2010; McKinsey & Co., 2009). From early childhood education to high school, Black and Latino students have less access to the kind of coursework that sets students up for higher education than do their White and Asian peers. A significantly larger proportion of students from middle-income families have access to high-quality preschool programs, found to increase academic and social success, than do students from low-income families, in which Black and Latino students are disproportionately represented (Darling-Hammond, 2010). As students move through the educational system, tracking practices that sort them into vocational or college pathways perpetuate the racial achievement gap because these systems tend to sort students by race. In 2013, only 29% of Black and Latino students in California graduated from high school having completed the A-G course sequence—a gatekeeper series of courses required for admission to California’s public

higher education institutions—compared with 68% and 47% of their Asian and White peers respectively (Ed-Data, 2013). Black and Latino students are much less likely than their White and Asian peers to take advanced math classes in high school, which provide an essential academic foundation for math in postsecondary education (Moore et al., 2011).

The inadequate school resources seen in schools that serve the highest concentrations of Black and Latino students, coupled with these tracking practices, further exacerbate gaps in educational outcomes by race. Schools with the highest concentrations of students of color (90% or more) often do not even have a sufficient number of college preparatory courses to accommodate their students—in 2005, only 30% of such schools in California did (Darling-Hammond, 2010). And well-trained and well-supported teachers, the most precious resource a school can offer to its students, are less likely to be leading classrooms in which a high concentration of students are Black and Latino (McKinsey & Co., 2009). In 2004 in California, schools with the highest number of minority students in their student body were twelve times as likely to have uncertified teachers leading their classes (Carroll, Fulton, Abercrombie and Yoon, 2004), and this trend continues today (Grubb et al., 2011).

By the time students reach 11th grade, the racial achievement gap in college readiness is clear. The California State University system implemented an Early Assessment Program (EAP) for high school juniors to assess their academic readiness for study at the CSU upon high school graduation. Only approximately 24% of Black and

30% of Latino students take the EAP exam for math, and among those who do take it, Black and Latino students are significantly less likely to be found ready for college (Moore et al., 2011). In 2010, only 10% of Black and Latino students who took the EAP exam were found to meet college readiness standards in English, while 32% of their White peers and 34% of their Asian peers had the same result (Moore et al., 2011). In math, only 4% of Black and 6% of Latino students were determined ready, while 17% of White students and 29% of Asian students were found college-ready (Moore et al., 2011).

Finally, in school discipline practices racial disproportionality has been well-documented (Gregory, Skiba and Noguera, 2010; Skiba et al., 2011; Losen and Gillespie, 2012). Across the nation, students of color are far more likely than their White peers to face one or more out-of-class suspensions during a school year. In the 2009-2010 school year, for example, one in six Black students were suspended for a day or more, compared with one in twenty White students (Losen and Gillespie, 2012). Studies also show that students of color receive harsher punishments for lesser behavior problems than their White peers and are referred more frequently for subjective offenses such as disrespect and defiance (Skiba et al., 2011). In addition to the apparent unfairness and injustice of disproportionate suspension rates, this problem also contributes to the educational achievement gap. Frequent suspensions greatly increase the risk of academic underperformance and dropping-out (Arcia, 2006; Gregory et al., 2010). Additionally, a large body of research demonstrates a connection between exclusionary discipline

practices, school dropouts and future contact with the juvenile and adult justice systems (Losen, Martinez, and Gillespie, 2012; Noguera, 2003).

These disparities create opportunity gaps in education; although *Brown v. Board of Education* affirmed that education in public schools is a constitutionally guaranteed right that must be made available to all students on equal terms, the data above suggest that this right is being denied. Darling-Hammond (2010) defines the opportunity gap as “the accumulated differences in access to key educational resources—expert teachers, personalized attention, high-quality curriculum opportunities, good educational materials, and plentiful information resources” (p. 28). The opportunity gap differs from the achievement gap in one notable way. Whereas discussions of the achievement gap focus on disparities in testing and graduation rate outcomes, i.e. student performance, discussions of the opportunity gap focus on the inputs, that is, what quality and quantity of resources are made available to students to produce the educational outcomes we typically measure (Welner and Carter, 2013).

Purpose of Study

Bay High School is a racially diverse public high school in Golden State City. Their outcomes for Black and Latino students seem to mirror these national and statewide trends, and the school has been engaging in anti-racist teaching work for eight years as a strategy to interrupt this inequity in their school. This study examines Bay High School’s anti-racist teaching work to understand how it functions and whether it achieves its

intended purpose of creating excellent teachers for Black and Latino students.

Specifically, this study investigates the following research question:

- In what ways, if any, does the implementation of anti-racist teaching at Bay High School meet its intended purpose?

Conceptual Framework

This study was conducted using the theoretical lens of critical race theory (CRT), which will be described in detail in Chapter 2. Briefly, CRT highlights the ways in which race and racism are key factors in understanding how educational and legal theory, policy and practice are used to perpetuate subordination of people of color while sustaining white supremacy (Solorzano, 1997). Much research has committed to examining the attitudes, aspirations, family interactions, habits and abilities of students of color in an effort to explain the persistence of disparate educational outcomes between Black and Latino students and their White and Asian peers. Such research, based in a deficit model of thinking, continues to investigate what is wrong within these children or their communities such that they do not succeed in schools. Through the lens of CRT, the focus of questioning moves away from the individual students and onto the larger systems they are subjected to in pursuit of their education.

The conceptual frame (Figure 1) for this research proposes that the dominant culture of white supremacy in the United States shapes the players and institutions involved in educational interactions, and that it is this culture that needs to be examined and “fixed”—not the individual students—in order to support equitable educational

experiences for all children. The following chapter discusses the literature that informs this conceptual framework.

Figure 1. Conceptual framework.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

At each step of the educational process from pre-school through higher education, Black and Latino students in the United States have less access to high quality educational experiences (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Welner and Carter, 2013). The data described in Chapter 1 reveal the disparate educational outcomes that result from inequities within the school system: Black and Latino students receive fewer opportunities to take advanced academic coursework, under-qualified teachers, harsher discipline consequences resulting in more days of missed instruction, lower graduation rates, and lower college-going and completion rates (Vannerman, Hamilton, Baldwin Anderson, and Rahman, 2009; Hemphill, Vannerman, Rahman, 2011; Education Trust-West, 2012).

Although the government-issued Coleman Report in 1966 identified four factors that impact achievement for students—school composition (who attends a school), the level of control students feel they have over their environment and their future, the verbal skills of the teachers, and students' family background (Coleman, 1966)—a large body of educational research that followed this report focused only on students' family background as the source of disparate educational outcomes. These studies have been critiqued for locating the source of the “problem” within children of color, their families

and their communities, while ignoring the racist institutions and policies that shape these children's lives (Delpit, 1995; Yosso, 2005).

Critical race scholarship in education has taken a broader view, pointing to structural inequities and asserting that racism is a normal and permanent feature of U.S. society, "so enmeshed in the fabric of our social order, it appears . . . natural to people in this culture" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 11). Starting from this assertion, CRT provides "a framework or set of basic perspectives, methods, and pedagogy that seeks to identify, analyze, and transform those structural and cultural aspects of society that maintain the subordination and marginalization of People of Color" (Solorzano, 1997, p. 6). Solorzano (1997) outlines five themes that create the lens of CRT: the centrality and intersectionality of race and racism, the challenge to dominant ideology, the commitment to social justice, the centrality of experiential knowledge, and the interdisciplinary perspective. As a response to education research that focused on class, gender or culture as a source of educational inequities, CRT centers race and racism as the organizing principals around which school outcomes can be understood, and specifically focuses on the impact of racism at every level in the educational experiences of students of color (Lynn and Parker, 2006). CRT seeks to eliminate racism by describing and challenging the ways it plays out in educational settings and experiences (Leonardo, 2013).

This study examines a self-described anti-racist high school through the lens of critical race theory (CRT), using a stance of skepticism toward claims of neutrality, objectivity and color-blindness and based upon the premise that racism is endemic to life

in the U.S. This review of the literature uses the conceptual framework outlined in Chapter 1 to examine the role that race and racism play in educational outcomes. The framework is built on the theory that white male normative hegemonic U.S. culture—the dominant cultural orientation described herein as whiteness—disadvantages all other demographics, while simultaneously shaping the institutions and policies that govern our lives and create the touchstone for what is considered “normal.” Students who are not privy to the norms and behaviors associated with whiteness are disadvantaged and marginalized in schooling experiences (Delpit, 1995). This chapter begins with a definition of key terms, and then moves into analysis of the literature related to how teachers, their pedagogical practices, curriculum content and school leadership contribute to or detract from equitable opportunities for students of color in schools.

Definitions

Racism. While theories on racism propose a wide range of nuanced analyses of racial oppression, for the purposes of this study they will be broadly categorized as falling into two categories: belief-centered race theories and structuralist theories (McAfee, 2014; Bonilla-Silva, 1997). Belief-centered theories focus on individual beliefs about race and overt acts of hatred; research conducted in this vein tends to locate the source of racism as primarily within individuals and generally adheres to the notion that simply changing individuals will end racism. Critics of this perspective contend that racism does not require racists in order to be perpetuated (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). Instead, in the structuralist perspective, racism is understood to be “a social structure, deeply

rooted, not only in ideas and beliefs, but also in institutions, fundamental patterns of inequality, social geography, and the exercise of political power” (Omi and Winant, 2015, p. 7). The structuralist approach to analyzing racism thus seeks to identify and name the “ideologies, policies, and practices in a variety of institutional arenas that normalize and reproduce racial inequality and domination” (Omi and Winant, 2015, p. 128). Racism is understood as a larger system of oppression that uses hierarchical racial categories as its central organizing principle, and is more-or-less self-perpetuated by the racist structure of social life, policies and practices perceived as “neutral” and “normal” that ultimately sustain the racial hierarchy (Omi and Winant, 2015; Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Tatum, 1997). This view undergirds the conceptual framework for the present study, wherein the cultural orientation is fundamentally racist, informing individual and institutional transactions and practices.

Anti-racism. Anti-racism is defined as a proactive approach to combatting racism centered on empowerment of racially marginalized groups (Kailin, 2002). Berman and Paradies (2010) add that anti-racism is concerned with combatting racism in all of its manifestations, and focuses on creating creating equality of opportunity to produce equitable outcomes.

Whiteness. Whiteness is defined as a racial discourse (Leonardo, 2002), the salient features of which reproduce a social hierarchy based on race; among its notable features are assumptions of colorblindness, meritocracy, race neutrality and equality of opportunity (Solorzano, 1997). As a cultural orientation, whiteness is a collection of

practices that both ignore the role of White individuals in perpetuating their own racial advantage and silence discussions of racism (Leonardo, 2002). In this way, a commitment in the dominant ideology to the myths of colorblindness, meritocracy, race-neutrality and equal opportunity (Solorzano, 1997) allows White individuals to avoid identifying with a racial experience or group, to view themselves as without a race or culture, and to minimize the racist historical legacy of this country. In particular, whiteness insists that this racist legacy is something that happened in the past without repercussions that continue into contemporary life. This stance is particularly harmful to communities that continue to experience the cumulative effects of this country's racist history and the impact of racism in daily interactions. The following section will define the cultural orientation of whiteness and white racism to identify how this cultural orientation shapes and maintains the opportunity gap.

Cultural Orientation

It is common for White people to adhere to belief centered theories on racism, believing that racism occurs only as overt acts of bigotry: public incidents involving high-profile individuals such as celebrity chef Paula Deen or L.A. Clippers owner Donald Sterling making overtly racist statements about Black people are two examples of this.¹ In examples such as these, individual racists are discovered and punished, but the system

¹ Paula Deen was dropped by the Food Network when her use of a racial epithet in describing her dream of a "southern plantation wedding" was made public (Duke, 2013); Donald Sterling received a lifetime ban from the NBA when a recording of him asking his girlfriend not to bring Black people to basketball games was made public (Boren, 2014).

that produces these individual racists is left intact. The strategy of rooting out individual racists as the way to address racism is akin to the arcade game Whack-a-mole: once you smack down one mole, another pops up to replace it. This is not to say that sanctions for racist behavior are not necessary, particularly in light of recent protests highlighting racist police violence that goes unpunished and school leaders who allow racism to go unchecked on their campuses. But punishing individuals is a small piece of a much bigger puzzle. Many government-sanctioned policies and practices, such as New York's stop-and-frisk laws, bans on affirmative action in college admissions, and permits for toxic factories in predominantly poor and minority communities, all serve to sustain the oppression and marginalization of people of color in U.S. life. The larger structures that support and perpetuate racism must be examined and transformed.

Through the lens of CRT, this investigation of a high school's anti-racist teaching work seeks to name the logic of whiteness and its role in perpetuating inequitable school outcomes for Black and Latino students. By viewing racism as endemic to life in the U.S., it is understood that whiteness is a force with a long reach, shaping public institutions and practices in a way that consistently advantages those who are within the dominant white paradigm. By holding a stance of skepticism toward the dominant ideologies of whiteness—neutrality, objectivity and colorblindness—this study focuses on anti-racist teaching as a pedagogy with potential to name and interrupt the pernicious impacts of educational practices that, under the guise of neutrality and meritocracy, systematically privilege White students while marginalizing students of color.

The influence of the cultural orientation of whiteness is such that institutions, constructed on the white paradigm, are deemed neutral spaces that do not impact their participants' outcomes, or at least not as much as their participants' culture does. In the paradigm of whiteness, cultures and ways of knowing that are outside of the white hegemonic norm are viewed not as another way to live or construct knowledge, but simply as wrong or pathological (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). When not taught to challenge this dominant ideology, as products of these institutions, teachers can easily perpetuate the academic achievement gap through unexamined racist classroom practices. The next section of this literature review examines the role of whiteness in shaping teacher practice.

Teachers

The teacher-student relationship is at the heart of the academic enterprise. Research demonstrates the importance of students' relationships with their teachers to the students' sense of engagement, which translates to better educational outcomes. In a large study of elementary, middle school and secondary students in rural and urban settings, Klem and Connell (2004) confirmed prior studies on the critical connection between teacher support, student engagement and student academic success for all students. Studies that look specifically at the engagement experiences of Black and Latino students bolster these findings (Howard, 2001; Wayman, 2002; Patterson, Hale, Stessman, 2008; Douglas, Lewis, Douglas, Scott, Garrison-Wade, 2008). In these qualitative studies, students name the importance of teachers demonstrating caring attitudes, spending time

to talk with them and know them individually, pushing them to do their work, showing them respect, and avoiding stereotypes and bias when interacting with them as keys to their ability to engage. Latino and Black students specifically identified experiences with White teachers interacting with them from a place of racial stereotypes, presuming the students don't care about school or are "bad" (Patterson et al., 2008; Douglas et al., 2008), as contributing to school learning behaviors.

Students respond to their teachers' expectations as well as to the threat of being stereotyped not only in behavior they exhibit, but also in performance, rendering teacher racial bias a significant threat to student academic achievement. Rosenthal and Jacobson's (1968) landmark study of the impact of teacher expectation on student intellectual growth, which has been replicated many times since in different settings and among different age groups (Rhem, 1999), revealed that a person's expectations of another's behavior can serve as a self-fulfilling prophecy. In this study researchers told teachers that certain, randomly-selected students were expected to experience an intellectual growth spurt during the year, based results of a non-existent test. And, indeed, the children that teachers expected to demonstrate greater intellectual growth did just that. Likewise, Steele's (2010) widely-cited research on stereotype threat suggests that students' perceptions of their teachers' negative stereotypes has real consequences for student achievement. Thus, the cultural orientation of whiteness is at play in classrooms and enacted in interactions between teachers and their students.

Because public school teachers and administrators are overwhelmingly White, Black and Latino children will experience mostly White teachers and school leaders during their K-12 education. When teachers carry racial bias into the classroom, they evaluate their Black and Latino students unfairly and more critically than their other students, beginning as early as kindergarten (Downey and Pribesh, 2004; McGrady and Reynolds, 2013). Differential evaluation can play out in a number of ways that harm students of color: through disproportionate representation of students of color in school disciplinary actions (Skiba et al., 2011), through tracking practices that result in low numbers of students of color being represented in advanced placement and honors classes (Darling-Hammond, 2010), and through the messages students receive about whether they even belong in a school (Espinoza-Herold, 2003). When enacted in classrooms in this way, whiteness creates a norm in which it is expected that honors and advanced classes will not enroll Black and Latino students, and in which Black and Latino students are considered “troublemakers” and disproportionately subjected to exclusionary discipline.

Awareness of racism and attention to personal bias is considered a key for White teachers to interrupt racism in schooling, and yet studies suggest that this is an area of challenge in teacher education. King (1991) and Ladson-Billings (2004) describe dysconscious racism in pre-service teachers, noting that these individuals espouse anti-racist philosophies but still locate the source of their students’ academic struggles within the students’ history, culture and family. Groff and Peters (2012) found that White pre-

service teachers in predominantly White school placements demonstrated a decrease in awareness of racial issues by the end of their service, while Bloom and Peters (2012) found that White pre-service teacher's efficacy decreased in predominantly non-White school placements. These students reported needing to "come to terms with their own White privilege and guilt before they could develop specific classroom skills for working with students of color" (Bloom and Peters, 2012, p. 80), suggesting a need to center whiteness rather than student needs. Without on-going engagement and support, teachers from the dominant culture revert to hegemonic, racist beliefs about students of color. As Bonilla-Silva (1997) describes it, "racial ideology [racism] is not simply a 'superstructural' phenomenon (a mere reflection of the racialized system), but becomes the organizational map that guides actions of racial actors in society" (p. 474). Whiteness is the default.

Even for self-proclaimed social justice educators, this default can be seen to operate in pernicious ways. McAfee (2014) uses the concept of the "kinesiology of race" to describe this phenomenon in a White teacher's middle school math classroom. McAfee identified how this teacher ordered classroom instruction and elicited student participation with an eye toward equity, but in doing so reinforced racist stereotypes about his students. The researcher's observations across seven months demonstrated that the teacher unintentionally relegated each identity group of students to a "niche" (for example, the easier "do now" questions were for Black students, introductions to new material were the White students' niche, and guided practice was the realm of Black and

Asian students), reifying underlying racist beliefs about student ability. Likewise, Black and Latino students who scored proficient or advanced on standardized tests earned C and D grades in the class. Although the teacher claimed “My heart is with the far-below-basic and below-basic African American boys” (McAfee, 2014, p.469), his unintentionally biased practices “grid-locked” these students into C-level performance all year long.

Thus the role of the classroom teacher in reinforcing or interrupting racism, moment by moment, is significant. These studies beg the question: what does it take to address the powerful and persistent force of whiteness? Taking into account whole-school practices and teacher practice across racial identity may provide one answer. The following section describes transformational pedagogies and their connection to the struggle for liberation.

Pedagogy and Curriculum

In addition to the impact of the teacher-student relationship on educational outcomes, the pedagogical and curricular choices that teachers make also influence how students learn and succeed. The question of what pedagogical practices best serve marginalized students has been debated and researched for decades: Banks (1993) links the multicultural education movement of the 1990’s to the early ethnic studies work of G.W. Williams in the late 1800s and W.E.B. DuBois in the 1930s. A large body of literature informed by Freire’s (1970) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* has produced scholarship on multicultural education (Banks, 1993), culturally relevant pedagogy

(Ladson-Billings, 1995; Gay, 2010), critical pedagogy (Duncan-Andrade and Morrell, 2008), and anti-racist pedagogy (Kailin, 2002), to name a few. Each of these pedagogies look at culture and transformation in distinct ways. In the section that follows, each is outlined briefly to create the foundation for the larger discussion of this study. This brief discussion does no justice to the nuances of each pedagogical philosophy, but is included to provide an overview of how anti-racist pedagogy fits within the work of transformational pedagogy.

While each of these pedagogical models have unique approaches to addressing oppression and educating for liberation, one thread that runs throughout each of these pedagogical models is a focus on content that is relevant to students' lives and experiences. In multicultural education this is called "content integration" (Banks, 1993), the goal of which is to "use examples, data, and information from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalizations and theories in their subject area or discipline (Banks, 1993, p. 5). Thus, curriculum in these pedagogies is designed to illuminate students' understanding of the realities of their social and historical context. Curriculum centers on the students' own cultural referents and experiences as a way to guide them toward making sense of their broader social context. In these models, students might: become researchers examining challenges within their own communities; use the lens of hip hop culture to deconstruct race and inequality; learn history through the lens of the colonized and oppressed as opposed to history that centers White people as heroes and downplays or erases their role in genocide and colonization

(Duncan-Andrade and Morrell, 2008). In critical, culturally relevant, and anti-racist pedagogies, the content of the curriculum is intended to serve as a tool that allows students to “assert and accentuate their present and future powers, capabilities, attitudes and experiences” (Gay, 2010, p. 127). Inherent in these curricula is an examination of race and racism in the social order of the U.S. and counter-strategies to White hegemonic narratives about knowledge. This should provide a benefit both to students of color, who have an opportunity to see themselves and their histories in the curriculum, and to White students, who have an opportunity to learn the full scope of history. At the same time, this awareness creates a critical consciousness that allows students to act against the oppressive forces of the dominant culture.

In traditional models of schooling, what Freire (1970) termed the “banking” method of education, the teacher holds knowledge and transmits that knowledge to the student, a blank slate waiting to be guided and formed by the teacher. Within the construct of whiteness, this model can easily reproduce the racist social order for, as Ladson-Billings (1998) explains, the traditional curriculum is designed to maintain White dominance by deleting the role of White people in the racist legacies of colonization and slavery and deleting the role of people of color in resistance movements against domination. Given the default to whiteness described above, a teacher who lacks critical awareness of this cultural orientation will impart content to students that is sanctioned by the school’s governing bodies, but that reifies the racial hierarchy and white dominance. As described in Chapter 1, this process is consistent with how schools in the U.S. were

originally designed. By contrast, in Freire's model of pedagogy for liberation, teachers and students co-create knowledge, and the students' own experiences, history and culture are centered as knowledge in the educational process.

The multicultural education movement, in its earliest version, focused on five dimensions as defined by Banks (1993): content integration, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, equity pedagogy and empowering school culture. With its roots in ethnic studies movements, multicultural education seeks to use these dimensions not only to reform curriculum, but also to make explicit the inherent cultural assumptions at play in any knowledge construction process, to foster more democratic attitudes about race among students, to incorporate teaching methods that support academic achievement for students across racial, ethnic and social-class groups, and to restructure schools so students can experience equal educational opportunities. While developed with cultural transformation at its core, critiques of multicultural education point out that too often superficial integration of diversity into the classroom and curriculum—hanging posters of famous Black people on the walls or devoting a day to celebrating diversity with foods from the students' cultures—passes as multicultural (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Kailin, 2002). These gestures do little to equip students with the critical thinking skills necessary to analyze and transform the larger culture, and do not require teachers to critically analyze their own roles in maintaining the racist status quo.

Culturally relevant pedagogy and critical pedagogy share some of multicultural education's goals, but go a step further in defining intended outcomes: students must

experience academic success; students must develop and/or maintain cultural competence; and students must develop critical consciousness that enables them to challenge the oppressive elements of the current social order (Ladson-Billings, 1995). To achieve these outcomes, culturally relevant pedagogy takes as its starting point a validation of the whole student, including the student's cultural knowledge, prior experience, frames of reference and performance styles (Gay, 2010). Through such validation, culturally relevant pedagogy identifies how students learn best and brings their culture and experience to the center of the classroom in an authentic way. While critical pedagogy includes a focus on developing individuals who are able to participate in societal transformation, culturally relevant pedagogy is committed to collective empowerment (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Duncan-Andrade and Morrell, 2008). Both culturally relevant and critical pedagogies view difference among students as an asset rather than a pathology. Both also rely on teachers' understanding and authentic respect for both their own culture and that of their students, which studies show is possible but difficult for teachers entrenched in the dominant cultural paradigm of whiteness (Duncan-Andrade, 2007; Ladson-Billings, 1994a; Ladson-Billings, 1994b).

Anti-racist pedagogy, the focus of the current study, falls under the umbrella of critical pedagogy and culturally responsive pedagogy as well, but anti-racist pedagogy has a few distinguishing features. First, the assumption underlying this pedagogy is that educators must become conscious of race and racism—both in their own backgrounds as well as in their communities, schools, and our broader culture—and understand how it

manifests in their teaching practice (Kailin, 2002). It is therefore a pedagogy that relies on the same emancipatory tenets of culturally relevant and critical pedagogy, but includes intentional self-reflection on the part of educators to recognize and interrupt cycles of race oppression in schooling. It is a pedagogy with a specifically stated intention of dismantling institutional racism (Lopez, 2009), and highlights the centrality of race and ethnicity in the education process (Hawley and Nieto, 2010). Although anti-racist pedagogy does not take a specific stance of liberation, it does seek to identify and interrupt racism in schooling. As noted above, Hawley and Nieto (2010) point out that most schools do not engage in regular, open dialogue about issues related to race and ethnicity. Teacher training programs and professional development programs for classroom teachers must be vigilant and on-going in order to have a lasting impact on the teacher's ability to authentically honor teacher-student identity difference (Cross, 2003; Garcia and Guerra, 2004).

Through its intentional naming of race and racism, anti-racist pedagogy has the potential to challenge the status quo of whiteness by interrupting the silence referenced by Hawley and Nieto (2010). Studies documenting how white silence obscures conversations about race and achievement in schools show that this silence prevents teachers and administrators from truly engaging with the issue of race and how it impacts their students' academic outcomes (Pollock, 2001, Haviland, 2008). These studies contribute an important awareness about how silence, a key feature of hegemonic White culture, perpetuates cycles of oppression and disenfranchisement. This study investigates

how self-described anti-racist educators actively confront and break this silence in order to effectively educate their Black and Latino students.

The question of how these pedagogies work to address gaps in academic outcomes has not been overwhelmingly addressed in the literature. A few studies investigate the link between critical and culturally responsive pedagogies and student academic success (Sheets, 1995, Lipka et al., 2005; Duncan-Andrade, 2007). Though small in scope, these studies do document the practices of critical and culturally-relevant teachers who have fostered academic success in their students of color in self-contained classrooms. Other studies investigate student experiences with culturally relevant pedagogy and document how it leads to increased student engagement (Nykiel-Herbert, 2010), which can be surmised to improve student academic outcomes. Studies on anti-racist pedagogy are less prevalent and typically examine teacher practice rather than student outcomes as a result of the pedagogy (Hyland, 2005; Haviland, 2008, Lopez, 2009). This study fills a gap in the literature by examining how anti-racist teaching operates on both the classroom and school level.

Leadership

The culture of an organization provides its participants with a sense of purpose and a lens through which they view their work and make decisions about how to act (Bergquist & Pawlak, 2008; Deal & Peterson, 2009). As such, school principals have the potential to maintain or interrupt the codes of whiteness that imbue much of schooling in the U.S. Elmore (2008) posits that for school leaders to have any impact on the dominant

institutional patterns of U.S. schools, their focus must shift from management of the processes and structures around instruction (budgets, schedules, human resources practices) to the instruction—the school’s “technical core”—itself. He explains that historically educational leaders have been rewarded for buffering teachers from outside interference, leaving teachers to work in isolated classrooms managing the core in highly individual ways that are not consistent across the institution. Studies of schools with both high enrollments of students of color and high achievement support Elmore’s claim (McGee, 2009; Waits et al., 2006; Chenoweth, 2010).

Because anti-racist pedagogy is not a mainstream practice in U.S. classrooms much less in school-wide initiatives, it stands to reason that the principal’s role in sustaining such a practice is critical. Elmore’s (2008) principles of effective school leadership, along with the findings of other studies on high-achieving high schools suggest that distributed leadership is an effective model for effective schools. In this model, teachers and principals share in decision-making about “what to do and what to learn how to do” (Elmore, 2008, p.63) always with a focus on benefits for student learning. While Elmore’s (2008) discussion of this model provides a clear outline for positive principal practice, it is also apolitical, considering principal practice writ large without consideration for the limitations of hegemonic culture.

Some studies of effective principal practice do look specifically at schools serving high populations of students of color, but beyond emphasizing the importance of parent and community involvement, do not mention particular strategies for interrupting cycles

of oppression and supporting their students' development as critical thinkers and agents of social change (McGee, 2009; Waits et al., 2006; Chenoweth, 2010), which this study aims to do.

Several theories of leadership do focus specifically on goals of social transformation. Shields (2010), and Miller, Brown and Hopson (2011) articulate theories of transformative leadership. Unlike Elmore's (2008) focus on the technical core of the operation, Shields (2010) explains that transformative leadership is centered on justice and democracy, and has as a particular goal of critique of inequitable practices. Likewise, in Miller et al.'s (2011) discussion of transformative urban leadership, the authors create a framework, based on a Freirean model of leadership with the people which specifically rejects hegemonic notions of objectivity and neutrality. Miller et al. (2011) depart from Shields' (2010) theory by suggesting that communities must explore leadership ideologies, venues and actors beyond traditional roles in order to effect positive transformation. In this model, leadership is shared not only among teachers and school leaders, but also among community members—clergy, activists and organizers. This theory of leadership is rooted in an understanding of common fate, so that low-performing schools are seen as a problem for everyone, not only the students they fail to serve. Finally, this model of leadership is dependent on love, humility and hope. This model is aligned with Brown's (2004) discussion of leadership for social justice and equity, in which the author outlines a leadership theory that combines transformative leadership and critical theory. Each of these theories share a common aim, which is not

only transformation of schools, but catalyzing school transformation with the ultimate goal of transforming our broader society.

While the frameworks outlined above are useful for considering how school leaders can support social justice initiatives, a limited number of studies examine social justice leadership in action (Theoharis, 2007; Madhlangobe and Gordon, 2012). These studies outline the characteristics and practices of social justice leaders, which align with the characteristics and practices of culturally relevant, critical and anti-racist teachers. At the same time, the literature lacks studies that link transformative and socially just school leadership to student outcomes. Additionally, this study provides an opportunity to understand the interaction of an anti-racist principal, anti-racist teachers and their students.

Conclusion

This review of the literature documented how the cultural orientation of whiteness has a long reach, shaping both interpersonal interactions as well as social policies and institutional practices. This scholarship demonstrates the ways that schools simply reproduce a social order that privileges White individuals and white culture. The different transformative pedagogies seek to address this in different ways, and anti-racist pedagogy takes disrupting race oppression as its primary goal. The enterprise of dismantling this force in schools is no small task, and requires vigilance on the part of teachers and school leadership. Efforts at the individual level, while necessary, are not sufficient to transform schools and create true equity for all students.

The purpose of this study is to examine how anti-racist teaching efforts function at the schoolwide level. Based on the literature examined in this chapter, the study outlined in the following chapters investigates one, simple question: In what ways, if any, does the implementation of anti-racist teaching work at Bay High meet its intended purpose?

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study was designed with a goal of understanding how a group of self-described anti-racist educators develop and implement practices that enact their vision for an anti-racist school. Documentation and analysis of these practices has potential to contribute greatly to the field of education, where the gap in academic outcomes between Black and Latino students and their White and Asian peers has been researched and documented for 60 years. The anti-racist teaching work undertaken by the educators studied here examines one school's efforts to disrupt racism in its teaching practices.

A qualitative approach was selected for this study because qualitative research allows the voice of study participants to shape the research story, affirming the voice of all participants while documenting the complexity of reality (Bogdan and Biklen, 2008). Within the qualitative approach, critical race methodology, an extension of this study's theoretical framework (critical race theory, CRT), challenges traditional research paradigms that have been used to justify oppression and in some cases cause explicit harm to marginalized communities (Solórzano and Yasso, 2002). Drawing on the CRT tenet of honoring the centrality of experiential knowledge, critical race methodology takes stories, family histories, and narratives (among other forms of experiential knowledge) as rich sources of data (Solórzano and Yasso, 2002).

The second rationale for using a qualitative approach for this study is that qualitative research situates the observer, or researcher, in the world, and attempts to make sense of a phenomenon in its natural setting (Denzin and Lincoln, 2013). Qualitative researchers reflect systematically on their own lived experience and who they are in relation to both the inquiry and the study participants, allowing for a melding of “the personal-self” and the “researcher-self” that necessitates acknowledgement of researcher biases, values and interests (Creswell, 2003). This acknowledgement of bias provides one avenue for interrupting the researcher’s assumption of neutrality misrepresenting the participants’ stories. This rationale is of particular importance in this study because it includes voices of people of color—and particularly the voice of Black and Latino youth—as documented by a White researcher.

Overview of Methodology

Informed by critical race methodology, this study used a case study approach to answer the research question:

In what ways, if any, does the implementation of anti-racist teaching work at Bay High meet its intended outcomes?

A case study strategy was chosen because case studies are uniquely situated to incorporate a wide variety of evidence into the research, from interviews to documents to artifacts and observations (Yin, 1989). Case study research is committed to studying the complexity of real situations (Thomas, 2011); undertaking a study of a school’s anti-racist teaching initiative is inherently complex and requires exactly such a breadth of data

to be analyzed. The educators' strategies, motivations and perspectives must be analyzed along with the perspectives and experiences of students in the school. Likewise, documents that detail student performance and participation are essential for getting a full picture of what is happening in this school. In short, context is everything for this research agenda, and case studies allow for a holistic examination of phenomena within their context (Yin, 1989; Thomas, 2011). This study used interviews with educators and students, interactions noted during classroom visits, and publicly reported school data as sources of data.

Study Site

Demographics. Bay High School is located in Golden State City in a neighborhood that has seen dramatic demographic changes in the last twenty years. As a result, a growing number of Bay High's students do not live in the neighborhood immediately surrounding the school. Of the school's 950 enrolled students in the 2013-2014 school year, 74% qualified for free and reduced lunch, California's metric for identifying students as low-income (Education Data Partnership, 2014); the majority of Bay High's students commute to school from some of the city's lowest-income neighborhoods, while others commute from neighboring cities (personal communication, 10/8/2014). The school's student body is racially diverse, as Table 1 demonstrates. Additionally, as a designated newcomer pathway high school, Bay High's English Learner population was 37.8% in 2013-2014 (Education Data Partnership, 2014). It also has the highest number of AB540 (undocumented) students in the Golden State School

District. Data in Table 1 are provided for the two years that I was visiting the school to collect data.

Table 1

Student Race at Bay High School

	% of Total Enrollment (2012-2013)	% of Total Enrollment (2013-2014)
African American	13.5%	15.2%
Asian	26.1%	24.5%
Filipino	4.1%	4.2%
Latino	37.4%	40.6%
Native American	0.5%	0.6%
Two or More Races	0.9%	1.1%
White	8.9%	8.5%
None Reported	7.2%	4.4%

The

racial composition of Bay High's teaching staff, illustrated in Figure 2 below, is also relatively diverse compared to state and national numbers. These numbers do not mirror the diversity of the student population, and do mirror the national and state trends for teacher racial identity.

Figure 2. Race of Bay High teaching faculty by percentage compared to state totals by percentage

The average years of teaching experience for Bay High's teaching staff in 2013-14 was 12, and 11 of their 82 teachers were new to the field with 2 or less years of teaching experience.

Yearly progress. Bay High has struggled with not meeting the state's bar for yearly progress for several years. After not meeting AYP in both 2009-10 and 2010-11, Bay High did not enter program improvement, but was selected as one of ten schools in

California eligible for a School Improvement Grant as they were identified by the California Department of Education as among the 5% of “persistently lowest performing schools” in the state (personal communication, 10/8/2014). The school’s performance on the state-mandated tests for ELA and math over the years 2006 through 2014 are detailed in Figures 3 and 4.

Figure 3. Percent of students at or above proficient level on state mandated standardized tests for math 2006-2014. Data for White students unavailable for 2009 and 2010.

Figure 4. Percent of students at or above proficient level on state mandated standardized tests for 2006-2014 English Language Arts. Data for White students unavailable for 2009 and 2010.

As Figures 3 and 4 illustrate, Bay High has seen some improvements in test scores for Black and Latino students, but the gap between outcomes for White, Asian, Black and Latino students remains relatively consistent over the nine years that the anti-racist teaching committee has been convening and working in the school.

Bay High has seen generally little change in the cohort graduation rate for its students, though this is one area in which Latino students are exceeding their White, Black and Asian peers (Figure 5). When looking at non-cohort graduation rates, meaning students who began their senior year at Bay High and graduated, the school did report some significant gains for African American students, seeing an increase from 70.4% in 2010 to 83.3% in 2011, and 86% in 2013. Likewise for Latino students, the non-cohort graduation rate has increased from 54.5% in 2009-10 to 68.9% in 2010-11, and 74% in

2013 (Figure 6, School Annual Report Card), demonstrating an overall upward trend in graduation rates for Black and Latino students who matriculate to 12th grade.

Figure 5. Cohort graduation rate by race 2006 – 2014.

Figure 6. Non-cohort graduation rate for Black and Latino students 2010, 2011, 2013.

Bay High has seen good success with improving the numbers of all students who completed their A-G course requirements, meaning they graduated with eligibility for enrollment in the University of California and California State University, and specifically have improved this outcome for Black and Latino students (Figure 7). Given the biased outcomes that are possible with standardized tests, A-G course completion is perhaps a better indicator of success than test scores. Completion of A-G indicates both intentional placement of students in college-track classes, and instructional support to help students earn a C or better in each of these courses. It also is an indicator of college eligibility.

Figure 7. Graduates with UC and CSU eligibility by race, 2006 – 2014

In their WASC Accreditation self-study report, the principal attributes many of the school's gains to the work of its Anti-Racist Teaching Committee (ARTC). This committee formed approximately 8 years ago in an effort to address student performance data. The ARTC created a working definition of anti-racist teaching as "a paradigm, a way of thinking, an on-going process, strategies, reflection and a community that challenges and supports [the faculty] to teach all students" (personal communication, 10/8/2014). Anti-racist teaching was made the primary focus of Bay High's school reform work and has been driven by student achievement, measured by student work and state and school data.

Participants

Participants in this study are teachers, the school principal, students and school staff. Teachers were selected based on nomination by the Teacher Leader, who is also a member and co-founder of the school's Anti-racist Teaching Committee (ARTC). The Teacher Leader identified seven instructors, including herself, across disciplines and racial identities, who are representative of "good" teaching in the school; six of these participants are part of the school's ARTC. The principal was selected for the obvious reason that he is the school leader, but also because he began his career at the high school as an instructor and was part of the genesis of the ARTC. One of the school's community liaisons was selected because he interacts with students in a different capacity than teachers, has well-developed relationships with parents, and longevity in the larger

community that provided valuable perspective on the school. Finally, students were nominated by a math teacher who is also a member of the ARTC.

The participant sample size is smaller than hoped for. Although the original number of student participants hoped for was 10, only 5 returned their parent permission forms. Additionally, two teachers agreed to participate in the study but were then unable to schedule time for the interviews and classroom visits. One additional community liaison was approached about participation, as well as one school security guard—both staff with long histories in the school—and both declined to participate. Because I am not a member of the Bay High community, building trust and getting “in the door” proved a challenge over the duration of the research study. Tables 2 and 3 below detail demographic data for student and educator participants.

Table 2

Demographic information for student participants.

Name	Title	Years at BHS	Gender	Ethnicity
Alejandra	Student	3, 11 th grade	Female	Latina
Carl	Student	3, 11 th grade	Male	African American
Jada	Student	3, 11 th grade	Female	Filipina
Luis	Student	3, 11 th grade	Male	Latino
Sal	Student	3, 11 th grade	Male	Latino

Table 3

Demographic information for instructor and staff participants

Name	Role	Total Years Teaching	Years at Bay High in Teaching Role	Years at Bay High in Other Role	Years Involved with Anti-Racist Teaching Committee	Race	Gender	Age Range
Anthony	Community Outreach, Staff	12 (as staff)	0	3	3	African American	Male	*
Drew	Teacher, English	3	3	0	3, informally	White	Male	30-40
Gary	Teacher, Science	13	5	0	0	White	Male	30-40
Jon	Teacher, Math	9	9	0	6	Asian	Male	30-40
Mr. Richards	Principal	18	5	9 (principal)	8	White	Male	50-60
Rose	Teacher, Social Studies	27	3	7	9	African American	Female	50-60
Teresa	Teacher, Social Studies	*	*	*	*	*	Female	*
William	Teacher, Math	4	4	0	0	White	Male	30-40

*Participant did not validate data.

Research Procedures and Data Collection

To paint a full picture of the anti-racist teaching work at Bay High, data were collected in the following ways: visits to classrooms and staff meetings, interviews with teachers, principal, school staff and students, analysis of publicly available school data. I visited most of the teacher participants during two class periods, though I visited one teacher participant, William, during seven class periods. On three occasions, I was turned away from scheduled classroom visits in teacher classrooms, twice by a teacher who ultimately participated, and once by a teacher who ultimately did not participate. William expressed an open-door policy, so on the days when other classroom visits were not possible, I tried to make use of the time by sitting in on William's class. I did find this practice useful, as it allowed me to see students interacting over a longer period of time, so I could get to know their personalities and routines. Additionally, I served as a classroom volunteer tutor in a geography class at the school for six months. This teacher did not participate in the study, though he was aware of my dual role as a volunteer and researcher. Interactions during this tutoring experience informed my sense of the school during data analysis, but were not included in the data corpus as the geography teacher was not asked to participate in the study.

The goal of these classroom visits was to capture participant interactions—between educators and students, and among educators themselves. In addition to classroom visits, I also conducted one open-ended interview (Fontana and Frey, 2008) with each teacher, with the school principal, and with one community liaison. The goals

of the interviews were to confirm my interpretation of interactions during class and document the educators' narratives of creating and sustaining an anti-racist teaching initiative, as well as their narratives about how this initiative meets its intended goal of creating excellent educators for Black and Latino students. The principal and community liaison were interviewed to fill out the picture of how this initiative serves its intended purpose. Five students were interviewed one-on-one to capture their perspectives on how this initiative is experienced by students. Analysis of school data provides a snapshot of school performance; although this study did not investigate if there is a correlation between the work of the Anti-racist Teaching Committee and student achievement data, the data nevertheless contributes to the portrait of this high school.

Data Analysis

Data was analyzed using a grounded theory approach. Initially developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), grounded theory provides a way for the researcher "to derive a theory of a process . . . grounded in the views of participants in the study" (Creswell, 2003, p.14). The strategy uses multiple stages of data collection and a continuous process of refining interrelationships between categories of information to build a theory out of collected data (Creswell, 2003). The constructivist school of thought within grounded theory contends that social life is open-ended and emergent, and that "reality" is elusive and dependent on perspective (Charmaz and Bryant, 2010). This perspective aligns with the tenet of critical race theory which values and validates experiential knowledge, specifically the experiential knowledge of people of color, as a tool for analyzing society.

Additionally, constructivist grounded theorists advocate sustained interaction with the participants and setting to develop insights that go beyond what is most obvious to the researcher. This allows for the researcher's personal views and purpose in conducting the study to be acknowledged and accounted for, to the extent possible, in data analysis (Charmaz and Bryant, 2010). Within the framework of critical race methodology, grounded theory presents an opportunity to reject claims of neutrality in research and to honor the validity and legitimacy of the experiential knowledge of study participants (Solórzano and Yasso, 2002).

To this end, data were collected and analyzed in the following manner: Data memos were written after classroom visits and interviews. All classroom visits were audio recorded, and particularly notable moments were later transcribed into data memos for coding. Each interview was audio recorded and transcribed. In the initial stage of data analysis, I used open coding, reading through the data both to pull out words from participants that stood out and to create labels summarizing the themes I saw developing in the data. In the next round, I employed focused coding, beginning to identify loose categories that the initial codes fell. I conducted three rounds of focused coding before I was satisfied that I had uncovered reliable categories for the data.

In the next round of coding, I used axial coding to develop the following three major categories describing the data: belonging and othering, supporting and opposing, and seeing and blindness. In the final round of coding, through the use of theoretical coding, I discovered that these categories suggested that the central, core category or

process of anti-racist teaching work is paradoxical tension. I narrowed these categories down to two, salient themes:

1. Creating a sense of belonging through the anti-racist teaching work also creates a paradoxal phenomenon of insider/outsider status in the school.
2. Authentic seeing of the self and others is inhibited by the blindspots of identity.

These themes are discussed in-depth in the following chapter.

Chapter 4

FINDINGS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine how a culturally and ethnically diverse high school undertakes anti-racist teaching work in an effort to achieve their explicitly stated goal of being excellent educators for Black and Latino students. The research question that guided this study is: How does anti-racist teaching work at Bay High School meet its intended outcomes? By examining a year's worth of interactions with the school, through sitting in on classrooms, volunteering in a classroom, and interviewing teachers, students and staff, I identified the key tensions of this school's anti-racist work.

This chapter begins by providing a portrait of Bay High School from my vantage point, and then moves into a discussion of the themes that emerged from examination of the collected data.

Portrait of Bay High School

Founded in 1890, and bearing the distinction of being the first comprehensive high school in its host city, Bay High School, part of the Golden State School District (GSSD) sits in a beautiful, imposing, Spanish-style building in the heart of a neighborhood currently in the throes of gentrification. Its broad brick front steps lead up to heavy wooden doors, and these doors open onto a stone-floored foyer at the heart of the school. The main office is immediately to the left of this entrance, and broad hallways lead away from this entrance almost-due north, east and west. These hallways' walls are

covered with posters announcing upcoming events and clubs, as well as historical photos of each of the high school's graduating classes over the last century. The school is covered with tall windows, which light up the stairwells and comprise one wall of each classroom. The hallways, though windowless, are broad and brightly lit. At the end of each corridor, stairs wind their way up the school's four floors. The stairwells on the east and west ends of the school provide likely unintended privacy for students: I encountered couples hugging, students crying, and friends whispering on many of my trips up and down those stairwells. At the intersection of the three hallways and the main stairs, on the school's north end, a security guard sits and greets people.

Like most institutions, there is a rhythm to Bay High School. A school security guard is always seated at the nexus of the entrance and the corridors. In the mornings, a vendor sells coffee, juice and pastries from a small cart in the same spot. Mid-morning, small buses transporting students with severe disabilities are lined up in front of the school. Around the same time, in the classrooms, instruction is interrupted by a voice on the intercom reading through the day's announcements. At lunch time, one can often see representatives from a sexual health organization tabling in one of the main-floor hallways distributing information and promoting awareness of their program.

The hallways flood with students and empty out in time to the bells that create the day's primary structure. These students create a truly diverse student body, as described in Chapter 2: 40.6% Hispanic or Latino, 15.2% Black, 24.5% Asian, 8.5% White, 4.2% Filipino, 0.8% American Indian or Alaskan Native and 0.6% Native Hawaiian or Pacific

Islander. The many voices that fill the hallways during the passing periods include conversations in English, Spanish, Cantonese, Mandarin, Tagalog, and Arabic, among other languages and dialects. Students move through the halls in big groups and as smaller pairs and individuals, sauntering and hurrying, clowning, texting, tweeting and snap chatting. Teachers stand next to their open doors, greeting students arriving for the next class period, calling out to students passing by with whom they need to check-in, and checking-in with each other in quick exchanges as well. Although not all teachers stand at their doors, I did not once see a hallway during passing period that didn't have at least one teacher standing outside his or her classroom interacting with the flow of students. The passing periods are short, five minutes of controlled chaos, and just as soon as the commotion starts, a bell rings and the halls are still again, with security staff rounding up the stragglers and a few solo students running, late to class.

Inside the classrooms, teachers have decorated the walls in various ways and arranged desks to meet their teaching needs. In Jon's classroom, for example, desks are arranged in groups of four, facing each other, to maximize opportunities for students to work collaboratively in teams. The walls are painted deep purple and blue. A list of points on the wall answer the question "How am I smart at math?" These points are: 1. Make sense of problems and persevere in solving them; 2. Reason abstractly and quantitatively; 3. Construct viable arguments and critique the reasoning of others; 4. Model with mathematics; 5. Use appropriate tools strategically; 6. Attend to precision; 7. Look for and make use of structure. In Drew's room, the desks are in short rows that face

toward a wide aisle up the middle. The mostly bare walls are decorated only above the chalk board with posters of bell hooks, Junot Diaz and Muhammad Ali.

History. Prior to becoming the principal, Mr. Richards joined Bay High as a teacher in 2001 when the school was coming out of a long period of strife. In the 1990's, Golden State School District implemented a practice of school reconstitution in an effort to both desegregate schools and increase academic achievement for the district's African American students (Fraga, Rodriguez and Erlichson, 2005). As a result of this policy, in 1996 a principal was replaced who had developed strong relationships between the school and community agencies, brought in resources for student health and well-being, gang prevention, and additional academic support, and created a pipeline program with the local university (Emery, 2002). Under this principal's tenure, the school saw a dramatic decrease in the dropout rate (Emery, 2002). This principal was well-regarded among both the high school community and the larger neighborhood community, and her removal led to student walkouts and community protests, and even brought 300 people to a school board meeting to urge reconsideration of this decision (Emery, 2002). However, the decision stood.

The principal who replaced this beloved leader was seen as valuing corporate over community interests, dismantling many of the support programs that had been put into place and focusing his efforts on reforms that seemed to serve the interest of real estate developers (Emery, 2002). Of note, this principals' legacy included using "safety transfers" to remove students who showed any sign of gang affiliation and in addition to

removing students from the school, he also began disallowing community agencies from bringing mentors and other services into the school (Emery, 2002). (The story of this principal's safety transfers is embedded in the community's memory; all interviewed students referenced the school's historically "bad" reputation, and two specifically referenced "gang bangers" being kicked out as a measure that improved the school.) Students and teachers were dissatisfied under this principal's leadership and the school seemed to be in chaos.

The principal, Mr. Smith, who hired Mr. Richards as an English instructor in 2001, had inherited a school that was, by most accounts, in turmoil. In addition to a rocky relationship with the district and community, the school had poor standardized test scores and was reconstituted again shortly before Mr. Smith's arrival. One of Mr. Smith's primary strategies for improving academic achievement at Bay High was to focus on creating a strong community, including building strong collaboration among teachers (personal communication, 10/8/2014). Bay High received a grant that led them to focus on redesigning the school around the principles outlined in Linda Darling-Hammond's school redesign work. Each year, the school focused on instituting one or two of Darling-Hammond's goals. They invested effort and energy into professional collaboration, creating grade-level teams with common planning time and also creating advisories, all with an overall goal of creating smaller learning communities within the larger school (personal communication, 10/8/2014). The anti-racist teaching work of this school was born out of this redesign work.

Anti-racist Teaching Committee. In the fifth year of redesign work, Bay High teachers and administrators began to focus on the multiculturalism goal of Darling-Hammond's school reform strategy. At this time, Mr. Richards was serving as the school's teacher leader, a role responsible for overseeing professional development schoolwide for teachers. To meet the multiculturalism and inclusive practice goal, the school brought in an outside consultant to lead professional development around positive classroom behavior, but it didn't work: "It was going terribly . . . the gentleman was a wonderful man but did not have the connection to the community that he needed to sort of do the deep work" (personal communication, 10/8/2014). Rose, who was a teacher at the time, described the experience by saying, "they had these bought people, outsiders who got a fee and they just like stood up there and did something that was completely understandable, right? It's like, I don't even know what you're trying to do. And then so I just went to Mr. Richards at the time, he was the [teacher leader], that I am now, and I went to Mr. Richards and said, 'That is just ridiculous . . . that is not how that gets done.'" Mr. Richards described the work as "so indirect that it wasn't really tackling the issues of race and our own sort of preconceived notions" and "it certainly wasn't dealing with the issues of stereotype threat or anything on a very deep level."

Upon the recommendation of another teacher, Mr. Richards started incorporating Gary Singleton's work on courageous conversations into the professional development sessions, but again the work fell flat. Mr. Richards described it as being "canned," and although he describes it as "very powerful stuff" used successfully by many other

schools, for Bay High it wasn't the right fit. He noted that the courageous conversations work did begin conversations in the school that were a bit more direct, which laid the groundwork for the creation of the anti-racist teaching committee the following year.

In 2007, a group of six teachers and the then-principal, Mr. Smith, created the anti-racist teaching committee with the intention of building “a homegrown, internal think tank to look at issues of race and equity and social justice . . . But not from a canned or outside . . . perspective, but from what's happening here on the ground and utilizing the expertise of teachers that have been teaching for many years” (personal communication, 10/8/2014). The strategy was based on Rose's plea to Mr. Richards after the unsuccessful multiculturalism professional development session:

When Rose talked to Mr. Richards about effective PD, she told him:

It should be internal from teachers who are identified as being effective teachers . . . I had written a whole article about this when I worked at [another high school] about who should be doing the work and how it gets done and how it gets mobilized. So I had a theory I was working from, theory of action that I had already used, applied, and that is that the people who get invited to do the work are the people who have already shown they have success working with African American and Latino students as evidenced by student data. And that it requires leadership: some people know more about certain things and they lead others.

The group started meeting after school at first every two weeks, and eventually meeting on Saturdays, debriefing their own teaching practices along with the school and principal

practices, and then “started problematizing it” and looking at “how do we address it” (personal communication, 9/30/2014).

The committee debriefed their own teaching practices and “calibrated” themselves to ensure they were using a shared language and vision in developing the work. They read scholarly articles together, developed all-school professional development workshops, disaggregated data, reported out regularly on the “state of the school for African American and Latino students” (personal communication, 9/30/2014), and finally developed a coaching model. In the coaching model, “certain people were responsible for coaching people, and that was . . . based on a theory. And that is that you work with the teachers in the middle, creating a groundswell. Teachers who are ready and with just a little bit of coaching, they’ll get really good really quickly” (personal communication, 9/30/2014). Mr. Smith did a focus group with African American students asking them to describe their experiences with the school and define great teaching, and the students’ responses in that interview informed much of the committee’s early work.

The committee included an intentional and consistent look at school data, disaggregated by race, to inform the direction of their work. And as they disaggregated data, they noticed that a significant GPA gap existed between African American students and other students in the school. As a result of this, they determined that they needed to focus on supporting academic achievement for their African American students for the first few years of the work; in 2010 the group began a big push to include looking at Latino student success as well (personal communication, 4/14/2015).

Ultimately the Anti-racist Teaching Committee developed a general working concept that looked at anti-racist teaching in three areas: relationships, curriculum—meaning the content of what was taught, and pedagogy—meaning how that curriculum was delivered in the classroom to students (personal communication, 10/8/2014). At Bay High, anti-racist teaching practices are defined simply as “practices that don’t leave African American and Latino students behind” (personal communication, 9/30/2014). Rose described a central theory of this work as the idea that “the teacher is powerful, and so the teacher can do something to make sure all of her students are educated. And anti-racist teaching is doing whatever it takes to educate all students, including African American and Latino students.” Teresa described the work as, “at the core . . . looking at how to best improve our practice to really lead to the success of Black and Latino students.” Mr. Richards emphasized that in the beginning, and still today,

one of the ideas that we had to spend a long time on and still spend time on is, as teachers, we’re not here to pathologize kids. And certainly there are all kinds of mitigating factors. We understand about PTSD and you know violence in the community . . . so we certainly want lots of support . . . [So] yes, we’re going to do all the supports and yes there’s all these other things that happen, but what you have control over in the classroom is your teaching, right? And so what does it mean to look at your grades and see that the African American males are all getting D’s and F’s? And what are you going to do pedagogically or curricularly

and affect . . . to disrupt that, what we know is sort of the historical predictability of demographics and to disrupt that status quo?

The philosophy described by these educators resonates with Delpit's (1995) work on power in classrooms, in which she illuminates how unspoken codes of the culture of power, founded in white hegemonic culture, shape academic outcomes for students. In particular, Delpit highlights that people whose privilege places them squarely within the culture of power are uncomfortable acknowledging their status and the unspoken codes of the group in ways that are detrimental to students who are outside of this culture, namely, Black and Latino students. The anti-racist teaching committee, at its core, chose to bring that acknowledgement to the fore.

Present day. As school data and teacher accounts suggest, the work is not without challenges and contradictions. Some of these challenges are in the form of asking individuals to confront themselves and their own biases. Gary recalled his first year teaching at the school, being “placed on teams of people like Rose, for instance . . . and she kicked my ass in a lot of ways, giving me no ground for, no real time to just say, ‘Yeah, get acclimated, we understand that you’re not with the program yet.’ She essentially pushed really hard to try and figure out if I was going to be a good fit to be able to move students forward being a White man, part of the patriarchy.” Teresa described the group as striving to do authentic work, explaining that “you often hear like the social justice buzz words in a lot of different schools and I think that what is attempted to happen here is something much more authentic that’s rooted in a lot of

reflection, rooted in you know like, really looking deep at our own practice and how we can best support our students, and working with other teachers to do that.” However, three other teachers in the study described the school as giving “lip service” to anti-racist teaching without really walking the walk.

Currently, the anti-racist teaching committee no longer meets formally. Rose explained “We stopped. We stopped meeting. We ran out of gas. I mean, if you talk to different people they might say for different reasons. For me it appeared we ran out of gas, you know?” She explained that teachers committed to the work continue to do it, but that the committee no longer meets and leads schoolwide professional development. Teresa explained the committee’s disbanding as the result of “a lot of different push back and also like inside differences of opinion and so forth” and went on to explain, as Rose did, that people remain committed to the work, though she also highlighted:

you run into people who aren’t [like-minded] and it’s like ‘Whoa, you exist!

That’s crazy!’ Like to me. So in other words, like when we start to learn that like it’s just not, it’s not always safe for our kids out there. And it’s also like I think each one of us has been attacked for various reasons because of the position we take. You know, so I think that it’s just like even if there’s like I don’t know, whatever the term is for the anti-racist initiative that we have, that we’ll always, there will always be people who are doing the work. And there are people in opposition to that.

Through a coaching and mentoring model, newer teachers, such as Drew and Gary interviewed for this study, are identified as being teachers “in the middle” who can be moved more deeply into the work. This is one mechanism in place for continuing to spread the work through the school in lieu of school-wide PDs.

Mr. Richards described the logistical side of the committee’s demise, explaining that the committee was “so embedded in our departments and the work itself that the committee was even having a hard time just continuing to meet in the same way it had met.” To respond to his sense of the committee’s evolution, Mr. Richards created his own “administrative sort of think tank, leadership team, culled from the anti-racist teaching committee.” This small group met for about two years, and now has changed again to focus primarily on teacher support. Mr. Richards explained:

So we’re still meeting together the same people and for a couple years we were really looking at teacher support, we were also looking at academics, we were looking at sort of administrative issues, logistics, master schedule, and we’ll do some of that as well. But this year [2014-2015] it’s much more focused around coaching and teacher support. So how are we supporting teachers based on where they are at in the classroom with kids, particularly with an anti-racist lens.

Discussion of Themes

The study examined Bay High School’s teaching practices, the program’s history, and informants’ own perspectives on the program to build a picture of how the anti-racist teaching work plays out in the school. Through interviews and visits with teachers and

staff I identified two key themes that describe how anti-racist teaching work at Bay High meets its intended outcomes: belonging and seeing. Belonging refers to a sense of community among educators and students. Seeing refers to the primacy of seeing—both the self and the student—through an anti-racist lens. Each of these themes contain within them a paradoxical reality that reveals the challenges inherent in undertaking anti-racist teaching work in a culture and society steeped in racism. This chapter presents a discussion of each of these themes.

Creating a sense of belonging through the anti-racist teaching work also creates a paradoxal phenomenon of insider/outsider status in the school

Anti-racist teaching work at Bay High School creates a sense of belonging among teachers and staff, and with students and their families. *Sense of belonging* is defined in this study as individuals having a sense that they are part of a community, whether professional, academic, or identity group.

Among colleagues. Jon expressed this sense of belonging among ideologically-aligned colleagues as being what allows him to stay in the work:

I think it's that support and that connection with other teachers and people who believe in the same things that really keep you going. Because I think in isolation the work seems impossible right? And it seems daunting. But I think when you have a support group and you have people connected with you who you check in

with or who observe you or who tell you you're doing a great job, umm, I think that helps sustain the work.

Teresa also described the sense of community among like-minded teachers in the school, and stated "it's important for me to be able to know that I have allies in whatever capacity that is," and described the anti-racist teaching work as "rooted also in a lot of mentorship, right? So that you're not actually alone in supporting our kids." Drew described his decision to teach at Bay High as being based on his interaction with Rose; he met with her during informational interviews as he considered becoming a classroom teacher, and her willingness to take him in first as a volunteer and then as a student teacher was a big part of his decision to join the teaching staff there. A sense of connection and shared purpose motivates these educators to continue teaching at Bay High and to continue challenging their colleagues to approach their teaching work with an anti-racist lens.

Anthony described a similar sense of comfort at the school, and attributed what he perceives as a friendly atmosphere in the school to Mr. Richards' leadership: "I think the kindness and the friendliness from him trickles down into his staff. And like I said, I've been at a lot of schools, and a lot of times the schools function by the way the principal gets along with the staff." At the same time, Anthony pointed out a contradiction to this sense of belonging by identifying a need for more African American staff members:

Well I wish we had maybe more Afro-American teachers here, more African-American counselors here, to deal with the students. Because a lot of times for the

few that are here who are dealing with kids for school stuff and then for whatever else might be needed; we might not be counselors but we wind up being like counselors with some of the kids. And we get their confidence and then when there's an issue we try to help them get the whatever it is, and the school has no problem asking us to. What do I wish there was more, more teachers, more counselors that were Afro-American . . . they'll build a confidence with us, and if they're, whether they're in trouble or whether just they're needing to talk to about their grades or about their behavior, the counselor'll get to know who we know and sometimes they'll call us in on different things to help, to try to help them get along.

Here Anthony describes an inherent contradiction in efforts to create a sense of belonging. Anthony perceives the ways in which non-Black staff rely on Black staff to connect with and support Black students. This increases the burden on staff of color to work above and beyond their job duties, and to carry increased responsibility for the support and success of students from their own identity group. Paradoxically, then, efforts to find spaces where students of color can feel connected and a sense of belonging unfairly burden staff of color with the responsibility of providing a majority of this support. Gary alluded to this phenomenon when he said "if you talk to any given teacher whose been here for a while, they will tell you that we talk good talk, but do not necessarily have anything figured out when it comes to walking the good walk. I have seen a number of our staff of color leave because they haven't felt supported. Or things

have just been to them feel disproportionately unsupportive for them versus other teachers.”

Teachers who are part of the anti-racist teaching committee and Mr. Richards have also faced challenge and critique from teachers who claim the work is divisive or unfairly overlooks other groups of students. Mr. Richards recalled that, while they structured the committee to ensure representation from all department levels:

there were people that were upset that they weren’t chosen, they weren’t asked to be on it, they felt like it was a secret society. It wasn’t, we were very transparent and public, but there was, it felt very exclusive. There was a time when the union got involved and wanted to know why they couldn’t be, why certain members . . . and so there was a bit of backlash at some level.

William alluded to this backlash as well, by noting

when you’re working with your students you really, really care about your kids, right? And so people who were working with kids with learning disabilities are really focused on those students, and people who are working with EL students are really focused on like fighting for their kids, and I think there’s a lot of needs and sometimes that these teachers feel like the focus in the school on African American students in particular maybe detracts from their kids’ needs.

These comments suggest that some teachers in the school view support as a zero-sum game, and feel that focusing on the support of particular student groups excludes others from such support. In this way, contrary to the sense of belonging and collegiality

described by the teachers in this study, the anti-racist teaching committee appears to have inadvertently created a perceived insider/outsider phenomenon.

This phenomena impacts teachers who are part of the anti-racist teaching work as well. Teresa talked about this, explaining that

ideally, the [collaborative planning time] would be a place where we could talk to each other openly as teachers and colleagues, like about issues that we're having with one another; not with one another per se but like, like where we can be openly listening. I've been on CPTs where I can openly speak with other teachers about like about race and about racism and about like how we can best support one another . . . but I've also been on teams where teachers aren't open to having those types of dialogues.

Gary also described similar moments in staff meetings:

There will be times in staff meetings where somebody will bring up something that is really like uh, a poignant, like [makes a popping sound], "we need to talk about how *we* talk to each other. We need to figure out like what's going on with how we interact with our different staff," and it often gets downplayed or set aside or hostilities get brought out quickly. Not explicitly, but you just watch it happen, and there are people that have gotten upset because the staff are not really, really able to talk about that. We can talk about it from an, what feels like academic perspective, which I think is normal for patriarchal cultures essentially, is that we can analyze the heck out of something, but we're never gonna understand it,

never, no matter what we do, like I'm not going to understand what it is to be a Black American, like, it's just not gonna happen. So the best I possibly can do is ask people to talk to me and, and try and become somebody that listens more and gives a space for that as opposed to trying to overanalyze.

Gary describes moments of marginalization in staff meeting, when a difficult conversation is proposed and then either avoided or a source of "hostilities," rather than opening a dialogue. Both Gary and Teresa describe experiences with colleagues who are not like-minded with regard to the anti-racist teaching work, and highlight the ways that interacting with these individuals can be an isolating experience, even though they have their community of colleagues who are committed to the work.

Among peers. For students, a sense of belonging at the school was described in each interview. Alejandra described a sense of identity-group belonging, saying she feels "it's comfortable [in the school] cause you're around people that look like you." Adding to this, all students described a sense of racial harmony in the school, summarized by Carl as "here you can find like a mixed, you can find a mixture of people. Maybe there're still like packs, I don't wanna say it's all mixed up. But for the most part you can see different people with different types of people here." Luis said, "I have friends from all types of races. I have Black friends, Asian friends, White, Latino friends. I have all and then, I don't mind . . . I get along with them." Jada stated that "everyone is welcome no matter what race you are, and like, no matter what race and whatever you feel like you want to be, you can be," adding later "without being ashamed of who you are." The

students all referenced the numerous opportunities that the school provides for extra-curricular activities that explore and celebrate different ethnic groups and practices.

When asked if anything could be done to make Bay High a more inclusive place, however, Carl expressed a desire for activities that would help “get like, different people together.” He went on to say,

I think it'd be more interesting if we did as well. Cuz then you give people a chance to know other people. And more students feel like they could talk to like, like, I don't want to say feel intimidated, but they might be nervous to speak to certain people because the way they look or so.

In this way, Carl highlights the underlying problem of perception and suggests that students still need encouragement to get beyond preconceived ideas about each other and to move outside of their own identity “packs.”

In the classroom. In the classroom and within their curriculum, teachers and staff also described working to create spaces of academic belonging for students. Teresa described “trying to create a sense of community in the classroom that includes everyone” and Rose explained that “anti-racist teaching practices are practices that don't leave African American and Latino students behind.” While discussing my visit to her classroom, Rose explained how she very carefully constructs student groups in order to avoid a situation in which “a child can't show up in the group.” She pointed out one Black student whom she moved from a group after he told her the group made him feel stupid; she specifically strives to protect her Black students from situations in which they

are marginalized. To this end, Rose was in constant motion during group work on the day that I visited, “sweating” as she described it, so she could hear and facilitate the interactions in each student group, and address interactional and academic challenges as they arose.

Other classroom visits revealed instructors creating situations in which students can demonstrate their academic identity, and these moments are seen by teachers as opportunities for both the students and their classmates to change their perception on who is smart and who succeeds in school. The math department at Bay High uses complex instruction, a practice that, according to William, “is very much . . . tied into mitigating issues of status among kids.” He explained this in a longer anecdote:

I remember this one day in particular we were working on trigonometry and [a newcomer student from Guatemala] was able to see a really advanced relationship between similar triangles and the ratio, the trigonometric ratios that were kind of inherent within those similar triangles. And he used, like I made sure to try and capitalize on that immediately and say “Look at what you’re doing” and that immediately, you know, he was in a group with, um, I don’t remember the exact dynamic, I just remember there was at least one other Latino kid and at least one or two other Asian kids in the group and umm and whatever it was about that task or about what he did in that moment it may have helped him kind of unlock um something that he was good at mathematically, and the other kids were able to see and recognize that.

Jon also described creating a space of academic belonging for students, explaining that:

it's really about creating moments that's where the curriculum comes in.

Creating moments where all students can be smart and then instructionally highlighting those moments, inviting students to come up and present, explain their thinking, to change not only their own perception of themselves but the classroom's perception.

In this way anti-racist instructional practices seek to interrupt unconscious assumptions that students bring into the classroom, both about themselves and their peers.

At the same time, moments in other classrooms revealed interactions among students that sustain the racist status quo. One group that I sat with in William's math class was composed of two Latino students—Miguel, a fluent bilingual male who had grown up in Bay City, Gilberto, a newcomer male student whose primary language is Spanish, and one White male student, Ashton. I observed Gilberto understanding the concepts being practiced that day very well—during whole class instruction, he quietly whispered the correct answer to every question the teacher posed, though never offered his responses to the whole class. As the group work portion began, however, Ashton consistently spoke only to Miguel even if his question was for Gilberto. Miguel would translate to Spanish for Gilberto when necessary, though this wasn't necessary often. Ashton also spoke to Miguel about Gilberto as though he was not present. At one point Ashton asked Miguel, "Does he know what he's doing right now?"

During group work, Ashton left the room briefly and during that time, Gilberto worked quickly through the problems the group had been given, showing Miguel how to model them on the geoboard and then calculating out answers on their group paper. When Ashton returned, he summarily took the geoboard and sat back, working with it so neither Miguel nor Gilberto could see what he was doing. When he couldn't complete the problem, he threw the board on the table in frustration. Gilberto quietly took the board back and solved the problem within a minute. When William saw Gilberto's solution, he asked him to prepare to share it with the class when group work was over. Gilberto refused. While waiting for group work to end Miguel was coaching Gilberto through what to say, helping him with the words he was unsure of, suggesting that Gilberto's lack of confidence with the English language was holding him back. Even after being coached by Miguel, Gilberto refused to present his answer. This was an example of how status continues to play out in the classroom in spite of instruction designed to mitigate it. When I talked to William about that moment, he said,

I think that those sorts of issues like recognizing his status among a kid whose like maybe a higher status mathematically like Ashton, because Ashton in reality had A LOT of stuff to learn, but he didn't necessarily believe it. But I think towards the very end I finally got him to realize like, 'Hey, you might have something to learn from some of these other kids in here,' but it took a long time. Because the teachers cannot be sitting in every group, every moment, these racist dynamics play out in the classroom. I cannot say whether it was notable to Miguel and

Gilberto or not, but these moments are the everyday interactions that perpetuate racism and create marginalized status for students of color.

These seemingly small moments can create experiences of othering for students of color, even in classrooms where teachers are working hard to create inclusive and supportive environments. A paraprofessional was present in Gary's classroom and involved in such a moment. During my two class visits, I sat near a Black student, David, whom I observed having trouble staying focused, who mentioned not having breakfast both mornings, and who often kept his head on his desk. When Gary would talk with him about what he needed to do, David would simply state, "I don't want to do it" or not respond at all. One morning during group work, the classroom phone rang and a student answered, which is a common practice at Bay High. Gary was in the back of the classroom, so the student called across the room to him, "It's the health center; they need David to go see the nurse." The paraprofessional in the room, a White male, called across the room to Gary, "The doctor is changing David's medicine. So the nurse needs to get him his new pills." This was a notable interaction to me because the paraprofessional demonstrated no regard for David's privacy, making an announcement about David's health that everyone in the room could hear, including me, a complete stranger to the paraprofessional and outsider to the group. Set next to the example of how carefully Rose assembles groups in her class and works to prevent her Black students from experiencing diminishing moments, this is a stark example of how students can easily be disregarded and disrespected even in a classroom with a teacher trying to engage anti-racist teaching

work. Although the para-professional did not clearly single out David because of his race, his race is a factor in the interaction, given the broader social context of belonging, othering, and racial hierarchies that plays out in classrooms.

Schoolwide, policies have been implemented to monitor and foster representation in advanced placement and honors classrooms, with the dual goal of creating cohorts of students of color so they do not feel isolated in those settings and to ensure equal access to these courses. Mr. Richards indicated that the school has

done a lot of work around trying to change . . . the demographics of who takes those courses and who feels like they should belong in those courses. And how teachers have kids in those courses And trying to figure out both the course offerings, how we recruit and how we retain students in order to take, to access those courses.

To this end, the school has no entrance requirements for their AP and honors classes, and all students are required to enroll in at least one advanced or honors class. They also have a practice of limiting enrollment to only 3 AP or advanced honors classes to ensure that there are enough seats for all students. Only Mr. Richards can drop students from AP courses as well, a policy put in place to prevent teacher bias from convincing a student he or she should not be in AP, to prevent students from selling themselves short, and to ensure that parents are also involved in their children's academic decisions. By actively finding ways to ensure Black and Latino students are enrolling in and remaining in

advanced placement courses, the school is combatting the statistical predictability of Black and Latino students being shut-out from these opportunities.

At the same time, the success of historically marginalized students in these spaces relies in part on not being isolated, on having a cohort. The school is attending to this through policy. Mr. Richards also shared an anecdote that reveals the difficulty in carrying out this practice in a way that best supports the students it seeks to serve:

I did even have one this year where a student was the only African American student in an AP class, and she expressed that to me, she said “I want out of that class.” And I was upset about the fact that she was the only African American female in the class, and I understood where she was coming from. Then I said, “Well what’s your grade?” I thought she was going to say an F or a D. And she said “I’m getting a B.” And I said, “You’re right, that’s wrong, there should be a cohort of students, you should feel comfortable and safe in that room, I’m not arguing, but you’re getting a B. and I’m not dropping you. Because you can clearly do the work.” That’s information for me to try to figure out how to change that, that’s a problem in our system. That’s an issue.

In this situation, the school’s efforts to increase the presence of Black students in AP classes had clearly not worked, leaving this student feeling isolated. Mr. Richards’ unwillingness to drop her from the class makes sense for the student academically, but comes with the social cost of tokenization and isolation.

In addition, teachers strive to include diverse representation of voices in their curriculum. Teresa said she is “trying to offer different stories rather than, like, European narratives,” and Drew explained,

you have to give them content that is relevant to their experience, that means something to them that is important to their life . . . is important to their survival as like a human being I definitely think like in terms of representation it takes work to, you know, a lot of texts and things that are available are like very, um, a lot of the authors are White, a lot of, they’re men, and so it’s like exposing kids to a, a range of different people and ideas and things like that.

In this way, teachers strive to create a space in the classroom and curriculum in which students see themselves represented and thus feel they belong. Here again, however, Drew noted that when he is teaching content that deals with racism he feels “like there are times when you can do content where it’s, it feels . . . I don’t exactly know the right word, but it’s like it can almost feel isolating for them [Black students in the class].” There is a constant push and pull between trying to bring people in and avoiding pushing them to the margins.

Authentic seeing of the self and others is inhibited by the blindspots of identity

Seeing self. One of the goals of anti-racist teaching work at Bay High School is for teachers to reflect on their practice as well as to consider how their own unconscious bias can impact outcomes for students of color. Mechanisms are in place at a schoolwide

level to assist in holding up a mirror to teachers and staff, but the challenges of self-awareness and confronting racism persist.

Coaching practices, which are central to the school's culture, are undertaken in each academic department. Through coaching, teachers designated as anti-racist teaching leaders are called on to observe and work with teachers seeking assistance with their practice. The purpose of the coaching model and observations is to hold up a mirror to an individual's teaching and provide an anti-racist lens for teaching feedback. Jon described the mutual benefit of "the consistent observation debrief planning approach" as one that "really moves practice forward," saying, "I think when two people can observe each other and learn from that, I think it moves both people forward in a positive way." The practice also allows the anti-racist leadership committee to identify potential coaches and mentees. A regular conversation in the leadership group is looking at "which teachers are there, they're in it, they're deep, they're reflective, and they could actually be coaches. Where are those middle ground teachers that if they got some support they would move in that really positive direction?" And as Mr. Richards stated, "even when you think everybody's on the same page and you've done years' worth of training, we're not. We're not on the same page. So people's perceptions of what anti-racist teaching is or even their own sort of internal issues still surface." Observations allow teachers to provide feedback and move each other to more effective teaching practice.

At the same time, navigating one's own identity when teaching across difference is challenging and potentially problematic. Gary, who was a coach for the science

department, described a coaching interaction that demonstrates this balance. A White colleague was concerned that he wasn't getting even participation in his class from his Black students and wanted to know if he was doing something unconsciously in class to create this situation. Gary sat in on several sessions as an observer, and then met with the teacher to discuss what he saw and strategies for improving overall participation in the class. Gary described the interaction as follows:

he asked me to come to his classroom and look at patterns of participation and how he individually was interacting with African American males within his classroom space. And so I sat in his room for a number of times and just took notes about what he was doing and when he was talking to them and how he was talking to them and what was going on. And then we got a chance to sit down and analyze that data, my observations, to see if there was anything that he was doing that he did not recognize that he was doing, or any responses the students were giving that were direct connections you know to what he was doing that might have been things that he misinterpreted or saw differently. And so that was clearly those things of he was glad for the hyper-critical like minutiae kind of feedback about what it is to be up in the front of the classroom and find out how you are interacting with particular subsets of your population. And he asked for it and I was able to work through that with him.

Being seen teaching is considered essential at Bay High for identifying blind spots that can cause well-intentioned educators to not "see" how they are interacting with their

students of color. At the same time, the dynamic presented here, although well-intended, has potential to exacerbate issues of student marginalization in the classroom, with a hyper-focus on the teacher's interactions with Black students in the classroom.

Seeing data. Schoolwide there is also an intentional and consistent practice of disaggregating classroom data by race, as a way both to allow teachers to see what is happening in their classrooms from a broader perspective and to allow the anti-racist leadership group to identify classrooms where teachers may need more support. Teresa described student grades as an assessment of teaching rather than student performance: “when you start looking at grades, like, it’s really, I mean that’s a reflection of our teaching, not of the individual students.” Jon also described using students’ grades to think more deeply about their experiences as students, and their sense of academic identity:

I think the awareness of that [who students are in the school], and the awareness of the trends and patterns that affect our students help us to kind of fight against those identities, right? So like, you know, a disproportionate number of Black students are getting D’s and F’s in these classes. You know, what does that mean for how they enter their class, whether or not they do their homework, and how they participate once they’re in the class, right?

Mr. Richards highlighted the practice of looking at referral data and identifying teachers who are referring high numbers of students generally or disproportionate numbers of

students of color as another mechanism for really seeing what is playing out in the school's classrooms.

While observations provide subjective feedback on what is happening in a classroom, disaggregating data provides objective information, and also can serve as a justification for the anti-racist work. For example, over the last few years student grade point averages have risen in the school, and particularly the gaps between Black and Latino students' grades and those of their peers have lessened. Mr. Richards noted that some teachers have attributed this to grade inflation, but he can see a correlation between CST scores and students whose grades indicate good performance in class. He added that these claims of grade inflation "could be code for, you know, teachers that may not really be on board with the anti-racist work in some ways." Thus the ability to see the school's data is important for justifying the importance of the anti-racist work.

Seeing others. Another central piece to the anti-racist work is the act of seeing students as whole people with complex lives. Teresa stated, "It's like always seeing every single student and being especially aware of your Black and Latino students, but not hyper- hyperly aware." During a classroom visit with Jon, as he moved around working with his groups, one Black student, Charles, was having a difficult day. When Jon asked him what was going on, Charles said with frustration, "I don't want to be here right now. Y'all is just makin it no better." Jon continued to coach the other students in Charles' group through the problem, and worked to involve Charles in solving it as well, though Charles continued to express frustration: "I'm stressin [Mr. J], but like, this school man, I

can't; you don't understand, you done with this. All you gotta do is show up, be here, and tell people what to do. I can't do this." Jon continued to redirect Charles to the work and continued to engage Charles' group members to assist with the process of bringing Charles back to focus on the work at hand. When we discussed this moment during his interview, Jon talked about the importance of recognizing that Charles' frustration is "coming from somewhere and that's important data, right?" and then added, "I have to listen to that and understand that and then I have to find a way to work with that and then allow himself to see himself as a math learner, capable of the work." We discussed how in many classrooms, with a teacher looking through a different lens, Charles' frustration, expressed as not doing assigned work in class, could get him immediately removed from class. In seeing Charles' behavior as "coming from somewhere" rather than as defiance, Jon allows Charles to remain in the room and keeps the potential for re-engaging his studies open.

Jon further explained that a key operational piece of anti-racist teaching is relational:

after every class, as much as I can I try to like, pull a student aside and really, like, talk to them, right? Great job today I really love how you did this that's awesome, or just like a check-in you know. Like I noticed your affect was a little bit different today is everything OK? Like what's going on? And I think when students see you as concerned about them more than just academically but as like, human beings, I think that relational piece is really important.

Students noted feeling seen and linked that to their perception of a good teacher. Carl described how his history teacher

makes sure that like for me personally to like if I don't turn something in, he knows, like, right away. So then he's gonna tell me like, 'Oh you didn't turn this in, I'll give you an extra day to do it.' So like, he doesn't, he kinda wants me to succeed.

Jada described how teachers in the school know her, saying

even if you don't have them, I mean, they'll treat you as like their own, you know. Like there's a lot of teachers that my friends have and I don't know them but every time they see me it's like they know me. They always ask me like "how are your classes?"

And Alejandra described how the advisory structure in the school fills this purpose: "you have an adult there to help you and sometimes something's going on like you're not getting along with anyone, you can talk to an advisor because pretty much they check up on your grades so they know what's going on with you." Students all expressed that it feels good to know adults in the school care and are paying attention.

At the same time, to Teresa's point about wanting to avoid being "hyper-, hyperly-aware" of students of color, a classroom visit revealed students' awareness of being watched. In William's math class one morning, a Black student reacted strongly to his perception that the paraprofessional in the classroom, a White woman, was watching him. I noticed the interaction when I heard Marcus say first to his seatmate, "I know, she

always is,” and then to the paraprofessional, “Is there something you want?” When the paraprofessional responded, “No,” Marcus said something to his seatmate that was inaudible and then “I had enough.” Marcus’ seatmate supports his observation, asking him “Why she gotta be watching you?” Then Marcus proceeds to explain to the paraprofessional, “I’m just sittin here, and every time I turn, you lookin. It’s just weird. What you lookin at?” The paraprofessional responds, “Sorry, I’ll stop. Let me stop looking,” and then in response to a next question from Marcus about her watching him, she exclaims “No I didn’t!” At this point, Marcus gets out of his seat and starts heading to the door, and William, realizing that something is happening, intervenes, talking quietly with Marcus until he returns to his seat.

At first, William thought Marcus was upset because I was in the room. When Marcus clarified that he was not concerned about me, but rather about the paraprofessional, he highlighted sensitivity to the presence of adults in the classroom, even adults who are there daily. I didn’t notice if the paraprofessional was particularly watching Marcus before this unfolded, nor did I notice Marcus doing anything particularly unusual in the moments leading up to the exchange—he was an older student, a senior in a class of freshmen trying to complete a graduation requirement—and every day that I was in class he was focused and working quietly on his math. It is hard for me to imagine that he was doing anything to merit the paraprofessional’s attention. As with the story about David, it’s hard to know if Marcus’ race played a role in the

paraprofessional's staring behavior, but also as in the story about David, it is hard to discount the role of race given the social context of this interaction.

Drew described an on-going struggle that he engages to authentically see his students across cultural difference through an anecdote about grading papers with Rose the week prior to our interview. In the paper of a Black student who was writing about Plato's allegory of the cave, the student "started to say, Plato created an experiment in which prisoners were put in a cave and, you know, chained down and all these things." Drew's response to this text was to say to Rose, "Man, I hope he doesn't think this was a real experiment" and then he described the conversation that followed:

So I finished the essay, we talked about the academic work and then she's like, 'I want to say something though, that like, what you did is what a lot of teachers do and they miss what African American students are doing. And she sort of started to explain to me how many African American students, you know, a part of African American culture, also she was saying Japanese, Pacific Islander, there's a different way of dealing with knowledge and it's not so, like, you know, the Western way is out here, you're observing something that's outside whereas in these other traditions it's more like, you bring it closer you like make it real, you give it life, and you know, so she was like, "Obviously this kid does not think that Plato put people in a cave."

Drew described this as a moment when he realized that "this is like culture and race in my classroom and I would've missed it because of my background." The struggle here is

for teachers who do not share the identity background of their students to authentically see the individual students before them, as well as understand cultural background as a context but not an essential in their work with students.

Gary unintentionally describes this blind spot when discussing learning to attend to race in the classroom. Bay High is the first school Gary has taught in in which conversations about race and specific work to support Black and Latino students take place. When he describes his process, however, he reveals thinking that remains situated in dominant narratives of difference:

I hadn't really taken the time to do much with it [race] in the classroom [prior to teaching at Bay High], so starting to take note of how my students were performing and putting them kind of in race categories per say, looking at who I was being successful with and who I wasn't being successful, with, that was a start of a useful tool. And that's the beginning point of like, how do you take the character traits of a particular culture and try and turn them around and make them useful within the classroom. But what that comes down to is there's a lot of generalizing in those things, there's a lot of stereotyping that's within those things, and sometimes, that can be useful but not usually. Usually it's pretty harmful to do that in your work. So it's hard to do it at the beginning of the year. But it is much easier over time once you get to know a kid to be able to call home or to talk to a mom or a dad and realize that everybody who gets in the school really wants their son or daughter to do well no matter who they are.

Gary vacillates between recognizing that it is essentializing to predict a student's behavior or performance based on his or her culture and revealing assumptions about what is useful in a classroom and whose parents want their children to succeed. He is well-aware of his own identity privilege and status as a White man who grew up with economic privilege and named this several times during the interview. But even though sees himself and his positionality and wants to see his students for who they are, his perspective is colored by stereotypical assumptions.

The final way that teachers described seeing in this study was by discussing their personal reflections on their teaching work and how they engage themselves in what Rose describes as “the fight with yourself”:

I fight with myself all the time. And I give myself a mission over the summer, I'm like, 'I don't like how you were and you're gonna be better when you go back,' right? And so, it's like, having that expectation of yourself. That you are constantly re-signing up, signing up again. So it's [anti-racist teaching is] good teaching, but I think it's more than good teaching. Because a lot of teachers are good teachers to all students except African American students, right? So it's a commitment; it's not just a commitment to teach, it's a commitment to teach African American students.

After one classroom visit, Rose told me a story about one of her Asian American students, Willard, who had had a very difficult day in group work, and ended up in tears at the end of class. I watched Rose artfully and patiently mediate a conversation between

Willard and his classmate Perla, who was very vocal about her displeasure with Willard's contribution to the group's work throughout the period. Rose explained to me that in the fall, after Michael Brown was murdered and protests were underway in Ferguson, Missouri, she was leading a class discussion on the events and Willard made an incredibly racist comment. She was angry and explained that she "shut him down." She went home over the weekend and reflected on the discussion, spoke with trusted advisors, and essentially worked on herself so she could return to a place of "educator's love." She explained that she sees how his peers treat him in class and addresses it, and he sees that and in return has developed a "sweetness" with her that allows her to teach him more effectively. Rose's anecdote illustrates a kind of self-reflection that requires both tenacity and true compassion, the kind that allows an individual to extend themselves outside of themselves to connect across difference.

Other teachers described this process, though less in-depth. Jon said, "that's the tension for me and it's constant. Like every day I constantly reflect on what I did that engaged certain students and not others, and what I can do the next day to engage everyone," and Teresa stated, "I enjoy learning you know, constantly challenging myself but also really focusing on like areas that I want to improve on in the school and areas that I want to improve on in my teaching." Teachers expressed sincere commitment to reflecting on their own practice as a way to improve outcomes for their students.

Drew described his struggle as a White educator to see his unconscious bias and see his students fairly and for who they really are:

I think a huge part is treating people fairly, dealing with your baggage as a teacher, you walk into a classroom with all of this misinformation and stereotypes and you know, for me, it was kind of this liberal committed teacher, like, I walk in with a priority of like helping African American students overcome the obstacles they face, but in doing that, like, you can hyper-focus on them, you can be much, like nit-pickier on them than other students . . . And I just feel like, I know, I know a lot of my African American students deal with so many obstacles and so much racism on a daily basis and so it's, it's, I'm doing my own stuff and seeing like it's you know like and I still encounter all the time where like I have these brilliant African American students and the fact that comes as a surprise sometimes, I'm like, damn, like there's been a lot of work done on me over the course of my life . . . so I think a lot of it for me it's undoing that stuff, it's thinking about it, it's working on it, it's unpacking it so that I can see my students for who they are, you know.

Drew's self-awareness that he carries bias and notices when he is confronting it requires constant vigilance. Even as a self-described "social justice educator," Drew recognizes that he cannot escape the white conditioning of his upbringing and privileged position in the racial hierarchy, he can only continuously confront and challenge it within himself.

Vigilance. Vigilance is the final piece of how anti-racist teaching work plays out at Bay High. Both Rose and Mr. Richards described this concept, and the tensions that emerged in each theme I uncovered support this as well. When I observed to Mr.

Richards that the anti-racist teaching work seemed to have been infused throughout the school after he described how it is part of the hiring process, he responded:

I want to be clear that was super-intentional right? It took years to get there. But that was important to me, that we made it part of the foundations of the school and every aspect that we can think of that it's embedded. Which is why I was OK with the anti-racist teaching committee sort of dissipating and changing, because as long as it was in our system. Because the thing that I always worry about is, and I've seen it happen is, when you take your eye off of something, particularly racism and particularly equity, even if people's intentions are good, and I think by and large people's intentions are good, our system and schools particularly institutionally, they just are going to go back to default. And the default is in some ways is racist. And you know, the sorting mechanisms are so strong in our society and they, you can see it, you can take demographics, you can take economics, and you can look at college degrees and you know who's gonna be where, right? And that's not just me, that's the country. So the minute you take your eyes off them, or stop saying and stop naming it, things can just go back very quickly.

Rose named a similar phenomenon: "the thing is like a rubberband, you know, if you're not holding it taut, it's not taut. It's just, you can't give up. You give up for one second and the thing goes back."

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine how a group of self-identified anti-racist educators meet their goal of being excellent educators for Black and Latino students. Through the lens of critical race theory, this study is predicated on the tenet that racism is endemic to life in the United States, infused in the structure of U.S. culture as to become the organizing logic of daily life. The Black Lives Matter movement and multiple other social movements currently underway in the U.S. highlight the injustices and violence that this legacy brings to bear on communities of color.

In educational settings, many interventions have been proposed to address the “achievement gap” between Black and Latino students and their White and Asian peers, but few interventions specifically identify the unconscious bias held by many educators that shapes their interactions with students. Given the enduring and destructive nature of racism in the U.S., and specifically the pernicious ways that racism manifests in the schooling experiences and outcomes for black and brown youth, anti-racist teaching is an intervention that makes logical sense: racism is prevalent in schools, and teachers have both the power and responsibility to interrupt it in their classrooms and to resist racism and whiteness as organizing “norms” within school walls. At the same time, this work does not go far enough in addressing the root causes of racial bias and oppression in the school or the broader culture.

Using a qualitative case method approach, this study sought to answer the question, in what ways, if any, does the implementation of anti-racist teaching at Bay High School meet its intended purpose? The intended purpose of anti-racist teaching at Bay High, as outlined by the educators interviewed, is to provide support and feedback so that all teachers at the school are excellent educators of Black and Latino students. The school assesses their success based on student grades, graduation rates, college-going rates, AP and honors placement rates, and equity in disciplinary referral rates.

Discussion

This study's findings, outlined in Chapter 4, suggest that anti-racist teaching work is a necessary but insufficient intervention for addressing the impact of racism in education. Based on the educators' stated method for assessing success in the initiative, publicly available school data suggest that Black and Latino students are not succeeding academically at the same rate as White and Asian students at Bay High. As the school data suggest, Bay High has seen increases in the number of Black and Latino students who matriculate to the 12th grade succeeding to graduation, and in the number of Black and Latino students graduating ready for enrollment in California's public university systems. The school continues to struggle with making Adequate Yearly Progress, and standardized test results for their Black and Latino students are generally not good.

The importance of teachers paying attention to racial bias and the insidious ways it plays out in their classrooms should not be minimized, and the techniques used at Bay High to carry out this work provide interesting models for teacher professional

development. When considered through this study's theoretical framework of CRT, some of the techniques of anti-racist teaching at Bay High are designed to resist claims of neutrality, objectivity and color-blindness and are operating on the premise that racism is endemic to life in the U.S. These are positive features of anti-racist teaching that can be built upon.

At the same time, throughout the process of data collection and analysis, the distinction between anti-racist teaching and good teaching was often hard to determine. When asked about this, Rose explained that "it's more than good teaching because a lot of teachers are good teachers to all students except African American students . . . so it's not just a commitment to teach, it's a commitment to teach African American students." However, if a teacher is not a good teacher to all students—including African American students—then that individual is actually not a good teacher. It's not enough to be successful with one subset of students. For this reason, the question of how anti-racist teaching differs from good teaching remains unanswered. It ultimately seems that anti-racist teaching is good teaching that extends itself to Black and Latino students, but could and should just as easily be extended to any student, in any learning environment.

The two themes that emerged from study data, belonging and seeing, describe ways that the anti-racist teaching work contributes positively to the teaching culture of the high school. At the same time, each theme held within it paradoxes that suggest the anti-racist teaching work presents a struggle within the school. The following section discusses the benefits and drawbacks to these contradictions by theme.

Belonging. In general, the strong message of collegiality and support expressed by study participants suggests that Bay High has created an environment where educators feel respected, challenged, and supported to grow in their craft. Although theoretically teachers should not need to explicitly target their work with one group of students, the data on disparities in school outcomes by race demonstrate that not attending to particular identity groups is a strategy for maintaining the inequitable status quo. In creating this sense of community, the anti-racist educators are thus supporting an intended outcome, by nurturing teacher development through community.

Likewise, through the practice of identifying teachers who, with coaching and support, can understand and confront the bias they are enacting in their classrooms, the anti-racist educators at Bay High have created a mechanism for sustaining and growing the work schoolwide. In a sense, they use belonging as a way to draw new teachers into the work so that they can build a “groundswell” of educators committed to the work, a strategy for infusing anti-racist teaching throughout the school. This study suggests that this mechanism is a positive way to onboard teachers and support their development in understanding potential bias in their teaching and strategies to interrupt it.

The paradox in creating this sense of belonging is that it alienates some staff. For educators who are resistant to the philosophy of anti-racist teaching, this alienation appears to be self-created: challenging the fairness or inclusiveness of the work without being willing to look critically at their own teaching practices. And, as part of the cultural orientation of whiteness, people in positions of power generally are unaware of or

unwilling to acknowledge that power (Delpit, 1995). This makes it common in anti-racist work for people, typically White people, to argue against the existence of racism or to deny or downplay experiences with racism described by people of color. However, this alienation prevents the work from becoming truly infused throughout the school. Without every educator in the school on board, students are not experiencing consistently supportive classrooms. One teacher participant stated bluntly, “unfortunately, not everybody is completely bought into an anti-racist teaching methodology because they are racist.” This suggests that the school needs a mechanism beyond moving educators in the middle into the work; there is also a need for addressing resisters and racists so that they don’t perpetuate unsafe spaces for students of color.

Additionally, for educators of color who are tokenized because they are perceived to be better equipped to understand students in their own racial identity group, this alienation is a problem. Rather than drawing them into the work, it places an unfair additional burden on them, another cost of racism. While the participant who identified this experience does not think of students of color as a burden, he did identify a need at the school for more Black educators who could provide the support to Black students that he is frequently requested to provide. It is antithetical for anti-racist teaching to create a sense of marginalization or lack of support for educators of color.

Seeing. Perhaps the most striking element that emerged from the data is the anti-racist educators’ emphasis on self-reflection, and their commitment to improving their teaching craft on a continual basis and in intentional ways. This is evident first in the way

that the Anti-racist Teaching Committee was formed. The fact that it is grass roots, developed, run and perpetuated by teachers, in their own time after school and on weekends, is testimony to their dedication to this practice. Their commitment was also made evident from the participants' descriptions of professional development opportunities they have sought out externally from Bay High, including commitments to trainings and other professional development during the summer months. This level of reflection is sure to enhance any professional practice.

As a core process of anti-racist teaching work, seeing, as it pertains to taking a critical look at school data and classroom instruction, provides necessary information for teachers and administrators to address racial inequities in the school. Disaggregating data and committing to regular classroom observation practices provides both teachers and administrators a mechanism for keeping tabs on what is happening for all students in the school, and specifically for Black and Latino students, to ensure their support and nurture their success. Additionally, making a point to see students as unique individuals and to understand how their identity shapes their experience and interaction in the classroom is an important piece of the process for interrupting racism in schools. This practice is an example of how educators can resist the claims of neutrality, color blindness and meritocracy, which ignore the role of institutional bias in sorting and privileging or marginalizing students.

Finally, helping students see themselves and their peers as academics and successful learners is a potentially effective strategy for interrupting racism in the

classroom. As Steele's (2010) work suggests, an individual's sense of how he or she is expected to perform impacts actual performance. Likewise, McAfee's (2014) study indicates that students form perceptions of other students' abilities based on how teachers include and exclude certain identity groups in discussions and problem solving. Within this context, the intentional work of Bay High anti-racist teachers to create different perceptions for students—of both themselves and their peers—is another positive strategy for interrupting the racist presumptions of whiteness.

The paradox within this theme of individuals' blindness to their own unconsciously biased patterns is a stubborn issue in addressing racism in the broader culture. White participants described experiencing their own background as preventing them from understanding how students from other identity groups are thinking and engaging with their work. Through their coaching practice, the anti-racist teaching work at Bay High provides a mechanism for teachers to catch and correct the problems created by these blindspots, but the coaching work is a band-aid that does not address the root problem creating these blindspots.

And, one result of these blindspots presents another paradox within this theme. In an effort to "see" their students of color, educators can hyper-surveil or single out their students of color. Conversely, out of fear of doing so, educators can completely ignore these students in their classrooms, either for fear that the student will not be able to perform and thus will experience a moment of academic defeat, or out of fear that the educator will be perceived as administering unfair discipline to students of color.

Participants mentioned this paradox in interviews and I observed it playing out in classrooms as well—both students reacting to it as well as teachers ignoring students who required attention. Again the coaching model of the anti-racist teaching work at Bay High provides a mechanism to help teachers work on these challenges, but every time a teacher enters an interaction with blinders up, students are the collateral damage of that teacher's learning process.

Analysis. In Freire's (1970) model of education for liberation, the goal of the educational enterprise is to transform oppressive social structures such that marginalized individuals can become "beings for themselves" (p. 74). Education in this model is a humanizing endeavor. Founded in this work, Shields' (2010) discussion of transformative leadership contends that this leadership seeks to create change not only within an individual school or school system, but in the larger social context. The seven major elements of transformative leadership are: critique and promise together; effecting both deep and equitable change; deconstructing and reconstructing frameworks that generate inequity; acknowledging power and privilege; emphasizing individual achievement and public good; focusing on liberation, democracy, equity and justice; includes moral courage and activism (Shields, 2010). Liberatory education thus moves beyond equity in outcomes; it seeks to develop students' critical consciousness such that they are empowered to transform the world.

Anti-racist teaching at Bay High provides a good foundation for moving forward into the deeper work of liberation. It is clear, in its name and in discussions with its

proponents, that this work is intended to combat racism enacted between teachers toward students in classrooms at Bay High. This is an important piece of the puzzle, but it is not enough to foster a socially just environment in which the work of teaching for liberation is carried out through a dialogic between the “teacher-students” and “student-teachers” in the school (Freire, 1970). The work is measured by the same metrics used to preserve status quo education and in the U.S.

This is where the unclear distinction between anti-racist teaching and good teaching becomes important. In the model of anti-racist teaching underway, educators are conducting the very important work of providing a level and quality of education to Black and Latino students that for the most-part has historically has been denied to them. At the same time, this educational framework, as Chapter 1 outlines, is at its roots designed to maintain a social status quo built on hierarchies, privilege and exclusion. As Duncan-Andrade and Morrell (2008) describe it, this paradigm is based in our nation’s deep-seated belief that “someone has to fail in school” (p. 2). Education for liberation posits that in schools, students carry out their ontological vocation to be more fully human.

For these reasons, anti-racist teaching at Bay High is a necessary but insufficient intervention to addressing inequities in education. Being excellent educators for Black and Latino students is an important goal, but should also be inherent in the measure of a good teacher. In other words, a person cannot be a good teacher if they are not a good teacher of all students, including Black and Latino students. Once that is established, the

next question is, how does this educational intervention address the historical legacy of oppression and racism that shapes our public schools? With its singular focus on teacher practice and reflection, it does not. Additionally, that there is not a clear mechanism in place to remove teachers who, by participant reports, are racist, suggests that the intervention is not infused throughout the school sufficiently to ensure that students of color attending Bay High do not encounter racism from their teachers. In this way the initiative's one goal of being excellent educators for Black and Latino students is not being consistently met by all adults in the school.

Limitations of the study

This study suffers from limited representation in its participant pool. Full teacher participation, particularly inclusion of educators in the school who are not participants in the anti-racist teaching work and participants who have left the school due to feeling unsupported would have helped provide a more complete picture of the anti-racist teaching work at Bay High. Understanding why current educators at Bay High do not participate in the work, and even openly challenge it, would also help fill in the portrait of the core process of anti-racist teaching. Additionally, interview with more educators of color would have provided a broader range of voices and experiences with this work, and allowed me to have more confidence that I am developing a full analysis of anti-racist teaching at Bay High.

The sample of student participants is woefully small and unrepresentative. Specifically absent are the voices of Black female students, and only one Black male

student is represented. While the anti-racist teaching work at Bay High focuses primarily on teacher development, understanding how students experience these teachers, and clarifying how students experienced particular moments during classroom visits, would provide critical information for understanding and assessing the impact of anti-racist teaching work on its most important constituent.

Recommendations for further study

Few studies examine the on-going work educators committed to anti-racist teaching must carry-out to sustain and improve their craft. This study thus is a first step in describing and analyzing such work. As with any research project, the answers to my research question only opened up more questions. First, a study of whether student academic outcomes are impacted by anti-racist teaching would provide a critical measure of how the professional development and support work done is impacting students' academic outcomes. State standardized test scores are not necessarily a reliable measure of student academic ability; a longitudinal study of student GPA and higher education outcomes would provide a more clear picture of how student success was impacted by these teachers.

Many studies examine pre-service teacher racial attitudes but do not examine teachers over a length of time in their teaching careers. The coaching practice at Bay High, which identifies teachers "in the middle" and works with them over time to move them forward in anti-racist work, merits longitudinal study as well. Understanding how these teachers evolve in their work, their understanding of racism and race in the

classroom, and their ability to interrupt this cycle would provide invaluable information to the field for both teacher education purposes as well as for on-going teacher professional development practices.

Finally, the anti-racist work at Bay High focuses primarily on teacher interactions in the classroom. Research on cross-racial student interactions, and specifically understanding privilege abatement for White students, can provide a critical piece in understanding how educators can support White students in developing into true allies in the fight against race oppression.

Conclusion

Teresa described anti-racist teaching work at Bay High as “tensious work,” and Rose explained, “the thing is like a rubber band, you know, if you’re not holding it taut, it’s not taut. It’s just, you can’t give up. You give up for one second and the thing goes back.” This metaphor of a rubber band being held taught, pulling to return to its un-manipulated state, provides an apt metaphor. Within the cultural orientation of whiteness, vigilance is necessary to interrupt the status quo which perpetuates white supremacy. The anti-racist educators at Bay High are holding that rubber band—investing their energy, time and care into fighting against the strong current of whiteness to provide an equitable and uplifting education for their Black and Latino students. Even though the group “ran out of gas,” they continue to do the work individually and to work on building the “groundswell” of colleagues also committed to the work. These are educators who are dedicated to their students’ success. At the same time, in the struggle

for liberation and social justice, we cannot run out of gas. We must identify mechanisms for keeping the work progressing and moving forward until it is done.

In examining anti-racist teaching at a public comprehensive high school, this study lays groundwork for further research by highlighting an unexamined but important intervention in the struggle to improve schools, school experiences and outcomes. Given its focus on professional development, the model at Bay High holds promise for identifying future directions for teacher education. At the same time, the paradoxes inherent in this work must be addressed in order to create truly equitable school environments.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Institutional Review Board Approval

OFFICE OF RESEARCH AND SPONSORED PROGRAMS
HUMAN AND ANIMAL PROTECTIONS

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

Administration 471
1600 Holloway Avenue
San Francisco, CA 94132

Tel: 415/338-1093

Fax: 415/338-2493

E-mail: protocol@sfsu.edu

Web: <http://research.sfsu.edu/protocol>

Date: February 18, 2015

To: Christine Solari

Re: Pedagogies of Promise: A Case Study of Anti-Racist Educators

The Institutional Review Board (IRB) at San Francisco State University has reviewed and approved the use of human subjects in the above protocol. You may proceed with your research as described in your protocol and as modified in any subsequent correspondence. Please honor your own discipline's professional code of conduct.

Protocol Number: H14-32

Approval Date: February 17, 2015 **Non-Exempt Full Committee Review**
Original IRB Committee Date: October 15, 2015

Expiration Date: This approval expires on October 14, 2016.

If the project will continue, it must be renewed **before** the expiration date. Please allow at least six weeks for processing the renewal application. **Data cannot be used in the research if collected after the expiration date, before the protocol has been renewed.**

Completion: Upon completion of the project, a Study Completion Form must be submitted to the IRB. Renewal and completion forms are found on the web site under Forms and Templates.

Adverse Event Reporting: All unanticipated or serious adverse events must be reported to the IRB within ten working days.

Modifications: Prior IRB approval is required before implementing any changes in any of the approved documents. **Data cannot be used in the research if collected before any changes are approved.**

Recordkeeping: You must retain all signed consent forms for at least 3 years after all research activity is completed, including data analysis.

Questions: Please contact ORSP – Human and Animal Protections and the Institutional Review Board at (415) 338-1093, or at protocol@sfsu.edu

Sincerely,
Institutional Review Board

Appendix B: Interview Protocols*Key Staff Interview*

1. Describe your role at Bay High School.
 - a. How did you come to serve in this role?
2. What do you like about Bay High?
 - a. What do you wish were different here?
3. In what ways do you see this school supporting students of color?
4. What do you know about the Anti-racist Teaching Initiative here at Bay High?
 - a. In what ways do you observe anti-racist practices implemented here at Bay High?
5. In what ways does this school explicitly work to support parental involvement for parents of Black and Latino students?
6. In what ways could this school do more to support these parents' and their involvement in the school?
7. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about Bay High and its anti-racist work?

Student Interview

1. What is it like to be a student at Bay High School?
2. How would you describe a “good” teacher?
3. What does it mean to you to do well in school?
 - a. How does this school help you do well?
 - b. Do you think all students in this school are supported to do well?
4. If someone told you a school was anti-racist, what would you expect to see there?
5. Principal Guthertz and other teachers consider Bay High to be an anti-racist school. Tell me what you have heard about this?
 - a. In what ways would you say this school is anti-racist?
 - b. In what ways would you say this school is racist?

Principal Interview

1. Describe the history and evolution of the Anti-racist Teaching Initiative at Bay High School.
2. How do you define anti-racist teaching practices?
3. How do you define anti-racist school leadership?
4. How do you operationalize the Anti-racist Teaching Initiative in your school?
5. How do you work with teachers to implement anti-racist teaching practices in their classrooms?
6. What tensions, if any, do you encounter between how you define anti-racist teaching or leadership and how it gets implemented?
7. How do you define academic achievement?
 - a. In what ways does this initiative support the academic achievement of Black and Latino students?
8. Is there anything else you would like me to know about this initiative or your work with it?

Teacher Interview

1. How did you become a teacher?
 - a. What drew you to teach at Bay High School?
 - b. What do you like/wish was different at Bay High School?
2. Describe the Anti-racist Teaching Initiative.
 - a. What is your involvement in it?
3. How do you define anti-racist teaching practices?
4. How do you operationalize the anti-racist teaching in your classroom?
5. What tensions, if any, do you encounter between how you define anti-racist teaching and how you implement it in your practice?
6. How do you define academic achievement?
 - a. In what ways does this initiative support the academic achievement of Black and Latino students?
 - b. What other initiatives/efforts at this school do you believe specifically support the achievement of Black and Latino students?
7. Is there anything else you would like me to know about this initiative or your work with it?
8. Is there anything else you would like me to know about Bay High or your work here?