Journal of Leadership, Equity, and Research

Vol. 7, No. 3, 2021

JLER | Journal of Leadership, Equity, and Research

Center for Leadership Equity and Research

ClearVoz.com

The Journal of Leadership, Equity, and Research (JLER) is published by the Center for Leadership, Equity, and Research (CLEAR). JLER is the research branch of CLEAR, a non-profit organization focused on eliminating the equity gap in educational settings.

JLER is focused on providing a multidisciplinary forum to provide a broad range of education professionals an avenue to share scholarly knowledge in the area of Equity and Leadership in K-20 education.

JLER aims to publish peer-reviewed manuscripts that add to the body of knowledge and focus on research and practical applications to practitioners of K-20 education and affiliated institutions. To achieve this goal, the journal seeks to promote research in elementary, secondary, and postsecondary institutions through articles on advocacy, equity, mentoring, cultural proficiency, diversity, community engagement, and the academic, personal, and social experiences of students; professional issues focused on equity for faculty and staff; and the regulatory policies impacting such institutions.

Visit CLEAR to learn about membership, the organization's focus and activities at www.clearvoz.com.

JLER | Journal of Leadership, Equity, and Research
Center for Leadership Equity and Research

Editorial Board

Table of Contents

Vol 7, No. 3 (2021)

Book Review

FOREWORD: Critical Race Realities

Mahmoud Suleiman
Editorial Director

While preparing this volume of the journal, we continue to see emotions running high in the public discourse on issues of race and racism. Notably, Critical Race Theory (CRT) has become on the forefront of discussions and contentious conversations in many forums. The cycles of ignorance and intolerance continue to rage as if the CRT is a theoretical impossibility, a social taboo or political minefield. On the contrary, this framework has been around for a while and evolved out of the need to dismantle the status quo which benefits the privileged mainstream White populations at the expense of the masses of people representing a wide range of races, cultures, religions, ethnicities, and the like (e.g. see Bell, 1992; Bell, 2009; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Taylor, Gillborn & Ladson-Billings, 2009). In other words, CRT is not a hypothetical scenario that is still being tested for validity and reliability. In fact, it is the true measure that continually tests our social realities on daily basis, a test that we continue to fail miserably as a nation founded on the principles of democracy and pluralism.

Apart from the destructive rhetoric and chaos, the fact remains that racism and bigotry are well and alive and continue to plague every institution around us including schools, thanks to those who have always sought to maintain the status quo and silence the voices of the oppressed. Jane Elliott put it succinctly as she frequently states, "Education in this country is about how to maintain the status quo and to perpetuate racism." Unfortunately, this has dragged for so long, not so much because of the remission society experiences when racism cancers seem to have been neutralized, but largely because of the pathologies of silences that, in fact, serve as "the heartbeat of racism" (Shields, 2012; Kendi, 2019).

The micro-events, small stories, and minute realities around us tell it all as they reflect the bigger narrative and vice versa. At the local levels, we have seen the turns the rage of racism has taken. For example, initiatives towards equity, diversity and inclusion have become public taboos. They have also become a threat to the cozy status quo many enjoy. For those who are drafted to speak out and act, they have to endure the vicious attacks and resistance not only by the enemies who overtly are anti-equity and anti-social justice, but also the passive panders who enable them.

Notwithstanding, there is always hope and yes, we have come a long way. Juneteenth has finally been officially acknowledged and recognized; the Tulsa Massacre has become canonical… justice, albeit partially, has been served in George Floyd's case. Still, we have a long way to go to narrow the existing gaps—all sort of gaps. One of the major steps in doing so, is to first and foremost, close the acknowledgement gap by becoming aware of the ills that affect us all. Of course, we always should not lose sight of what is right with us by getting over-engaged with what is wrong. But narrowing the acknowledgement gap requires us to face the challenges and embrace

differences. While doing so, we should not provoke the anger we seek to avoid; i.e. racism is not to be confronted with racism; bigotry, discrimination and prejudice should not be given as the dose of one's own medicine; and more importantly otherizing, instead of humanizing, one another is detrimental to all of us.

As the voices of ignorance continue, so will we through the platform of the Center for Leadership, Equity and Research (CLEAR).   Activism, anti-racism, and advocacy for the oppressed will continue to be our mission.   Critical Race Methodology and Praxis remain the driving epistemologies for the stories, research genres, authentic narratives, and counter-stories of those who have been largely marginalized and underrepresented.   Research is also on the top of the Center's agenda. Having this in mind, **Ken Magdaleno**, **Founder** and **CEO** of the **CLEAR**, compiled a thoughtful Preface on a timely subject of conversation in which he delineates the basic tenets of the Critical Race Theory.   While dispelling the myths and highlighting the facts of CRT, **Magdaleno** asserts that such theory is and should be used as a "framework that is committed to a social justice agenda intent on eliminating all forms of subordination of people. We can begin to uncover our own forms of racism by first recognizing their existence in our life."

Recognizing the role race, ethnicity, social status, and other factors play in students' lives and their families, **Arnold Sánchez Ordaz** and **Eduardo Mosqueda** examine the effect of belonging and peer influences on the achievement gap of immigrant high school students. Studying second-generation immigrant Filipino and Mexican-origin students, their findings underscore the need for "establishing school environments that foster a strong sense of school belonging" which "can help mitigate the academic disparities associated with students' ethnic background, immigrant generational status, and family socioeconomic status (SES) on their academic achievement."

Eduardo R. Muñoz-Muñoz and **Allison Briceño** explore the leadership and organizational structures required to expand Dual Language (DL) programs beyond the elementary years. In their case study approach, they found that the "primary organizational issues that impacted the program's success were a lack of articulation, a problematic DL middle school experience, weak relational trust, and an absence of professional learning and collaboration opportunities." The study has direct implications within the evolving mandates in California for creating effective bilingual education models and programs with "an aligned vision that is well understood by all constituents--site and district administrators, coaches, teachers, students, and families."

In an attempt to provide an account of the educational achievement rates among Black, Latnix, and Asian students, **Enrique Pumar** examines data from the Digest of Educational Statistics and other sources to investigate educational disparities. Comparisons among the three groups studies, the paper "documents the improvement in education among Latinx students in recent years despite falling behind other groups."   In addition, the "data suggests that the educational transition rate from secondary school to postsecondary school is an urgent concern to be addressed by educational leaders." The article attempts to "demonstrate that the legacy of national development and a structuration theoretical framework could potentially be useful to explain different rates of educational achievement."

Drawing on some of the key tenets Sheilds' (2012) Transformative Leadership Paradigm, **Kimmie Tang, Kitty Fortner** and **Ronald Morgan** explore "both the effectiveness and importance of special education teachers and school counselor leaders through a literature review and qualitative semi-structured survey." Their findings "showed how school counselors and special education teacher leaders work with principals to help increase the culture of success at schools."

The final article of this issue is a posthumous contribution by **Michael L. Washington** who regrettably passed away during the last phases of the editorial process to produce this volume. Thus, it would be fitting to quote his last few words of the piece in his memory as his words seem immortal. He wrote:

> Accountability is a key component as well. It is leadership that typically directs, guides, and models the behaviors we wish to see in our schools. It is this same leadership that typically provides support to students and teachers who are practicing effective pedagogy and other socially just practices that are effective at all levels and in all educational environments. This suggests that we must at least invest as much in developing more effective leadership practices as we do our pedagogy if we are to change this cycle of educational systematic failure.

Finally, the volume concludes with two thoughtful book reviews and analyses. First, **Pablo D. Montes** reviewed Ayala et al.'s (2018) collection, *Par EntreMundos: A Pedagogy of the Américas* of articles on timely issues related to various domains of equity, social justice and diversity as well as those postulated by CRT.   In his summary of the review, Montes concludes, "Overall, the book is timely and provides the importance of Participatory Action Research (PAR) as a legitimate and necessary framework for students. In many cases, the students were the experts of their communities. Such a framework provides an avenue for students to think critically and beyond the worlds they are forced to live in and towards an understanding of possible worlds; a possibility that exists is Entre Mundos."

The second book review was compiled by **Shaylyn Marks** and **David Sandles** who aptly provide an insightful analysis of Gholdy Muhammad's (2020) work, *Cultivating Genius: An Equity Framework for Culturally and Historically Responsive Literacy.* The reviewers are consummate proud Black educators who made keen connections their own personal and professional experiences and reflect a genuine passion for achieving equity and social justice. They profoundly prefaced by stating that "… we constantly interrogate elements of the existing curriculum and sometimes recoil at the paucity of inclusivity regarding Black voices, classroom practices that feature the historical richness of Black people, and a healthy respect for the oral tradition of Black people." Marks and Sandles conclude with sorely needed call for action based on Muhammad's work and her Culturally and Historically Responsive Literacy (CHRL) model. They conclude: "Overall, we need to make space for this framework in our teacher education programs and classrooms. While at times we craved more attention and detail in regards to the implementation of this framework, *Cultivating Genius* creates a foundation for us as an educational community to build upon. We hope to see more work that uses the HRL Framework as a springboard to further discuss the intricacies and results of engaging in this practice."

With this volume of the *Journal for Leadership, Equity, and Research (JLER),* we continue to enhance our efforts while marching towards diversity, equity and inclusion. Simultaneously, once again, researchers, practitioners, educators, leaders, and activists have joined to share their voices and perspectives in this regular edition.   Their contributions underscore the importance of the work ahead of us. Readers will find a collection of contributions that hopefully direct the discourse towards humanizing the issues. They also are enticed to join the march towards equity and social justice.

Finally, on behalf of the JLER team, we are grateful to all the team members and their dedication to the cause by joining forces with the contributors, reviewers, and everyone without whom this volume would not have materialized.

REFERENCES

Bell, D. (1992). *Faces at the bottom of the well: The permanence of racism.* New York: Basic Books.

Bell, D. (2009). Who's afraid of Critical Race Theory? In E. Taylor, D. Gillborn & G. Ladson-Billings (Eds.) *Foundations of Critical Race Theory in education, pp. 37-50.* New York: Routledge.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). *Critical Race Theory: An introduction.* New York: New York University Press.

Kendi, I. X. (2019). *How to be an antiracist.* New York: One World.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). Just what is Critical Race Theory and what's it doing in a *nice* field like Education? *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 11*(1), 7-24.

Elliott, J. (1970). Eye of the storm (ABC News). PBS-Frontline Documentary—available online: http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/divided/etc/view.html

Shields, C. M. (2010). Transformative leadership: Working for equity in diverse contexts. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *46*, 558–589.

Taylor, E., Gillborn, D., & Ladson-Billings, G. (eds). (2009). *Foundations of Critical Race Theory in education.* New York: Routledge.

PREFACE: TENETS OF CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Ken Magdaleno
Founder/CEO, CLEAR

The presentation of truth in new forms provokes resistance, confounding those committed to accepted measures for determining the quality and validity of statements made and conclusions reached, and making it difficult for them to respond and adjudge what is acceptable.

Derrick Bell, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well*

Derek Bell is considered one of the originators of Critical Race Theory along with Richard Delgado, Charles Lawrence, Mari Matsuda, and Patricia Williams. Today we see examples of individuals with limited knowledge of CRT who have been provoked to their own form of resistance reaching conclusions that demonstrate little understanding of the five tenets of CRT which are: counter-storytelling; the permanence of racism; Whiteness as property; interest conversion; and the critique of liberalism (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1998; McCoy, 2006).

My introduction to Critical Race Theory was when I became aware that a member of my dissertation committee at UCLA, Dr. Daniel Solorzano, was known for his research in the area of LatCrit (Latino Critical Race Theory) and Counter-storytelling. It was a "tipping point" moment for me as up to that point for I was not aware of the presence of CRT. Dr. Solorzano, along with Dr. Tara Yosso, wrote *Critical Race Methodology: Counter-Storytelling as an Analytical Framework for Education Research*—for the authors, a critical race methodology provides a tool to "counter" deficit storytelling (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002).

Up to that point in my educational career I often wondered and often asked others, "where am I in these history books?" CRT helped me see "the other side of Latino history." I do not exaggerate when I state that Latinos were very often seen in American history as the killers of Davy Crockett at the Alamo, gangs of Zoot Suiters in Los Angeles fighting the patriotic members of the U.S. Navy, or finally, a positive role model in Cesar Chavez who is celebrated with a holiday and Mexican food at school. In truth, counter-storytelling is a framework that legitimizes the racial and subordinate experiences of marginalized groups (DeCuir & Dixson; Ladson-Billings; Parker & Villalpando, 2007). DeCuir and Dixson stated that counter-stories are a resource that both expose and critique the dominant (male, White, heterosexual) ideology, which perpetuates racial stereotypes. Counter-stories are personal, composite stories or narratives of People of Color (Delgado Bernal & Villalpando, 2002). It is my understanding of the importance that others hear the stories of People of Color so that there is a new respect for what we have accomplished over the centuries since the United States was formed.

So why is there such a negative and frightened response from the Republican Party to the teaching of Critical Race theory? Why do they want to make sure that CRT is banned in schools?

The article link that follows below provides an explanation as to why CRT has become such a flashpoint among conservative groups. Critical race theory is an academic framework centered on the idea that racism is systemic, and <u>not just demonstrated by individual people with prejudices</u>. Critical Race Theory holds that racial inequality is woven into legal systems and negatively affects People of Color in their schools, doctors' offices, the criminal justice system and countless other parts of life.

Remember that race is a "social construct and not biological." In other words, humans developed the subject of race for their own benefit. As such race is embedded in systems in order to benefit one race over another. Most people think of race in biological terms, and for more than 300 years, or ever since white Europeans began colonizing populations of color elsewhere in the world, race has indeed served as the "premier source of human identity" (Smedley, 1998, p. 690).

"What is critical race theory and why do Republicans want to ban it in schools?" https://www.washingtonpost.com/education/2021/05/29/critical-race-theory-bans-schools/.

It has been my experience that racism is definitely systemic as I have personally experienced it in our educational system, our governmental system and have seen the data from the criminal justice system (school to prison pipeline). For someone to deny that racism is not systemic means to me that they are failing to see the data for what it shows. If interested you may want to follow this link where there are various books and articles listed providing additional information on systemic racism https://mitpress.mit.edu/blog/articles-understanding-systemic-racism-and-social-justice.

There are a variety of lessons to be learned through the teaching of Race and Critical Race Theory. Unfortunately, many people fear even speaking the word "race." For years I have followed the career of Antiracist Tim Wise and close with a quote from him:

"We are, unlike people of color, born to belonging, and have rarely had to prove ourselves deserving of our presence here. At the very least, our right to be here hasn't really been questioned for a long time" (Wise, 2008, p.57). For many of us, we cannot and will not ignore the consequences of race (and ethno-racism) in America. As Critical Race theorists believe, each day brings proof that systemic racism exists and only by recognizing and working against it will we be able to lessen its effect in the lives of following generations.

Racism: The word nobody likes

Racism, the word nobody likes. Whites who don't want to confront racism and who don't name themselves "white" recoil in horror from it, shun it like the plague. To mention the word in their company disrupts their comfortable complacency . . . Racism is a slippery subject, one which evades confrontation, yet one which overshadows every aspect of our lives. (Anzaldua, 1990, p. xix).

At the same time and in reference to racism, Anzaldua maintained that racism is a word that "disrupts the comfortable complacency" of whites, because white people can afford to ignore racism because it does not happen to them. Perhaps the exhausting nature of race and racism came through to you while reading the quote from Gloria Anzaldua. Teaching, discussing, and living racism is exhausting. One can only imagine the effects of living racism on an everyday basis…because it is permanent. Critical Race Theorists seek to define tenet number two of its five in the following manner:

Acknowledgement that racism is a normal feature of society and is embedded within systems and institutions, like the legal and educational systems, that replicate racial inequality. This dismisses the idea that racist incidents are

aberrations but instead are manifestations of structural and systemic racism.

Reading the previous definition of race, there can only be a recognition that Critical Race Theorists and tenet #2 are correct in the belief that "the permanence of racism" is manifest in the United States. I fail to understand why anyone would deny the existence of structural and systemic racism in the United States based on the definition provided above. As I wrote in my first essay on Critical Race Theory, CRT consists of five (5) tenets including: counter-storytelling; the permanence of racism; Whiteness as property; interest conversion; and the critique of liberalism (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1998; McCoy, 2006). This short essay on "the permanence of racism" seeks to provide a research-based response in order that we have an answer to those seeking to do away with CRT and especially, in this essay, the second tenet of "the permanence of racism."

Research on CRT provides a definition indicating that Critical Race Theory analyzes the role of race and racism in perpetuating social disparities between dominant and marginalized racial groups. (DeCuir & Dixson; Ladson-Billings; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). As a person of color, I have seen and experienced the social disparities as pointed out by Critical Race Theorists. A response to White privilege in the educational system very often resulted in a denial that "privilege" exists. And yet, the number of teachers of color is dwarfed by the number of white, female teachers. Is this because people of color are not interested in teaching? I think not. It is mostly because the path to becoming a teacher is absolutely denied by an inequity in the education students of color receive beginning in kindergarten and continuing through the high school years.

When does implicit bias begin in the educational system? There is little doubt that this bias begins as soon as students of color begin the schooling experience. This is an example of the "permanence of racism" of Critical Race Theory and is also an example of the fact that "race is socially constructed" and not biologically real. While recognizing the evolving and malleable nature of CRT, scholar Khiara Bridges outlines a few key tenets of CRT, including:

- Recognition that race is not biologically real but is socially constructed and socially significant. It recognizes that science (as demonstrated in the Human Genome Project) refutes the idea of biological racial differences. According to scholars Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, race is the product of social thought and is not connected to biological reality
- Rejection of popular understandings about racism, such as arguments that confine racism to a few "bad apples." CRT recognizes that racism is codified in law, embedded in structures, and woven into public policy. CRT rejects claims of meritocracy or "colorblindness." CRT recognizes that it is the systemic nature of racism that bears primary responsibility for reproducing racial inequality

The permanence of racism suggests that racism controls the political, social, and economic realms of U.S. society. In CRT, racism is seen as an inherent part of American civilization, privileging White individuals over people of color in most areas of life, including education. (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Delgado, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). A few months ago, I had the good fortune to do a small research piece with a local university on race and anti-racism and received this particular quote from Dr. Pete Flores, CLEAR's Director of Equity regarding race as a system.

It is not an individual character flaw, nor a personal moral failing, nor a psychiatric illness. It is a system (consisting of structures, policies, practices, and norms) that

structures opportunity and assigns value based on phenotype, or the way people look. It unfairly disadvantages some individuals and communities. Yet even more profoundly, the system of racism undermines realization of the full potential of our whole society because of the waste of human resources.

Source: Center for the Study of Race, Social Justice & Health

I have noted over my years of teaching about race and racism that there are many individuals and groups who claim credit for the first real definition of race and racism. As such, I will leave it to others to help determine the actual time period that "racism" begin to take hold among humans. For my work, it is better to use current tools that help us see just how prejudiced we are in the present moment in order to impact our behavior towards others at the present time. One of the tools I most often used in my classes at Fresno State included "Project Implicit" https://www.projectimplicit.net/ which I believe everyone should participate in at one time or another. Should you choose to take one or more of the tests offered, please let me know what you thought of it.

Finally, as Social Justice educational leaders it is important to recognize the value of Critical Race Theory as a framework that is committed to a social justice agenda intent on eliminating all forms of subordination of people. We can begin to uncover our own forms of racism by first recognizing their existence in our life.

REFERENCES

Anzaldua, G. (Ed.). (1990). Making face, making soul, Haciendo Caras: Creative and critical perspectives by women of colour. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Foundation Books.

Bridges, K. M. (2019). *Critical race theory: a primer.* St. Paul, MN: Foundation Press.

Decuir, J., & Dixson, A. (2004). "So, when it comes out, they aren't that surprised that it is there": Using critical race theory as a tool of analysis of race and racism in education. *Educational Researcher, 33,* 26-31.

Delgado Bernal, D., & Villalpando, O. (2002). An apartheid of knowledge in academia: The struggle over the "legitimate" knowledge of faculty of color. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 35*(2), 169-180.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education? *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 11*(1), 7-24.

McCoy, D. L. (2006). Entering the academy: Exploring the socialization experiences of African American male faculty. (Doctoral dissertation, Louisiana State University). Retrieved from http://etd.lsu.edu/docs/available/ etd04052006-143046/

Parker, L., & Villalpando, O. (2007). A racialized perspective on education leadership: Critical race theory in educational administration. *Education Administration Quarterly, 43*(5), 519-524 DOI 10.1177/0013161x07307795.

Smedley, A. (1998). "Race" and the Construction of Human Identity. *American Anthropologist, 100*(3), 690-702. Retrieved June 27, 2021, from http://www.jstor.org/stable/682047

Solórzano, D. G., & Yosso, T. J. (2002). Critical race methodology: Counter-storytelling as an analytical framework for education research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, *8*, 23-44.

Wise, T.J. (2008). White like me: Reflections on race from a privileged son. Berkeley: Soft Skull Press

THE EFFECTS OF SCHOOL BELONGING AND PEER INFLUENCES ON THE ACHIEVEMENT OF HIGH SCHOOL IMMIGRANT STUDENTS

Arnold Sánchez Ordaz
University of California, Office of the President

Eduardo Mosqueda
University of California, Santa Cruz

AUTHOR NOTE
Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Arnold Sánchez Ordaz, University of California Office of the President, Oakland, California 94607. E-mail: arnold.sanchezordaz@ucop.edu

ABSTRACT

This study examines the effect of race/ethnicity, immigrant status and the role of school belonging on the academic achievement of Mexican, Filipino, and white students. We focus on school belonging and peer influences in concert with immigrant generational status and family income to predict students' academic achievement at the end of 9th grade. Using data from the High School Longitudinal Study of 2009 (HSLS:09), we examine the effects of school belonging as well as other student and school context factors for immigrant and non-immigrant students in secondary schools. Our findings show that school belonging is a statistically significant predictor of academic achievement, and this relationship differs for second-generation immigrant Filipino and Mexican-origin students. Our results indicate that establishing school environments that foster a strong sense of school belonging can help mitigate the academic disparities associated with students' ethnic background, immigrant generational status, and family socioeconomic status (SES) on their academic achievement.

Keywords: school belonging, high school immigrant education, ethnic disparities

Introduction

The diversity of the immigrant population in the U.S. has shifted significantly over the past half-century as a result of the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965, which eliminated quotas for immigrants arriving from foreign countries (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). Immigrants who arrived in the U.S. post-1965, also regarded as the "new" wave of immigrants, were more likely to be from non-European descent and to be People of Color (Foner, 2005). A long-standing study affirmed that, "never before has the U.S. received immigrants from so many countries, from such different social and economic backgrounds" (Portes & Rumbaut, 1996, p. 7). Immigrants from both the "new" and "old" immigration waves have resulted in the settlement of immigrants in urban destinations and in port cities, and a disproportionate number are employed in low-wage, labor-intensive jobs (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). The diversity of the new immigrants has raised important questions about this group's mobility and job prospects because of how race, ethnicity, social class, and English proficiency play an important role in their adaptation and incorporation into the U.S. mainstream. In particular, much attention has been paid to the educational and career opportunities of the U.S.-born children of immigrants, or the second-generation, because their social mobility will undoubtedly be influenced by their opportunities, access and success in school.

Research examining the relationship between immigrant generational status and academic achievement has identified an inter-generational effect. Such research has shown that second-generation immigrants (the U.S.-born children of foreign-born parents) often outperform their first- and third-generation immigrant counterparts on several measures associated with higher educational performance. For example, second-generation immigrants are reported to have both higher educational aspirations and achievement motivation than their first and third-generation co-ethnics (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Although aspirations and motivation are important individual student attributes, we expand on immigration-related student characteristics and analyze the role of school belonging, their experiences with teachers and peers, on their achievement outcomes.

This study examines patterns in school belonging of Filipino and Mexican immigrant students relative to white peers, while accounting for peer influences as well as other student and school context factors. We hypothesize that school belonging is a more important predictor of the academic achievement for immigrant Mexican and Filipino students relative to their non-immigrant co-ethnics as well as white students, as measured by their overall grade point average (GPA) at the end of 9th grade. Although little is known about the complex interplay of school belonging, and the experiences of immigrant students with teachers and peers on their early high school achievement, we are interested in how the effects of school belonging as characterized by features of inclusion, adult support, school safety, and engagement, along with student and school context factors for immigrant and non-immigrant students in secondary schools affect educational equity.

School belonging has long been identified as a central feature of the academic experiences of students in schools (Glasser, 1986). Several corroborating studies have demonstrated that favorable perceptions of belonging in schools were associated with increased academic motivation

and achievement (Anderman, 1999; Goodenow, 1993a; Goodenow & Grady, 1993; Roeser et al., 1996; Wentzel, 1993, 1997). School belonging has also been correlated with increased academic motivation and effort (Sánchez et al., 2005) and improved help-seeking behaviors and higher participation in the social life of school (Gibson et al., 2004). In a review of literature examining students' sense of belonging, Osterman (2000) found that students who experience inclusion and acceptance within schools are more engaged, motivated, and invested in their academic experiences.

Students' relationships with their peers and access to teachers with high expectations, have also been shown to mediate experiences of belonging in school (Goodenow, 1993a). The relationship between belonging and academic achievement has been well established in the extant literature. However, little is understood about the contextual features that mitigate the achievement of students in secondary schools. We argue that immigrant students who build quality social relationships with peers and teachers are better positioned to navigate the day-to-day challenges of schools. Specifically, we examine whether second-generation immigrants benefit more from the effect of belonging on academic achievement relative to their first- and third-generation counterparts. Endeavors aimed at redressing the enduring disparities in immigrant student achievement outcomes (Dabach et al., 2017; Mosqueda & Maldonado, 2013; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001) must address inequities in the institutional context. For instance, school environments that cultivate quality social relationships between peers and their teachers will more likely promote emotional support, guidance, role modeling, positive feedback, tangible assistance, access to information, and a sense of belonging for immigrant students (Gibson et al., 2004; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). This suggests that optimizing immigrant students' school belonging may be critical for promoting their success in U.S. schools.

To better understand the interrelationship between immigration status, school belonging, and academic achievement, this study will compare Filipino immigrant students' experiences and those of Mexican descent students, with their white counterparts. Using the High School Longitudinal Study of 2009 (HSLS:09), this analysis explores the effects of peers, teachers, and belonging on the academic achievement of low-income minoritized immigrant and non-immigrant students. We are guided by the following research question: Do immigrant and non-immigrant Mexican and Filipino students' perceptions of sense of belonging mediate their academic achievement outcomes as measured by their overall grade point average (GPA) relative to their white counterparts?

Mexican and Filipino Student School Experiences

Filipino and Mexican students are ideal comparison groups because of their historical and cultural similarities. Filipinos have been described as the "Latinos of Asia" (Ocampo, 2016). Moreover, like Mexico, the Philippines was under Spanish rule for more than 300 years. As a result, Filipinos and Mexicans often share similarities across cultural, historical, religious, and linguistic elements of their lives (Ocampo, 2016). Throughout the colonial period, Spanish was the official language of government, education, and trade. For this reason, some Spanish words

were integrated into Tagalog, the native language of the Philippines. Interestingly, indigenous Mexican words of Nahuatl origin have also made their way to the Philippines. However, U.S. colonization, which resulted in governance from 1898 to 1902, had a profound influence on language in the Philippines, leading schools to adopt English as the primary language of instruction.

Despite their historical and cultural parallels, immigrants from both nations are minoritized in the U.S. As such, their language background is an important difference between both groups. Speaking English is an important language skill that Filipinos often develop prior to leaving their home country. Thus, Filipino children tend to be better positioned to navigate English dominant schools in ways that their Mexican-origin counterparts are not. Filipinos are among the most English competent Asian immigrants. Ocampo (2016) has found that nine in ten Filipinos are reported to speak English proficiently and that second-generation Filipinos prefer speaking English instead of native dialects like Tagalog. English proficiency may buffer Filipino students from the adverse experiences often faced by immigrant children who are marginalized by language, and labeled English Learners (ELs), and are often overrepresented in under-resourced schools.

Filipino immigrant students may then experience patterns of adaptation and incorporation that are distinct from students who arrive in the U.S. from a non-English-speaking country (Espiritu & Wolf, 2001; Wolf, 1997). However, Filipinos share similar cultural and historical backgrounds with immigrants from Mexico. Mexican-origin immigrants, as a group, have been described as the "textbook example" of immigrants destined toward downward assimilation because of their: (a) disproportionate poverty, (b) sheer size, (c) historical depth, and (d) the racist stereotypes experienced by this group (Lopez & Stanton-Salazar, 2002). Lopez and Stanton-Salazar (2002) have argued that although Mexicans have historically, at times, been perceived as "white," they have continuously faced racialization and discrimination in the U.S. In addition, the concentration of Mexican immigrant students in low-income, segregated schools and communities that are often described as "overlooked and underserved" has also contributed to their diminished academic achievement (Mosqueda & Téllez, 2016, Ruiz-de-Velasco, & Fix, 2000).

There are important differences across both groups in terms of parents' education, socioeconomic status, and citizenship status. The parents and guardians of Filipino children, relative to Mexican children are more likely to be college educated, to become naturalized U.S. citizens, to have higher family income, and are less likely to be medically uninsured (McNamara & Batalova, 2015). The historical similarities as well as other pre- and post-migration differences that immigrant students from both nations bring with them are useful for understanding their immigrant experiences.

The purpose of this study is to examine the role of school belonging in addition to other important individual and school context factors during the first year of high school. We specifically study the role of belonging in improving academic achievement of immigrant and nonimmigrant students and complicate this relationship by examining the effects of generational status while accounting for the effect that peers and teachers may also have on their experiences in 9th grade.

Conceptual Framework

Expanding on research that has shown how students benefit from connections with teachers and peers to maximize their academic performance (Allen et al., 2016; Goodenow & Grady, 1993; Osterman, 2000), we analyze the relationship between school sense of belonging and the achievement of minoritized immigrant students. We define school belonging as "the extent to which [students] feel personally accepted, respected, included, and supported by others-especially teachers and other adults in the school and social environment" (Goodenow & Grady, 1993, p. 60-61). In this study, we examine the role of school belonging (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Goodenow, 1993b) that encompasses features of inclusion, adult support, school safety, and engagement, and we account for peer influences (Gibson et al., 2004; Osterman, 2000), teachers' expectations and sense of responsibility for students (Lee & Smith, 1996), and their interrelationship with the generational status of immigrant and non-immigrant Mexican-origin and Filipino students relative to white students, at the end of 9th grade.

Literature Review
Immigrant Generational Status and Achievement in School

Sociologists have identified a significant relationship between immigrant generational status and school success and failure (Kao & Tienda, 1995; Lopez & Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 1995). This research has described distinct patterns among recent (post-1965) waves of immigrants, and has argued that post-1965 immigrants do not follow the traditional assimilation pathway of past immigrant groups. Instead, they are said to follow a paradoxical pattern because the second-generation has higher academic performance than first- and third-generation co-ethnics (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). These outcomes have also been linked to higher levels of academic aspirations and optimism (Kao & Tienda, 1995) and to pro-academic achievement motivation (Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001). Kao and Tienda (1995) conclude, "the native-born children of immigrant parents are best suited to perform academically due to both their mother's higher aspirations for their [student] and the [student's] English skills" (p. 97). Although second-generation immigrants generally outperform their first- and third-generation co-ethnics, this study investigates whether the second-generation immigrant advantage is mediated by students' perceptions of school belonging and school context factors.

Belonging in School

Sense of belonging has been long established in the scholarly literature and is often defined as a fundamental human need (Baumeister & Leary, 1995) that has been understood through a number of conceptual perspectives. For example, some researchers have understood belonging as an experience that is directly tied to the environment where individuals seek memberships (Hagerty et al., 1992). The school environment has been shown to influence students' sense of belonging and their academic achievement (Loukas et al., 2010; Slaten et al., 2016).

Studies of belonging in schools have identified multiple dimensions of this construct. We turn to two seminal pieces of literature to define belonging. First, Hagerty et al. (1992) integrate

psychological and sociological perspectives and acknowledge the significance of the "internal affective or evaluative feeling or perception" in "relation to various external referents" (p. 174). Second, we follow Goodenow's (1993b) definition of belonging which focuses on students' feelings of acceptance, respect, inclusion, and support in schools.

This study examines the relationship between belonging and academic outcomes among immigrant students in schools. Belonging measures often capture the degree to which social relationships play a key role in students' well-being (Korpershoek et al., 2020; Walton & Cohen, 2011). When students are not successful in forming positive connections, negative consequences associated with exclusion and rejection could result in diminished educational outcomes for students (Allen et al., 2016). Suárez-Orozco et al. (2008) emphasized the relational engagement that immigrant students develop with peers, teachers, and others in schools as central to developing feelings of school belonging and for students' adaptation in school. Research has suggested that schools are places where the quality of relationships and social connections with peers and teachers have consequential effects on academic engagement and outcomes for immigrant and non-immigrant students (Furrer & Skinner, 2003; Goodenow, 1992; Oseguera et al., 2010; Sancho & Cline, 2012; Yeager & Walton, 2011). These findings suggest that the school context, where social relationships are developed, may help us better understand the effects of belonging for those who have trouble forming relationships.

Overall, research on belonging in schools has been described as "students' sense of being accepted, valued, included and encouraged by others (teachers and peers) in the academic classroom setting and of feeling oneself to be an important part of the life and activity of the class" (Goodenow, 1993a, p. 25). School belonging can depend on the inclusive experiences that evoke feelings of respect and value by the teachers and peers with whom students come in contact (Goodenow, 1993a). Additionally, students may need to believe that they are accepted members of an academic community where their presence and contributions are recognized and valued (Good et al., 2012). Other research on school belonging has found correlations with students' level of school engagement (Faircloth & Hamm, 2005; Libbey, 2004; Osterman, 2000). Lastly, studies have documented a relationship between environmental and school safety with school belonging (Allen et al., 2016).

Immigrant Students and Belonging in Schools

Researchers have dedicated considerable attention to investigating the effect of school belonging on minoritized students from economically disadvantaged communities (Becker & Luthar, 2002). This study examines immigrant students because they are disproportionately vulnerable to underachievement and school failure because of the variability in their patterns of adaptation and incorporation into not only the mainstream culture but the culture of U.S. schools (Gibson, 1998). This has profound consequences for immigrant students who may experience schooling distinct from their non-immigrant counterparts. The extent to which immigrant students feel accepted, respected, included, and supported by others in schools may inform their perceptions

of belonging. However, these experiences are most likely to be premised on their generational experiences.

Belonging has previously been identified as an influential factor in the resettlement of immigrant children (Cartmell & Bond, 2015; Ozer et al., 2008). Because patterns of adaptation and incorporation vary for immigrant students, research on school belonging and achievement should account for the relationships that students develop in schools. According to Cartmell and Bond (2015), immigrant students face unique challenges related to acculturation and integration with domestic students. Ethnic identification, perceptions, feelings, and expectations of daily experiences seem to be related to how immigrant children relate with the host society (Zhou, 2001).

Because typical American classrooms are characterized by practices reflecting the dominant culture, school belonging may be a critical point of intervention for promoting the academic achievement of immigrant students (Delpit, 1995; Ryan & Patrick, 2001). However, multiple studies have affirmed that there is a limited understanding of belonging among culturally and ethnically diverse students in schools (Anderman & Anderman, 1999; Connell & Wellborn, 1991). Thus, overlooking the cultural and ethnic diversity of students could result in a limited understanding of the experiences that undergird belonging in diverse schools (Faircloth & Hamm, 2005).

Researchers have argued that "there is a lack of clarity regarding what constitutes belonging and the role it plays in students' motivation and achievement for diverse groups" (Faircloth & Hamm, 2005, p. 293). As a result, it is critical that researchers examine and account for differences among immigrant students. A study of Latino immigrant students and school belonging found that adolescents' perceptions of parental academic importance was associated with students' perception of connectedness, as well as academic aspirations and expectations, but these effects were more moderate for students with undocumented parents (Giano et al., 2018). This reaffirms the possibility that school belonging among immigrant students who are also culturally, ethnically and linguistically diverse may be challenging if they are unable to build relationships with peers and teachers that can help foster a sense of inclusion, acceptance, and support.

School and Classroom Context: Peer influences and Teachers' Expectations

In addition, we also wanted to account for important school context factors that have been shown to influence students' feelings of belonging (Gibson et al., 2004; Osterman, 2000). Peers can influence each other's engagement and performance in positive ways in schools (Gándara et al., 2004). However, peer influences can also have a negative effect on student engagement (Allen et al., 2016; Mosqueda & Téllez, 2016). Peers play an integral role in the lives of students and can potentially mitigate students' feelings of isolation in school (Gibson et al., 2004; Sancho & Cline, 2012). Peer effects have been linked to levels of comfort that students experience as well as their overall feeling of belonging in school (Gibson et al., 2004; Sancho & Cline, 2012). Faircloth and Hamm (2005) posited that school belonging may be derived via a network of positive friends through which students feel recognized.

Peers can also serve as important conduits of information (Gibson et al., 2004; Suárez-Orozco et al., 2008). This suggests that the affinity to others is important for the solidification of relationships. Faircloth and Hamm (2005) used the number of friendships as an indicator of school-based social integration and hypothesized that students with more friends would report a greater sense of belonging. They also argued that across ethnic groups, school friendships carry different levels of intimacy and support, and the contribution of friendship networks to school belonging may vary across groups.

The emphasis on peer relationships assumes that "if ethnic minority youth lack intimacy in school-based friendships, these relationships may not serve to psychologically bond teens to their schools" (Faircloth & Hamm, 2005, p. 305). Students' ability to bond with peers can foster opportunities to gain access to resources and information that may contribute to an increase in school belonging and academic achievement. In situations where bonding with peers occurs, students themselves can provide a source of social capital for each other, which in turn may strengthen their experiences of belonging (Gibson et al., 2004). The effect of peers may bolster perceptions of belonging for both Filipino and Mexican immigrant students. Peer social capital is defined "as adolescents' connections to peers and peer networks that can provide the resources and other nontangible forms of support, including pro-academic norms and identities that facilitate academic performance" (Gibson et al., 2004, pp. 130-131).

Stanton-Salazar (2001, 2004) has argued that minoritized youth often access social capital from their peer networks, but this is thought to be less effective than social capital derived from middle class networks. According to Suárez-Orozco (2001), immigrant students are more likely to have friends who think that academic achievement is important. The relationship between peer influences and belonging with achievement may also be complicated by gender such that immigrant girls have been found to be more likely to have friends with higher school orientation (Suárez- Orozco et al., 2008).

The effects of individual teacher expectations as well as teachers' collective responsibility for the entire school and their relationship to the academic achievement of minoritized students have been established in the literature (Conchas, 2007; Conchas & Hinga, 2016; Ferguson 2003). In a longstanding research study, Ferguson (2003) argued that teachers' "perceptions, expectations, and behaviors" are biased by racial stereotypes and found that they "... probably do help to sustain, and perhaps even to expand, the Black-White test score gap. The magnitude of the effect is uncertain, but it may be quite substantial if effects accumulate from kindergarten through high school" (p. 495). A meta-analysis of four studies found (in three of the four studies) teachers held higher expectations for white (European American) students relative to Latino and African American students (Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). These studies make it clear that the academic achievement of minoritized students is often diminished by low teacher expectations, and related research has found similar perspectives held by teachers toward Latino immigrant students. In a study of teachers' expectations of their Latino immigrant students' postsecondary futures, Dabach et al. (2017) found:

Three-quarters of the teachers who provided projections of their Latino immigrant's students' futures described college as unlikely, although most of the students were still in elementary or middle school at the time. Teachers projected a wide and sometimes overlapping range of non-college options, including business management, technical trades, retail sale, restaurant work, manual or unspecified labor, and childbearing and rearing. Some projected more negative outcomes such as unemployment, welfare, and gang involvement, although this was much less common. (p. 47)

This research illustrates the profoundly low expectations some teachers can hold for Latino immigrant students' post-secondary prospects, which are often projected onto students early in their academic trajectories. For some immigrant students, as this research reports, messaging of low expectations begins as early as elementary school.

Beyond individual teacher expectations, when teachers at a school collectively have both low expectations and a low sense of responsibility for student learning, such group perspectives also have a negative effect on academic achievement. A study examining teachers' expectations and collective responsibility for student learning at the school level found that students showed significant gains in achievement in four academic subjects over the first two years of high school in schools characterized by higher levels of collective responsibility and more uniformity among teachers in the same school that shared such attitudes (Lee & Smith, 1996). A study of elementary schools in Chicago by Lee and Loeb (2000) also found that "teachers' collective responsibility, as an organizational property of schools, has a positive influence on student learning" (p. 24). Taken together, these studies suggest that understanding the effect of individual teachers' expectations is necessary, but that studies must also account for the sense of collective responsibility for student learning within each school.

This review of the literature positions us to empirically investigate whether immigrant and non-immigrant Mexican and Filipino students' perceptions of school belonging, accounting for peer influences, teachers' expectations and collective responsibility for students, and their relationship with the immigrant generational status of immigrant and non-immigrant Mexican-origin and Filipino students has a notable effect on their academic performance at the end of 9th grade. Their experiences are compared to their white counterparts who by and large are least likely to encounter acculturative difficulties to U.S. schools. Taken together, the scholarly literature has not fully established how school belonging, along with other school connectedness factors, can impact the educational outcomes of the most vulnerable immigrant and non-immigrant students-- Filipino and Mexican students. This work offers insight into the complex interrelationship between these factors.

Method

The data for this study were drawn from the first wave of the restricted sample for High School Longitudinal Study of 2009 (HSLS:09), a large nationally representative data set provided by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). The restricted sample allowed us to

disaggregate the data among ethnic and racial subgroups (i.e., Mexican and Filipino). The HSLS dataset provides policy-relevant trend data about critical transitions experienced by a national sample of students as they proceed through high school and into college or their careers. The data set includes a sample of high school students who were in the ninth grade in 2009, as well as survey data from teachers, counselors, parents, and administrators. The original HSLS sample includes data for 25,206 students who were sampled from 944 schools.

This analysis examined a subsample of 16,368 students in the HSLS:09 data set. Our analytic sample is comprised of 1,849 students who are Mexican-origin, 142 Filipinos, and 14,377 whites. This data set is ideal for investigating the effect of individual student characteristics and school context measures on 9th grade achievement as measured by overall grade point average (GPA). The NCES used a complex sampling design to increase the efficiency in selecting specific subsamples from a population. In the base-year of the survey, students were sampled through a two-stage process. First, a stratified random sample of all eligible schools were identified, and in the second stage, students were randomly sampled from school ninth-grade enrollment lists (Ingels et al., 2011). The NCES uses sample weights to indicate the relative contribution of each observation in order to produce adequate population-level estimates (Mosqueda & Maldonado, 2020). Thus, if a student is assigned a weight of 1,050 in a dataset, this means that this specific participant represents 1,050 students in the sampling population who have similar characteristics, such as racial-ethnic background and grade level.

We used STATA to fit linear regression models and additionally utilized the cluster-robust command to make the required standard errors adjustments that result from students being clustered within schools in the dataset. We used sample weights to account for the sample selection processes. The design of our study is correlational, so our findings do not support causal inferences regarding the impact of high school students' school belonging on high school GPA at the end of 9th grade.

Variables

The variables included in this analysis are supported by the literature guiding this study. The outcome variable represents the overall grade point average (GPA) at the end of 9th grade. In addition, the HSLS:09 provides a reliable composite for each student's perceived sense of school belonging that will be used as the main question predictor in this study. For transparency, all of the variables and any scaling or transformations are presented by variable type along with descriptive statistics and coding for the analytic sample in Table 1.

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics of the Variables in the Analytic Sample

Variable	Description	*n*	Mean	*SD*	Min.	Max.
Control variables						
SES	Composite variable used to measure a construct for socioeconomic status	14,136	0.08	0.77	−1.93	2.88
FEMALE	Students who are female	14,377	0.48	0.49	0	1
Generational status						
GEN1	First generation	10,725	0.03	0.19	0	1
GEN2	Second generation	10,725	0.11	0.32	0	1
GEN3	Third generation	10,725	0.84	0.36	0	1
Race/ethnicity						
MEXICAN	Student is Mexican	1,849	0.13	0.34	0	1
FILIPINO	Student is Filipino	142	0.01	0.12	0	1
WHITE	Student is White	14,377	0.85	0.35	0	1
Peer variables						
PEEREFF	Closest friends gets good grades	13,643	0.87	0.33	0	1
HRFRIENDS	Hours spent socializing with friends	13,471	3.14	1.71	1	6
Teacher commitment composite						
TEACHERCOM	Teacher commitment composite	9,749	7.7	1.09	2.43	9.7
Measure of student achievement						
SCHOOLBEL		13,452	0.64	0.785	−4.35	1.59
GPA	GPA at ninth grade	14,377	2.72	0.92	0.25	4

Outcome Variables. The primary outcome variable for this study was GPA at the end of ninth grade (GPA9TH). The GPA variable is a composite measure based on a traditional 4-point scale.

Question Predictors. Our primary predictor, school belonging, is based on a composite variable (SCHOOLBEL) in HSLS:09 and is a scaled-measure of students' perception of belonging in school, where low values represent a lower sense of school belonging and higher values represent a greater sense of belonging. The school belonging variable was created by the NCES using principal components analysis and was standardized to a mean of 0 and a standard deviation of 1. The school belonging scale was comprised of the following five HSLS:09 variables and student survey questions:

- SAFE: Do you feel safe at school?
- PROUD: Do you feel proud of being part of this school?
- TALKPROB: Are there always teachers or other adults in your school that you can talk to if you have a problem?
- SCHWASTE: Is school often a waste of time?
- GOODGRADES: Is getting good grades in school important for you?

A seminal study of school belonging defined this construct as having the following four components: feeling personally accepted, respected, included, and supported by teachers and other adults (Goodenow & Grady, 1993). In this study, school belonging is operationalized in the HSLS:09 student survey as a construct comprised of similar dimensions such as inclusion and adult support (Goodenow & Grady, 1993), but it also integrates other elements such as school engagement (Libbey, 2004; Osterman, 2000) and school safely (Allen et al., 2016). Only students who provided a full set of responses for the variable SCHOOLBEL were assigned a scale value. The coefficient of reliability (alpha) for the school belonging scale is 0.65.

We also account for additional variables identified in the aforementioned research literature. A secondary predictor captured peer influences (academically oriented friends and hours spent socializing with friends). The three peer influence variables that were used in this study included friends' class attendance (FRNDCLASS), whether friends received good grades (FRNDGRADES), and hours spent socializing with friends (HRFRIENDS). In HSLS:09, the academically oriented peer influences variable representing friends' class attendance (FRNDCLASS) was a response to a survey question asking students whether they believed that their closest friends attended classes regularly. The variable representing whether students' friends received good grades (FRNDGRADES) was a response to a survey question that asked whether students believed that their closest friend received good grades. The two variables FRNDCLASS and FRNDGRADES were found to be highly correlated with one another, so a composite variable for academically oriented peer influences (PEER_EFF) was created that integrated both responses into a single variable. The final peer influences variable included in this analysis was hours spent socializing with friends (HRFRIENDS) and was drawn from a survey question that asked students the number of hours they spent socializing with their friends during a typical weekday. The responses to the variable HRFRIENDS were coded in the following hourly increments: 1 = "less than 1 hour," 2= "1-2 hours," 3= "2-3 hours," 4 = "3-4 hours," 5 = "4-5 hours," and 6 = "5 or more hours."

The teacher expectations and collective responsibility variable is a composite derived from six variables in the HSLS:09 mathematics teacher survey and included: teacher sets high standards (TEACHING), teachers maintain discipline (TSCHDISC), teachers take responsibility for improving the school (TIMPROVE), teachers felt responsible for developing student self-control (M1TSETSTDS), teachers set high standards for themselves (TSELFDEV), and whether teachers felt responsible that all students learn (TALLLEARN). In the HSLS:09, the variable TEACHING assessed whether math teachers at the school set high standards for teaching, the variable

TSCHDISC assessed whether teachers at the school help maintain discipline in the entire school, and TIMPROVE assessed whether teachers at the school take responsibility for improving the school; the variable TSETSTDS assessed whether teachers at the school set high standards for themselves, TSELFDEV assessed whether teachers at the school felt responsible for developing student self-control, and TALLLEARN assessed whether teachers at the school felt responsible that all students learn. Each of the teacher expectations items were measured on a 4-point scale ranging from 1 = "strongly agree," 2 = "agree," 3 = "disagree," and 4 = "strongly disagree." To simplify the interpretation of these variables in the analysis, all responses were reverse coded so that higher scores on the reverse-coded scale represented higher agreement ("strongly agree") and lower scores represented lower agreement ("strongly disagree"). Principal components analysis using STATA was used to compute eigenvalues and eigenvectors. The eigenvalues were then used to generate a composite variable named TEACHEREXP that captured teachers' commitment and expectations.

Student Characteristics. This study includes variables that account for race/ethnicity, socioeconomic status (SES), gender, and students' immigrant generational status. Students' race/ethnicity was captured using the RACE variable in the dataset. We included students that self-identified as white, and we also used the two variables, HISPTYPE and ASIANTYPE, to code the subpopulation of students who self-identified as MEXICAN and FILIPINO in the sample. The variable SES is a composite variable that includes parent/guardian's education, occupation, and family income. The gender variable was coded from each student's gender. For ease of interpretation, we created a new variable labeled FEMALE, which is the binary indicator of all students who identified as female and male.

In addition, three variables were used to code students' immigrant generational status: P1USBORN9 (Country in which the student was born), P1USBORN1 (Country in which Parent 1 was born) and P1USBORN2 (Country in which Parent 2 was born). Using P1USBORN9, P1USBORN1, and P1USBORN2 data, three dichotomous variables were created: GEN1, GEN2 and GEN3. GEN1 indicates students that were born in another country and had at least one parent also born in another country. GEN2 indicates students were born in the U.S. and had at least one foreign-born parent. GEN3 students were born in the U.S. and at least one parent indicated they were also born in the U.S.. Descriptive statistics for the variables in the study are shown in Table 1, and coding for the variables is outlined in Table 1.

Results

In response to the research question: Do immigrant and non-immigrant Mexican and Filipino students' perceptions of school belonging mediate their academic achievement outcomes as measured by their overall grade point average (GPA) relative to their white counterparts? Two fitted multiple linear regression models were used to predict ninth-grade GPA based on students' perceptions of school belonging, controlling for peer influences, teacher expectations and

collective responsibility, and other student characteristics such as race/ethnicity, family SES, gender and immigrant generational status.

Model 1, in Table 2 presents a main effects model that includes all of the question and control predictors. The results outlined in Model 1 show that students' characteristics were statistically significant predictors of achievement. Predictors included race/ethnicity, SES, and gender. In addition, belonging and peer influences (i.e., having academically oriented peers and hours spent socializing with peers) were also statistically significant predictors of ninth-grade GPA. However, immigrant generational status and teacher expectations and collective responsibility for students were not statistically significant predictors of ninth-grade achievement. The variables representing SES and gender were significant predictors of ninth-grade GPA such that an additional unit difference in SES was associated with a .323-unit positive difference in ninth-grade GPA, ($\beta = 0.323$, p < .001), and females (relative to males) scored higher, a higher difference of 0.28 points in ninth-grade GPA ($\beta = 0.282$, p < .001), on average. Lastly, self-identifying as Mexican had an inverse but statistically significant relationship with ninth grade GPA such that Mexican students, on average, scored .228 points lower on ninth-grade GPA ($\beta = -.228$, p < .001) relative to white students.

Table 2

Ninth-Grade Grade Point Average and School Sense of Belonging

	Coefficient (*SE*)	
	Model 1	Model 2
Fixed effects		
Intercept	2.59***	2.59***
	-0.096	-0.096
Individual student measures		
SES	.323***	.324***
	-0.013	-0.013
Female[a]	.281***	.282***
	-0.018	-0.018
Peer and teacher variables		
Positive peers influences	.201***	.201***
	-0.027	-0.027
Hours socializing with peers	−.075***	−.075***
	-0.006	-0.006
Teacher responsibility	−.003	−.003

	-0.01	-0.01
Race/ethnicity[b]		
Mexican	−.228***	−.231***
	-0.039	-0.052
Filipino	0.05	−.476
	-0.073	-0.067
Generational status[c]		
First generation	0.061	0.067
	-0.065	-0.093
Second generation	0.012	−.005
	-0.037	-0.044
School sense of belonging	.158***	.158***
	-0.01	-0.01
Interaction effects		
Mexican × First generation		0.031
		-0.138
Mexican × Second generation		0.011
		-0.081
Filipino × First generation		0.391
		-0.314
Filipino × Second generation		.669*
		-0.279

Note. Regression weighted by W1STUDENT clustered by school ID.
Regression model fitting control predictor on outcome in relation to the research.
SES = socioeconomic status.
[a]Male is omitted. [b]White is omitted. [c]Third generation is omitted.
*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

In response to the students' perceptions of school belonging as a mediating factor on their academic achievement outcomes as measured by their overall grade point average (GPA), the results showed that school belonging was a statistically significant predictor of GPA. The analysis revealed that an additional unit difference in students' perceptions of school belonging was associated with a 0.158 positive difference in ninth-grade GPA, ($\beta = 0.158$, p < .001). This suggests that a student with a low degree of school belonging (SCHOOLBEL = 1) would improve their GPA by 0.16 points, while a student with a high degree of sense of belonging (SCHOOLBEL = 4) would improve their 9th-grade GPA by 0.63 points, on average. In addition, the peer influences

measures revealed that the effect of socializing with academically oriented peers had a positive effect and was associated with a .201 difference in ninth-grade GPA, ($\beta = 0.201$, p < .001), on average. However, the number of hours spent socializing with friends had a negative and statistically significant effect such that every additional unit of time[1] spent socializing with peers was associated with a - 0.075 difference in ninth-grade GPA ($\beta = -0.075$, p < .001). The results also showed that teacher expectations and collective responsibility measures were not statistically significant predictors of academic achievement.

Model 2 in Table 2, includes all of the measures from Model 1 and also incorporates the interaction effects between race/ethnicity and immigrant generational status. In Model 2, we found, consistent with Model 1, SES, gender, and ethnic background were statistically significant predictors of GPA. The results show that a one-unit difference in SES was associated with a .324 positive difference in ninth-grade GPA ($\beta = 0.324$, p < .001), and girls (compared to boys) scored 0.282 points higher in ninth-grade GPA ($\beta = 0.282$, p < .001). Mexican-origin students had a lower average GPA relative to white students such that Mexican students' GPAs were .231 points lower on their ninth-grade GPA ($\beta = -0.231$, p < .001). Similar to Model 1, teacher expectations and collective responsibility and generational status were not statistically significant predictors of achievement.

The results in Model 2 revealed that an additional unit difference in a student's school belonging was associated with a 0.158 positive difference in ninth-grade GPA ($\beta = 0.158$, p < .001). A student with a low degree of sense of belonging (SCHOOLBEL = 1) would slightly improve their GPA by 0.16 points, while a student with a high sense of belonging (SCHOOLBEL = 4) would improve their 9th-grade GPA by about 0.63 points, on average. The peer influences measures revealed that the effect of socializing with academically oriented peers was positively associated with a .201 difference in ninth-grade GPA ($\beta = 0.201$, p < .001). However, the number of hours spent socializing with friends had a negative and statistically significant effect and every additional unit of time spent socializing with peers was associated with a - 0.075 difference in ninth-grade GPA ($\beta = -0.075$, p < .001). The results also showed that teacher expectations and collective responsibility measures were not statistically significant.

In Model 2, the interaction effects between ethnicity and generational status allowed us to examine whether these effects differed between Mexicans and Filipinos relative to white students. We found statistically significant interaction effects for Filipino students but not for Mexican-origin students. The statistically significant interaction effect for second generation Filipino students suggests that they academically outperform their first and third-generation co-ethnic peers by .669 GPA-points ($\beta = 0.669$, p < .001), on average. All other interaction effects we tested were not statistically significant.

Discussion

The immigrant and non-immigrant Mexican-origin and Filipino students in this study provided ideal comparison groups because their past experiences and similarities in their mode of

incorporation into the United States mainstream culture overlap in multiple ways. As a result of these similarities, both groups provided an opportunity to test whether the second-generation immigrant student advantage documented in the aforementioned literature (Kao & Tienda, 1995; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001) is influenced and perhaps amplified by students' degree of perceived school belonging. In this study, students' school belonging was a strong and statistically significant indicator of academic achievement (as measured by GPA) at the end of 9th grade. We found that students benefited more from higher levels of perceived belonging relative to those with lower sense of school belonging. Specifically, we found that students with a lower level of school belonging only scored 0.15 GPA-points higher, while students with a higher sense of belonging scored 0.632 GPA points higher, on average. Although Mexican-origin students, on average, scored -0.228 lower GPA points than white students, having a high sense of belonging helped students overcome the disparities in achievement associated with Mexican-origin students' overall 9th grade GPA.

The relationship between school belonging and ninth-grade GPA is consistent with prior research arguing that having a strong sense of school belonging is predictive of higher academic achievement at various grade levels and among diverse students (Anderman, 2002; Buote, 2001; Sari, 2012; Taylor, 1999; Walton & Cohen, 2011). These findings suggest that in order to maximize the effect of belonging, school leaders and teachers must work to foster school environments that help build an inclusive community where students are able to develop quality relationships with adults and peers. This is consistent with other studies of immigrants that have highlighted the critical need for building community within schools, particularly for marginalized students who "do better academically in school settings where they are respected and accepted as equal members of the larger school community" (Gibson et al., 2004, p. 145).

Peer influences were also related to academic achievement in complex ways. The effect of having academically oriented peers was associated with a 0.201 positive difference in ninth-grade GPA. This finding suggests that students benefit from peers who are engaged in school. However, the findings also showed that the number of hours spent socializing with friends had a smaller yet negative and statistically significant effect on achievement. Every hourly increment of time spent socializing with peers (i.e., less than 1 hour, 1-2 hours, 2-3 hours, 3-4 hours, 4-5 hours and 5 or more hours) was each associated with a 0.075 negative difference in ninth-grade GPA. This finding suggests that schools should maximize activities with academically oriented peers while minimizing non-academically focused peer-to-peer social activities.

Our study also revealed that academic achievement of immigrant students differed for second-generation immigrant Filipino and Mexican students in relation to white students. Our results showed a statistically significant second-generation academic advantage for Filipino students, but there were no intergenerational differences for Mexican-origin students. These results are not surprising given prior research showing that Mexican-origin students, regardless of their immigrant generational status, persistently and disproportionately underperform in school relative to their white peers (Lopez & Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Mosqueda & Maldonado, 2013). To this point, Gibson (1998) has stated, "we cannot assume a linear relation between generation in the

United States, years of school attendance, and economic and social mobility—with second-generation immigrants doing better than the first and the third surpassing the second" (p. 627). While our findings suggest that generational status is an important predictor of academic achievement for Filipino students, our results show that while the second-generation effect did not result in improved achievement for Mexican-origin students, the impact of belonging remained a significant predictor.

Conclusion

The findings in this study showed that immigrant high school Filipino and Mexican-origin students' perception of school belonging and peer influences play a strong role in shaping their academic achievement at the start of high school. The results also reveal that school belonging was a strong predictor of ninth grade GPA and that the effects of having a high sense of belonging were large enough to mitigate the negative effect associated with disparities in the achievement outcomes of Mexican-origin students. These findings contribute empirical evidence to the achievement-belonging relationship literature on immigrant students who have persistently under performed in U.S. schools.

While *Plyler v. Doe* protects immigrant students' access to a free K-12 public education, it does not guarantee equitable access to the resources needed to thrive in U.S. schools (Gonzales, 2011). This study captures how belonging influences the achievement of immigrant students as they navigate the social and academic dimensions of schools. While Mexican-origin immigrants face challenging prospects--their overwhelming poverty and their segregation in low-income communities (Lopez & Stanton-Salazar, 2001; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001)--the findings from this study suggest that supporting immigrant students in schools may require more than promoting inclusive school cultures. In addition to fostering a higher sense of school belonging, administrators and teachers must work to provide equitable access to social supports, learning opportunities, and teachers who can help students develop English proficiency (Gibson et al., 2004).

These findings have important implications for research, policy, and practice. First, it is important that teachers avoid viewing immigrant students from deficit perspectives and instead capitalize on opportunities to promote a sense of belonging in school to improve school engagement. Given that teachers spend the largest amount of time with students, they are better positioned to improve student engagement, support students' needs, and help them navigate the schooling system. A critical step toward sustaining supportive and engaging school environments would be to provide teachers with ongoing professional development and the resources necessary to foster their students' sense of school belonging.

Future research should investigate how the English proficiency of immigrant students can facilitate access to a more welcoming experience in school as well as access to networks of peer support. Gibson and Hidalgo (2009) remind us that for immigrant youth:

> what stands out as most important is having an individual who can develop a caring
> relationship with the students, who understands where the students are coming from and

the challenges they face, who speaks the home language of the students...and who can either directly provide, or connect students with, the resources they need. (p. 703)

In this study, investing time and resources in activities that foster feelings of school belonging for immigrant and non-immigrant students at the start of their high school experience is critical. In particular, establishing a school culture that emphasizes a sense of inclusion, teacher and administrator support, increases academic engagement, and helps students feel safe, will undoubtedly provide a strong academic foundation to build on throughout the remainder of their experience in high school.

NOTES

[1] Recall that the number of hours socializing with friends (HRFRIENDS) was coded in the following hourly increments: 1 = "less than 1 hour," 2= "1-2 hours," 3= "2-3 hours," 4 = "3-4 hours," 5 = "4-5 hours," and 6 = "5 or more hours."

REFERENCES

Allen, K., Kern, M. L., Vella-Brodrick, D.,Hattie, J., &, Waters, L. (2018). What schools need to know about fostering school belonging: A meta-analysis. *Educational Psychology Review, 30*, 1–34. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10648-016-9389-8

Anderman, L. H. (1999). Classroom goal orientation, school belonging and social goals as predictors of students' positive and negative affect following the transition to middle school. Journal of Research and Development in Education, 32, 89–103.

Anderman, L. H., & Anderman, E. M. (1999). Social predictors of changes in students' achievement goal orientations. *Contemporary Educational Psychology, 24*, 21–37. https://doi.org/10.1006/ceps.1998.0978

Anderman, E. M. (2002). School effects on psychological outcomes during adolescence. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 94*, 795–809. doi:10.1037/0022-0663.94.4.795

Baumeister, R. F., & Leary, M. R. (1995). The need to belong: Desire for interpersonal attachments as a fundamental human motivation. *Psychological Bulletin, 117*, 497–529. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.117.3.497

Becker, B. E., & Luthar, S. S. (2002). Social-emotional factors affecting achievement outcomes among disadvantaged students: Closing the achievement gap. *Educational Psychologist, 37*, 197–214. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15326985EP3704_1

Buote, C. A. (2001). Relations of autonomy and relatedness to school functioning and psychological adjustment during adolescence. *Dissertation Abstracts International, 61*(A), 4724–4845.

Cartmell, H., & Bond, C. (2015). What does belonging mean for young people who are international new arrivals? *Educational & Child Psychology, 32*(2), 89–101.

Conchas, G. Q. (2007) *The color of success: Race and high achieving urban youth*. Teachers College Press.

Conchas, G. Q., & Hinga, B. M. (2016.). *Cracks in the schoolyard: Confronting Latino educational inequality*. Teachers College Press.

Connell, J., & Wellborn, J. (1991). Competence, autonomy and relatedness: A motivational analysis of self-system processes. In M. R. Gunnar & L. A. Sroufe (Eds.), Self-processes and development (pp. 43–77). Lawrence Erlbaum.

Dabach, D. B., Suárez-Orozco, C., Hernandez, S. J., & Brooks, M. D. (2017). Future Perfect?: Teachers' Expectations and Explanations of their Latino Immigrant Students' Postsecondary Futures. *Journal of Latinos and Education*, 1-15. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348431.2017.1281809

Delpit, L. (1995). *Other people's children: Cultural conflict in the classroom*. New Press.

Espiritu, Y. L., & Wolf, D. L. (2001). The Paradox of assimilation: Children of Filipino immigrants in San Diego. In R. G. Rumbaut & A. Portes (Eds.), *Ethnicities: Children of immigrants in America* (pp. 157–186). University of California Press.

Faircloth, B., & Hamm, J. (2005). Sense of belonging among high school students representing four ethnic groups. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 34*(4), 293–309. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-005-5752-7

Ferguson, R. F. (2003). Teachers' perceptions and expectations and the Black-white test score gap. *Urban Education, 38*(4), 460–507. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085903038004006

Foner, N. (2005). *In a new land: A comparative view of immigration*). New York University Press.

Furrer, C., & Skinner, E. (2003). Sense of relatedness as a factor in children's academic engagement and performance. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 95*(1), 148–162. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.95.1.148

Gándara, P. C., O'hara, S., & Gutierrez, D. (2004). The changing shape of aspirations: Peer influence on achievement behavior. In M. Gibson, P. Gándara, & J. P. Koyama (Eds.), *School connections: U.S. Mexican youth, peers, and school achievement* (pp. 39–62). Teachers College Press.

Giano, Z., Tuttle, B. M., Merten, J. M., Gallus, K. L., Cox, R. B., & Shreffler, K.M. (2018). Parental documentation status and educational aspirations among Latino adolescents: Mediating effects of school connectedness and parental attitudes towards education. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 40(3), 279*–293. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986318770377

Gibson, M. A. (1998). Promoting academic success among immigrant youth: Is acculturation the issue? *Educational Policy, 12*, 615–633. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904898012006002

Gibson, M. A., Bejínez, L. F., Hidalgo, N., & Rolón, C. (2004). Belonging and school participation: Lessons from a migrant student club. In M. Gibson, P. Gándara, & J. P. Koyama (Eds.). *School connections: U.S. Mexican youth, peers, and school achievement* (pp. 129–149). Teachers College Press.

Gibson, M. A., Gándara, P. & Koyama J. P. (2004). *School connections: U.S. Mexican youth, peers, and school achievement*. Teachers College Press.

Gibson, M. A., Hidalgo, N. D. (2009). Bridges to success in high school for migrant youth. *Teachers College Record, 111*, 683-711.

Glasser, W. (1986). *Control theory in the classroom*. Perennial Library/Harper & Row.

Gonzales, R. G. (2011). Learning to be illegal: Undocumented youth and shifting legal contexts in the transition to adulthood. *American Sociological Review, 76*, 602–619. https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122411411901

Good, C., Rattan, A., & Dweck, C. S. (2012). Why do women opt out? Sense of belonging and women's representation in mathematics. *Journal of Personality Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 102*(4), 700–717. https://doi.org/10.1037/a0026659

Goodenow, C. (1992). Strengthening the links between educational psychology and the study of social contexts. *Educational Psychologist, 27*, 177–196. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15326985ep2702_4

Goodenow, C. (1993a). Classroom belonging among early adolescent students: Relationships to motivation and achievement. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 13*(1), 21–43. https://doi.org/10.1177/0272431693013001002

Goodenow, C. (1993b). The psychological sense of school membership among adolescents: Scale development and educational correlates. *Psychology in the Schools, 30*, 79–90. https://doi.org/10.1002/1520-6807(199301)30:1<79::AID-PITS2310300113>3.0.CO;2-X

Goodenow, C., & Grady, K. E. (1993). The relationship of school belonging and friends' values to academic motivation among urban adolescent students. Journal of Experimental Education, 62, 60–71. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220973.1993.9943831

Hagerty, B. M. K., Lynch-Sauer, J., Patusky, K. L., Bouwsema, M., & Collier, P. (1992). Sense of belonging: A vital mental health concept. *Archives of Psychiatric Nursing, 6*, 172–177. https://doi.org/10.1016/0883-9417(92)90028-h

Ingels, S.J., Pratt, D.J., Herget, D.R., Burns, L.J., Dever, J.A., Ottem, R., Rogers, J.E., Jin, Y., & Leinwand, S. (2011). High School Longitudinal Study of 2009 (HSLS:09). Base-Year Data File Documentation (NCES 2011-328). U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. https://nces.ed.gov/surveys/hsls09/pdf/2011328_1.pdf

Kao, G., & Tienda, M. (1995). Optimism and achievement: The educational performance of immigrant youth. *Social Science Quarterly, 76,* 1–19.

Korpershoek, H., Canrinus, E. T., Fokkens-Bruinsma, M., &, de Boer, H. (2020). The relationships between school belonging and students' motivational, social-emotional, behavioural, and academic outcomes in secondary education: A meta-analytic review. *Research Papers in Education, 35*(6), 641– 680. https://doi.org/10.1080/02671522.2019.1615116

Libbey, H. P. (2004). Measuring student relationships to school: Attachment, bonding, connectedness, and engagement. *Journal of School Health, 74*(7), 275–283. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1746-1561.2004.tb08284.x

Lopez, D. E., & Stanton-Salazar, R. D. (2001). Mexican Americans: A second generation at risk. In R. Rumbaut & A. Portes (Eds.), *Ethnicities* (pp. 57–88). University of California Press. https://doi.org/10.1525/california/9780520230118.003.0003

Loukas, A., Roalson, L. A., & Herrera, D. E. (2010). School connectedness buffers the effects of negative family relations and poor effortful control on early adolescent conduct problems. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 20*, 13–22. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2009.00632.x

Lee, V., & Loeb, S. (2000). School size in Chicago elementary schools: Effects on teachers' attitudes and students' achievement. *American Educational Research Journal, 37*, 5–31. https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312037001003

Lee, V. E., & Smith, J. B. (1996). Collective responsibility for learning and its effects on gains in achievement for early secondary school students. *American Journal of Education, 104*(2),

103–147. https://doi.org/10.1086/444122

McNamara, K., & Batalova, J. (2015). *Filipino immigrants in the United States*. Retrieved from http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/filipino-immigrants- united-states

Mosqueda, E. & Maldonado, S. I. (2013). The effects of English language proficiency and curricular pathways: Latina/os' mathematics achievement in secondary schools. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 46*(2), 202–219. https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2013.780647

Mosqueda, E., & Maldonado, S. I. (2020). Using Large-Scale Datasets to Amplify Equitable Learning in Urban Mathematics. *Journal of Urban Mathematics Education*, *13*(2), 26–41. https://doi.org/10.21423/jume-v13i2a381

Mosqueda, E. & Téllez, K. (2016). Contesting racism, marginalization, and Mexican immigrant youth: Examining the elusive path toward earning a diploma from a nontraditional high school. In G. Q. Conchas & B. M. Hinga (Eds.). *Cracks in the schoolyard: Confronting Latino educational inequality* (pp. 96–111). Teachers College Press.

Osterman, K. F. (2000). Students' need for belonging in the school community. *Review of Educational Research, 70*, 323–367. https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543070003323

Ocampo, A. C. (2016). *The Latinos of Asia: How Filipinos break the rules of race.* Stanford University Press.

Oseguera, L., Conchas, G. Q., & Mosqueda, E. (2010). Beyond family and ethnic culture: Understanding the preconditions for the potential realization of social capital. *Youth & Society, 43*(3), 1136–1166. https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X10382030

Ozer, J., Price Wolf, J., & Kong, C. (2008). Sources of perceived school connection among ethnically diverse urban adolescents. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 23*, 438–470. https://doi.org/10.1177/0743558408316725

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. (1996). *Immigrant America*. (2nd ed.). University of California Press.

Portes, A., & Rumbaut, R. (2001). *Legacies: The story of the second generation.* University of California Press.

Roeser, R. W., Midgley, C., & Urdan, T. C. (1996). Perceptions of the school psychological environment and early adolescents' psychological and behavioral functioning in school: The mediating role of goals and belonging. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 88*, 408–422. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.88.3.408

Ruiz-de-Velasco, J., & Fix, M. (2000). Overlooked and underserved: Immigrant students in US secondary schools. Urban Institute. https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/62316/310022-Overlooked-and-Underserved-Immigrant-Students-in-U-S-Secondary-Schools.PDF

Ryan, A., & Patrick, H. (2001). The classroom social environment and changes in adolescent motivation and engagement during middle school. *American Educational Research Journal, 38*, 437–460. https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312038002437

Sánchez, B., Colón, Y., & Esparza, P. (2005). The role of sense of school belonging and gender in the academic adjustment of Latino adolescents. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 34*, 619–628. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-005-8950-4

Sancho, M., & Cline, T. (2012). Fostering a sense of belonging and community as children start a new school. Educational and Child Psychology, 29, 64–73.

Sari, M. (2012). Sense of school belongingness among elementary school students. *Cukurova University Faculty of Education Journal, 41*(1), 1–11.

Slaten, C. D., Ferguson, J. K., Allen, K., Brodrick, D., & Waters, L. (2016). School belonging: A review of the history, current trends, and future directions. *Educational and Developmental Psychologist, 33*, 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1017/edp.2016.6

Stanton-Salazar, R. D. (2001). *Manufacturing hope and despair: The school and kin support networks of U.S.-Mexican youth.* Teachers College Press.

Stanton-Salazar, R. D. (2004). Social capital among working-class minority students. In M. A. Gibson, P., Gándara, & J. P. Koyama (Eds). *School connections: U.S. Mexican youth, peers, and school achievement*. Teachers College Press.

Suárez-Orozco, M. (2001). Globalization, immigration, and education: *The research agenda. Harvard Educational Review, 71*, 345–365. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.71.3.7521r l25282t3637

Suárez-Orozco, C., & Suárez-Orozco, M. (2001). Children of immigration. Harvard University Press.

Suárez-Orozco, C., Suárez-Orozco, M. M., & Todorova, I. (2008). Learning a new land: Immigrant students in American society. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Taylor, E. (1999). Do African American adolescents discourage academic excellence? An investigation of the relation between peer support and academic achievement. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, *60A*, 1453–1550.

Tenenbaum, H. R., & Ruck, M. D. (2007). Are teachers' expectations different for racial minority than for European American students? A meta-analysis. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 99*(2), 253–273. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.99.2.253

Walton, G. M., & Cohen, G. L. (2011). A brief social-belonging intervention improves academic and health outcomes of minority students. *Science Journal, 331*, 1447–1451. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1198364

Wolf, D. L. (1997). Family secrets: Transnational struggles among children of Filipino immigrants. *Sociological Perspectives, 40*, 457–482. https://doi.org/10.2307/1389452

Wentzel, K. (1993). Does being good make the grade? Social behavior and academic competence in middle school. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 85*, 357–365. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.85.2.357

Wentzel, K. R. (1997). Student motivation in middle school: The role of perceived pedagogical caring. Journal of Educational Psychology, 89, 411–419. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.89.3.411

Yeager, D. S., & Walton, G. M. (2011). Social–psychological interventions in education: They're not magic. *Review of Educational Research, 81*, 267–301. https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654311405999

Zhou, M. (2001). Straddling different worlds: The acculturation of Vietnamese refugee children. In R. Rumbaut & A. Portes (Eds.). *Ethnicities* (pp. 187–227). University of California Press.

IT IS NOT IF, BUT WHEN: ORGANIZATIONAL AND LEADERSHIP RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE UPCOMING DEMAND FOR EXPANDED DL PROGRAMS AND THEIR ARTICULATION

Eduardo R. Muñoz-Muñoz
San José State University, CA

Allison Briceño
San José State University, CA

AUTHOR NOTE:
Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Eduardo R. Muñoz-Muñoz, Educational Leadership Doctoral Program, Connie L. Lurie College of Education, San José State University, San José, California 95192. E-mail: eduardo.munoz-munoz@sjsu.edu

ABSTRACT

Within a policy climate that is permissive to Dual Language (DL) programs in California and within the social context of the ongoing gentrification of those programs, this case study explored the leadership and organizational structures required to expand DL programs beyond the elementary years. We asked: (1) What organizational arrangements may favor educational success in expanded K-12 pathways? (2) What leadership moves promote the development of cohesion and coherence within and across DL programs? Data collection included interviews, focus groups, and classroom observations with administrators, teachers, parents and students across all 8 DL schools in a large urban school district in California. The primary organizational issues that impacted the program's success were a lack of articulation, a problematic DL middle school experience, weak relational trust, and an absence of professional learning and collaboration opportunities. In anticipation of an increased DL program demand, recommendations based on social justice and programmatic coherence are offered and discussed.

Keywords: *Dual language education, K-12 Dual Language program organization, secondary Dual Language, leadership, program coherence*

Introduction: Grounding Equitable Multilingual Aspirations on Experience

Proposition 58's passage in California in 2016 marked a new era of opportunity for hitherto restricted primary language educational programs. Until that moment, Proposition 227 had established English as the sole means of instruction and imposed accessibility obstacles on bilingual education, particularly for linguistically-minoritized populations. The combination of that "language as a problem" (Ruiz, 1984) policy with the stringent accountability policies heralded by No Child Left Behind Act (2002) resulted in a forceful reduction of the number of bilingual programs and a push for their limitation to the lower elementary grades (Crawford, 2007). The effects of this restrictive ethos soon spread to other states in the nation, seemingly striking a widespread sentiment of nationalism (Ulanoff, 2014).

Proposition 58's reversal and repudiation of California's English-only restrictions created the legislative and regulatory conditions for the propagation of increasingly popular Dual Language (DL) programs (California Department of Education, 2018). However, the U.S. public educational system has historically struggled with the educational needs of language minorities, under the premise that English was the target language for the development of Americanness (Flores & Rosa, 2019). The issues have been structural (e.g., resources, curricular design, educator, or leadership capacity) but rooted in the nation's political and ideological antinomies. In this context, DL programs presented a bypass to the conflicting ground of bilingual education in the U.S. (the "b-word" see Muñoz-Muñoz, Poza, & Briceño, in press): a pathway to equity for linguistically minoritized populations while conveying additional capitals to the entire population. Accordingly, this demand for--and gentrification of--Dual Language (DL) programs is partly a result of interest convergence between white and Latinx families around DL education (Morales & Maravilla, 2019; Valdez, Delavan, & Freire, 2016). In light of this state of affairs and interests, considerable pressure may be exerted in the foreseeable future to expand the number and scope of DL programs.

As DL programs and districts move to expand from traditional elementary settings to secondary settings, they will likely aim to resemble and learn from the arrangements and experiences from the still limited DL K-12 programs in the country ("mimetic isomorphism," see DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Since the title offers what the authors conceive as a felicitous prediction, this article aims to respond to the following questions: What organizational arrangements may favor educational success in expanded K-12 pathways? What leadership moves promote the development of cohesion and coherence within and across DL programs? This article undertakes these questions in the empirical context of a case study on the DL programs carried out at San Pedro Unified School District (SPUSD), an urban district in California with a K-12 DL pathway. The article will assess the knowledge in the extant literature, provide an analysis of context-specific findings, and elaborate on implications that researchers and practitioners are invited to transfer to their settings. In doing so, this case study and its implications contribute conceptually to establish connections between the general organizational literature and the burgeoning field of DL education in the U.S. Based on this article´s predictions, expanding DL programs (both self-contained or across sites) and their communities, may find the conclusions transferable to their contexts.

Literature review: Organizational Leadership Meets Dual Language Programs
Dual Language Programs: Scope and Organization

The wave of English-only legislation in the 1990s did not prevent the field from engaging in research about the organization of bilingual and DL programs. During this period, leadership-

focused articles can be found that already emphasize the importance of vision clarity, informed leadership, and meaningful stakeholder engagement for DL education to deliver "its promise" (Aguirre-Baeza, 2001; Howard & Christian, 2002; Kirk Senesac, 2002; Montecel & Danini, 2002; Palmer, 2007). However, the conflicted ideological space and the programs available contributed to reinforcing an elementary education lens on bilingual education research. For example, amidst the staunch English-only accountability imposed by the NCLB+Prop227 binomial, Gold (2006) published his "Successful Bilingual Schools" report with a strong emphasis on capturing leadership and organizational characteristics behind its six cases studies. A daring example of bilingual education defense in this context, it capitalized on the academic benefits of bilingualism with examples of schools predominantly following a K-3 bilingual transitional model. This, at times self-imposed, limitation on the scope of bilingual program research lingers to this day.

Similarly, the equity and social justice imbalance of dual language education remains unresolved. Heralding the gravity of this contention, Valdés (1997) issued a prescient cautionary note about the equity implications in DL programs' organization. One consequence of the greater numbers of white students and families in programs that have traditionally served primarily minoritized students is a need for structures and leadership practices to maintain the social justice perspective for which DL programs are known (Henderson et al., 2018; Palmer et al., 2019). However, there is little research on secondary DL programs, and little is known about how to implement well-articulated, coherent DL programs past the elementary years (Terry et al., 2017).

Narrowing down the focus to recent secondary bilingual program literature, de Jong and Bearse (2014) showed traditional middle school structures made it difficult to enact equal status between the two languages and maintain bilingual spaces and perspectives. With no curricular crosslinguistic connections and no collaboration, an outcome was a pervasive monolingual perspective in the DL program. Another consequence of a lack of coherence was the added burden DL teachers have of translating and adapting curricular materials, which is not compensated and can lead to burn out and turnover (Amanti, 2019).

Currently, DL programs have limited guidance. The Center for Applied Linguistics' *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* (Howard et al., 2018) provides three core goals for DL programs: (1) bilingualism and biliteracy, (2) academic achievement, and (3) sociocultural competence. Palmer and colleagues (2019) suggested a fourth goal, arguing that critical consciousness "enables educators and other members of school communities to develop political and ideological clarity about the purpose of schooling, interrogate the status quo, disrupt deficit thinking about minoritized groups, and consider alternative explanations for student underachievement" (p. 123). Nowadays, practitioners count on the Guiding Principles as the target (i.e., the "what"). Still, there is an urgent need for research on organizational and leadership processes to expand the traditional DL grade scope (i.e., the "how") in the present educational and sociological moment. Next, we will discuss how the literature on leadership and coherence can inform the field of DL education.

Lessons from Coherence and Collaborative Leadership

Promoting a bridge between the leadership and organizational literature and DL education is one of the expected intellectual contributions in this article, particularly as it concerns the upcoming need to consider a widespread expansion of the DL programs grade span. *Coherence* (2016) by Fullan and Quinn has been seminal in analyzing the SPUSD case study and offers promise to the DL field. They define coherence as "the shared depth of understanding about the nature of the work" and "not simply alignment of alignment of goals, resources, and structures,

although that may help" (Quinn & Fullan, 2016, p. 30). This definition overlaps significantly with a much-needed articulation within DL programs. Thus, an effective realization of a DL program entails not only an intimate, communal understanding of the stakeholder´s shared educational principles, but also the added dimension of their multilingual praxis. In other words, the stakes for coherence could be said to be higher in DL since the educational fitness of this model is predicated on the concerted linguistic vision and efforts of educators across the grades and anchored in the evolving sociopolitical and sociolinguistic context of California. The interaction of the four change leadership dimensions of coherence (focusing direction, cultivating collaborative cultures, securing accountability, and deepening learning) may help focus the work of articulation at DL school sites in their way to "collective efficacy." SPUSD´s case study illuminates the challenge to attune these dimensions, as leaders and teachers share a multilingual vision and commitment but struggle to define the nature of their local collaborative culture in which learning is multidirectional and involves all agents.

Fullan and Quinn's ideas can be complemented and elevated to a higher level of systemic complexity with the work of Johnson and colleagues' (2015) *Achieving Coherence in District Improvement*. Based on their study of five school districts, this work illuminates central office and school site relations' challenges and the dynamics between centripetal and centrifugal change forces. The book addresses a critical question that rings familiar to SPUSD and other districts launching DL programs: "Where should decisions be made, in the schools or at the central office?" (p. 5). Johnson and colleagues articulate the notion of coherence beyond a single organizational construct or unit to specifically highlight the dynamic interplay between these two codependent substructures inside school districts. In the case of SPUSD, concerned with coherence among several DL programs within its organizational boundaries, considering the dialectic between central and peripheral leaders became essential to conceive the prospects of future cross-district coherence. While offering a coherence framework model of their own, the authors highlight the elusiveness of attaining productive relationships that appear balanced and inspire trust to stakeholders, which rings true from the findings in this case study. A common strand across this literature emphasizes collaborative relationships, which this article subscribes and recommends as a critical conclusion to carry forward in the quest for multilingual program coherence.

Methods

Case study methodology was employed to describe and analyze the "bounded system" (Merriam, 2009, p. 40) of San Pedro Unified School District's (SPUSD)[1] K-8 DLI program. Case studies enable researchers to develop in-depth understandings of particular systems (Yin, 2017; Merriam, 2009; Stake, 1995) and the methodology itself acknowledges that "reality is constructed by individuals interacting with their social worlds" (Merriam, 1998, p. 6). Since the social worlds of DL programs are intended to differ from monolingual programs, case study research is frequently used in bilingual education research (e.g., DeMatthews & Izquierdo, 2020; Freeman, 2000; LaChance, 2017, 2018).

Context and Participants

This study occurred in SPUSD, a large, urban school district in California that serves over 30,000 pre-K through twelfth-grade students in 41 schools. The district houses Spanish/English DL programs in four elementary schools, one K-8 school, two middle schools, and two high schools. Forty-two percent of students receive free or reduced lunch, 53% of students are Latinx,

---

[1] Pseudonym

23 percent of students are classified as English Learners (ELs), and 85% of ELs speak Spanish at home. Like many other DL programs, the district's DL schools have been experiencing gentrification recently and are struggling to get sufficient numbers of what they consider to be Spanish-speaking students (Heiman & Murakami, 2019; Heiman & Yanes, 2018; Valdez et al., 2016).

This study intentionally explored a wide range of organizational factors and perspectives in the DL programs. Participants included principals, teachers, students, instructional coaches, and family members for each of the 5 elementary and 3 middle schools. The wide range of perspectives enabled us to identify concerns across constituent groups and focus on structural issues. We were introduced to all principals and instructional coaches through SPUSD's district office. Each principal recruited students, teachers, and families from their schools to participate in this study. Notably, the findings reported in this article reflect organizational issues among educators, but due to space limitations, we do not present the wealth of information obtained about the importance of community and parental engagement in DL programs.

Data Sources and Analysis

The primary data sources were interactional data collected by means of individual interviews and focus groups and DL classroom observations (see Table 1). Interviews and focus groups were conducted following a semi-structured protocol (Merriam & Tisdell, 2015) modeled after the descriptors found in the Guiding Principles for Dual Language Immersion (Howard et al., 2018). A total of 13 focus groups and seven individual interviews were conducted, totaling approximately 22 hours of recordings. In addition, district documents were analyzed and classroom visits were conducted. Instruction in all middle schools and most elementary DL classrooms was observed using a protocol based on the Guiding Principles.

Table 1. Data Sources

Population	Data collection	Duration (minutes)	Number of participants
Principals	Focus group, interviews, and surveys	55 - 75	7
Coaches	Interviews, focus group	50 - 70	3
Teachers	Three focus groups	60-90	15
Students	5 Focus groups	40 - 50	30
Families	3 Focus groups, interviews	70 - 90	15

Interview and focus group information was cross-referenced with district-provided and publicly available documents about the DL programs in SPUSD and classroom observations. Further validity of the results was reinforced by secondary sources such as data from administrator surveys and member checks with district administrators who manage DL programs.

Analysis of the data was based on pattern coding (Saldaña, 2012) and iterative parsing of the information to identify salient themes, either by repetition or relative strength of the data. A

constructivist approach was used to interpret the data and evaluate the program's organizational and leadership strengths and challenges through holistic, empirical, interpretive, and emphatic lenses (Stake, 1995). The researchers engaged in frequent interactions to verify preliminary conclusions based on the analysis and case analysis meetings (Miles & Huberman, 1994) to discuss the school sites both as individual cases and as part of the whole. Qualitative analysis software was used to keep track of emerging themes across data sources.

<div align="center">

Analytical Presentation of Findings

</div>

This section synthesizes the study's main findings from all constituent groups as a foundation for the discussion of our proposals for next steps. The following sections represent the thematic clustering of data as it emerged from the data sources and analysis described above, upon which a critical interpretive lens has been added.

Articulation as an Issue

Participants' concordance in referencing articulation, or consistency in curriculum, pedagogy, and goals across grades, as an issue makes it particularly salient. Besides the interactional data, a lack of articulation also was evident in instructional observations. One aspect of articulation is alignment, or the intentional congruence of curriculum, instruction, and assessment (Squires, 2012). While there was a substantial level of curricular alignment among the elementary classrooms, there was a disconnect between middle school and elementary (stage-transition) and among middle school teachers (horizontal and vertical, within and across grades). For example, in one Spanish language arts class, a textbook was used to "teach" about gendered nouns and their related articles. This content, typically accomplished in a Spanish 1 course, appeared inconsistent with other DL middle school courses' expectations, including writing narratives, reading grade-level Spanish texts, and completing social studies presentations in Spanish.

Competing demands and different foci across the K-12 pathway revealed that lack of curricular alignment was symptomatic of more profound and abstract differences in pedagogical stances and ideologies. Thus, focus group discussions exposed how middle school teachers appeared to be caught in the disconnect between the elementary and high school Spanish language arts programs' goals. Elementary DL programs promote bilingualism and biliteracy for all, focusing on communicative competence. In contrast, middle school teachers and parents expressed that the Spanish AP test had a more significant focus on grammar. During focus groups, teacher discussions showed how middle school teachers' investment in promoting student performance in high school produces pedagogical friction with their concurrent desire for a more holistic approach to language pedagogy, as generally exhibited by their elementary counterparts.

With a general agreement about the need for alignment/articulation, significant differences emerged in regard as to how to accomplish it. The diverging yet potentially complementary angles towards the idea align with the constituencies of our focus groups and interviews: teachers emphasized the importance of professional connections in collaboration and coaches and administrators stressed the importance of curricular comprehensiveness. Similarly, there were differences regarding the scope of articulation, with administrators focusing on a solid K-8 bridge while middle school teachers advocated for recognition of earlier collaboration with their high school colleagues. At the time of the study, the differences in the process had led to significant dissonances, as exemplified by the following teacher:

In the past, it was always like we want you to know very well where point A is and very well where point B is. About how you get your kids from point A to point B you can be very creative and talk to people and collaborate just as long as you get them from point A to point B, and that's always the way that has been for the past six years and all of a sudden, they are being very rigid, "no I just want you to do with this way because is what we [administrators] want, we want uniformity."

While the previous quote illustrates the dynamics between agency versus structure, context-adaptability versus fidelity of implementation, top-down versus bottom-up reform, there were signs of hope that may make this district a fertile ground for reform. When asked about the types of PD they wanted for their teachers, administrator and coach responses included ideas such as "building teacher leadership from within," "supporting teachers to do vertical articulation, K through 12," and "looking at assessment, but empowering teachers to be part of those decisions." Principals wanted the district to support intra-district collaboration that resulted in "having our DL teachers feel valued."

The remaining challenge is critically reassessing organizational culture, establishing a clear understanding of agency, and redefining inherited professional identity preconceptions. Thus, across different constituencies, elementary teachers were described as "rule followers" who "go with the flow" and "follow the procedures," while middle school teachers apparently needed ongoing reminders about procedures. While elementary teachers were construed as more amenable and aligned with top-down initiatives ("doing what the district tells them to do such as working with students in small groups or individually"), some middle school teachers in the study self-described as less likely to be "rule followers" and were more inclined toward grassroots pedagogical arrangements.

The Bilingual Middle School Experience

The multiple layers of data indicate that the locus of tension is focalized in middle school. While middle school organization and scheduling can generally be complex, DL requires the added layers of having particular courses in Spanish, taught by authorized bilingual teachers, and students having an additional class each day: Spanish Language Arts. In SPUSD, educators at all levels were concerned both by the more technical, inward-looking process of developing DL articulation and by the overall quality of bilingual education for the students, which for the purposes of analysis was termed the "bilingual middle school experience." Such experience was particularly affected and intertwined with structural issues such as the students being spread across three DL demographically distinct sites in SPUSD, course access and scheduling challenges, and teacher recruitment and retention.

Scheduling and middle school teacher retention were closely linked in the current DL structure, as DL middle school teachers stated having as many as five different courses to prepare for daily due to the limited numbers of DL students at each school (i.e., DL student body spread across sites). A higher preparation load and additional "bilingual tasks" compared to English monolingual teachers led to feelings of resentment of unequal workload (Amanti, 2019). As a result of this and perceived leadership issues, the K-8 DL school had lost all of its four middle school bilingual teachers the prior June, and all middle school principals expressed concern about bilingual teacher retention.

Middle school principals expressed concern about how scheduling issues impacted DL students. The reduced enrollment numbers of middle school students at each of the schools resulted

in the need for strict cohorting. In the current model, Spanish language arts was the DL students' elective. Consequently, student, teacher, and principal interviews emphasized resentment toward not having access to other important electives such as science (if they choose to take band or drama) or English reading intervention courses for students who needed them. Exacerbating this instructional equity issue, one principal expressed that there were some very low English reading levels in DL students, but parents tended to opt out of English reading intervention in favor of other electives. DL middle school students agreed when one student forcefully demanded, "DL *needs* to stop counting as an elective!" In trying to provide an equal number of classes and equivalent student schedules in the DL and English-only strands, equity for DL students was lost.

The small numbers of DL students at each school also resulted in middle school students having the same teachers for multiple subjects and across multiple years of the middle school experience. While this could be construed as a benefit when the teachers are experienced and effective, the focus groups exposed that it generated deep frustration and programmatic instability for parents, students, teachers, and administrators in instances when the district had to resort to under-prepared long-term substitutes. Regardless, middle school students expressed concern about the limited number of bilingual teachers and instructional diversity, which led to one student vehemently stating: "We didn't have the time for the really organic, life-changing lessons that kids really should be having."

While all stakeholders laid out similar expectations, the students themselves conveyed the more poignant and straightforward argument for additional student leadership opportunities and ownership of their schooling experience. They expressed frustration with some of the current teaching practices and asked for more relevant instruction, connections to what is going on in the world today, and options in how they show mastery of standards. Currently, they said, "no hay opciones" ("there aren't any options").

Scope and Sequence as a Solution?

Having identified structural and curricular issues in the DL experience and articulation as a core organizational issue at SPUSD's DL programs, coaches and teachers grappled with a scope and sequence guide as a solution. With administrators' support, the coaches envisioned a scope and sequence tool as the logical next step to guarantee the basic degree of curricular homogeneity and comprehensiveness in schools and programs across the district. In order to obtain these desired outcomes, they had worked with some teachers in a small committee. However, some teachers objected to this approach as implemented, which was perceived to be suppressing their agency to develop curriculum and ignoring prior collaboration efforts. The teacher perspective that follows shows one side of this argument:

> "We all came for a meeting in argumentation which is our unit two […] Okay I will go and try to make a plan so that it makes sense and a new teacher can follow so working with a fellow teacher we did that […], we came back to the second meeting, and they had scrapped our work, they gave us back the form that we have been working on the computer, they had, I think the word is populated, they claimed that, "you know guys the work that you have been doing is really good, but now we moved you to week three, and we also added in some standards that you forgot." Well, we didn't forget.

As discussed in the prior section, we have two classic opposing views of reform in the DL program: top-down change towards articulation actively pursued by the administration versus bottom-up collaborative processes advocated by teachers. Their disparate theories of action, either

implicit or explicit, set them apart and have implications for their unfolding relational trust. Critical to the micropolitics of this reform effort (Ball, 1987), the scope and sequence as implemented did not have traction among experienced teachers. The legitimacy of these teachers' experience could be empirically attested and rested in their seniority, established local professional network, and the support from the parent constituency group. This dilemmatic scenario opposes organic teacher collaboration, which lacked mid- and long-term direction, versus a managerial homogenization of practices that feels irrelevant to the professional identity of practitioners and their lived context.

Relational trust

One precondition for any meaningful and lasting change in organizations is relational trust (Coleman, 2012). SPUSD's "managed instruction," or centralized, rigid, curricular scope and sequence, was interpreted by most teachers in the focus groups as a lack of trust from the district's central office. Adding to this perception, one site administrator stated: "We're a *very* managed instruction district," and it feels "stifling." From a reform process perspective, a different principal thought that the shift to managed instruction had reached its climax and that the pendulum would soon start swinging back: "When we swing back, we're ready for more shared leadership." Other principals directly connected managed instruction to a lack of shared leadership. One said, "Right now, shared leadership is limited [...] Lately, my DL teachers have been concerned that decisions are being made without them being a part of it, and they haven't felt valued." Middle school leadership had reasons to be concerned about a lack of shared leadership since they mediated between central office mandates and the teachers. In this context, one teacher portrayed her reaction to the circumstances surrounding a planning event involving teachers from several school sites:

> And this year, we're going to start coordinating just with elementary school, forget your relationship with high school. That's not literally what they said, but they sent an email and they explicitly told us that the high school teachers were uninvited to our planning sessions in June, last June even though, from the beginning, that had always been there. They explicitly said: "do not come," and they told them we are no longer going to score together, so it is just very confusing. And upsetting.

This testimony is explicitly a subjective interpretation of events, but it objectively represents a lack of trust as to the motivations, framing, and communication procedures in the centralized push for a K-8 articulation. Reflecting the other side of the story, this study encountered multiple instances in which leaders empathetically tried to account for frayed relationships and recognized the historical and structural pressures. Thus, one coach stated:

> I think what has happened if we look at the history of our district... It is amazing that they saw the vision of the K-12 model, [but what happened] is that it grew too fast and because it grew too fast it has left holes, and how we can bring that feeling that you see at Holy Oak [pseudonym for the K-8 DL-only school in the district] to other sites where it is split. And when it's split […] It is left with the feeling of us and them.

The theory of action behind the controversial scope and sequence initiative assumes the district needed to involve teachers outside Holy Oak School meaningfully. Still, they seemed to have failed to reach important constituents that would have given the effort legitimacy, traction, and buy-in among the broader professional community. In several instances, the teachers, who

logically are the ultimate implementers of curriculum, expressed distrust to engage in collegial endeavors. Further entrenched in perceptions of professional identities, they characterized the scope and sequence as a process led "by an elementary education mindset" that seems not to validate their upper-grade teachers' expertise. Lack of relational trust thwarted potential remedies to lack of collegiality, thus constructing a vicious cycle. At one point in the focus groups, the researchers probed the teachers about the possibility of establishing cycles of peer-observation as a self-directed route toward articulation. Still, objections were raised based on fears derived from previous observation experiences characterized as "gotcha observations."

Teacher Collaboration and Professional Development

Teachers and principals across the district identified the need for ongoing, DL-specific professional learning opportunities. Generally, principals with a background as bilingual teachers felt comfortable in their knowledge of DL but wanted to learn about the most recent research. In the interviews and focus groups, they specifically wanted opportunities to talk to other administrators (both inside and outside the district) and discuss concrete scenarios and approaches to DL organization.

Administrators declared that the teacher PD they organized for their teachers was the same for DL and monolingual English teachers. The one noteworthy exception was the full K-8 DL school where all teachers implement DL instruction. Administrators stated that they were unsure about the content and frequency of additional PD that the teachers may be getting at the central office and elsewhere. Such uncertainty got in the way of the previously expressed desires for teachers' developed agency and professional growth.

Teachers also expressed a desire for more PD and collaboration, within their school sites, across SPUSD DL programs, and external PD from conferences or visiting other DL programs. As one educator stated:

> I wish that we had more access to professional development that addressed issues of TWBI because I think what we provide at the site is kind of geared toward everyone, it isn't necessarily differentiated … I wish there was more access to outside things. We have to ask permission to do anything that isn't straight from our district.

Additionally, there appeared to be less opportunity for coaching and collaboration among DL teachers. DL middle school teachers tended to feel somewhat isolated at their schools, a feeling echoed in the coaches' empathetic concern that DL teachers were being coached less frequently than other teachers. One coach noted, "I am a district coach. I go to almost all school sites and I can count on one hand how many times I have coached a TWBI teacher, and there is only two of us." Clearly, more support for the district's DL teachers would be helpful as SPUSD attempts to make significant curricular changes.

Implications: From Findings to DL Action

This article started by urging the field to consider the multilevel leadership and organizational implications of a critical transformation that is coming: the increased demand for full K-12 DL programs. The case study of SPUSD illustrates and helps formulate the complex leadership challenges that school districts in California and the rest of the country are already undergoing or will soon undergo. However, in educational institutions, problems and solutions are loosely-coupled (Weick, 1976), implying that intended changes are not felt simultaneously or uniformly across the organization, but rather in a sequential, adaptive way. Accordingly, we urge the leaders across the country inspired by their community needs and multilingual assets to

consider the contextual dynamics of their district in the current day and time, continually fine-tuning to the needs of the contexts and the humans that partake in the DL endeavor.

In proposing empirically-based implications toward **cohesive, well-articulated DL programs**, districts need to consider multilevel agency, collaborative and distributed leadership, concurrency and synergy of initiatives, and, fundamentally, an equity lens. An initiative like SPUSD's scope and sequence may serve districts in their objective to unify and guarantee services across programs. However, ensuring that the initiative is framed to recognize the professional community's assets is critical to avoid reductionist perceptions of the project as merely a top-down process. Based on SPUSD's struggle to bring the scope and sequence to fruition, it seems fit to recommend prioritizing the engagement of pivotal teachers so as to endow legitimacy to the resulting outcomes. Below we list five suggestions that districts can take to align district goals with administrator and teacher implementation and student needs.

The scope and sequence project at SPUSD took on the status of a symbolic battleground between the teachers and district administrators. It, therefore, had to be addressed with urgency if it was to remain viable. In this respect, the researchers first recommend **de-emphasizing uniformity by creating institutionalized "breathing spaces" or purposeful, compartmentalized segments in the scope and sequence where teachers can exercise choice**. Such spaces capitalize on localized teacher expertise and open the way to collaboration and change, which in any case, the teachers were fundamentally opposing. In this regard, leadership moves that recognize and validate existing experiences (e.g., setting up collaboration with high school teachers in planning sessions, asset-oriented reframing of the messaging and content of new initiatives or structures) is of paramount importance.

Second, the inequitable bilingual middle school experience issues resulted from the lack of critical mass of DL students and teachers at the middle schools. Accordingly, leaders and districts in similar situations (either by a demographic imbalance or because programs are in an initial phase of implementation) may benefit from considering **concentrating students in a single DL middle school**. While de Jong and Bearse (2014) identified ways traditional middle school structures could interfere with DL programs, many of the issues related to middle school in this study, such as scheduling and teacher retention issues, have the potential to be solved by having a critical mass of DL students at a school. Such action would logically require strategic sequential implementation, community engagement, and effective messaging of the rationale. De Jong and Bearse's (2014) cautions should be augmented with considerations for equitable choices for program geographical location and their impact on minoritized students.

Third, **intentional and asset-based framing of any scope and sequence initiative is an important step towards developing or restoring relational trust among educators**. Additionally, the creation and maintenance of distributive leadership structures such as site Instructional Leadership Teams (ILTs) can endow the programs with continuity and historical perspective, besides embodying a distributive leadership model that dignifies the role of all stakeholders (Juracka, 2018). Purposeful design and systemic implementation across the district DL schools may improve communication, create the conditions to avert a crisis, and disseminate the implementation of a consensus-based scope and sequence.

One way to address the issue of relational trust is to create learning communities. Accordingly, as a fourth implication, **DL-specific professional development** is needed for programs to prosper not only to incorporate new pedagogical practices but to increase DL educators' sense of appreciation and relational trust. Recommended in *Guiding Principles for Dual Language Education* (Howard et al., 2018), DL-specific professional development has been shown

to improve both teachers' performance and student outcomes (Buysse et al., 2010). Shared professional development also increases "horizontal relationships," which diminish the perception that reform is essentially top-down or vertical. In SPUSD, a point of connection across educators was the desire to extend their DL-focused learning to improve their students' DL experiences, which presents an opportunity to stimulate the educators' identity as lifelong learners, prompt their engagement in "change," and honor their commitment to their district and community.

Last, **developing a collegial, dynamic professional culture may help retain the existing bilingual teachers and attract recruits to the enticing project of a solid K-12 DL pathway.** SPUSD's DL program and other districts could also create a "grow your own" teacher pipeline in collaboration with local universities, as modeled by "teacher residency" programs or by state-incentivized programs such as the Bilingual Teacher Professional Development Program (BTPDP) in California[2]. The bilingual teacher shortage was in all interviewees' minds and focus group participants, who conveyed a range of emotions from anxiety to urgency about the need to maintain the integrity and quality of their DL programs.

Conclusion: The Road Ahead

A comprehensive K-12 DL program is elusive in most districts due to structural issues such as curricular alignment and confusion regarding what DL should look like beyond the elementary years. A lack of a clear vision that addresses the program's purpose and goals and explicitly defines the social justice framework (or not) also contributes to confusion regarding how the DL program should be enacted. The constituents in this study had similar concerns around K-8 curricular alignment: the level of managed instruction versus teacher agency, the middle school experience, and the relational trust that was damaged in the process of attempting to develop a scope and sequence. We propose specific solutions to the issues identified and argue that an aligned vision that is well understood by all constituents--site and district administrators, coaches, teachers, students, and families--is needed to develop a cohesive and coherent DL program. While we focus on the K-8 in this case study, PK-12 structures are needed-urgently-as the field races to find solutions that work for DL program success during this window in which the sociological demand and policy climate are in place for success.

REFERENCES

Aguirre-Baeza, L. (2001). Creating two-way dual language schools through effective leadership. *Educational Horizons*, *79*(4), 167–170.

Amanti, C. (2019). The (invisible) work of Dual Language Bilingual Education teachers. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *42*(4), 455–470. https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2019.1687111

Ball, S. J. (1987). *The micro-politics of the school*. Methuen & Co.

Buysse, V., Castro, D. C., & Peisner-Feinberg, E. (2010). Effects of a professional development program on classroom practices and outcomes for Latino dual language learners. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, *25*(2), 194–206. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecresq.2009.10.001

California Department of Education. (2018). *Global California 2030: Speak, learn, lead*. https://www.cde.ca.gov/eo/in/documents/globalca2030report.pdf

---

[2] https://www.cde.ca.gov/pd/ps/btpdpgrants.asp

Coleman, A. (2012). The significance of trust in school-based collaborative leadership. *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, *15*(1), 79–106. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603124.2011.578755

Crawford, J. (2007). The decline of bilingual education: How to reverse a troubling trend? *International Multilingual Research Journal, 1*(1), 245-260. https://doi.org/10.1080/19313150709336863

de Jong, E. J., & Bearse, C. I. (2014). Dual language programs as a strand within a secondary school: dilemmas of school organization and the TWI mission. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *17*(1), 15-31. https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2012.725709

DeMatthews, D. E., & Izquierdo, E. (2020). Supporting Mexican American immigrant students on the border: A case study of culturally responsive leadership in a dual language elementary school. *Urban Education, 55*(3), 362-393. https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085918756715

DiMaggio, P., & Powell, W. (1983). The iron cage revisited: Institutional isomorphism and collective rationality in organizational fields. *American Sociological Review*, *48*(2), 147–160. https://doi.org/10.2307/2095101

Flores, N., & Rosa, J. (2019). Bringing race into second language acquisition. *The Modern Language Journal*, *103*, 145-151. https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12523

Freeman, R. (2000). Contextual challenges to dual-language education: A case study of a developing middle school program. *Anthropology & Education quarterly, 31*(2), 202-229. https://doi.org/10.1525/aeq.2000.31.2.202

Fullan, M., & Quinn, J. (2016). *Coherence, the right drivers for schools, districts, and systems*. Corwin Thousand Oaks.

Gold, N. (2006). *Successful bilingual schools: Six effective programs in California*. San Diego County Office of Education. https://web.stanford.edu/~hakuta/Courses/Ed205X%20Website/Resources/Gold%20SBS_Report_FINAL.pdf

Heiman, D., & Murakami, E. (2019). "It was like a magnet to bring people in": School administrators' responses to the gentrification of a Two-Way Bilingual Education (TWBE) program in central Texas. *Journal of School Leadership*, *29*(6), 454–472. https://doi.org/10.1177/1052684619864702

Heiman, D., & Yanes, M. (2018). Centering the fourth pillar in times of TWBE gentrification. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, *12*(3), 173–187. https://doi.org/10.1080/19313152.2018.1474064

Henderson, K. I., Martín-Corredor, L., & Caffrey, G. (2018). Issues of equity in dual language bilingual education. In N. Avineri, L. R. Graham, E. J. Johnson, R. Conley Riner, & J. Rosa (Eds.), *Language and social justice in practice* (pp. 63–71). Routledge.

Howard, E. R., & Christian, D. (2002). *Two-way immersion 101: Designing and implementing a two-way immersion education program at the elementary level*. Center for Research on Education, Diversity, and Excellence . https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7cm4v2f5

Howard, E. R., Lindholm-Leary, K., Rogers, D. Olague, N., Medina, J., Kennedy, B., Sugarman, J., & Christian, D. (2018). *Guiding principles for dual language education* (3rd ed.). Center for Applied Linguistics.

Johnson, S. M., Marietta, G., Higgins, M. C., Mapp, K. L., & Grossman, A. (2015). *Achieving coherence in district improvement: Managing the relationship between the central office and schools*. Harvard Education Press.

Juracka, S. (2018). *Employee engagement through the instructional leadership team* (Publication No. 326) [Doctoral dissertation, National Louis University]. Digital Commons @NLU.

Kirk Senesac, B. V. (2002). Two-way bilingual immersion: A portrait of quality schooling. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *26*(1), 85–101. https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2002.10668700

Lachance, J. R. (2017). A case study of Dual Language program administrators: The teachers we need. *International Journal of Educational Leadership Preparation, 12*(1), 1-18. https://doi.org/10.1080/19404476.2018.1460231

Lachance, J. R. (2018). A case study of dual language teaching in science class: Implications for middle level teachers. *RMLE Online, 41*(5), 1-14. https://doi.org/10.1080/19404476.2018.1460231

Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative research and case study applications in education*. Jossey-Bass.

Merriam, S. B. (2009). *Qualitative Research: A Guide to design and implementation*. Jossey-Bass.

Merriam, S., & Tisdell, E. (2015). *Qualitative research: A guide to design and implementation.* John Wiley & Sons.

Miles, M. B., & Huberman, M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook.* Sage Publications.

Montecel, M. R., & Danini, J. (2002). Successful bilingual education programs: Development and the dissemination of criteria to identify promising and exemplary practices in bilingual education at the national level. *Bilingual Research Journal*, *26*(1), 1. https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.2002.10668696

Morales, P. Z., & Maravilla, J. V. (2019). The problems and possibilities of interest convergence in a Dual Language school. *Theory Into Practice*, *58*(2), 145–153. https://doi.org/10.1080/00405841.2019.1569377

No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, P.L. 107-110, 20 U.S.C. § 6319 (2002).

Palmer, D. K. (2007). A dual immersion strand programme in California: Carrying out the promise of dual language education in an English-dominant context. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *10*(6), 752–768. https://doi.org/10.2167/beb397.0

Palmer, D. K., Cervantes-Soon, C., Dorner, L., & Heiman, D. (2019). Bilingualism, Biliteracy, Biculturalism, and Critical Consciousness for All: Proposing a Fourth Fundamental Goal for Two-Way Dual Language Education. *Theory Into Practice*, *58*(2), 121–133.

Quinn, J., & Fullan, M. (2016). Coherence making: How leaders cultivate the pathway for school and system change with a shared process. *School Administrator*. https://www.scoe.org/files/Fullan_Quinn.pdf

Ruiz, R. (1984). Orientations in language planning. *NABE Journal*, *8*(2), 15–34. https://doi.org/10.1080/08855072.1984.10668464

Saldaña, J. (2012). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. Sage Publications.

Squires, D. (2012). Curriculum alignment research suggests that alignment can improve student achievement. *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas, 85*(4), 129-135. https://doi.org/10.1080/00098655.2012.657723

Stake, R. E. (1995). *The art of case study research*. Sage Publications.

Terry, K., Howard-Brown, B., Herrera, A., Tabaku, L., Times, C., Eichelberger, J., & LaRock, V. (2017). *Best practices for dual language programs in secondary schools*. American Institute of Research. https://www.air.org/sites/default/files/downloads/report/SECC_InfoRequest_Best_Prac_Dual_Language_Programs_final.pdf

Ulanoff, S. H. (2014). California's implementation of Proposition 227. In G. P. McField (Ed.), *The mis-education of English learners: A tale of three states and lessons to be learned*, (pp. 79-107). Information Age Publishing.

Valdés, G. (1997). Dual-language immersion programs: A cautionary note concerning the education of language-minority students. *Harvard Educational Review*, *67*(3), 391–429. https://doi.org/10.17763/haer.67.3.n5q175qp86120948

Valdez, V. E., Delavan, G., & Freire, J. A. (2016). The marketing of Dual Language education policy in Utah print media. *Educational Policy*, *30*(6), 849–883. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904814556750

Weick, K. E. (1976). Organizations as loosely coupled systems. *Education Science Quarterly*, *21*(1), 1–19. https://doi.org/10.2307/2391875

Yin, R. K. (2017). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods*. Sage publications.

THE DIFFERENTIAL LATINX ATTAINMENT RATE: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF RECENT TRENDS IN EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS

Enrique S. Pumar
Santa Clara University

AUTHOR NOTE
Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Enrique S. Pumar, Santa Clara University Department of Sociology, Santa Clara, CA 95050. E-mail: epumar@scu.edu

ABSTRACT
This paper examines data from the Digest of Educational Statistics and other sources to investigate Latinx educational achievement rates between 2005 and 2019. After comparing educational attainment rates from white, Black, Latinx, and Asian students, the paper documents the improvement in education among Latinx students in recent years despite falling behind other groups. The data suggests that the educational transition rate from secondary school to postsecondary school is an urgent concern to be addressed by educational leaders. To further analyze differential attainment rates, the paper discusses preliminary findings from an ongoing within-group study comparing the eleven largest Latinx communities residing in the United States. Finally, the paper tries to demonstrate that the legacy of national development and a structuration theoretical framework could potentially be useful to explain different rates of educational achievement.

Keywords: Latinx, educational attainment, achievement, graduation rates, educational transition rates

Introduction

Regardless of personal wealth or national origin, educational attainment continues to be regarded as a precious human capital around the world[1]. The United Nations, for instance, counts human capital accumulation among its development goals. In the United States, investments in education are measured in trillions[2]. Around the globe, many families are said to migrate, among other reasons, to take advantage of universal access to primary and secondary schooling and for a chance to compete for admission at one of the world-class universities. Additionally, educational attainment is synonymous with personal achievement among the Latinx community, since

achievements in education usually translate into relative social mobility and status attainment[3]. The fact that educational aspirations materialized asymmetrically among groups provides researchers enough reasons to critically reflect on how achievement manifests itself in American education today.

This paper analyzes data from the 2019 *Digest of Educational Statistics,* the annual report published by the Department of Education National Center of Educational Statistics (NCES), to identify trends in the achievement gap among the Latinx student population in comparison with other ethnic groups. The United States is in the midst of a demographic shift and examining education accomplishments illustrates not just the performance of schools and educators, but essentially, the extent to which opportunities are racialized in our society. In particular, the paper makes the point that despite considerable educational achievements, measured by graduation rates over time, the achievement gap continues to be primarily driven by what Vlaardingerbroek and Ros (1990) called, educational transition rates. Considering the impact of labor market opportunities today, the weight of transition rate calculations is most relevant after graduation from secondary schools. Moreover, when transition rates are disaggregated by nationality, there is some evidence to suggest that quality of life in the countries of origin, and not just the different immigration experiences or context of receptions as Portes and Rumbaut (2014) assert[4], conditions the relation between ethnicity and educational achievement.

Ultimately, one of the goals of this study is to identify other reasons behind the persisting achievement gap besides those already noted by Zhang (2015), the effects of institutional arrangements documented by Nguyen, Bibo, and Engle (2012), or the social and economic factors exposed by E. Michael Madrid (2011) in his comprehensive review of the literature. In doing so, the paper hopes to assist educational leaders allocate resources and implement practices to help students of color fulfill their educational aspirations, despite the constraining effects imposed by historical asymmetrical educational opportunities (Velez, 2008). Finally, the paper also contributes to the emerging literature of transition rates by amending two of the more basic premises in the research published by Vlaardingerbroek and Ros (1990). First, with regards to research design, rather than focusing on analyzing data from a single discipline, this study examines the aggregated measurement of school completion without discerning specific fields. In addition, the paper does not measure educational transition rates by taking enrollment figures into account, as Vlaardingerbroek and Ros (1990) did in their calculations. Instead, this paper analyzes the more reliable graduation rates.

Transition rate calculations posit many analytical advantages for researchers and policymakers. For one, they help us assess how social differentiation impacts variations in educational achievements. Without trivializing the weight of structural discriminatory practices, transition rates also measure achievement fluctuations longitudinally and comparatively. Most importantly, considering that not all the students cleared for graduation transition to college, accounts of educational success are also reliable indicators of how institutional cultures cultivate resilience and the very important appreciation for lifelong learning despite family resources or palpable structural barriers[5]. Finally, graduation rates might be skewed by social promotion and other exogenous considerations that are usually minimized when students are admitted to post-secondary institutions through competitive admission processes.

Educational Values in Context

It should not come as a surprise that national data and many published interviews reveal how much the Latinx community treasures attaining educational degrees. When Latinx immigrant families are asked why they risk severing their safety, social kindships, and material possessions to journey to the United States, almost always the answer is because the country still offers many more opportunities than those afforded by the societies they left behind[6]. For many migrant families, the push to migrate is rationalized by the prospect of secured more earnings, personal safety, and professional opportunities[7]. It is no surprise, then, that when the Pew Research Center asked Latinx about graduating from college, over 88 percent agreed that a college degree was important for their success in life (Lopez, 2009, p. 3), a response rate 14 percent higher than the national average.

It is also important to note that in the case of Latinx students, the high premium placed on educational achievement is not just a mere concern for inter-generational mobility as the Pew and other research studies suggest (Lopez, 2009). As one may suppose, individuals do not always act based on economic interests alone[8] and surveys often do not unveil the historical depth behind the formulation of social attitudes or personal choices. In the case of Latin America, it is essential to consider that besides personal aspirations, human capital has been traditionally considered one of the strongest engines for national development. Individuals who commit to advance the well-being of the nation were always revered as iconic figures, not just by their co-nationals, but throughout the hemisphere. Even today, public intellectuals consistently advocate for wider access to education and consider these reforms indispensable, regardless of national origins or political persuasions[9]. The preoccupation with human capital development among Latinx families goes back to at least the humanist gestations to configure the postcolonial nation-state. If there is one consideration of eclectic social critics of the stature of Hostos, Henrique Ureña, Vasconcelos, Marti, Sarmiento, and Rodo, to name a few, shared, is their steadfast support to promote ample educational opportunities and rigorous pedagogical training[10]. A case in point is the career path of Pedro Henrique Ureña, who in 1918 became the first Dominican, and perhaps the first Latinx, to earn a Doctorate from the University of Minnesota and later endeavored as an educator in Mexico before settling in Latin America's Southern Cone until his passing in 1946. Considering the well embedded historical legacy of education in the region, it is not surprising that Latinx families continue to regard educational attainment as one of their principal social aspirations and one of their motivations to move across borders.

Despite the entrenched drive to attain educational achievement, Latinx students today confront similar challenges as many other students of color with comparable socio-economic backgrounds, but their fate is often a bit grimmer. Exogenous conditions related to the hostile context of receptions, racialized opportunities, fears of deportation, and economic insecurities, often adjoin already straining conditions of public education in immigrant communities (Capps et al., 2020) to test the determination of many students and their families. As we know, disparities of resources among schools are conditioned by the dispersion of revenues, which tends to unfavorably penalize immigrant enclaves. In the school year 2016-17, for instance, 82 percent of revenues for public school districts were derived from local property taxes according to figures published by NCES[11].

The result is that even after graduation, the fate of many Latinx students only improves in relative terms, often reproducing conditions of inequality even in the most affluent areas around the country. This disheartening conclusion is also reflected by key demographic indicators among Latinx in the Bay Area today. Consisting of a quarter of the population in Santa Clara and San

Mateo counties, Latinx educational attainment reached just 21 percent in 2019. Despite experiencing an increase of 23 percent in annual per capita income from 2009 to 2019, Latinx reported a median income of $30,618 in 2019, the lowest among all racial and ethnic groups in both counties, according to data reported by the San Jose based Institute for Regional Studies (2021 p. 25). The same report also states that 57 percent of Latinx households lived below self-sufficient standards in comparison with just 18 percent of white families (p. 44) in 2018.

A Review of the Literature

Explaining graduation trends over the last few decades has taken considerable effort among social scientists. Starting with James Coleman's groundbreaking *Equality in Educational Opportunity,* a nationwide study published in 1966, scholars developed an interest in documenting the dispersion of opportunities, measured by school completion, to explain educational success and to estimate the quality of schools. The Coleman Report (1966), as the mammoth study came to be known, was one of the first national studies to disaggregate student performance by race to document the legacy of decades of school segregation. Coleman's evidence-based approach also demonstrated how rigorous empirical findings and inquiries could be used to generate parsimonious and robust explanatory statements that would impact national educational policies, uprooting the sociology of education field. In concrete terms, the massive data captured by Coleman was instrumental to advocate for the urgent need to formulate more inclusive policies that would reduce racial and ethnic disparities. After his report, it became abundantly clear that when it comes to understanding achievement, the strains between three levels of analysis, roughly corresponding to the micro, meso, and macro, remain undeniable.

Micro-level explanations of achievement emphasize agency, especially the extent to which levels of parental perseverance and resilience motivate students to overcome structural impediments associated with schooling [12]. Rumbaut (2005) persuasively argues that a case in point is the sense of obligation first-generation students developed to compensate for their parent's devotion to sustain the family and support the children in school regardless of human capital. Although many studies would confirm Garry Hornby's (2011, p.2) bold assertion that, "it is clear that parental involvement is of considerable importance to children's achievement in schools," this line of research also points to several hindrances that condition the extent of parental commitments. Suarez-Orozoco et al. (2002) and Schen (2005), for instance, stress the effects of family separation on the psychological wellbeing of immigrant students and their parents. Vega et al. (2015) have found that often among low-income families, work schedules, transportation hurdles, and strained financial resources often interfere with parental desires to get more involved in schools related functions and academic activities. Zarate (2007), finally, argues about the importance of maintaining frequent and meaningful parent/teacher communication to assure successful progress in schools.

The second line of research, more prevalently argued by educators and student service providers, tends to emphasize how institutional arrangements, practices, and socialization exponentially augment student achievement. The University of South Carolina Student Success Center is not alone when it brazenly proclaims on its webpage that "with the right resources and relationships, there is no end to what we can achieve."[13] Multiple studies have also demonstrated how, particularly among immigrant populations, connecting to caring advisors and mentors has proven to have a positive impact on increasing the chances of graduation. As we all know too well, dedicated high school counselors usually provide timely information to secure financial assistance opportunities, strategies to complete admission applications, and even crucial insights to help

select the most suitable colleges and universities. The ongoing research also demonstrates that access to faculty of color who can function as dedicated role models also improves the chances to complete school. After conducting an extensive review of the literature, Alcocer and Martinez (2017, p.2) conclude, "Mentoring is critical at all levels of development, and research affirms the need for these relationships at every stage in the professional career of underrepresented minorities." Unfortunately, recruiting a diverse faculty has proven to be one of the most pressing challenges higher educational institutions confront today. According to a nationwide report issued by the Pew Research Center in 2019 (Davis & Fry, 2019), university faculty has increasingly become more diverse in the last two decades but still lags behind students. In 2017, just 19 percent of professors, 24 percent of associate professors, and 27 percent of assistants identified themselves as faculty of color as opposed to 81 percent of professors, 76 percent of associate professors, and 73 percent of assistant professors who self-identified as whites. This racial imbalance is particularly evident among Latino/a faculty whose growth has remained fairly flat between 1997 and 2017, according to the Pew Center report (Davis & Fry, 2019).

The passing of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB), Race to the Top, and other federal programs that attempt to reduce the achievement gap is at least a tacit recognition by federal authorities that the quality of schools and teachers, as well as the relevance of the curriculum, have a decisive effect on student outcomes. Whether the federal legislation proposes to promote more effective schooling by incentive grants, market competition, or sanctions, the overriding assumption behind these policies is that schools that do not meet standards of excellence fail their student population. In higher education, the drive to promote programmatic assessment and faculty accountability is often grounded on this premise.

Finally, macro-level accounts band together various explanatory positions that underscore the innumerable weight of ecological obstacles, including the social stigmatization many students of color must overcome to succeed in schools from years of prejudice and discrimination. The substance of this copious literature is too rich to summarize here, but proponents of this level of analysis seem to agree that structural conditions continue to affect learning outcomes while also imposing such elevated transaction costs to, in effect, derail the chances for academic completion or transition to college. In a pointed critique of the cultural literacy movement published in *The Guardian* newspaper in 2014, Tait Coles forcefully argues that to make teaching more relevant, and therefore more effective for the growing number of students who encountered oppression, instructors must integrate without hesitation the effects of structural social conditions into their pedagogy. Coles (2014) emphatically defends his position proposing that "teachers cannot ignore the context, cultures, histories, and meanings that students bring to their schools." For opportunities to stand a chance at all, the goal is then to refrain from converting schools into what Paolo Freire (1993) cogently calls "acts of depositing."

As this scanning review of the literature and the overview from notable books, such as Mehta and Davis (2018), Sadovnick and Coughlan (2016), and Karabel and Halsey (1977), among several others, demonstrate that the implications of educational inequalities in our society today is no leisure task. Many questions remain unanswered, and none are more pressing than to try to discern the reasons behind the fluctuation of attainment rates among and within ethnic groups. Beyond this important consideration, it is also critical to reassess how educational attainment is usually operationalized in the literature. If the research concentrates on grade completion, the outputs seem very different when the number of those who successfully transition to college is considered. Regardless of levels of analysis, education research still seems bias towards explaining achievement according to completion rates alone without contemplating the possibility that not all

graduating students continue with their education after commencement. The dreadful fact that only a portion of students who finish high school transition to universities, or even community colleges, is all too common to ignore. Calculating transition rates constitutes a fertile research ground to begin to address important misconceptions that distinguish school completion and from personal achievement.

Methodology

The research for this paper follows two derivations of the comparative approach, the group, and within-group comparison, to assess the differential attainment rates in education. For the former, the performances of four major ethnic and racial groups were contrasted following a standard approach in the literature. For differentials attainment rate within a single ethnic group, the within-case comparison, 11 of the largest Latinx communities residing in the United States were selected. In both cases, the data was collected from a variety of government sources and public policy institutions. The three tables capture data across two decades to measure not just the performance in selective years, but also any improvement trend over time. The longitudinal rates were determined by standard percentage change calculations. The standardization of measurements permits provocative comparisons of achievement trends by race and ethnicity for more than a decade. Also, all the data follows the conventional practice of showing values in percentage points and the usage of percentage change, a standard computation in educational policy studies, to access the pace of improvement over time. An r square confidence of 0.697 measured the degree of association between the human development index (HDI), a United Nations indicator of national progress, and the differential educational attainment rates, measured by percentage changes, in table 3.

Comparative Data Analysis

To further reflect on completion and achievement in education and the merits of exploring the transition rate approach, this paper first proposes to examine current trends in graduation rates by race and ethnicity. This will be followed by a discussion of how transition data provides us with a more comprehensive view of educational success. Finally, I propose to disaggregate college graduation among the top Latinx nationalities in America to discern the variations in achievement rates within the group.

The data captured in table 1 reveals the complexities behind educational inequality over time. One of the many conclusions gathered from these scores is that Latinx students have made enormous strides since 2005, despite having one of the lowest overall attainment rates among the four major ethnic groups represented in the table. The gains made by Latinx students are more impressive with regards to high schools and associate degrees, as measured by the percentage change between 2005 and 2020, where their achievement is well above the averages from other social groups by about 10 percentage points. Not surprisingly, this is not the case with the college and graduate level, where Latinx students only showed modest improvements, as the diversity and inclusion literature argue. In the case of college completion, the Latinx scores exceed the gains of other groups since 2005, with white students closely following one point behind. However, if the completion rate is measured on the yearly basis, Latinx students score lower than others except for associate and graduate degree completion in 2020, where they tied with African American students.

Even with regards to graduate success, the encouraging news is that the percentage difference between the number of Latinx students who graduate from college and then move on to

complete an advanced degree is just 11 points, a rate that is similar to white students. Year by year, excluding high school completion in 2010 and 2015, regardless of grade, the overachieving group is Asian-American students, and this conclusion contributes to the perpetuation of the contentious model minority categorization of the group.

The disturbing news with regards to educational attainment, when we compare all levels of schooling, is that there is still a perceptible inverse relationship between the progression of educational attainment and degree completion. Simply put, the higher the grade, the lower the number of Latinx graduations. In 2020, the most recent year for which we have reliable data, the transition rate from high school to the two-year degree is 53 percent, and for college an alarming 65 percent. Among other things, these figures indicate that the educational aspirations of Latinx students and their families are not being met and more programs such as, the College Advising Corps (CAC) are needed to supplement the work of high school professionals to continue to place low-income, first generations, and underrepresented students in colleges and universities nationwide.

Table 1

Educational attainment by race/ethnicity of youth between 25 and 29 years old 2005 to 2020.

Degree Completion	2005	2010	2015	2018	2019	2020	Percentage Change 2005-2019
High School							
Whites	93	95	95	94	96	96	3
Blacks	87	90	93	77	92	95	8
Latinx	63	69	67	72	86	90	27
Asians	96	94	89	95	97	97	1
Associate Degree							
Whites	44	49	54	54	56	56	12
Blacks	27	29	31	33	40	37	10
Latinx	17	21	26	31	31	37	20
Asians	66	61	69	72	75	75	9
Bachelor's Degree							
Whites	32	39	43	44	45	45	13
Blacks	18	19	21	23	29	28	10
Latinx	11	14	16	21	21	25	14
Asians	60	53	53	67	68	70	10
Master or Higher							
Whites	8	8	10	10	10	10	2
Blacks	3	5	5	5	6	5	2
Latinx	2	3	3	3	3	5	3
Asians	17	18	21	28	27	27	10

Note. Tables 104.10 of DES. Asian-Americans include Pacific Islanders. All percentages were rounded off.

The literature has cited many reasons for the schematic data regarding the trends shown in table 1. Perhaps one of the most persuasive regards social class and family income considerations. When graduate-level achievement data is paired with net earnings, one cannot help to conclude that a graduate degree is only becoming disproportionally more affordable to wealthy families. In 2019, the median household income of the two top graduate student achievers was also the highest, $98,174 for Asians and $75,057 for whites. On the other hand, the net family income for African Americans was just $45,438 and for Latinos $56,113, according to figures released by the Census Bureau (see also Semega et al., 2020).

Although table 1 does not document the impacts of economics on degree completion, several research studies have concluded that college affordability and opportunity cost define college and graduate degrees among working-class families (Zaloom, 2019). Many successful

students decide to enter the labor force and delay enrolling in graduate programs to absorb at least a portion of the hefty burden of paying for college. The high costs of tuition also tend to steer students towards remunerable professions, such as business or STEM-related majors, where Latinos continue to be underrepresented[14]. According to data published by the US Department of Education, of the 79,598 Computers and Information Sciences undergraduate degrees conferred in the academic year 2017-18, 42,080 or roughly 53 percent, went to white students, 6,862 or 9 percent to Black students, 8,084 or 10 percent to Latinx students, and 12,609 or 16 percent to Asian and Pacific Islander students. The distribution of social science degrees among these undergraduate groups, on the other hand, consisted of 19 percent, 10 percent, 17 percent, and 16 percent respectively in the same academic year (DES, table 322.30, p. 345). As many of those who regularly teach and mentor Latino students in higher educational institutions would attest, many Latinos often agonize over the time it would take to complete graduate school and the extent to which their dedication might compromise some of their earning potentials, at least in the short term. Perhaps the vocational inclination among Latinx students, as shown by the 20 percent jump in associate degrees between 2005 and 2020, and the fact that almost 4 of every 10 enroll in two-year degree programs, is an indication of economic realities.

A more concerning trend is the transition between grade levels, or what the paper refers to as the transition rates, illustrated in table 2. Some attrition between grades has always been expected but transitioning from high school to college is now more significant than ever. Still, on average, 4 of every 10 high school graduates do not make it to college among Latinxs, a rate that is only surpassed by African American students. Educational attainment today is considered one of the most effective vehicles to break the cycle of poverty. According to estimates calculated by Broady and Hershbein (2020) of The Brooking Institute, the earning potentials of individuals holding a college degree in 2018 are reflected in the median salary of $68,000 as opposed to $49,000 for associate degrees. College graduates still earn much more across the board than the median earnings of high school graduates in all majors studied, they conclude. When earning potentials are added to the demands for knowledge workers and the social considerations already mentioned in the introduction of the paper, it is safe to conclude that a transition at this level of schooling is categorically more important today than ever in our nation's history to offset the effects of post-Fordist. As if economic incentives were not enough, the COVID-19 pandemic has also amplified the public health effects of professional stratification. Flexible occupations that require at least a college degree are fundamentally less likely to expose individuals to the effects of the pandemic.

The number of high school graduates enrolled in college between 2000 and 2019 demonstrates how the dimensions of educational inequality fluctuate according to how achievement is measured. The number of Latinx students holding academic degrees from high schools and beyond, show an improving trend since 2005, albeit the modest rate in graduate degrees earned. However, when these numbers are contrasted with the percentage of high schoolers who transition to college the picture is much more sobering since Latinx transition scores bottomed from 2000 to 2010 only to bounce back moderately during the next four years. In short, as other observers have concluded[15], there is meaningful progress among Latino students, especially in the last few years, but for the most part, they still lag behind other groups, particularly when compared with white and Asian students. Even though the Latinx rate of transition between high school and college remains one of the lowest in the last two decades, it is worth noting that the rate of improvement between 2000 and 2019 is the highest of the four groups, even surpassing Asian students by one point.

Table 2

Transition rates. Percentage of high school graduates enrolled in college by race/ethnicity 2000-2019.

	2000	2005	2010	2015	2018	2019	Percentage Change 2000-2019
White	66	73	71	71	71	68	2
Black	55	56	62	56	65	50	-5
Latinx	53	54	60	69	65	63	10
Asian	81	87	85	83	74	90	9

Note. Data about recent high school completers enrolled in college in October of their graduation year. Table 302.20. DES.

Explaining the Comparative Analysis Trends

The breakdown and consequences of college achievement displayed thus far has puzzled educators and pundits alike for decades. To try to depict this baffling dispersion, table 3 breaks down the graduation rates by selective years between 1990 and 2018 among the top Latino migrant groups residing in the United States. Although is well known that no two migration experiences are fully comparable, paring co-ethnics control for language, cultural factors, identity, and other attributes which may condition success in school. Table 3 summarizes preliminary findings from a pilot research study that I am conducting attempts to assess the extent to which the levels of national development among sending societies impact the incorporation of migrants. Regardless of the limitations of these exploratory findings, it is worth considering few implications from these early results. First, conditions in sending societies should be taken into account more seriously to formulate educational policies. The dedication of many Latinx families is evident in the improvements in educational performance in the last two decades, but the legacy of national development still jeopardizes the changes to determining educational success. Lastly, educational research could benefit from conducting more within ethnic comparisons rather than continuing its focus on pan-ethnic research designs.

One unexpected pattern from the selective sample of cases listed in table 3 is that, except for Cuban Americans after 2000, students from South American countries outperformed those from Caribbean Basin nations when it comes to college graduation rates. This pattern supports the findings from a report published by Krogstad and Radford in 2018 where they showed that in 2016, the college graduation rate among Latinx from Caribbean Basin nations was 20 percent below the scores from South America students (12 vs. 32 percent) who also surpassed by two percentage points the media college attainment for all migrant students that year. In addition, South American students also demonstrated a greater overall improvement rate in college attainment between 1990 and 2018 than their counterparts from the Caribbean Basin. Finally, with regards to how levels of development impact educational attainment, in the sample of nations shown in table 3, for all cases except Mexico there is at least an association between levels of development as indicated by the UN human development index (HDI) college graduation rates.

Table 3

Educational Attainment Levels within the Latinx Community 1990-2018 measured by college graduation rates.

Latin/Latinx Groups	2017 HDI	1990	2000	2010	2018	Percentage Change 1990-2018
South American Nations						
Venezuelans	0.761	39	48	64	65	26
Argentinians	0.825	39	43	65	64	25
Colombians	0.747	17	32	36	41	24
Peruvians	0.750	21	25	35	34	13
Ecuadorians	0.752	13	15	18	26	13
Caribbean Basin Nations						
Cubans	0.777	9	22	18	29	20
Dominicans	0.736	9	12	17	22	13
Mexicans	0.774	5	6	9	17	12
Hondurans	0.617	7	7	6	12	5
Salvadorians	0.674	4	5	7	8	4
Guatemalans	0.650	6	6	5	6	0

Note. Luis Noe-Bustamante. Education levels of recent Latino immigrants in the US reached new highs as of 2018. Pew Research Center. April 7, 2020. Human Development Index (HDI) data represents the level of national development and is an indicator of the quality of life in countries. The data was drawn from Table 1. UNDV 2017 HDI report. The shaded area captures nations with a high or very high HDI of 0.700 or above. The clear area, nations with medium HDI of between 0.550 and 0.699. Figure 3. UNDP 2018, p. 3.

In his book, *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development. Spanish American in Comparative Perspective*, James Mahoney (2010) demonstrates that despite the turbulent political history that has dominated the region since independence, the pattern of inequality that characterizes Latin American nations has remained fairly consistent; he attributes this configuration to the distinct legacy of colonialism in the region. To this effect, Mahoney (2010) concludes, "colonialism not only helped to create the countries of South America; it also sorted them into different positions in the world hierarchy of development" (p. 203). My research takes Mahoney's assertion one step further to demonstrate the lingering effects of national development stratification on educational outcomes in receiving societies. The sociologist, Arthur Stinchcombe (1968), along with a considerable number of historians, recognizes the persistent effects of historical factors when it comes to reproducing social conditions.

Admittedly, the outcome of my research needs to be supported by more evidence before any conclusive findings can be reported with confidence. However, for what it is worth, a similar pattern of differential attainment rates manifest itself among Asian students. Students from less-developed Southeast Asian nations do not usually match the educational performance of their counterparts from other parts of Asia. After disaggregating the 2018 scores of Asians and Pacific Islanders, it is evident that the two groups graduated almost the same number of high schoolers (98 and 91 percent respectably), but as grades levels increased, disparities within the Asian-American community widen from 71 percent of Asian college graduates to just 15 percent from Pacific Island nations. (NCES, 2018, Table 104. p. 20).

To be sure, many intervening variables often affect the lingering effects of national development on the distribution of educational outcomes. For instance, table 3 does not show any data about the levels of academic support universities offer Latinx students. We cannot possibly know if these are first, second, or third generations graduates or if the education and income levels of families contributed to the success in school[16]. The migration status is also unknown, although we can suppose that South American migrants tend to fall into what is generally categorized as political refugees, which usually consist of the middle-class and other professionals fleeing repressive regimes or political upheavals. For these reasons, among others, any conclusions from the data presented in table 3 must be considered preliminary and received with caution.

At least conceptually, levels of national development, as measured by the United Nations human development index, may be regarded as another condition impacting the range of educational opportunities. It is expected that immigrant families coming from societies with the highest levels of development enjoy more access to better-run schools and early childhood education programs. Even if families do not have direct access to high-performing schools and programs, they might witness the success and prestige of these schools and their perceptions may be enough to further stimulate their aspirations to pursue more educational opportunities. With regards to having access to Early Child Education, to take one example, a comparison between Mexico and Cuba illustrates the point. Although both countries share comparable HDI levels, each nation's approach to Early Child Education programs could not be more radical. According to Jennifer L. O'Donoghue (2014), a researcher with the public policy organization Mexicanos Primero, in 2009 Mexico allocated $6,589 in public funds per child up to the age of 5 years old, the lowest amount among OECD nations (p.82). In Cuba, on the other hand, 9 out 10 children attend some form of early education program at least partially financed by the state, according to UNICEF (O'Donoghue, 2014).

Finally, the advantages of hidden curriculums in middle and upper-class schools should not be discounted either, when it comes to student achievement. Just like in the United States, successful Latin American schools maintain high expectations that are supported through initiatives that teach effective strategies to prepare students for college and studying abroad. Students have also reported evidence of a healthy dose of peer pressure to push students to attend universities. In addition, one should not underestimate the number of resources dedicated to secure student readiness among the different enclaves around the United States where Latinx families settle. For instance, across Montgomery County, Maryland, in one of the most successful and wealthy public-school districts in the nation, Pumar and Sitsis (2012) found that differences between schools serving lower and higher-income families accounted for the disparities in standardized test scores throughout the county.

Perhaps the achievement differentiation rate research can be conceptualized through Anthony Giddens' (1984) contributions to structuration theory. Formulated in response to the ongoing structure-agency dilemma that has preoccupied social scientists for years, the structuration perspective proposes an interactive and dynamic process by which individual actions are assumed to be constrained by the normative and practical dimensions of social structures which Giddens (1984) calls conditions of actions (p. 5-6). One appeal of structuration is that it explores the role of agency without denying the constraining effects of circumstantial structural impediments. This theoretical framework is devoid of the strict adherence to the determinism characterizing many structural perspectives and the voluntarism of micro explanatory perspectives.

Structuration would account for such structural conditions of actions as the legacies of national development among sending societies and the disparities among school resources in the

United States without discounting the fortitude and disposition of students to achieve. To put it differently, structuration recognizes the undeniable impact of social stratification, but it leaves enough room to consider how some students gather sufficient motivation and persistence to muster enough strength to succeed in school. This recognition opens many possibilities to understand the variability in achievements among and within groups and why some students graduate from college while others exposed to similar programs and circumstances during the formative years opt for more vocational training. This perspective might also explain why, in some cases, students from poor surroundings and limited means overcome this deficit to outperform their more affluent peers.

One illustration of the promise of this analytical approach is the case of the Princeton Classics professor Dan-el Padilla Peralta. An undocumented migrant from the Dominican Republic raised around New York City public housing by a single mother, Professor Padilla tells the story in his autobiographical book, *Undocumented: A Dominican Boy's Odyssey from a Homeless Shelter to the Ivy League* (2015) of how his mother's fortitude and the personal drive early in his life helped him overcome the overwhelming hindering forces associated with marginalization and his irregular immigration status to complete a doctorate from prestigious universities in a discipline not known for its diversity.

Conclusion

This paper addressed the ever-important questions related to educational success by first comparing the achievement rates of Latinx students to other ethnic and racial groups and then calculating the differential attainment rates among the eleven Latinx nationalities with the highest number of residents living in the United States. This research strategy yielded several important conclusions. First, there was measurable progress made by Latinxs at all grade levels since 2005, as demonstrated by graduation data. Second, when achievement trends are measured using the transition rate between secondary and post-secondary grades, the findings continue to demonstrate a high degree of attrition among Latinx students, a conclusion that merits further investigation. A plausive explanation for the rates of attrition seems to be household income. To further explore differential attainment rates, the paper reports the preliminary findings from ongoing research that attempts to determine the extent to which the legacy of national development correlates with the process of immigrant incorporation. Although admittedly in its early stages, this approach found a robust association between levels of national development and the educational attainment progress made by Latin American students in selective years between 1990 and 2018.

Another point worth exploring is the promise of structuration theory to discern the reasons behind the dispersion of differential educational attainments. This body of theory tries to avoid the traps of determinism and voluntarism to account for variations when groups of students are compared. As the reference to Professor Padilla's biographical case illustrates, in specific circumstances students from marginalized communities achieve exemplary success in education. One of the most promising considerations of structuration theory is that it recognizes the weight of structural constraints while also affirming how subjective determinants and specific processes of socialization enable students to succeed even though at times, they might face severe hindering barriers. At the very least, the process of structuration should be included among the repertoire of contending perspectives seeking to understand the reasons behind differential attainments rates. It seems plausible to conclude that despite the obvious problems with schooling, education continues to be a forceful determinant of social status and professional attainment among the many migrant

families who so often sacrifice valuable possessions and relationships for a chance to provide a better life for their children.

NOTES

[1] For instance, the UN 4th Sustainable Development Goal states "Education enables upward socioeconomic mobility and is a key to escaping poverty." UN.org.

[2] To take just one investment measurement, according to Forbes Magazine, by the end of 2018 there were 44 million borrowers who collectively tallied $1.5 trillion in student loans in the United States.

[3] When measured by annual earnings, in 2018 high school graduates earned a median income of $34,900, college graduates $54,700, and individuals with a graduate degree $65,000.

[4] Portes and Rumbaut (2014, p. 122) state "the specific characteristics and experiences of immigration of different foreign groups play a significant role in academic attainment, above and beyond the effects of family on individual predictors."

[5] Some educators might argue that the high cost of higher education impedes many families to attend universities even if they have an appreciation for learning. But since this paper measures transition rates from secondary to post-secondary schooling without disaggregating schools by cost, it is possible to assume that students can select schools within their price range, or they might receive incentive offers to continue their education.

[6] Although there are many moving anecdotes supporting the reasons for migrating, Sara Ritchie's story about Elena illustrates the point well. See Ritchie (2020).

[7] The literature documenting migration waves from Latin America makes the point abundantly clear. An illustration is the insightful reporting published by Refugees International among other organizations.

[8] For a classic discussion of the tensions between interest and other values see Hirschman 2013.

[9] In a recent interview, Tania Bruguera, a Cuban artist, and dissident, argued that to further democracy in the island educational institutions need to democratize their pedagogical approach to incorporate aspects of critical pedagogy in the classroom.

[10] In 1913, for instance, after completing his law degree, Henriquez Ureña became the Director of the Normal Institute in Santiago de Cuba, in Cuba even though he was Dominican born. Vasconcelos served as Secretary of Education in Mexico, Sarmiento went on an educational tour that took him through Northern Africa, Europe, and the United States to assess education policies and institutions, and Hostos expanded educational opportunities in the Dominican Republic and Chile, besides his native Puerto Rico, and by 1873 proposed to make science education available for women.

[11] Hussar et al (2020) figure 3, p. 115.

[12] Gandhi is reported to have said, "the future depends on what you do today."

[13] See: https://www.sc.edu/about/offices_and_divisions/student_success_center/index.php

[14] Although STEM-related jobs have increased by 79 percent since the 1990s, Latinos only comprise 7 percent of all STEM workers according to a report filed by Funk and Parker in 2018 and according to NCES, in the academic year 2015-16, 15 percent of all STEM bachelor's degrees conferred in the nation went to Latinos as opposed to 18 percent for Whites and 33 for Asians.

[15] See the research note by Kelly Field (2018).issued by The Hechinger Report.

[16] When it comes to the immigrant population and schooling, generations matter. In 2016, 16 to 24 years old Latinos showed one of the highest drop-out rates nationwide. However, first-generation students were driving these percentages with 16 percent. The second and third generations were within the range of other groups with 7 percent. (NCES, Figure 4, 139).

REFERENCES

Alcocer, L. F. & Martinez A. (2017). Mentoring Hispanic students: A literature review. *Journal of Hispanic Higher Education*. April. 1-9.

Broady, K. & Hershbein B. (2020, October 8). *Major decisions: What graduates earn over their lifetimes*. The Hamilton Project. https://www.hamiltonproject.org/blog/major_decisions_what_graduates_earn_over_their_lifetimes

Bustamante, L. N. (2020, April 7). *Educational levels of recent Latino immigrants in the US*

reached new highs as of 2018. Pew Research Center. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/04/07/education-levels-of-recent-latino-immigrants-in-the-u-s-reached-new-highs-as-of-2018/

Capps, R., Cardoso J.B., Brabeck K., Fix M., & Soto, A.G.R. (2020, September). *Immigration enforcement and the mental health of Latino high school students.* The Migration Policy Institute. https://www.migrationpolicy.org/research/immigration-enforcement-mental-health-latino-students

Coles, T. (2014, February). Critical Pedagogy: Schools must equip students to challenge the status quo. *The Guardian.* https://www.theguardian.com/teacher-network/teacher-blog/2014/feb/25/critical-pedagogy-schools-students-challenge

Davis, L. & Fry R. (2019, July). *College faculty have become more racially and ethnically diverse, but remains far less so than students.* Pew Research Center. https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/07/31/us-college-faculty-student-diversity

De Brey, C., Snyder, T.D., Zhang, A., & Dillow, S.A. (2021). *Digest of Education Statistics 2019.* National Center for Education Statistics at Institute of Education Sciences.

Field, K. (2018, May 14). *More Hispanics are going to college. The bad news? They are still behind.* The Hechinger Report. https://hechingerreport.org/rising-college-rates-spur-hispanic-progress-in-higher-education/

Freire, Paulo (1973) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed.* Continuum Publishing.

Funk, C. & Parker K. (2018, January 9). *Women and men in STEM often at odds over workplace equity.* Pew Research Center. https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2018/01/09/women-and-men-in-stem-often-at-odds-over-workplace-equity/

Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society.* University of California Press.

Hartocollis, A. (2020). *Justice Dept. accuses Yale of discrimination in application process.* The New York Times. https://www.nytimes.com/2020/08/13/us/yale-discrimination.html?campaign_id=60&emc=edit_na_20200813&instance_id=0&nl=breakingnews&ref=cta&regi_id=94279433&segment_id=36042&user_id=209c4e9fc6b121ac2aa29bc95cc43562

Hirschman, A. O. (2013). *The passions and the interests. Political arguments for capitalism and its triumph.* Princeton University Press.

Hornby, G. (2011). *Parental involvement in childhood education.* Springer.

Hussar, B., Zhang, J., Hein, S., Wang, K., Roberts, A., Cui, J., Smith, M., Mann, F.B., Barmer, A., & Dilig, R. (2020). *The condition of education 2020.* National Center for Education Statistics. https://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2020144

Karabel, J. & Halsey, A. H. (1977). *Power and ideology in education.* Oxford University Press.

Krogstad, J.M. & Radford J. (2018). *Education levels of U.S. immigrants are on the rise.* Pew Research Center.

Lopez, M. (2009). *Latinos and education. Explaining the attainment gap.* Pew Hispanic Center.

Mahoney, J. (2010). *Colonialism and postcolonial development. Spanish-America in comparative perspective.* Cambridge University Press.

Madrid, M.E. (2011). *The Latino achievement gap.* https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ955929.pdf

Massaro, R. (2021). *2021 Silicon Valley index.* Institute for Regional Studies.

Mehta, J. & Davies S. (2018). *Education in a new society.* University of Chicago Press.

Nguyen, M., Bibo E.W., & Engle J. (2012). *Advancing to completion. Increasing degree attainment by improving graduation rates and closing the gap for Hispanic students.* The Education Trust. https://edtrust.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Advancing_Hisp.pdf

O'Donogue, J. Gastar para aprender. Un primer acercamiento al gasto en la infancia temprana. In Mexicanos Primeros. *Los invisibles. Las niñas y los niños de 0 a 6 años: Estado de la Educación en México 2014*. http://www.educacionfutura.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/Los-Invisibles_estado-de-la-educacion-en-mexico_2014.pdf

Peralta, D.P. (2015). *Undocumented: A Dominican boy's odyssey from a homeless shelter to the Ivy League*. Penguin.

Portes, A. & Rumbaut R. (2014). *Immigrant America. A portrait*. Fourth Edition. University of California Press.

Pumar, E.S. & Sitsis A. (2012). Educational attainment in a high performing school district: The relative significance of class. *Theory in Action*. 5. 3. (July) 58-72.

Rumbaut, R. (2005). Children of immigrants and their achievement. In Taylor R. and Walberg J.H. *Addressing the achievement gap: Findings and applications*. (23-59). Information Age Publishing.

Semega, J., Kollar M., and Mohanty A. (2020). *Income and Poverty in the United States: 2018*. US Census Bureau.

Ritchie, S. (2020). *Elena's story: Dream on hold*. Kino Border Initiative Newsletter. https://www.kinoborderinitiative.org/elenas-story-dreams-on-hold/

Sadovnick, A. R. & Coughlan R. W. (2016). *Sociology of Education. A critical reader*. 3rd edition. Routledge.

Schen, C. (2005). When mothers leave their children behind. *Harvard Review of Psychiatry*. 13. 4 (July/ August). 233-243.

Stinchcombe, A. (1968). Constructing Social Theories. Harcourt Brace.

Suarez-Orozoco, C., Todorava, I., & Louie J. (2002). Making up for lost time: The experience of separation and reunification among immigrant families. *Family Process*. 41. Winter. 625-643.

Vega, D., Moore III, J.L., & Miranda, A.H. (2015). Who really cares? Urban youth's perception of parental and programmatic support. *School Communication Journal*. 25.1. 53-72.

Velez, W. (2008). The educational experiences of Latinos in the United States. In Rodriguez H., Saenz R., and Menjivar C. (eds.), *Latinas/os in the United States: Changing the face of America.* (129-148). Springer.

Vlaardingeerborek, B. & Ros L. (1990). Educational transition rates and upper secondary students' arithmetical ability in five developing countries. *Educational Studies in Mathematics*. 21. 5. 451-460.

Zaloom, C. (2019). *Indebted: How families make college work at any cost.* Princeton University Press.

Zarate, M.E. (2007). *Understanding Latino parent involvement in education perceptions, expectations, and recommendations*. The Tomas Rivera Policy Institute.

Zhang, H. (2015). Literature review on educational attainment of migrant children in China. Open Journal of Social Sciences. 4. 7. 190-206.

SCHOOL COUNSELORS AND SPECIAL EDUCATION TEACHERS INVOLVEMENT IN LEADERSHIP ACTIVITIES AT THEIR SCHOOL SITES

Kimmie S. Tang
California Lutheran University

Kitty M. Fortner
California State University, Dominquez Hills

Ronald D. Morgan
National University

ABSTRACT
Effective leadership comes from different educators on school campuses, including school counselors (SCs) and special education (SE) teachers. Recent studies showed how important and effective school counselor and special education teacher leaders can be at school sites. Having a shared or collaborative leadership model supports diversity and equity in schools. To better support the collaborative nature of school leadership, this project focused on: What levels of leadership do special education teachers and school counselors exert at their school sites? This study explored both the effectiveness and importance of special education teachers and school counselor leaders through a literature review and qualitative semi-structured survey. The participants surveyed were currently working in K-12 schools as counselors, special education teachers, and principals. Findings showed how school counselors and special education teacher leaders work with principals to help increase the culture of success at schools.

Keywords: *S*chool counselors, special education teachers, administrators, leadership, collaboration, equity, diversity, justice

Introduction

School leadership is not accomplished independently of others. The work of meeting the needs of students, supporting teachers with effectives strategies, and having a mindset that creates success in schools is best accomplished through a collaborative approach. Leadership activities on a school campus come from a range of school personnel. Decisions that affect student academic success and safety are made by principals, teachers, counselors, librarians, coaches, and others. In reviewing studies over the past decade of teacher and SC leaders in K-12 schools, there has been an increase in the number of them who are involved in leadership activities. According to Ziomek-Daigle, McMahon, and Paisley (2008), SCs in today's schools are more often working as educational leaders to promote academic achievement by collaborating with school administrators and classroom teachers to provide a climate of belonging for all students. Kohm and Nance (2009) found that teachers who have the opportunity to exert leadership through collaboration at their school have been observed as having an increase in involvement in all aspects of the school. Now more than ever, both classroom teachers and SCs find themselves more involved in leadership roles at their school sites.

Mason and McMahon (2009) report that "leadership is an essential skill for SCs working in the 21st century" (p. 102). Additionally, Kohm and Nance (2009) found that "the cynicism and defensiveness that hamper change decreases," when SCs are seen as leaders on a school campus (p. 68). While leadership activities for SCs and SE teachers are not necessarily considered to be administrative or managerial in nature, they are nonetheless often seen as administrative duties (Stone & Dahir, 2015). These administrative tasks can include such activities as testing coordinator and overseeing student services, however, most often SCs and SE teachers are not seen as leaders on campus. The purpose of this study was to take a closer look at the role SC and SE teachers play in their involvement in leadership activities at their school sites. The study looked at current school administrators' views of SC and SE teacher involvement in shared leadership. In addition, perceptions of success when SC and/or SE teachers work with site administrators to lead schools were explored. The research question that guided this study was "What levels of leadership do SCs and SE teachers exert in their school sites?"

Leadership for this study refers to both collaborative and transformative leadership styles. Shields' (2012) study on transformative leadership was utilized as a way to gauge or measure the various types of leadership that participants found themselves involved in. SCs and teachers as collaborative leaders comes from the work that Stone and Dahir (2015) have done, which concur with our findings thus far. In addition, through extensive interviews with SCs, SE teachers and designated administrators, we hope to shed further light on how preparation programs can better prepare SCs, SE teachers, and administrators to work together for the benefit of all students. Because of these findings and others, it was decided to examine the literature further to help ascertain whether SCs and SE teachers, specifically in Southern California K-12 schools were involved in more leadership activities than in previous decades. In addition to the literature review, an empirical study was conducted with current principals, SCs, and SE teachers in the three counties of Southern California (Los Angeles, San Bernardino, and Riverside) to find out what their thoughts were about SCs and SE teachers and their leadership involvement at school sites. Despite growing perceptions and use of SCs' and SE teachers' role as leaders in their respective site, little is still known about how individual disciplines perceived themselves and others as leaders. Consequently, it was agreed that this study will explore how SE teachers, SCs, and administrators perceived the role and responsibilities of school leadership.

Background for the Study

Traditional Role of School Counselors

The traditional roles of SCs can vary depending on the expectations of site administrators. However, there is a framework from the American School Counseling Association's (ASCA) National Model (Figure 1), as to what roles SCs should be involved in as shown below. Following the ASCA National Model not only helps SCs better understand their roles, but it also helps teachers and site administrators with their understanding of SCs' many roles. The collaborative approach referred to in the ASCA National Model helps administrators, SCs, and teachers to work together for the overall mission of the school. This should also involve all the key stakeholders of a school site, including the SCs, since collaborating with teachers provides a learning climate for all students. This requires educators at a school site to be willing to be change agents and to implement student-oriented programs effectively.

Figure 1
ASCA National Model

Fullan (2007) believed an effective change agent possesses skills in three main capacities: developing relationships of trust, communicating the change vision effectively, and empowering others to take-action toward change. SCs working directly with teachers and administrators can help everyone be visionaries by collaborating with each other. Change-agents have not succeeded by working alone but rather building a culture of shared leadership with distributed ownership and common communities of practice (Levenson, 2014; Trybus, 2011).

With today's youth facing complex demands academically, personally, and socially, it has never been more important to involve SCs in helping students obtain skills for addressing the many issues they face in the 21st century. By being more actively involved in leadership activities, SCs can better collaborate with administrators to address these complex demands of students.

**Traditional Role of Special Education Teacher**

The many roles and responsibilities of SE teachers can be difficult to define and are often dependent on grade level, severity and types of disabilities, and the needs of a school site. However, for most SE teachers, there are some commonalities in terms of their tasks, knowledge, standards, and competencies, and these have been outlined by the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing (CCTC). Most notably, the role of a SE teacher can no longer narrowly be focused on planning and working with a specialized group of students, such as teaching in their subject areas, behavioral, social emotional, and vocational skills; co-teaching with other teachers and service providers; adapting assessment, curriculum, and instruction; Individual Education Plans (IEP); behavior support plans; and other duties within the school such as 'recess duty' just to name a few (Brownell et al., 2005; Brunsting & Sreckovic, 2014; Wasburn-Moses, 2005).

The duties and responsibilities of these SE teachers continue to evolve and change based on current needs at the school, district, state, and federal levels. For example, current reforms that focus on student outcomes may affect the entire SE system (President's Commission on Excellence in SE, 2002; NCLB, 2002). In today's workplace, the SE teacher's roles extend beyond their classroom teaching responsibilities (Bateman & Bateman, 2014; Cavendish & Espinosa, 2013; Klingner & Vaughn, 2002). Adding to the roles mentioned above, SE teachers continue to work in a variety of settings (home, hospital, school, and community) across different sectors (private, public schools, county, and agencies) with various disciplines (behaviorist, SCs, speech/language pathologists, occupational/physical therapists, home/hospital care provider, transportation personnel, administrators) (Brownell et al., 2010).

Aside from their own classrooms, SE teachers continue to work in the general education classes and co-teach with, assist, and/or consult with general education teachers (Panayiotis et al., 2012; Voltz, 2001; Winn & Blanton, 2017). They are often assigned to other leadership roles, including being mentors to new teachers (Crockett, 2002; Duffy & Forgan, 2004); taking on administrative roles during IEP meetings; providing school-wide professional development trainings in instruction; and participating in administrative decision-making such as the school-wide implementation of curriculum-based assessments and school-wide behavioral management plans (DiPaola & Walther-Thomas, 2003; Margolis & Doring, 2013). Jacobs et al. (2014) argued that as change agents, SE teachers perform duties as a mediator and collaborator between various therapists, specialists, and personnel. They also act as collaborators between general and SE teachers to meet the needs of students, especially those who are fully included in the general education setting. Additionally, SE teachers often serve as "informal leaders" who "articulate a sophisticated understanding of how their schools and district function organizationally and politically" (York-Barr et al., 2005, p. 193). Mastropieri (2001) also affirms the notion that SE teachers must show competency at everything they do including pedagogy in instruction and behavioral management, curriculum adaptations, and overall, meeting the academic and social-emotional needs of students with disabilities.

Figure 2 illustrates that although SE teachers' duties and responsibilities are complex and impact all disciplines at various levels, their focus has always been and continues to be the well-being of the students, academically and social-emotionally. It is the "vision, direction, and plans for special education teacher leaders, as collaborators and advocates across multiple levels within their educational systems to leverage the social, structural and fiscal resources to the benefit of students with disabilities" (Billingsley, 2007, p. 166).

Figure 2
Special Education Framework
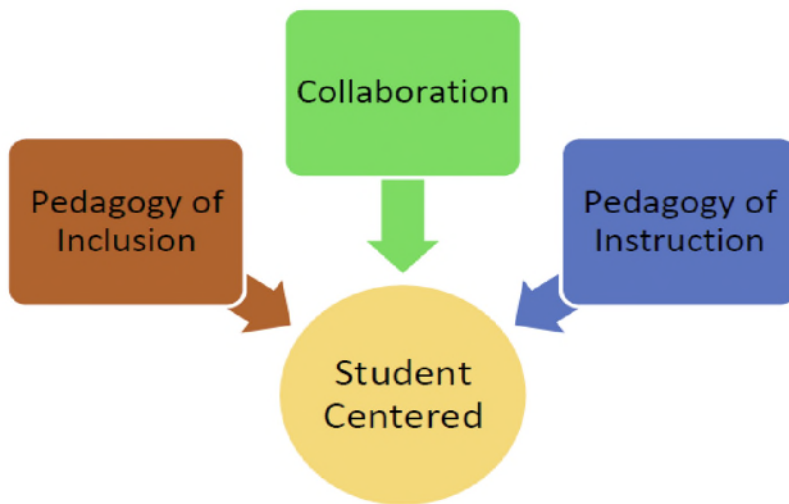
School Leadership: The Principal

Leadership is often defined as a process of influencing the behavior of individuals and groups in the attainment of specific goals (Yukl, 2006). The questions of who exercises influence, how goals are defined and who moves the organization's individuals and teams towards these goals have been researched extensively by both theoretical and empirical examination (Bass & Bass, 2008; Yukl, 2006). This study narrows the perspective on leadership research to specifically look at leadership practices in 21st century educational organizations (Leithwood & Sun, 2009; MacBeath, 2009). This leadership process among and between educators to accomplish a common objective offers people the opportunity to perpetuate and form just and equitable systems. School leaders have four domains of practice: 1) setting directions, 2) building relationships and developing people, 3) developing the organization to support desired practices, and 4) improving the instructional program (Day et al., 2011). Throughout these four domains of practice, Leithwood (2019) discusses nineteen specific practices associated with the work of the school leader. When thinking about the leadership practices of principals, the following nine practices were examined: identify specific shared short-term goals, create high performance expectations, communicate vision and goals, build collaborative culture and distribute relationship, connect the school to the it's wider environment, maintain safe and healthy school environment, staff the instructional program, provide instructional support, and monitor students' learning and school improvement progress (Leithwood, 2019). This article takes a more narrowed look at these specific practices from the domains of practice where SCs and SE teachers are a part of the decision-making process for student success.

The job of the school principal has become increasingly complex. Historically, principals have found themselves engaged in both managerial and political tasks (Cuban, 1988). They are also called upon to be the instructional leaders of their site (Leithwood et al., 2004; Tillman, 2005). Additionally, principals find themselves developing support services to assist low-income students, English language learners and special education students (National Research Council, 2003). In this age of accountability, principals have responsibilities imposed on them by policy

makers for transforming schools on multiple conflicting avenues to increase academic achievement for the students they serve.

One theme found in effective educational leadership models is the idea of using transformative and collaborative concepts that focus on increased academic achievement (Bass, 1985). An example is the transformative leadership model where the practice of establishing effective relationships for all students' success is accomplished by fostering socially just beliefs and practices in schools (Shields, 2012). Shields (2010) explains, "Transformative leadership begins with questions of justice and democracy; it critiques inequitable practices and offers the promise, not only of greater individual achievement but of a better life lived in common with others" (p. 559). This educational leadership model offers educators the opportunity to perpetuate and form just and equitable systems among and between educators moving towards common objectives.

Collaborative Leadership Models

Shared leadership assists capacity building within schools and contributes to school improvement (Hallinger & Heck, 1998; Harris, 2004). It decentralizes leadership in schools and empowers others to lead (Harris & Muijs, 2005). Leadership as a collaborative endeavor has become a priority because of the complex societal, political, and economic issues that schools are facing (Crawford, 2012). Slater (2005) states that educational policies and practices demand educators to have a better understanding of collaboration and the essential place it holds in school transformation. Hence, various models of collaborative modalities in educational leadership are seen in schools today. Models such as distributed, flexible, transformative, and relational leadership are not only needed in schools but should be the priority of schools (Harris, 2009; Shields, 2010).

Transformative Leadership Model

From the literature review in the areas of equity and social justice, Robinson (2011) reported, "meaningful discussions about educational leadership for social justice and educational equity might inform leadership practice and policy with regard to addressing diversity, multiculturalism, and inequality in education in the United States and abroad" (p. 52). According to Irby, Meyers, and Salisbury (2019), even when leaders are not focused on anti-racist or social justice leadership, there is ample K-12 education research that advances the field's understanding of how to utilize these concepts to organize and develop schools. To further promote social justice and equity when thinking about the levels of leadership involvement by SCs and SE teachers, we used the Transformative Leadership model (Shields, 2012) as a framework of collaborative leadership focused on social justice and equity. There are eight tenets in the Transformative Leadership framework developed by Shields (2012). All tenets address leaders' disposition and behavior when working to create equitable and socially just school settings. The eight tenets are: 1) The mandate to effect deep and equitable change; 2) The need to deconstruct and reconstruct *knowledge frameworks* that perpetuate inequality and injustice; 3) Focus on emancipation, democracy, equity, and justice; 4) The need to address the inequitable distribution of power; 5) Emphasis on both private and public (individual and collective) good; 6) Emphasis on interdependence, interconnectedness, and global awareness; 7) Necessity of balancing critique and promise; and 8) The call to exhibit moral courage (Shields, 2012, 2019). From the eight tenets, three (#1, #7, # 8) aligned with the data gathered from SCs as leaders and five (#1, #2, #4, #7, & #8) aligned with data gathered from SE teacher leaders. When tenets of Transformative leadership

are exhibited by SCs and SE teachers in collaboration with school administrators, a more equitable and socially just culture is fostered on school campuses.

Methods

A mixed methods cross-sectional survey design was used to analyze the perceptions of K-12 SC, SE teachers, and administrators about leadership on their campuses. According to Creswell and Guetterman (2019), survey design is useful when assessing information at a particular point in time to "examine current attitudes, beliefs, opinions and practices" (p. 415). Cross-sectional research is focused on data collection that takes place at a single point in time for participants (Johnson & Christensen, 2019), in as much this research does not measure change over time. An online survey, created by the researchers, containing both quantitative and qualitative questions, was used to ascertain the perceptions and understandings of the participants.

Participants

The sampling method used was purposeful sampling selected from K-12 special education teachers, school counselors, and administrators. An email invite with a link to the survey questions was sent to approximately 150 potential participants and yielded 34 respondents. Special education teachers ($n=8$), school counselors ($n=13$), and administrators ($n=13$) working in K-12 education in Southern California from San Bernardino County, Los Angeles County, and Riverside County participated in the study. Table 1 summarizes the demographic characteristics of the participants. Most notably, the participants seem to mirror the racial/ethnic diversity of the Southern California region, with white folks making up slightly half of the sample (48%), followed by Hispanics (24%), African Americans (12%), and Asians (8%). Almost 60% of the sample was female, and most participants (93%) held graduate degrees.

Table 1
Demographic Characteristics (n = 34)

Characteristic	Percentile
Age	
25-35	11.1%
36-45	37.0%
46-55	37.0%
Over 55	14.8%
Gender	
Female	59.3%
Male	40.7%
Race/Ethnicity	
African American	12.0%
Asian	8.0%
White	48.0%
Hispanic	24.0%
Other	8.0%
Highest Level of Education	
Bachelor's	7.4%
Master's	85.2%
Doctorate	7.4%

The majority of participants worked in their role for 10 years or less, with 25% having worked for less than 5 years. Their previous roles included being a teacher (37%), SC (22%), and SE teacher (11%). The participants worked in school sites located in urban (33.3%), suburban (44.4%), and rural (22.2%) schools. Participants were working at all levels of K-12 education at the high school level (45%), at the elementary level (33%), and a smaller proportion (22%) worked in an intermediate school. School size varied from small--educating less than 99 students--to larger sites with 2000 or more students.

Instrument
The survey instrument was developed by the researchers based on a literature review and the collection of feedback received from presentations and discussion with focus groups at two different peer reviewed education conferences. Two of the researchers reviewed the questionnaire to provide feedback on clarity and completion time. The survey was held online using Survey Monkey, and the link was distributed in a password-controlled link. The survey instrument contained 18 questions and required approximately 15 minutes to complete. The questions developed for this survey were both quantitative using a Likert scale and qualitative using open-ended questions to gather perceptions of participants on the topic. Questions ($n=12$) were used to gather demographic information in three categories. The first category asked questions about their professional history ($n=4$), the second category of questions asked for personal non-identifying information ($n=4$), and the third category of questions gathered information about the site of employment of participants $n=4$). Examples from each category is as follows:

a) Professional History: county of current employment, current roles, and number of years in current position
b) Personal Information: age range, gender, ethnicity, level of education
c) Site of Employment: school demographics, type of school, size of school.

Questions 13-18 asked for specific information pertaining to the leadership activities that school counselors and special education teachers found themselves involved in. Each of these questions collected both quantitative and qualitative data. Questions 13 and 14 asked about the leadership duties that they found themselves involved in. Questions 15 and 16 asked about the frequency of leadership involvement and questions 17 and 18 asked about their perceptions of their leadership involvement's impact on school success. Questions 16 and 18 asked for explanations and perceptions of the participants.

Data Collection and Analysis
The collection of data was through an informed consent-based online survey from April 2018-August 2018. The survey was distributed through Survey Monkey to a potential participant list gathered from public records. Quantitative questions included an ordinal response format (e.g., a Likert-type scale) and responses were rounded to the most significant digit. Descriptive statistics were used to summarize survey responses and summary statistics as raw number and/or mean and are reported where appropriate. A qualitative thematic analysis using Nvivo, constant comparison, was constructed from de-identified written responses to open-ended questions.

Results and Discussion
A total of 34 responses were collected for a response rate of 36% with 68% of participants being female and 32% male. When asked how involved SCs and SE teachers are in leadership duties at the school, over 65% of the total participants responded with "often/regularly," while only 11% responded with "rarely" involved, and no one responded "never." When asked how often they think SCs and SE teachers should be involved in leadership at their school site, over 84% stated that their colleagues should be involved on a regular basis. Over 96% felt that having SE teachers and SCs involvement in leadership activities enhance the success of their school site. After an Nvivo data analysis of the qualitative data, the following four themes emerged: 1) There was general agreement from most current and former K-12 educators that SCs and SE teachers should both be encouraged and supported in assuming leadership duties; 2) Effective leadership can come from other educators on campus rather than solely from the "designated administrator;" 3) Collaborating with administrators increased energy and creativity in all educators on school campuses; and 4) Responsibility in promoting academic success for students rests in the hands of *all* educators at the site.

Agreement for SCs and SE teachers in Leadership Roles
Nearly 85% of participants (*n=29*) stated SCs and SE teachers should regularly be involved in leadership, and the remaining five participants stated that they are sometimes involved as opportunities are provided. All SC respondents (*n=13*) thought that teachers and counselors should be involved often/regularly in leadership activities such as being involved in school leadership teams, leading out in college and career readiness, acting as liaisons with parents, and heading various professional development trainings related to current mental health issues.

Based on the SE teachers' (*n=8*) responses, they played a leadership role at their school on a regular basis outside their instructional time in their classroom. The participants reported

spending most of their time on the Student Services Team, where they provided academic, social, and emotional input, and curriculum and instructional adaptations for students at risk of failing. SE participants also reported involvement with the development and implementation of the Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports (PBIS), which is a proactive approach to promote school safety and promote positive behaviors school-wide. Finally, participants reported attending mediation meetings and playing a role in adapting assessments and curriculum for the school. Principals (n=13) participating in the study stated that SCs and SE teachers should be involved in leadership at their schools on a regular basis. In their response to the question why, they referenced John Hattie's research (Visible Learning, n.d.) on collective efficacy as a factor influencing student achievement. One participant stated that, "Shared leadership draws on the collective genius of the school." Another participant spoke about the idea of recognition since SCs and SE teachers are already doing the work of leadership. All participants in one way or another spoke about how the principal cannot do this work alone.

According to Shields (2020), Tenet 4 (The Need to Address the Inequitable Distribution of Power) challenges the idea of shared power. One way to address the inequitable use of power is to ensure the power is used in a collaborative way with others. When leading, giving voice to others and working together with them rather than exerting power over them are ways where inequitable distributions of power can bring balance. Two examples of this found in our results include the role of administrator given to SCs and SE teachers for IEP meetings and when they are included in the decision making for special education concerns. One participant talks about how they are the "go to" person on their campus for all special education matters.

Effective Leadership Can Come from Other Educators on Campus

About 65% of respondents (n=22) found themselves involved often/regularly in leadership activities, and 23.08% (n=8) stated that they often find themselves involved in leadership activities. Participants found themselves involved in activities related to Student Services (25%) providing academic, social, and emotional input; Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports (PBIS) (15%); and multiple areas (44%) of leadership activities. There was general agreement from the respondents that school counselors be encouraged to become more involved in leadership duties at their school sites. However, this will not likely occur, unless the SCs themselves advocate for assuming more leadership.

Only about 50% of participants reported that SE teachers and SCs should take on leadership roles and responsibilities on a "regular/often" basis. However, most of the participants recognized the benefit of involvement especially as it pertains to helping students succeed and the collaboration between colleagues. However, some participants were concerned with one's "lack of experience" especially when one is required to serve. Lieberman and Friedrich (2010) support this concern that teachers are thrown into a leadership position regardless of their readiness or preparedness. Furthermore, SE teachers often find themselves as the only special educator at their school site and therefore are asked to take on more leadership roles even in their first year of teaching. However, many SE teachers have been shown to thrive in these leadership roles and become more active and effective leaders at their site over time (Lieberman & Friedrich, 2010). Many of the principals spoke about how the responsibility of student success is dependent on all stakeholders at the school. Additionally, another participant stated, "Teachers, counselors, attendance clerks, security, library techs…all impact student life and implement the school plan."

Tenet 7 (Necessity of Balancing Critique and Promise) calls school leaders to critically look at their school for inequities in discipline, grading, assessment, opportunities, placement, and

services to assess the needs of their school. SCs and SE teachers are called to act in a manner that dismantles these inequities and promote an inclusive and more equitable campus culture. SCs, SE teachers, and site administrators spoke about how they are responsible to make sure that students are provided access to support and opportunities that increase their chances of success. They speak about how, through collaboration, decisions that create inclusive and equitable practices for special education students in the areas of placement, services, and access are designed to meet students' needs and promote academic success.

Collaborating with Administrators Increased Energy and Creativity

The SC respondents mentioned the importance of collaborating with administrators to increase their involvement in leadership as being key to their involvement. One respondent added, "When they are working collaboratively it definitely benefits the school because their impact influences and drives to a common goal." Several respondents thought administrators would have more buy-in into the SC state standards if there were more collaborative leadership between counselors and administrators. Two of the principals talked about how collaborative leadership creates ownership, builds confidence and expertise, and supports the overall vision of the school. The understanding that they as principals need help to lead their school was clear and emphasized in their responses. They made statements that expressed their commitment to a collaborative model of school leadership where SCs and SE teachers would be included in the decision-making.

In looking at Tenet 2 of Transformative Leadership (The Need to Deconstruct and Reconstruct "Knowledge Frameworks" that Perpetuate Inequity and Injustice), participants deconstructed the idea that principals are the sole leaders on school campuses and reconstructed their understanding that through collaboration, principals can better lead schools. Their responses indicated that through this understanding of collaborative leadership, SCs, SE teachers, and principals bring increased equity to the school culture. Examples of this are found in the responses that suggest participation in Student Success Teams (SST); mediation, especially during Individualized Educational Plan (IEP) meetings; participation in and planning of school-wide or district-wide Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports (PBIS).

Responsibility in Promoting Academic Success for All Students

Roughly 96% ($n=33$) agreed that SCs and SE teachers enhance the success of the students at the school. They need to promote their expertise in working with a variety of mental health issues, and they need to be present in the lives of students and teachers. Several of the respondents said they thought leadership should be a "mindset" and way of thinking for school counselors, as they do their jobs. A respondent said, "because the counselor is involved in various aspects of leadership, the counselor will have valuable leadership input towards student's success at the school, thus the success of the school as a whole." Additionally, most of the respondents felt it is the responsibility of all educators at a school site to lead out in promoting academic success for all students. Finally, several respondents discussed how bringing administrators, SCs, and SE teachers all together in a leadership team would help everyone in the school stay focused on the all-important issue of student success. One respondent summed his comments up by stating, "by working together creates a positive working environment, engagement with others, and a synergy that is not present in individual endeavors."

Most participants agreed that the involvement of SE teachers and SCs enhanced the success of their school site, however, this may not seem to align with their previous response on the level of involvement (i.e. regularly or often vs. sometimes). While seeing the importance of this work,

many SE teachers may also be conflicted because taking on leadership roles and responsibilities can take a tremendous amount of time and energy. As previously mentioned, many saw the benefits to student achievement and well-being when SE teachers and SCs were involved in leadership roles and activities. One participant commented that "sometimes administration becomes detached from classroom activities and the students…so it is more effective when teachers are actively involved as they are more in tune with the daily academic and cultural challenges." Another question asked to the principals was, "Do you feel that teacher/counselor leaders enhance the success of your school?" Ninety-nine percent of the principal participants said, "Yes." When asked why, the principals responded by placing the students first. One participant stated that, "In general, good decisions are made when the decisions are made by those closest to the students." Another stated, "Teachers are directly responsible for supporting students on a daily basis in their academic achievement and counselors do the same as well as helping students in other areas." One principal alluded to the fact that SCs and SE teachers have specialized training of which the principal only has peripheral knowledge.

In addition, participants' responses of using a collaborative leadership model where all students have what they need to succeed aligned with Tenet 1 (The Mandate to Effect Deep and Equitable Change). The National Equity Project (2012) defines equity in schools as giving students what they need to succeed. The participants reiterate the importance of decisions coming from all stakeholders at the school site to support student success. When SCs, SE teachers, and site administrators commit themselves to work collaboratively for student success, they answer the call to effect deep and equitable change in their schools. SCs and SE teachers found themselves doing the work in student services in the following areas: providing academic, social, and emotional input; curriculum; and testing adaptations, which included examining students' readiness skills for careers and college.

The final tenet is Tenet 8 (The Call to Exhibit Moral Courage), which calls for a commitment to transforming school campuses to be equitable, inclusive, and socially just spaces of learning. Courage is needed in all areas of transforming education when working to create spaces where students can learn and find success. When working in a collaborative team, the idea of combined leadership creates spaces where site administrators can rely on and work with others who are committed to equitable educational spaces. SCs and SE teachers bring expertise and skills of which the site administrators may have limited knowledge. One principal spoke specifically about how they depended on the SCs and SE teachers at their site for their expertise, knowledge, and skills in areas where the site administrator was less confident. This type of collaboration reaffirms and supports the commitment of the site administrator to continue to work towards equitable and socially just education for all students.

Limitations

One limitation was that the size of the sample was small. With the limited number of respondents, results may not truly reflect the perceptions of all SCs, SE teachers, and site administrators within the Southern California counties that were surveyed. Another limitation was the time of year in which the survey was distributed to potential participants. Despite several attempts to recruit participants, recruiting before and after the summer break limited the rate of return of responses. As a result, the limited data collected was not generalizable to the larger group.

Conclusions: Implications and Recommendations

As stated in the preceding sections, implications to this study are preliminary, but key findings that linked to transformative leadership tenets have emerged, which necessitates further research. The significant themes found in relation to SCs and SE teachers as school leaders are 1) encouragement and support in assuming leadership duties; 2) recognition that SC and SE teachers are leaders; 3) collaboration with administrators increases energy and creativity; and 4) shared responsibility promotes academic success for all students. While SCs and SE teachers' roles and contributions in leadership are beginning to be recognized at some school sites, it continues to be minimal. Daily contact with students, other professionals, and instructional programs place SCs and SE teachers in a unique position to influence how the school can better meet the needs of students and administrators alike (Jacobs et al., 2016; Lampert, 2002, 2011; Printy et al., 2009; Wenner & Campbell, 2016). Additionally, leadership by SCs and SE teachers is recognized as a critical factor in meeting the recent federal and state educational mandates. Especially in these unprecedented times of COVID-19 and civil unrest, it is even more critical that SCs and SE teachers have a voice in the decision-making process at school sites to promote equity and socially just educational practices for all students.

In response to the research question, "What levels of leadership do SCs and SE teachers exert in their school sites?," we found that they can exert leadership in a variety of ways. From a social justice and equity viewpoint, having SCs and SE teachers work collaboratively with school administration aligns with the transformative leadership paradigm and addresses the need for systemic and equitable change in education. Shields' (2018) transformative leadership framework calls for leaders to deconstruct and reconstruct knowledge frameworks that perpetuate inequality and injustice, whereby the roles of SCs and SE teachers get redefined to promote equity for student success. Having SCs and SE teachers lead in collaboration with administrators is a deliberate act to address inequitable distributions of power in the education system, empowering SCs and SE teachers to have a leadership voice. It is not enough to critique the status quo of the role played by SCs and SE teachers. It is imperative to "offer a promise or possibility of something better" whereby change takes place to ensure equity in addressing the needs of schools (Shields, 2019, p. 141). The final tenet discussed the call for moral courage, which is especially important for SCs and SE teachers as they commit to being equitable and inclusive leaders at their school sites.

Furthermore, SCs and SE teachers display leadership as they advocate for their students. Given the number of students and families living in such turbulent times, due to the current pandemic, SCs and SE teachers have an opportunity to lead in a way that helps build coping strategies for the many issues or crises they are facing. However, as advocates for all students, it is incumbent that SCs and SE teachers first view themselves as leaders and champions of student success. It is imperative that SCs and SE teachers make themselves visible at their school sites as they work collaboratively with students, parents, teachers, and all other stakeholders. Having a collaborative model of leadership at the site level benefits students and enforces a school culture that is equitable and socially just.

In conclusion, recommendations for future iterations of this study may include follow-up interviews seeking deeper understanding of how SCs and SE teachers navigate in the space of leadership. There is a need to look closer at the challenges and expectations that SCs and SE teachers have and are held to when in leadership roles. A recommendation for further study of how SCs and SE teachers utilize the Transformative Leadership Model at their school sites to impact equity and socially just practices is needed. Another recommendation on the detailed activities that SCs and SE teachers enact in leadership practices would clarify if collaborative modes of

leadership can be successful. Taking a closer look at the effectiveness of SC and SE teachers engaged in collaborative leadership is also recommended. Also, it is recommended to look at the specific skills, talents, and knowledge needed by SCs and SE teachers to be effective leaders at their school site. A final recommendation would be to look at the types of support SCs and SE teachers need to be effective as educational leaders in a collaborative model.

REFERENCES

Bass, B. M. (1985). *Leadership and performance beyond expectations*. Free
    Press.

Bass, B. M., & Bass, R. (2008). *The bass handbook of leadership: Theory, research, and
    managerial applications* (4th ed.). Free Press.

Bateman, D. F. & Bateman, C. F. (2014). A principal's guide to special education (3rd ed.).
    Council for Exceptional Children. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED455624.pdf

Billingsley, B. S. (2007). Recognizing and supporting the critical roles of teachers in special
    education leadership. *Exceptionality, 15*(3), 163-176.
    https://doi.org/10.1080/09362830701503503

Brownell, M. T., Ross, D. D., Colon, E. P., & McCallum, C. L. (2005). Critical features of
    special education teacher preparation: A comparison with general teacher education.
    Journal of Special Education, *38*(4), 242-252.
    https://doi.org/10.1177/00224669050380040601

Brownell, M. T., Sindelar, P. T., Kiely, M. T., & Danielson, L. C. (2010). Special education
    teacher quality and preparation: Exposing foundations, constructing a new model.
    Council for Exceptional Children, *76*(3), 357-377.
    https://doi.org/10.1177/001440291007600307

Brunsting, N. C., & Sreckovic, M. (2014). Special education teacher burnout: A synthesis of
    research from 1979 to 2013. *Education and Treatment of Children, 37*(4), 681-712.
    https://doi.org/10.1353/etc.2014.0032

Cavendish, W. , & Espinosa, A. (2013). Teacher preparation for student diversity and
    disabilities: Changing roles in response to intervention models. *Learning Disabilities:
    Practice Concerns and Students with LD Advances in Special Education, 25*, 189-205.
    http://dx.doi.org/10.1108/S0270-4013(2013)0000025013

Creswell, J., & Guetterman, T. (2019). *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and
    evaluating quantitative and qualitative research* (6th ed.). Pearson.

Crawford, M. (2012). Solo and distributed leadership: Definitions and dilemmas. *Educational
    Management Administration and Leadership, 40*(5), 610–620.
    https://doi.org/10.1177/1741143212451175

Crockett, J. B. (2002). Special education's role in preparing responsive leaders for inclusive
    schools. *Remedial and Special Education*, *23*, 157–168.
    https://doi.org/10.1177/07419325020230030401

Cuban, L. (1988). *The managerial imperative and the practice of leadership in schools*. SUNY

Press.

Day, C., Sammons, P., Leithwood, K., Harris, A., Hopkins, D., Gu, Q., … Ahtaridou, E. (2011). Successful school leadership: linking with learning and achievement. Open University Press.

DiPaola, M. F., & Walther-Thomas, C. (2003). *Principals and special education: The critical role of school leaders.* National Clearinghouse for Professions in Special Education. Center on Personnel Studies in Special Education Publication.

Duffy, M. L., & Forgan, J. W. (2004). *Mentoring new special education teachers: A guide for mentors and program developers.* Corwin Press.

Fullan, M. (2007). The *new meaning of educational change* (4th ed.). Teachers College Press.

Hallinger, P., & Heck, R. H. (1998). Exploring the principal's contribution to school effectiveness: 1980-1995. *School Effectiveness and School Improvement, 9*(2), 157-191. https://doi.org/10.1080/0924345980090203

Harris, A. (2004). Distributed leadership and school improvement: Leading or misleading? *Educational Management Administration & Leadership*, *31*, 437–449. https://doi.org/10.1177/1741143204039297

Harris, A. (2009). Creative leadership: Developing future leaders. *Management in Education*, *23*(1), 9–11. https://doi.org/10.1177/0892020608099076

Harris, A., & Muijs, D. (2005). *Improving schools through teacher leadership.* Open University Press.

Irby, D., Meyers, C., & Salisbury, J. (2019). Improving schools by strategically connecting equity leadership and organizational improvement perspectives: Introduction to special issue. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk, 25*(2), 101-106. https://doi.org/10.1080/10824669.2019.1704628

Jacobs, J., Beck, B., & Crowell, L. (2014). Teacher leaders as equity-centered change agents: Exploring the conditions that influence navigating change to promote educational equity. *Professional Development in Education, 40*(4), 576-596. https://doi.org/10.1080/19415257.2014.896272

Jacobs, J., Gordon, S.P., & Solis, R. (2016). Critical issues in teacher leadership: A national look at teachers' perception. *Journal of School Leadership, 26,* 374-406. https://doi.org/10.1177/105268461602600301

Johnson, R. B., & Christensen, L. (2019). *Educational research: Quantitative, qualitative, and mixed approaches*. SAGE Publications, Incorporated.

Klingner, J. K., & Vaughn, S. (2002). The changing roles and responsibilities of an LD specialist. *Learning Disability Quarterly, 25*(1), 19-31. https://doi.org/10.2307/1511188

Kohm, B., & Nance, B. (2009). Creating collaborative cultures. *Educational Leadership, 67*(2), 67-72.

Lampert, L. (2002). A framework for shared leadership. *Educational Leadership, 59*(8), 37-40.

Lampert, L. (2011). What does leadership capacity really mean? In E. B. Hilty (Ed.), *Teacher*

leadership: The new foundations of education (pp. 34-36). Peter Lang.

Levenson, M. (2014). *Pathways to teacher leadership: Emerging models, changing roles*. Harvard Education Press.

Lieberman, A., & Friedrich, L. D. (2010). (Eds.). *How teachers become leaders.* Teachers College Press.

Leithwood, K. (2019). Characteristics of effective leadership networks: A replication and extension. *School Leadership and Management,* 39(2), 175–197. https://doi.org/10.1080/13632434.2018.1470503

Leithwood, K., Louis, K. S., Anderson, S., & Wahlstrom, K. (2004). *Executive summary: How leadership influences student learning.* Center for Applied Research and Educational Improvement, University of Minnesota. https://conservancy.umn.edu/bitstream/handle/11299/2102/CAREI%20ExecutiveSummary%20How%20Leadership%20Influences.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Leithwood, K., & Sun, J. P. (2009). Transformational school leadership effects on schools, teachers and students. In W. Hoy & M. Dipaola (Eds.), *Research and theory in educational administration.* (pp. 1-22). Information Age.

MacBeath, J. (2009). Distributed leadership: Paradigms, policy, and paradox. In K. Leithwood, B. Mascall, & T. Strauss (Eds.), *Distributed leadership according to the evidence* (pp. 41-57). Routledge.

Margolis, J., & Doring, A. (2013). What do today's teachers want (and not want) from teacher leaders? *The New Educator, 9*(3), 192-209. https://doi.org/10.1080/1547688x.2013.806724

Mason, E. C. M. & McMahon, H. G. (2009). Leadership practices of school counselors. *Professional School Counseling, 13*(2), 107-115. https://doi.org/10.1177/2156759x0901300206

Mastropieri, M. A. (2001). Introduction to the special issue: Is the glass half full or half empty? Challenges encountered by first year Special Education teachers. *The Journal of Special Education, 35*, 66-74. https://doi.org/10.1177/002246690103500201

National Research Council. (2003). *Engaging schools: Fostering high school students' motivation to learn*. National Academies Press.

No Child Left Behind Act of 2001, P.L. 107-110, 20 U.S.C. § 6319 (2002).

Panayiotis, A., Savva, K., & Hajisoterious C. (2012). Leading inclusion: Special teachers as leaders in the development of inclusive education. *International Studies in Educational Administration* (Commonwealth Council for Educational Administration and Management), *40*(1), 75-88.

President's Commission on Excellence in Special Education (2002). *A new era: Revitalizing special education for children and their families*. https://ectacenter.org/~pdfs/calls/2010/earlypartc/revitalizing_special_education.pdf

Printy, S. M., Printy, Marks, H.M., & Bowers, A. J. (2009). Integrated leadership: How principals and teachers share transformational and instructional influence. *Journal of School Leadership*, 19(5), 504-532. https://doi.org/10.1177/105268460901900501

Robinson, V. M. J. (2011). *Student-centered leadership*. Jossey-Bass.

Shields, C. M. (2010). Transformative leadership: Working for equity in diverse contexts. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *46*, 558–589. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161x10375609

Shields, C. M. (2012). *Transformative leadership in education: Equitable change in an uncertain and complex world*. Routledge.

Shields, C. M. (2018). *Transformative leadership in education: Equitable and social just change in an uncertain and complex world*. Routledge.

Shields, C. M. (2019). *Becoming a transformative leader: A guide to creating equitable schools*. Routledge.

Slater, L. (2005). Leadership for collaboration: An effective process. *International Journal of Leadership in Education*, *8*, 321–333.

Stone, C. B., & Dahir, C. A. (2015). *The transformed school counselor*. Cengage Learning.

Tillman, L. (2005). Mentoring new teachers: Implications for leadership practice in an urban school. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, *41*, 609-629. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161x04274272

Trybus, M. A. (2011). Facing the challenge of change: Steps to becoming an effective leader. *Delta Kappa Gamma Bulletin*, *77*(3), 33-36.

Visible Learning. (n.d.). Retrieved from https://visible-learning.org/john-hattie/

Voltz, D. L. (2001). Preparing general education teachers for inclusive settings: The role of Special Education teachers in the professional development school context. *Learning Disability Quarterly*, *24*, 288–296. https://doi.org/10.2307/1511117

Wasburn-Moses, L. (2005). Roles and responsibilities of secondary special education teachers in An age of reform. *Remedial & Special Education, 26*(3), 151-158. https://doi.org/10.1177/07419325050260030301

Wenner, J. A., & Campbell, T. (2016). The theoretical and empirical basis of teacher leadership: A review of the literature. *Review of Educational Research, 87*(1), 134-171. https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654316653478

Winn, J., & Blanton, L. (2017). The call for collaboration in teacher education. *Exceptional Children*, *38*(2), 1-10. https://doi.org/10.17161/foec.v38i2.6816

York-Barr, J., Sommerness, J., Duke, K., & Ghere, G. (2005). Special educators in inclusive education programs: Reframing their work as teacher leadership. *International Journal of Inclusive Education, 9*(2), 193-215. https://doi.org/10.1080/1360311042000339374

Yukl, G. (2006). *Leadership in organizations*. Pearson/Prentice Hall.

Ziomek-Daigle, J., McMahon, H. G., & Paisley, P. O. (2008). Adlerian-based interventions for professional school counselors: Serving as both school counselors and educational leaders. *Journal of Individual Psychology*, *64*(4).

EXAMINING CULTURALLY RELEVANT LEADERSHIP BEST PRACTICES IN DIFFERENT EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENTS

Michael L. Washington
California State University, Sacramento

EDITOR NOTE
Sadly, this article is being published posthumously as the author passed away prior to having the opportunity to integrate the feedback from editors and reviewers after the manuscript was accepted during the early stages of screening manuscripts. Special thanks go to Dr. Ricardo Stanton-Salazar and Dr. Gilberto Conchas as well as the JLER editorial team that the article was revised and re-written to reflect the late Dr. Washington's thinking, albeit that JLER is not responsible for any errors of fact or judgement that may exist in the article.

ABSTRACT
Though culturally relevant educational leadership has been practiced for more than 20 years, marginalized students from culturally diverse communities continue to be underserved. Additionally, other educational programs outside of traditional K-12 school environments are far less likely to have educational administrators who have any experience or training in culturally relevant leadership, begging the question, "Do we really understand what effective culturally relevant leadership best practices are, and if so, how can we improve them in all educational settings, and not just K-12 education?" This research project focuses on answering the following questions: 1.) What best practices are utilized by culturally relevant educational administrators?; 2.) What best practices are utilized by culturally relevant educational administrators who come from different cultural or racial backgrounds?; and 3.) What best practices are utilized by culturally relevant administrators from different types of educational institutions or environments? A qualitative multiple-case study design was utilized to explore the best practices of four randomly selected educational administrators in California, from different cultural backgrounds and from different school environments, with considerable experience and success in teaching and educational administration. Results from the study indicate that despite some differences in their approaches and their respective educational programs, there were common factors that were instrumental in the record of success experienced by these research participants. Key among these factors were (I.) Positive Relationships with the local community; (II.) Principal or Administrative Mentoring Programs; and (III.) Shared Decision Making. These, and other factors were vital for professional development, improved student academic performance, retention, and engagement, especially for marginalized populations in culturally diverse schools.

Introduction

There are a number of issues that our educational systems are facing that hinder the actualization of equal and equitable educational opportunities. Among those issues are standardized testing (Banks & Banks, 2006; Thompson, 2007), Common Core standards, (Polikoff, 2017; Rycik, 2014), changes in the effectiveness of teachers' unions (Giroux, 2015), unqualified teachers working in low-literacy environments (Nieto, 2004; Thompson, 2007), the lack of culturally and linguistically diverse (CLD) administrators in leadership positions (Beachum & Obiakor, 2005; Brooks, 2009; Capper, 1993; Castro et al., 2018; Khalifa et al., 2016; Nieto, 2007), the lack of social and academic support to CLD students, and ineffective inclusive governance in a variety of educational environments. Some of these issues are endemic in the entire educational system, such as standardized testing. However, general systemic challenges, whatever they may be, are exacerbated in educational environments with culturally diverse student populations that also lack effective culturally relevant leadership and support.

It's an unfortunate reality that inadequate and ineffective educational programs and schools and ill prepared educators and administrators lacking either the knowledge, the ability, or sometimes just the will to implement cultural relevancy in their profession, contribute to the economic, social, and generational demise of marginalized and culturally diverse students and schools. However, studies also reveal that teachers and administrators who are culturally competent, committed to their students, faculty, staff, and school vision, and are willing and able to embrace and implement culturally relevant approaches to teaching and leadership, can counter or avoid many of these negative academic and socioeconomic outcomes (Beachum, 2011; Duncan-Andrade, 2007, 2009; Freire, 2000; Fullan, 2001; Ginsberg & Wlodkowski, 2009; Howard, 2016 Kozol, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Noguera, 2003; Ogbu, 1978). If culturally responsive approaches to teaching and leadership already have a proven track record, why are there still so many education programs that fail to implement them, and why are they de-emphasized outside of traditional K-12 settings?

Much of the rationale for developing and instituting culturally relevant best practices in schools serving CLD students has been consistent since Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s. With regard to teaching and learning, Goldston (2017) notes that culturally relevant instruction "allows educators to address social barriers that cause disparities in student achievement; by tailoring instruction to be mindful of these barriers, educators can help students overcome obstacles and succeed." She adds that "responsive classrooms also mitigate the effects of negative cultural stereotypes on student performance." While culturally responsive instruction has made some headway, culturally responsive or relevant educational leadership lags way behind. It is true that some progress has taken place in some educational settings, in some places and spaces, sometimes. However, we are not living in a post racial, or post cultural era. There is a vast difference between progress, adequacy, and effectiveness. Though K-12 teachers and college professors are often exposed to practitioners of cultural relevancy, school administrators, principals, coordinators, directors, and deans are often not included or provided similar training (Capper, 1993; Khalifa et al., 2016; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Thompson, 2007). Outside of occasional training sessions in "diversity" — which are not focused on either teaching or leadership —, it is arguable that educational administrators in general receive little to no training in culturally relevant approaches

to teaching and leadership, for most, if not all, of their professional careers. As a result, students exposed to culturally engaging K-12 education may find this component missing as they further their education in college, adult education, or vocational education, which can increase disinterest in continuing educational pursuits, or reduce student engagement and retention in postsecondary or alternative education (Washington, 2013; Wood, 2011).

Considering the magnitude of challenges facing education today, especially during a pandemic that accentuates socioeconomic and academic achievement gaps, it is understandable why there are so many disgruntled teachers, frustrated administrators, and increasing suspension rates among marginalized student populations. The lack of effective culturally responsive leadership is a major contributing factor to what often appears to be a never-ending cycle of educational failure at all levels (Brooks, 2009; Gay, 2002, 2010; hooks, 2003; Kozol, 2005; Thompson, 2007). The implementation of effective culturally relevant leadership practices is one way to create a more equitable learning environment that supports both students and educators alike. However, these engaging and culturally responsive approaches need to continue throughout the educational journey of marginalized students in particular. The need for such supports should not dissipate with each step up in grade or with the transition to postsecondary education or alternative education. Yet, this is exactly what happens, and why retention and engagement efforts for marginalized students in education, nationwide, have been challenging and inconsistent (Capper, 1993; Harper & Quaye, 2014; Marshall & Oliva, 2006; Strayhorn, 2014; Toldson, 2008).

Statement of the Problem

Several reforms and culturally responsive approaches to education have developed over the years, most of which focus on pedagogy, or the practice and process of teaching and learning. However, the focus has been primarily on K-12 education. Though these reforms and practices continue to develop a more equitable learning environments or more effective leadership policies, very little has changed in the way administration or leadership is practiced;"top-down" approaches to leadership continue to predominate (Darling-Hammond, 2007). Furthermore, serious consideration for other educational options outside of K-12 education continues to be lacking Disproportionate numbers of marginalized students from educational institutions at all levels are still prevalent in statistical reports describing significant dropout rates, low acceptance rates, poor graduation rates, and the "cradle to prison pipeline" in K-12 education. Not only does the need for best practices in culturally relevant education leadership still exist (Khalifa et al., 2016; Marshall & Oliva, 2006; Santamaría & Santamaríia, 2011), these practices must continue in all avenues of education if we wish to continue to provide support and engagement for marginalized students— beginning with preschool through graduate school, or if appropriate, vocational school. It seems clear that an effective resolution would require not only improved best practices in culturally relevant leadership, but also for such leadership to be extended beyond the limitations of the traditional K-12 environment. This implementation of culturally relevant leadership is based on *practice*, not *content* (Beachum, 2009; Castro et al., 2018; Fullan, 2001). Therefore, *leadership practice* was the basis of this research project.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of this qualitative research study was to examine educational leadership best practices that utilize a culturally relevant perspective or approach. Using case studies, this examination identified the best practices being implemented by experienced and effective educational administrators from different social, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds, as well as

administrators who also work in different educational environments. Effective educational leadership refers to leadership that has a positive influence on the academic performance of students in primary, secondary, alternative, and postsecondary education, especially those students identified as marginalized.

Significance of the Study

Based on current literature (Beachum, 2011; Fullan, 2001; Santamaría & Santamaría, 2011), this study contributes to the re-examination of school management from a cultural lens and puts forth a more effective and culturally relevant approach to leadership practices. In particular, this study examines how culturally relevant best practices are implemented across different educational environments and programs (K-12 education, adult education, career and technical education, higher education, correctional education, continuation schools, remedial education, distance learning, or any marginalized environment that influences academic outcomes). Addressing these challenges at the classroom level is simply not enough, (Darling-Hammond, 2007; Gay, 2002, 2010 Ginsberg & Wlodkowski, 2009, Feinberg & Soltis, 2004. Overall, this study on culturally relevant leadership best practices also contributes to what works, regarding leadership in different educational environments, and it contributes to the general body of knowledge in the field educational leadership.

Theoretical Frameworks

The study examines the exploration of culturally relevant practices utilized by effective educational leaders and administrators. Therefore, two related theoretical frameworks were selected for this study. Gloria Ladson-Billings' foundational framework for *Culturally Relevant Pedagogy* (1994, 1995) established the basis for general applications of cultural relevancy as it applies to students, instruction, faculty, support, curriculum, values, and embracing an inclusive lens. The construct of *Culturally Relevant Pedagogy* is applicable for determining best practices in educational leadership that are based on the following dimensions:
  1. Institutional—refers to the institutional administrative values, policies, and practices.
  2. Personal—refers to cognitive and emotional processes educators and leaders must engage in to promote and practice a culturally responsive pedagogy.
  3. Instructional-- includes the concepts, strategies, activities, and assessment practices that form the basis of instruction and actualize a culturally responsive pedagogy.

The second theoretical framework utilized for this research study was the *Culturally Responsive School Leadership Framework* (Khalifa et al., 2016). This framework encompasses some of the concepts of Ladson-Billings' work, but it focuses specifically on leadership practices that undermine deficit theoretical perspectives while simultaneously validating the social and cultural capital required for marginalized students require to develop. This framework also relies on the critical self-reflection of the administrator who must examine their own internal biases as part of the process of effective and socially conscious leadership.

Research Questions

The overarching question of the study asks: *What best practices are utilized by four selected culturally relevant educational administrators/leaders from different cultural backgrounds and educational environments?* To answer this main question, three sub-questions are asked:

1. What best practices are utilized by culturally relevant educational administrators?
2. What best practices are utilized by culturally relevant educational administrators who come from different cultural or racial backgrounds?
3. What best practices are utilized by culturally relevant administrators from different types of educational institutions or environments?

Best Practices

For the purposes of this study, Eugene Bardach (2011) defines a "best practice" as a method, technique, or process that consistently provides superior outcomes compared to results achieved through other means. Once this pattern is established, it is often referred to as a *benchmark* or *standard* (Bardach, 2011).

Best practice is also known as a form of program evaluation in public policy. It is the process of reviewing policy alternatives that have been effective in addressing similar issues in the past and could be applied to a current problem. Determining "best" or "smart" practices to address a particular policy problem is a commonly used but little understood tool of analysis (Bardach, 2011).

Caroline Munro (2005) refers to best practices in terms of a new paradigm in teaching and learning that "acknowledge the transformational nature of teaching and learning, and equips educators with the tools to proactively and continuously adapt to change" (p.?).

According to Anthony DiBella (2001), "a practice that is valued in one setting will be valued differently in another setting where there are different constraints, limitations, and circumstances" (p. 123). Additionally, he states that "how we learn and what we learn must shift as the context for learning changes" (p. 126). Therefore, a best practice is a dynamic application, not a static application.

Administration vs. Leadership

Educational administration is defined as a process of working with and through others to accomplish school goals efficiently (Sergiovanni, 1991). The essential roles and tasks of an educational administrator include planning, organizing, leading, and controlling educational environments. An educational leader or manager is also concerned with tasks such as planning, coordinating, directing, defining objectives, supporting the work of others, and evaluating performance. In terms of these essential roles, there are no clear distinctions between the two titles.

Administrators are almost always appointed and usually exercise a management style that is directive and relies on a system of reward and punish. Their ability to influence subordinates is based on the formal authority inherent in their positions (Blase & Blase, 2006; Gooden, 2012; Santamaría, 2013). In contrast, leaders may either be appointed or emerge from within a group. Their management style often encourages others to perform beyond the actions dictated by formal authority. In this sense, managers/administrators can get other people to act, whereas leaders get other people to want to act, (Blase & Blase, 2006; Gooden, 2012; Santamaría, 2013; Santamaría & Santamaría, 2012).

Unless otherwise specified, the terms "educational administration" and "educational leadership" will be used interchangeably. Though they are specifically different concepts, for the purpose of determining best practices, this difference is not directly applicable.

Leadership in Addressing Societal Challenges

Since learning occurs in a social setting (Khalifa, et al. 2016; Nieto, 2004; Thompson, 2007) influenced by our individual cultures, it's important to acknowledge societal challenges. In order to address societal challenges within school environments, *transformational* education programs based on the concept of cultural relevancy drive school leadership and the curriculum in a way that contextualizes teaching and leadership practices (Banks & Banks, 2006 Fullan, 2001; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Nieto, 2004). Many experienced scholars and administrators have determined which character or personality traits are most effective and prevalent in socially congruent culturally relevant educational leaders.

Educational administrators who see the big picture can understand how social factors such as family, poverty, employment, and the community can positively or negatively influence a student's ability and desire to learn. Thus, teacher preparation and educational leadership credential programs need to utilize cultural perspectives that can be more empowering than past traditional approaches. Culturally relevant leaders do not separate themselves from their community, their teachers, or students; they embrace them through intercultural and inclusive practices (Fullan, 2008 Howard, 2016 Khalifa et al., 2016; Nieto, 2004).

Methods

In an effort to give voice to this study and focus on the lived experiences of the research participants, a qualitative research study was developed using a multiple case study approach to document the behaviors and practices of four selected educational leaders. Based on the benefits of face-to-face interaction, dialogue, and observation, the case study design is recommended by Yin (2009) and Krathwohl (1998).

A case study approach is also best suited for exploring the process and intricacies of effective educational leadership (best practices) across different education platforms, or unexplained phenomenon that may not be as evident utilizing quantitative methods or other qualitative research designs that rely less on the social and cultural input possible with a qualitative multiple case study approach. The unit of analysis for each case is its individual administrator, each from a different cultural background and different educational settings in order to achieve as much diversity and variety as possible.

Data Collection

Case Studies. In this study, data were collected from all case study participants using multiple interviews and multiple field observations from all four research participants, each from different educational environments in the state of California. All interviews were digitally recorded with consent and confidentiality and were transcribed for analysis. Data were collected utilizing semi-structured interviews, and field observations were also conducted of the four selected case study participants in their institutional settings. The data collection process took approximately five months. It took an additional six weeks to sort, code, and recode the data into contrasting themes.

Semi-Structured Interviews(Questions). Four semi-structured interviews were conducted at the respective work sites of each participant. The interviews were recorded with the consent of the participants. The average duration was approximately fifty minutes per interview. Each participant was given the same set of seventeen questions to answer.

Non-participatory field observations. All participants were observed individually, on three separate occasions for a minimum of three hours each session while engaged in their daily

administrative activities specific to educational administration. This included being present during meetings with students, staff, educators, counselors, technicians, peace officers, recruiters, clergy, social workers, and other administrators, as well as parents, spouses, or significant others when and where applicable, unless it was deemed inappropriate, against school or educational policy or legal standard, or potentially put another person at risk physically, emotionally, financially, culturally, or socially (Creswell, 1998; Krathwohl, 1998). In many instances, this also included accompanying participants in their daily business travels to offsite locations, district offices, other educational institutions, campuses, or government agencies, as well as community organizations with which they were affiliated.

Matrix for Assessing Culturally Relevant Leadership

Using a modified version of Beachum's (2011) matrix for examining culturally relevant leadership, two opposing approaches are presented. The first is a deficit-based approach (Table 1), and the second is based on a culturally relevant approach. The constant indicators are *Social Consciousness, Affirming Perspective,* and *Educator as Change Agent* in describing the differences between social dysconsciousness and social consciousness. The ideological poles described in this matrix are as follows:

- *Social Dysconsciousness vs. Social and Emancipatory Critical Consciousness*
- *Deficit Perspective vs. Affirming Perspective*
- *Educator as Technician vs. Educator as Change Agent*
- *Inequitably vs. Equality Insight--*focuses on the educators' attitude towards students
- *Un-reflective Practice vs. Reflexive Practice--*views student-teacher-administrator ways on reflecting on conditions and events that shape positive or negative outcomes and with positive leading to forms of educational praxis (action)

To operationalize the ideological markers, two approaches are presented—the deficit-based perspective (functionalist) and the culturally relevant perspective (socio-constructivist) as outlined in Table 1 (culturally deficient leadership) and Table 2 (culturally relevant leadership).

Table 1: Culturally Deficient Leadership Matrix

Educational Agent	Social Consciousness	Affirming Perspective	Educator as Change
Social Dysconsciousness	**Un-critical State of Mind**		
Deficit Perspective		**Disregards equality**	
Educator as Technician			**Un-Reflexive Practice that follows the status quo**

Dysconsciousness is an uncritical state of mind (perceptions, attitudes, beliefs), that justifies inequality and exploitation by accepting the existing order of things (Table 1). King (1991) used the term "Dysconscious Racism" as meaning the uncritical habit of mind (i.e., perceptions, attitudes, assumptions, and beliefs) that justifies inequity and exploitation by accepting the existing order of things as given. The opposing leadership matrix that is driven by culturally relevant

leadership seeks empowerment for the individual and organization–creating access to opportunity. In an ethnically and linguistically diverse environment, the need for a Culturally Relevant Leadership model (Table 2) is supported by many leading advocates of diversity and inclusion (Banks & Banks, 2006; Darling-Hammond, 2007; Feinberg & Soltis, 2004 Fullan, 2008; hooks, 2003; Gallo & Beachum, 2020; Howard, 2016 Ladson-Billings, 2002; Nieto, 2004; Noguera, 2003; Salisbury, 2020).

Table 2: Culturally Relevant Leadership Matrix

Educational Agent	*Social Consciousness*	*Affirming Perspective*	*Educator as Change*
Emancipatory Consciousness	**Critical State of Mind**		
Empowering Perspective		**Works for Equality & Fairness & Access**	
Emancipatory Consciousness			**Reflexive Practice that seeks access to opportunity & development**

Sociological Perspectives for Analyzing Culturally Relevant Leadership

      To add to the two matrices described in Table 1 and 2, four sociological perspectives are introduced as a means of examining different leadership approaches using culturally relevant practices by educational leaders from different educational settings. The purpose was to compare effective culturally relevant best practices in educational leadership in various educational institutions and environments in order to explore how they may differ. These four theoretical perspectives provide a more detailed examination of leadership and educational best practices (Feinberg & Soltis, 2004; Ochoa, 2012). The respective theories are:

I. *Functionalism* (**Anglo Conformity**) views leadership as a social control to maintain social solidarity through the control of socio-political power. Functionalists also use their position of preference to maintain social status and privilege.

II. *Structural Functionalism* (**Assimilationist**) views leadership through a set of values that tolerate cultural diversity and individual uniqueness. Assimilationists recognize universal rights of expression, privacy, due process and movement, and the importance of maintaining social cohesion and harmony.

III. *Interpretivist or Symbolic Interactionist* (**Cultural Pluralism**) views leadership through the encouragement of the qualitative expansion of existing ethnic cultures and their incorporation, or assimilation into the *mainstream* of American socioeconomic and political life. They support explorations in alternative and emerging lifestyles and the encouragement of multiculturalism, multilingualism, and multidialectism.

IV. *Conflict Theory* (**Constructivist**) views leadership as the development and nurturing of social consciousness and social responsibility through the recognition and development of democratic values of society and socio-political responsibilities that support culture, leisure, and interpersonal relations.

These four sociological lenses yield different types of leadership, each one viewing leadership from a different perspective towards defining alternative best practices in various educational programs and institutions.

Using the research literature, for this study, the Culturally Relevant Leadership Matrix will be used for examining the best practices of selected educational leaders who utilized culturally relevant educational leadership.

Participant leadership selection criterion:
- Be at least 35 years of age (maturity standard)
- Have at least 7 years of experience as an administrator (experience standard)
- Have a master's degree in administration or related field (academic standard)
- Have experience in developing or implementing policy or a regular basis (policy skills standard)
- Have a teaching credential as well as an administrative credential where required (teaching knowledge & skills standard)
- Have evidence of their role in improving an academic or enrollment standard (accountability standard)
- Employed by a school or program where 50% or more of their enrollment are Students of Color who are culturally, ethnically, and linguistically diverse (diversity standard)
- Represented an ethnically diverse background and gender, race, school environment, location, or leadership, as well as encompassing different sociological perspectives

Participant Selection

The criteria for selecting four educational administrators for this study called for a proven work history and skill set that supports their leadership. An independent group of six middle- and upper-level educational administrators throughout California, from different educational programs and school districts, were asked to act as a committee of experts on educational leadership. All six administrators on this committee were selected based on over 7 years of educational leadership and administrative experience. It was the responsibility of this committee to use a series of *stratified random sampling* to ultimately select four research participants from a pool of 55 volunteers around the state of California who responded to a request to participate posted on Facebook. Using the selection criterion required for this study, this process produced four educational administrators from four different cultures to participate in this study.

Table 3: Profile of participants (cases)

Participant (pseudonyms)	Level of Educational Engagement	7+ Yrs. Of Leadership Experience	Ethnicity	Worked in at least 50% Ethnically Diverse Educational Setting
Dr. Jones	Adult/ CTE or Alternative Education	YES 7 of 15yrs.	African-American	YES Over 75%
Ms. Lerner	K-12 Education	YES 21 of 21 yrs.	European-American	YES Over 50%

| Dr. Reyes | College/ Higher Education | YES 15 of 28 yrs. | Latino-American | YES Over 50% |
| Ms. Li | K-12 Education | YES 13 of 25 yrs. | Asian-American | YES Over 50% |

Data Analysis

As this was a qualitative case study, specific analytical processes were used to establish *trustworthiness* (Creswell, 1998). The data collected through interviews, onsite-observations, memos, field notes, and transcriptions from audio recordings were collected, coded, and re-coded into categories and sub-categories until common themes began to emerge. Member checking and methodological triangulation were also utilized in this multiple case analysis.

Figure 1
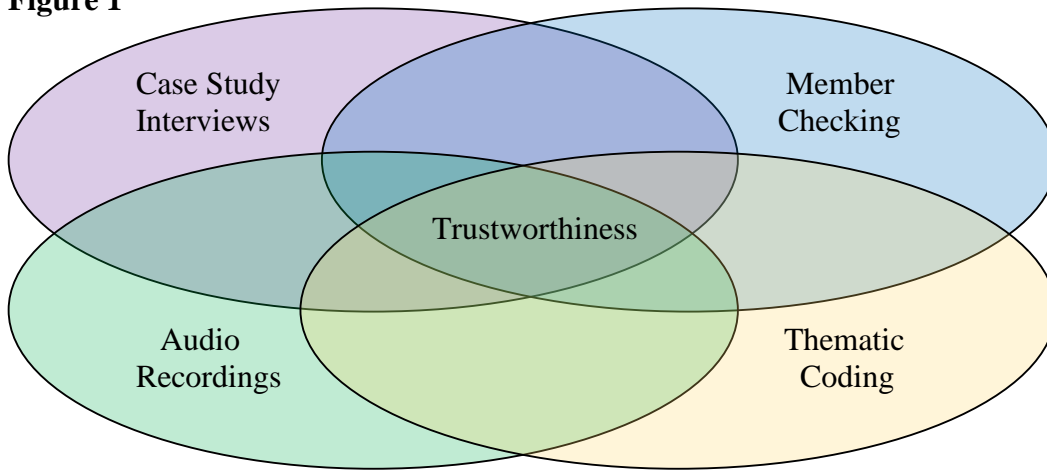
Case Study Findings

Case 1: Dr. Jones

Dr. Jones is an adult and alternative education administrator who has been involved in education for over 15 years. He has worked in educational leadership positions for over 12 years. Dr. Jones is an African American male who perceives himself as being progressive and engaged with the people under his supervision. He also perceives himself as having an instructional leadership style that is interactive and appropriate for the type of students that he is responsible to in an adult-correctional education program. Dr. Jones is in his early 50s and has been a lead assistant principal at a continuation school for five years and planning to retire in another five years. He received his educational doctoral degree in administrative leadership from a public California university.

Overview of Dr. Jones interview

- He stated that he was responsible for dealing with adult students who faced many academic, social, and psychological needs.
- He described himself as always being respectful, humane, and presenting students with options for addressing their academic and personal needs.

- As a researcher, he used data to present his supervisors with alternatives to policy practices that did not impact students' personal and academic development.
- Using data and the analysis of behavioral trends was Dr. Jones' approach to being a change agent.
- He also used local, state, and national data to understand the sociocultural trends and backgrounds of his students, who were predominantly ethnically diverse.
- He saw many of his colleagues disrespecting adult students to gain authority and making uninformed assumptions about their abilities and academic and social skills.
- The correctional setting was described as a setting where authoritarianism prevailed.

Regarding culturally relevant leadership practices, Dr. Jones mentioned that the inclusion of adult student voices was essential in dealing with a problem, or how an idea or concept could be explained. He also mentioned that such processes are developmental and are based on creating and valuing the lives of his students and valuing their experiences and voices.

Dr. Jones described his leadership style as "*negotiator and mediator,*" or the ability to understand a situation and seek options to a problem. His advice for those individuals wanting to prepare for a leadership position was to: (1) engage with the community of the school community; (2) understand the demands of the institution; (3) have clarity of one's values; (4) know why they are entering a leadership position; (5) focus on the development of people; and (6) have at least five years of teaching experience.

Leadership Style

Based on interviews and observations, Dr. Jones is an *Interpretivist* who embraces and encourages culturally relevant pedagogy in negotiating the daily practices in his work setting. While he is effective in negotiating access to opportunity at his work site, he has not advanced such educational practices outside the correctional context of his work site.

Case 2: Ms. Lerner

Ms. Lerner is a traditional K-12 educator who has been involved in education for more than 21 years. She is a white, European American of Jewish heritage who views herself as a moderate who is semi-engaged ([1]managing campus) with her staff and educators. She practices compartmentalization as part of her management approach at a suburban high school and views her leadership style as administrative delegation–each department and personnel having designated responsibilities. She viewed this approach to be appropriate for managing K-12 students at the high school level where she has been the principal for 11 years. Ms. Lerner is in her early 60s and is bilingual in Spanish. She was a social worker for the county before she attended college in preparation for a career in education. She has her administrative credential and was six units shy of getting her master's degree in educational leadership.

Overview of Ms. Lerner's interview

---

[1] APA: Racial and ethnic groups are designated by proper nouns and are capitalized. Therefore, use "Black" and "White" instead of "black" and "white" (do not use colors to refer to other human groups; doing so is considered pejorative). https://apastyle.apa.org/style-grammar-guidelines/bias-free-language/racial-ethnic-minorities

- Ms. Lerner stated that her most meaningful previous experience in educational supervision was as an assistant superintendent for six years.
- As superintendent, she felt that she was an effective leader, but stated that she preferred to manage a single high school where she had more influence on the day-to-day events under her guidance.
- She stated that her previous responsibilities rarely allowed her to meet with or interact with the students themselves and that she missed this type of relationship.
- She stated that her leadership style is to delegate responsibilities to appropriate personnel, especially her assistant principal, whom she is grooming to replace her within a year.
- Ms. Lerner interacts with an ethnically diverse adolescent student population as well as a diverse group of teachers and support staff.
- Ms. Lerner takes pride in her work and views herself as a manager of people and resources.
- She doesn't focus as much on economic or psycho-social perspectives; however, she does believe in loyalty.
- Ms. Lerner is, by her own admittance, from "the old school" and relies on her connections and reports from her staff more than computer driven evidence-based data.
- She never referred to herself as a change agent, even when asked, however she often described herself as an administrator or "leader of the band."

When asked what professional practices make an educational administrator more effective, Ms. Lerner described practices that included an extensive familiarity with the education code of California as well as experience at budgeting and applying social skills where appropriate. The school setting was described as a bureaucratic environment where there is an established hierarchy that is at the heart of her management style.

For Ms. Lerner, culturally relevant teaching and administrative practices have focused on teaching fairly and respecting the culture and ethnicity of the school's student population. She felt that the core of most school issues was not based on culture, race, or ethnicity. Though she does believe that there are inequities at all schools.

Ms. Lerner relies heavily on her assistant principal to act as the liaison between her and the student body. This, in effect, makes the assistant principal accountable for the students' sense of well-being, while she assumes responsibility for the school's management.

Leadership Style

Based on interviews and observations, Ms. Lerner's management style is best suited for the *functionalist* approach. She has an administrative leadership style where she balances her educational environment through organizational management skills.

Case 3: Dr. Reyes

Dr. Reyes is an educational administrator and professor in higher education for more than 25 years. Dr. Reyes is a Latino male who describes himself as being a socially conscious and liberal educator and describes his leadership approach as collegial. He describes his approach to leadership as transformative, or a style that is vision centered and collaborative. Dr. Reyes is in his late 50s and is an Associate Dean at a California public institution of higher education where he has served for over fifteen years. He received his PhD in Sociology.

Overview of Dr. Reyes' interview

- Dr. Reyes describes his most meaningful previous experience in supervision, management, and administration through his work as a director of a diversity-based department at another college where he was responsible for addressing issues related to institutional practices that contribute to inequality that negatively impact Students of Color.
- He described his leadership approach as humanitarian and opening access to opportunity for Students of Color.
- Dr. Reyes also mentioned his interest in connecting the higher education institution with the at-large community. He is against the privatization and corporatization of higher education that rely heavily on data that systematically closes access to low-income populations.
- Dr. Reyes stated that he used to be a change agent, but now his current position describes him as being more of an advocate for change rather than at the front lines.
- He stated that there is no one way to be an effective administrator.
- Dr. Reyes stated that an effective administrator "is true to herself/himself and surrounds herself/himself with well-meaning and qualified personnel who will share the same philosophy while providing genuine and honest feedback."

Dr. Reyes states that part of the problem in education is that most issues are covert, not overt. According to Dr. Reyes, culturally relevant teaching practices are focused on meeting students where they are culturally and making a connection between what is being taught and what the student values in their own reality.
Dr. Reyes describes his leadership style as being a "team player."
His advice for those that decide to prepare for a leadership position is as follows: (1) Don't be afraid to make a commitment; (2) Value understanding more than being understood; (3) Don't be afraid to "rock the boat", (after you are tenured, of course); (4) Constantly provide and offer support, as people need to know that they are not alone in their struggle; (5) Be patient; and (6) Network, network, network!

Leadership Style
Based on the interviews and observations, Dr. Reyes would be described as a *conflict theorist.* He utilizes many aspects of *transformational leadership* that are based on collaborative leadership while proving encouragement and seeking the feedback of those he serves.

Case 4: Ms. Li
Ms. Li has been a principal at a public middle school for the past 13 years and has worked in education for over 25 years. She is in her late 40s and works in an urban school community that is culturally diverse. Ms. Li views herself as having an instructional-oriented leadership style. She is also multilingual, speaking English, Mandarin, and Spanish. Prior to becoming an administrator, Ms. Li was a special education teacher. She has a master's degree in special education and educational administration from a private institution.

Overview of Ms. Li's interview
- One of Ms. Li's most rewarding and meaningful experiences, prior to becoming a principal, was when she was a coordinator for bilingual education and second language learners for

her school district, where she was able to interact with students, staff, administrators, the community, and other personnel that had a direct impact on her students and community.

- Many of the students at her school were from marginalized communities and from families living below the poverty line.
- According to Ms. Li, she was able to diffuse tense situations because she was not viewed as a threat by her students, staff, or administration.
- Her interactive leadership style provided an unusually high degree of trust among her students, staff, and peers.
- Ms. Li's approach to being a change agent was to illicit change from within the communities and classrooms more so than in the administrative offices or her own office.
- She demonstrated a "hands-on" form of leadership that made her approachable.

When asked what professional practices make an educational administrator more effective, she described practices that were evidence-based and rich in theory. She believes that the biggest challenges that she witnesses in her profession are the egos of administrators who are far more interested in improving their income than improving the academic and social conditions that exist within their respective schools.

For Ms. Li, culturally relevant teaching practices involve the process of engaging with students and learning what their needs are--that often may not be evident at first glance. Ms. Li states that the leadership credential programs themselves need to be revamped to include more diversity training and culturally responsive approaches to teaching, learning, and leading. The lack of these attributes within school districts leads to ongoing culturally unresponsive leadership. She also states that student concerns can be better addressed by the students and teachers themselves if they are provided the resources and permitted to engage rather than follow leaders who lack cultural responsiveness and insight.

When asked what the one word was that best describes her leadership style, she stated that she would use the term "gardener" because she feels that she's constantly trying to nurture sensitive plants that are constantly being undermined by ravenous weeds and pests.

Her advice for individuals wanting to prepare for a leadership position was to: (1) Eliminate as many distractions in your life as possible before you begin training; (2) Establish a support system early on; (3) Always remember that your greatest assets and resources are people; and (4) Establish a relationship with community and non-profit organizations in order to develop mutually beneficial relationships over the long haul.

Leadership Style

Based on the interviews and observations, Ms. Li fits the characteristics of a *Socio-Constructivist* with an instructional leadership style. Though she incorporates culturally relevant strategies in her approach to leadership, she also avoids or downplays conflict and excessive controversy and seems to find some comfort in the calm school climate that exists within her school district.

<div align="center">

Findings

</div>

After an in-depth analysis of each case study, the findings did reveal that culturally relevant leadership can be effective in different educational settings and programs. Additionally, the data

collected from our culturally diverse research participants also suggested that there is a significant lack of culturally relevant leadership strategies being implemented outside of traditional K-12 educational settings, and that this absence is a contributing factor in the continuing existence of graduation gaps, dropout rates, and differences in academic performance, especially among marginalized populations. This means that some students who utilized or needed culturally relevant leadership and teaching strategies to navigate K-12 educational systems were now on their own or facing more challenges finding appropriate support that was both relatable and effective for them.

For this particular study, successful practices of educational leadership were defined as any form of educational leadership that consistently resulted in a school, university department, or an education program exceeding the performance or accountability standards for their respective school, university department, or program. Though this research study was qualitative, to give voice and to express firsthand personal experiences, the standards by which all four research participants and educational administrators were measured in their respective professions are generally quantitative in nature.

In K-12 education, these standards are numerous, and based primarily on school, program, or student assessments such as *Common Core*, the *National Assessment* of *Educational Progress* (NAEP), the *California Professional Standards* for *Educational Leaders* (CPSEL), the *California Administrator Performance Assessment* (CalAPA), *California Administrator Performance Expectations* (CAPE), the *California Assessment* of *Student Performance* and *Progress* (CAASPP) System, the *School Accountability Report Card* (SARC), the *Local Educational Agency* (LEA) *Accountability Report Card*, the now defunct *Academic Performance Index* (API), and the current *California School Dashboard*.

In alternative education, the assessments generally used to evaluate school administrators and their schools or programs are the *Comprehensive* Adult *Student Assessment System* (CASAS) and the *California Standards* for *Career Ready Practice*.

In higher education, *performance evaluations* are required for both faculty and administration that cover several areas of competency related to leadership, vision, accountability, governance, people management, creativity, communication and interpersonal skills, productivity, quality of work, health, safety, and diversity.

Because of the difference in schools, program objectives, student populations, campus climate, and communities, different approaches were utilized by each research participant. The findings of this research project addressed the following research questions and served as the basis of this multiple case study:

1. What best practices are utilized by culturally relevant educational administrators?
2. What best practices are utilized by culturally relevant educational administrators who come from different cultural or racial backgrounds?
3. What best practices are utilized by culturally relevant administrators from different types of educational institutions or environments?

Summary of Salient Approaches Used by Culturally Relevant Educational Leaders and their Best Practices applied to Different Educational Settings or Programs

The following characteristics highlight the salient best practices of the four selected administrators and their leadership approach, as outlined in Tables 4 through 11. These practices were organized in tables to list the specific practices utilized by each research participant in their respective leadership positions. Based on the responses and interviews with the research

participants, these best practices are not limited to just K-12 schools and can be applied to other educational settings or institutions such as higher education, adult education, correctional education, or vocational education programs, where they may also be equally relevant and effective.

Table 4: Self- Described Administrative Approach

Dr. Jones	Ms. Lerner	Mr. Reyes	Ms. Li
Negotiator/ Mediator	Delegator/ Organizer	Team player/ Partner	Hands on/ "Gardner"

Table 5: Best Practices for Student Engagement

Dr. Jones	Ms. Lerner	Mr. Reyes	Ms. Li
• Respecting voices, interacting and learning from students • Delegating responsibility to student for self-governance	• Interacting and learning from students • Establishing a student council with real influence on the activities of the campus	• Engage in a collegial decision-making process and supporting student affairs staff	• Meeting with students on a regular basis to discuss, observe, and identify concerns and school perceptions on school climate

Table 6: Best Practices for Faculty and Staff

Dr. Jones	Ms. Lerner	Mr. Reyes	Ms. Li
• Inclusion-- interacting and involving faculty in school policies impacting student development	• Continuous professional development on school-oriented program issues and practices	• Delegating to faculty & staff to find best practices for students and empowering faculty to act	• Creating partnerships with faculty, students, and community

Table 7: Best Practices for Community Relations

Dr. Jones	Ms. Lerner	Mr. Reyes	Ms. Li
• Engaging families in the decisions impacting youth • Collaborating with stakeholders on student well-being • Understanding services of local agencies and networking with the community	• Connect & collaborate with community resources (e.g., library, community center, recreational facilities, employment agencies for teens) to service school community	• Connect & collaborate with community businesses, as well as other community resources	• Develop a network with other schools in and outside of district to share resources and develop district and school unity for students and faculty

Table 8: Best Practices Acknowledging Culture & Heritage

Dr. Jones	Ms. Lerner	Mr. Reyes	Ms. Li
• School personnel understands the sociocultural characteristics of school community	• Provide training for cultural competence and culturally relevant pedagogy and validate	• Meet with cultural organizations on campus regularly to discuss student needs	• Ensure inclusion at all levels of school activities

| • School curriculum is multicultural / inclusive
• Faculty are familiar with multicultural teaching approaches that reflect the students' diversity | application of cross-cultural sensitivity | • Develop a task force to provide support to close achievement gaps | • Validate that faculty are culturally competent
• Ensure that curriculum is multicultural and inclusive |

Table 9: Best Practices regarding Parents

Dr. Jones	Ms. Lerner	Mr. Reyes	Ms. Li
• Parents are informed & engaged with school & community agencies to support the academic and personal development of the students'	• Meet parents monthly to assess school climate and circumvent potential problems or concerns	• Higher education campus provides open access to parents to interact in the educational environment	• Meet with parents monthly to prepare them to work with students at home and support through additional academic tutorials

Table 10: Best Practices regarding Assessments & Evaluations

Dr. Jones	Ms. Lerner	Mr. Reyes	Ms. Li
• Social & academic development are the focus of student growth • Multiple use of culturally sensitive assessments to identify student strengths & needs	Develop preparatory and mentoring programs for students who are challenged by standardized tests	Rely less on program standards and assessments and utilize personal feedback in meetings using multiple means of assessment	• Provide multiple ways of assessing learning • Emphasize multicultural curriculum that is student-centered

Table 11: Best Practices regarding Discipline

Dr. Jones	Ms. Lerner	Mr. Reyes	Ms. Li
• Discipline handled by 3rd party other than principal to provide due process	• Utilizes a conflict management team of trained student peers for early intervention guided by Education Code relating to discipline issues & procedures	• Disciplinary issues are based on academic rather than behavioral issues. Adult centered expectations in regulating behavior	• Establish fair expectations for all students • Establish collaboration between students • Promote student integration

Conclusion and Recommendations

After careful analysis of the data of this exploratory study, several themes began to emerge from the transcriptions, interviews, and observations. The primary objective of this study was to determine which educational administration best practices were utilized by our case study subjects and were culturally relevant and effective.

Most Common Themes for Best Practices utilized by ~~our~~ Research Participants
Best Practices for Students

Best Practices for Acknowledging Culture and Heritage. When school leaders acknowledge the culture and heritage of their students, faculty, and staff, this encourages them to become active

participants in their own future. With a sense of inclusion also comes a sense of buy in, which increases motivation as well as self-esteem. Ethnicity and race don't have to be mutual, as long as the acceptance and desire to understand different cultures is genuinely present.

Best Practices for Encouraging Curriculum Development based on How Students Actually Learn. Focusing more on process and less on content allows culturally relevant leaders to examine the different ways and methods that are effective for individual students. Being open to different modes of learning provides students with more options to express themselves.

Best Practices for Involving Students in Decision-Making Practices. Encourage students to participate in their own outcome by encouraging decision-making and accountability. This allows students to improve their critical thinking skills while providing school leaders with a clear perspective of student thinking processes. Encouraging student decision-making also instills trust between administrators and students.

Best Practices for Faculty and Staff

Best Practices for Defining and Refining Mission and Vision Statements. The vision of a school program is the foundation for practically every aspect of leadership or governance within an institution. As school climate and culture change and the needs of the school, staff, and students continue to evolve, so too must the school's mission and vision. This is not an outright overhaul of these principles, but rather a clarification, re-emphasis, and reminder of how everyone's role in their position should also speak to this shared vision and school mission.

Best Practices for Ensuring that Teachers Do Not Work in Isolation from One Another, but Work Collaboratively. By collaborating with other administrators, teachers, staff, and students, administrators and staff are better supported and have a means to exchange ideas and information. By minimizing or eliminating self-isolation, teachers and staff also eliminate misunderstandings or miscommunications and can make informed decisions that rely on collaborative groups rather than individuals.

Encourage Social Networking and Responsible Use of Technology.
Practically everyone has some sort of digital device, whether it be a laptop, smartphone, work email, or tablet. This has become part of our real world as we communicate with our children, meet with friends for coffee, update our calendars, and send texts to our spouse. It seems only logical that we bring our school environments into the 21st century by better utilizing these services on campus with educators, staff, and administrators alike. Culturally speaking, this is the language and preferred method of communication outside of education, and as a social network phenomenon, it is already an existing sub-culture within a larger media group.

Best Practices for Community Relations.

By collaborating and cooperating with various organizations, businesses, non-profit organizations, peace officers, public libraries, community centers, religious organizations, neighborhood watch programs, veteran's administrations, recreation centers, social justice groups, non-profit organizations, and stakeholders, a network can be developed that is mutually beneficial to all participants. This occurs through transparency, empowerment, support, and giving voice to both students and community members previously unheard. How effective this network can become depends on the strength and values of its participants.

Best Practices for Acknowledging Culture & Heritage

Diversity training. This provides administrators with a means of learning the nuances and customs of different cultures; however, it is not actually necessary to learn specific details of a given culture in order to embrace diversity. Diversity training, as described by our cases, involves a process of open dialogue, sharing information, and meaning making without judgment. Instead of learning about Black and Latino cultures, the participants in this study recommended a process of learning about people first before applying a cultural lens.

Cultural competence assessments.

As Gary Howard (2016) stated, "You can't teach what you don't know," however, you can assess it. Whether administrators utilize standard cultural competence tests, or whether the school itself designs such a test, the point is that faculty and staff should be assessed on a semi-regular basis in order to establish and maintain cultural integrity.

Recommendations

Several recommendations for best practices were provided by the four research participants in this study that are informative and have proven to be effective for the research participants in their own experiences as educational administrators. However, there were threerecommendations that all four research participants agreed on, and they included the implementation of *administrative mentoring programs* that prepare principals and other educational leaders for the demands of being an administrator in a diverse educational environment; *developing positive relationships with the local community;* and implementing *shared decision-making*, where students, faculty, parents, and other stakeholders, can take part in the decisions that impact them directly, indirectly, or impact the community. This empowers everyone who participants in this approach regardless of whether they're a student, teacher, counselor, college professor, school vice principal, or program director. It's also important to make the distinction that this is different from accountability, or the individual responsibilities associated with being a student, faculty, or administrator.

Principal or Administrative Mentoring Programs.

Mentoring programs already exist in some school districts that help to train and produce educational administrators for leadership positions by capitalizing on the expertise of senior administrators as mentors. This goes beyond education and preparing for administrative credentials. These programs are designed for administrators that are already in the field, but who want to improve their skills as well as their understanding of the faculty they serve, the community of which they are a part, and the students who depend on them.

Long after these administrators have been training to better understand external aspects of educational leadership, these programs help experienced administrators to rethink and re-examine how they view students, faculty, staff, schools, and communities. What's even more important is that these programs help administrators face their own cultural biases, challenge their worldviews, and helps administrators re-commit themselves as more culturally conscious leaders of the communities they serve, and not just as figure heads and task masters of learners and school campuses. By utilizing Principal or Administrative Educational Leadership Mentoring Programs rooted in culturally relevant ideologies, mentors can help their protégés fulfill unmet needs at schools that may have previously gone unnoticed.

Positive Relationships with the Local Community.

The research participants in this study all agree that utilizing their connections to their respective communities provides a source of ideas, support, protection, and even family. School administrators who develop relationships with their communities enhance their chances of getting better public support, which shouldn't be underestimated. Unfortunately, school administrators are often at the receiving end of phone calls regarding issues that might have been avoided had a relationship been established with members of the community beforehand.

Instead of waiting for problems to arise, proactive school administrators reach out to members of the community beforehand. These community members and organizations can include parents; police officers; local businesses looking for new employees; feeder schools who want to improve their students' transition between schools; religious organizations; nonprofit organizations; and neighborhood watch organizations that help minimize drug trafficking, gang activity, domestic violence, bullying, theft, and vandalism. Some businesses, especially non-profit organizations, offer free services such as food banks, used clothes, tutoring services, fitness programs, and a variety of useful services. These efforts have already increased significantly since the start of the pandemic, especially among marginalized populations in historically underserved communities.

Shared Decision-Making (SDM).

SDM is an elusive concept to grasp (Allen & Glickman, 1992). It involves fundamental changes in the way schools are managed and alterations in the roles and relationships of everyone in the school community. Thus, SDM is a process of making educational decisions in a collaborative manner at the school level. Thus, this process is ongoing and cannot be done once and then forgotten (Meadows, 1990). The purpose of SDM is to improve school effectiveness and student learning by increasing staff commitment and ensuring that schools are more responsive to the needs of their students and community. Student success and achievement must be kept in the forefront of our thinking as the reason to implement site-based, shared decision making (Lange, 1993).

Additionally, using SDM to shift accountability or abolish a top-heavy central office staff will simply make SDM another buzzword (Lange, 1993). Accountability is a key component as well. It is leadership that typically directs, guides, and models the behaviors we wish to see in our schools. It is this same leadership that typically provides support to students and teachers who are practicing effective pedagogy and other socially just practices that are effective at all levels and in all educational environments. This suggests that we must at least invest as much in developing more effective leadership practices as we do our pedagogy if we are to change this cycle of educational systematic failure.

REFERENCES

Allen, L., & Glickman, C. D. (1992). School improvement: The elusive faces of shared governance. *NASSP Bulletin, 76(*542), 80-87. https://doi.org/10.1177/019263659207654213

Banks, J. A., & Banks, C. (2006). *Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives. 6th Edition.* Jossey-Bass, An Imprint of Wiley.

Bardach, E. (2011). *A practical guide for policy analysis: The eightfold path to more effective problem solving*. Sage.

Beachum, F. (2009). *Part I: Multiple lenses of democratic leadership. Chapter 2. culturally relevant leadership for complex 21st-Century contexts*. The Sage *Handbook of Educational Leadership, 2nd Ed*. pp 27-35, Sage.

Beachum, F. D. (2011). Culturally relevant leadership for complex 21st-century school contexts. In F. W. English (Ed.), *The Sage handbook of educational leadership, Second Edition.* (pp. 27-35). Sage.

Beachum, F. D., & Obiakor, F. E. (2005). Educational leadership in urban schools. In F. E. Obiakor & F. D. Beachum (Eds.), *Urban education for the 21st century: Research, issues, and perspectives* (pp. 83-99). Charles C. Thomas.

Bell, D. A. (1995). Racial realism. In K. Crenshaw, N. Gotanda, G. Peller, & K. Thomas (Eds.), *Critical Race Theory: The key writings that formed the movement.* The New Press.

Blase, J., & Blase, J. (2006). Teachers' perspectives on principal mistreatment. *Teacher Education Quarterly, 33(4)*, 123-142.

Brooks, J. S. (2009). The miseducation of a professor of educational administration: Learning and unlearning culturally (ir)relevant leadership. In A. K. Tooms & C. Boske (Eds.), *Bridge leadership: Connecting educational leadership and social justice to improve schools* (pp. 153- 169). Information Age Publishing.

Capper, C. A. (Ed.) (1993). *Educational administration in a pluralistic society.* State University of New York Press.

Castro, A., Germain, E., & Gooden, M. (2018). *Increasing diversity in K-12 school leadership.* University Council for Educational Administration. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED580900.pdf

Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches, 2nd ed..* Sage.

Darder, A. (2006). Critical pedagogy in a time of uncertainty: A call to action. *Cultural studies, critical methodologies, 6*(1), 5.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2007). Race, inequality and educational accountability: The irony of 'No Child Left Behind'. *Race, Ethnicity & Education, 10*(3), 245-260.

Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2000). *Critical race theory: The cutting edge*. Temple University Press.

DiBella, A. (2001). *Learning practices*. Prentice-Hall.

Duncan-Andrade, J. R. (2007). Gangstas, wankstas, and ridas: Defining, developing, and supporting effective teachers in urban schools. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 20*(6), 617-638.

Duncan-Andrade, J. R. (2009). Note to educators: Hope required when growing roses in concrete. *Harvard Educational Review, 79*(2), 181-194.

Feinberg, W., & Soltis, J. F. (2004). *School and society*. Teachers College Press.

Freire, P. (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Continuum.

Fullan, M. (2001). *Leading in a culture of change*. Jossey-Bass.

Fullan, M. (2008). *What's worth fighting for in the principalship (2nd ed.).* Teachers College Press.

Gallo, G., & Beachum, F. (2020). Framing implicit bias impact reduction in social justice leadership. *Journal of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies, 3*(3).

Gay, G. (2002). Preparing for culturally responsive teaching. *Journal of Teacher Education, 53*(2), 106-16.

Gay, G. (2010). *Culturally responsive teaching. Second Edition.* Multicultural Education Series. Teachers College Press.

Ginsberg, M. B., & Wlodkowski, R. J. (2009). *Diversity and motivation: Culturally responsive teaching in college (2nd ed.).* Jossey-Bass.

Giroux, H. (2015). *Take back higher education: Race, youth, and the crisis of democracy in the post-civil rights era*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Goldston, C. (2017). *Culturally responsive instruction: Best practices and supports*. Regional Edcuational Laboratory Program. https://ies.ed.gov/ncee/edlabs/regions/midwest/blogs/culturally-responsive-instruction-best-practices.aspx

Gooden, M. A. (2012). What does racism have to do with leadership? Countering the idea of color-blind leadership: A reflection on race and the growing pressures of the urban principalship. *Educational Foundations*, *26*(1-2), 67-84.

Harper, S. R., & Quaye, S. J. (2014). *Student engagement in higher education: Theoretical perspectives and practical approaches for diverse populations*. Routledge.

hooks, B. (2003). *Teaching community: A pedagogy of hope*. Routledge.

Howard, G. R. (2016). *We can't teach what we don't know: White teachers, multiracial schools.* College Press.

Khalifa, M. A., Gooden, M. A., & Davis, J. E. (2016). Culturally responsive school leadership: A synthesis of the literature. *Review of Educational Research, 86,* 4, 1272-1311.

King, J. (1991). Dysconscious racism: Ideology, identity, and the miseducation of teachers. *The Journal of Negro Education, 60,* 133-146.

Kozol, J. (2005). *The shame of the nation: The restoration of apartheid schooling in America.* Crown Trade Paperbacks/Crown Publishers.

Krathwohl, D. (1998). *Methods of educational and social science research: An integrated approach, 2nd ed*., Waveland Press.

Ladson-Billings, G. J. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American Education Research Journal, 35*, 465-491.

Ladson-Billings, G. (2002). *But that's just good teaching! The case for culturally relevant pedagogy*. In S. J. Denbo & L. Beaulieu (Eds.), *Improving schools for African American students: A reader for educational leaders* (pp. 95-102). Charles C. Thomas Publisher.

Lange, J. T. (1993). Site-based, shared decision making: A resource for restructuring. *NASSP Bulletin, 76,* 549, 98-107.

Marshall, C., & Oliva, M. (2006). *Leadership for social justice: Making revolutions in education.* Pearson.

Meadows, B. J. (1990). The rewards and risks of shared leadership. *Phi Delta Kappan*, *71*(7), 545–548.

Munro, C. R. (2005). *Contents "best practices" in teaching and learning: Challenging current paradigms and redefining their role in education.* Seneca College of Applied Arts and Technology.

Nieto, S. (2004). *Affirming diversity: The sociopolitical context of multicultural education*. Pearson/Allyn and Bacon.

Nieto, S. (2007). The color of innovative and sustainable leadership: Learning from teacher leaders. *Journal of Educational Change, 8(*4), 299-309.

Noguera, P. A. (2003). *City schools and the American dream: Reclaiming the promise of public education.* Teachers College Press.

Ogbu, J. U. (1978). *Minority education and caste: The American system in cross-cultural perspective*. Academic Press.

Polikoff, M. S. (2017). Is Common Core "working"? And where does Common Core research go from here? *AERA Open*.

Rycik, J. A. (2014). Support continues to erode for Common Core standards and assessments. *American Secondary Education*, *42*(3), 52–54.

Sadovnik, A. R. (2007). *Sociology of education: A critical reader*. Routledge.
    Salisbury, J. D. (2020). Moving a school toward cultural relevance: Leveraging organizational structures, routines, and artifacts to shape social interactions. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk, 25*(2), 126–145.

Santamaría, L. J. (2013). Critical change for the greater good: Multicultural perceptions in educational leadership toward social justice and equity. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 50*(3), 347-391. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X13505287

Santamaría, L. J., & Santamaría, A. P. (2012). *Applied critical leadership in education: Choosing change*. Routledge.

Sergiovanni, T. J. (1991). *The principalship: A reflective practice perspective*. Allyn and Bacon.

Strayhorn, T. L. (2014). What role does grit play in the academic success of Black male collegians at Predominantly White Institutions? *Journal of African American Studies*, *18*(1), 1-10.

Toldson, I. A. (2008). *Breaking barriers: Plotting the path to academic success for school-age African American males*. Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, Inc.

Thompson, G. L. (2007). *Up where we belong: Helping African American and Latino students rise in school and in life*. Jossey-Bass, An Imprint of Wiley.

Washington, M. L. (2013). Is the Black male college graduate becoming an endangered species? A multi-case analysis of the attrition of Black males in higher education. *LUX: A Journal of Transdisciplinary Writing and Research from Claremont Graduate University,3(*1), 1-20. http://scholarship.claremont.edu/lux/vol3/iss1/20

Wood, J. (2011). Falling through the cracks. *Diverse: Issues in Higher Education*, *28*(18), 24.

Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Sage.

BOOK REVIEW

Pablo D. Montes
University of Texas at Austin

AUTHOR NOTE
Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Pablo Montes, University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX 78712. Email: pmontes@utexas.edu

In the anthology, *PAR EntreMundos: A Pedagogy of the Américas*, the editing authors bring together multiple scholars utilizing Participatory Action Research (PAR) EntreMundos methodologies. The editing authors argue that Latinxs have traversed the geopolitical and cultural landscapes that are the U.S. and Latin American borders for quite some time. Within these migrations, they add, there has been a steady Latinization of U.S. schools, and with these migrations, come people's intellectual and educational experiences. Therefore, the authors unsettle the discourse that the North is the main contributor of ideas and history by reorienting how pedagogical contributions also flow from the South towards the North. From these physical and epistemological movements, they push the framework of PAR towards one that is EntreMundos/Among Worlds (Torre & Ayala, 2009). Specific to PAR Entremundos, is the process itself that centers multigenerational collectives tied to social justice and attending to the complexities of power differentials. Additionally, this creation-space is instilled with disrupting and unsettling structural boundaries and binaries with a particular emphasis on centering the in-

between spaces of the self and other. Thus, each scholar's contributions in this volume create a mosaic of possibilities that emerge from a PAR EntreMundos methodology and epistemology.

In Part One, the editing authors develop their theoretical lineages and explain how they conceptualize a PAR EntreMundos methodology. They specifically draw on borderland theorizations from Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) to situate the EntreMundo concept and create a link with PAR to center both formal and informal educational spaces (Ayala et al., 2018). The ancestry of PAR EntreMundos can be traced to the southern hemispheric tradition and literature that centers on critical race theory, spiritual activisms, indigenous cosmologies, and feminist approaches (Ayala et al., 2018). By drawing on such diverse and rich scholarship from numerous authors and fields of study, they weave their theoretical lineages together to suggest a PAR that can lead to mutual transformation and liberatory change, both from the outcomes of such work and the research process itself. Thus, they suggest eight guiding principles for a PAR EntreMundos that offer a guide to this theory and methodology, instead of a prescriptive formula or agenda. The eight guiding principles are: participation, critical inquiry, knowledge co-construction, power with(in)*, Indigenous cosmologies, creative praxes, transformational action, and *concientizacion para la colectiva*. The culminating principals suggest that a PAR EntreMundos can, in part, "be a way to heal communities and ourselves by 'wholing' the fragmentations imposed upon us" (Ayala et al., 2018, p.30). By addressing the self in the research, there is also an awakening by those researching to come to deeper understandings of social justice, activism, and liberatory change.

Part Two brings together authors and members from the National Latinx Education Research and Policy Project (NLERAP) who have implemented PAR EntreMundos in different ways. These projects illustrate the guiding principles of PAR EntreMundos in various different capacities and geographic sites. Chapter 2 speaks of the PRAXIS (Participatory Research Advocating for Excellence Schools) Project in Southern California to address the continued dropout rate and low matriculation into higher education. Their project collaborated with high school students under the Freirean theories of desocialization, activism, and dialogic. Students were tasked to present their research projects to local and state-level stakeholders to address graduation rates at their schools, revoking truancy policies, and encouraging robust community support. Chapter 3 focuses on the Social Justice Education Project (SJEP) in the Tucson Unified School District of Arizona. In this initiative, students gain social science credits for graduation and participate in graduate-level participatory action research techniques. The students were encouraged to develop projects that interested them, and many investigated social and economic issues that were prevalent in their community, such as, Latinx students being constantly policed and surveilled for speaking Spanish. Chapter 4 ushers in a theoretical model called the Creative Justice Approach that draws on the history and community work in El Puente Academy for Peace and Justice, a small innovative school in Brooklyn, NY. Through this Creative Justice Approach, the students at El Puente created an art-based project at the end of the year called the Sweet Freedom Sugar Feast that detailed the histories of enslavement in the production of sugar and stories of resilience.

The New Jersey Urban Youth Research Initiative (NJUYRI) is the project of focus in Chapter 5. NJUYRI primarily addresses the changing graduation requirements in the state of New Jersey that would add upwards of six new end-of-year content assessments for all 11th graders. By collaborating with a collective of educators, high school students, university faculty, and community organizers, the NJUYRI encouraged all participants to engage in participatory policy work, or what Valenzuela (2016) calls "engaged policy" (p.13). In chapter 6, #BarrioEdProj grew out of the material and racio-cultural effects within the East Harlem neighborhood and its schools, which Edwin Mayorga describes as racial neoliberal urbanism that is pervasive in this community.

Drawing on Digital Critical Participatory Action Research, this project brought together participants from this neighborhood in order to critically assess the social injustices caused by exploitation, gentrification, and market-logic diversity initiatives. Lastly, Chapter 7 documents the development of Jovenes con Derechos (JcD), a group formed after the creation of Spanish Heritage classes at Eleanor High School. JcD was a cohort of students who orchestrated a multilingual linguistic rights summit where they announced a declaration of actions that the school must take to welcome all languages and address the debilitating language educational policies they faced.

Part Three situates PAR EntreMundos within two grow-your-own teacher education initiatives. These two initiatives provide a multilayered understanding of how PAR EntreMundos can be an experience that is shared between educators and generations of students. Chapter 8 is based upon the initiative called, FUERTE (Future Urban Educators conducting Research to Transform education), with its primary goal of encouraging students to partake in ethnographic research to destabilize discourses of power and opportunity within their schools. By repositioning these "urban youth" as researchers, instead of the "problem," FUERTE provided avenues for the participants to consider education as a possible profession, even though the students' research analysis demonstrated the arduous realities of this career aspiration. In Chapter 9, a pilot program was initiated at California State University, Sacramento, to increase Latinx representation in the teaching profession. Two participants in this pilot program utilized a social justice framework, specifically PAR EntreMundos approach in their student teaching. Ultimately, they share how a PAR EntreMundos approach to teaching allowed them to further embed social and cultural issues into their classrooms and witness the potential application of transformative pedagogy. Lastly, Chapter 10 draws on an ethnographic study over two years in three different English classrooms. By strategically embedding PAR EntreMundos into the curriculum, the teacher was able to push students to question multiple power dynamics and unsettle notions of self-segregation, race, gender, and language in their respective schools.

The editing authors provided an array of different approaches to their developing theory of PAR EntreMundos. As demonstrated throughout the book, PAR EntreMundos is both a theoretical and methodological undertaking that manifests in a multiplicity of possibilities. The varying manifestations also resulted in *choques* or clashes/collisions between the projects and educational policymakers, school administration, and school curriculum. One *choque* that is particularly contentious is how specific PAR EntreMundo projects existed within the context of neoliberal regimes that proliferate in schools and educational institutions. A PAR EntreMundos would lead us to question systems of power and redirect accountability to structural forces that condition inequities. However, this was not always met with welcoming arms, as we see in various chapters. The culmination of different projects provides the reader with the stories of how PAR EntreMundos has emerged and how to enact this theory and methodology. The appendices offer various materials that many educators, teachers, and curriculum builders can utilize to implement a PAR EntreMundos in their communities, schools, and research projects. Although the theoretical lineages of a PAR EntreMundos are robust and brought into question systems of power and dominance through multiple streams of epistemologies, *mestizaje,* as a tool of racial whitening or *blanqueamiento* (Safa, 2005), was left unsettled. The historical and cultural context of *mestizaje* is rooted in discourses of *la Raza cosmica,* which relies on anti-Indigenous and anti-Black narratives in favor of a whiter cultural hybridity.

Further disrupting *mestizaje* could provide avenues to think of "other worlds" in even more profound ways. Overall, the book is timely and provides the importance of Participatory Action Research (PAR) as a legitimate and necessary framework for students. In many cases, the students

were the experts of their communities. Such a framework provides an avenue for students to think critically and beyond the worlds they are forced to live in and towards an understanding of possible worlds; a possibility that exists is Entre Mundos.

REFERENCES

Anzaldúa, G. (1987). *Borderlands/La frontera: The new mestiza*. San Francisco, CA: Sprinsters/Aunt Lute

Ayala, J., Cammarota, J., Berta-Ávila, M. I., Rivera, M., Rodríguez, L. F., & Torre, M. (Eds.). (2018). *PAR EntreMundos. A Pedagogy of the Américas*. Bern, Switzerland: Peter Lang US.

Safa, H. I. (2005). Challenging mestizaje: a gender perspective on indigenous and afrodescendant movements in Latin America. *Critique of Anthropology*, 25(3), 307-330.

Torre, M. E., & Ayala, J. (2009). Envisioning participatory action research entremundos. *Feminism & Psychology*, *19*(3), 387-393.

Valenzuela, A. (2016). *Growing critically conscious teachers: A social justice curriculum for educators of Latino/a youth*. Teachers College Press.

BOOK REVIEW

Shaylyn Marks
California State University, Bakersfield

David Sandles
California State University, Bakersfield

Cultivating Genius: An Equity Framework for Culturally and Historically Responsive Literacy.
Gholdy Muhammad
Publisher: Scholastic Teaching Resources
Published: January 2020
Pages: 176
ISBN: 978-1338594898
Price: $35.99

AUTHOR NOTE
Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to David Sandles, California State University, Bakersfield, CA 93311. Email: dsandles@csub.edu or Shaylyn Marks, California State University, Bakersfield, CA 93311. Email: smarks2@csub.edu.

As Black educators with a collective twenty-plus years as teachers in K-12 spaces, we appreciate the need to develop Black educators and to center the voices of Black students into the epistemological framework on educating Black students. Further, as current teacher educators, we recognize the need to provide preservice teachers with space to shape ideologies that support and conspicuously embrace Black students. We also seek to provide teacher educators with space and opportunities to develop their agency with interrogating and disrupting anti-Black policies and practices that have plagued schools since their inception, particularly in the post-*Brown v. Board of Education* era. As proud Black educators, we constantly interrogate elements of the existing

curriculum and sometimes recoil at the paucity of inclusivity regarding Black voices, classroom practices that feature the historical richness of Black people, and a healthy respect for the oral tradition of Black people. These glaring omissions are compounded by the seemingly ubiquitous White gaze that often permeates educational quarters, both K-12 and higher education sectors. Further, as Bettina Love asserts, many Black students are "spirit murdered" in classroom spaces, meaning there is widespread "denial of inclusion, protection, safety, nurturance, and acceptance because of fixed, yet fluid and moldable, structures of racism" (p. 2) resulting in a diminution of Black children.

That said, *Cultivating Genius*, by Gholdy Muhammad, represents an incredible encapsulation of historical accuracy and prescriptive content to effectuate a conceptual shift in the way we educate. One of the ostensible purposes of contemporary education is to imbue students with skills, both academic and social, to support students in ultimately securing gainful employment. With this purpose in mind, many schools across the globe strenuously usher students toward the acquisition skills, often to the exclusion of the development of powerful cultural inclusions. In Part One of *Cultivating Genius*, Muhammad rationalizes the importance of accessing the historical genius of Black people and neatly defines the concept of genius. "Genius is the brilliance, intellect, ability, cleverness, and artistry that have been flowing through their minds and spirits across the generations" (p.12). She also makes the strident assertion that imagination exalted and encouraged in early grades but is appreciably diminished in middle and high school spaces.

Championing literacy as a human right, Muhammad harkens back to the era of American slavery and invokes literacy techniques used among enslaved people to educate themselves. The resultant literacy societies, she argues, provided collaborative teaching and learning spaces for enslaved people to carve out their own spaces out of necessity, as Whites would not allow them to participate in White-dominated literary organizations. In fact, as Muhammad states, enslaved people often viewed education as a vehicle for freedom and self-identity. "As part of a broader struggle to counter multiple attacks of oppression with violence, they used their minds and pens as weapons to battle injustice. Books and other forms of texts became ammunition to fuel their progress" (p. 8).

Reaching back and adducing the techniques used in yesteryear, Muhammad developed a universal teaching and learning model called Historically Responsive Literacy (HRL). This equity-based framework includes the following dimensions:

1. **Identity development** (who they were)
2. **Skill development** (developing proficiency in content)
3. **Intellectual development** (gaining new knowledge/concepts about the world)
4. **Criticality** (ability to read texts to understand power, authority, and anti-oppression)

With the pervasive oppression and injurious "colorblind" sentiment present within curriculum around the country, this framework affords educators a tool for considerable academic disruption. Muhammad also cogently speaks about the need to create spaces where students can "name and critique injustice to help them ultimately develop the agency to build a better world" (p.12). She

continues, "As long as oppression is present in the world, young people need pedagogy that nurtures criticality" (p.12).

 Cultivating Genius challenges educators to develop their own genius to eventually develop the genius in their students. "To teach geniuses, however, charges teachers to cultivate their own genius that lies within them" (p.14).

In Part Two, Muhammad further fleshes out the layers of the HRL Framework. Fundamentally, she refers to each domain within the framework as "pursuits." Of the four pursuits named in the HRL Framework, the identification of the pursuit of identity and the pursuit of criticality stood out as profound additions to the current pedagogical practices widely seen in classrooms. In many ways these pursuits serve as bookends, creating a new start and end point, for our pedagogical practices. Inspired by the historic Black literary societies, Muhammad makes a strong argument to support that these inclusions, along with a refinement of the pursuit of skills and pursuit of intellect, serve to affirm and empower Black children in meaningful ways.

With respect to the pursuit of identity, Muhammad tellingly states, "Identity is fluid, multilayered, and relational, and is also shaped by the social and cultural environment as well as by literacy practices" (p. 67). Muhammad contends that identity and learning goals are inextricably linked and must be developed concurrently. Further, she argues that "Teachers cannot get to skills or content- learning standard until students see and know themselves in the curriculum designed for them" (p. 78).

The notion that identity is multidimensional provides a compelling rationale for crafting a comprehensive curriculum that develops students' collective sense of themselves. Muhammad also asserts that the existing curriculum is often Eurocentric in orientation and is not created with students' identities at the core of planning. With the overwhelming preponderance of public school educators in this country identifying as White women, the Eurocentric purview likely abounds in educational spaces, much to the detriment of Black, Indigenous, People of Color (BIPOC).

To combat this and other pernicious practices, Muhammad suggests problematizing the vantage points that view students through deficit lenses and challenges educators to meaningfully ground themselves in what it means to be Black in contemporary society. Intentionally centering Black voices, experiences, and ways of being can potentially disrupt what Wynter-Hoyte and Swindler Boutte (2021) refer to as *symbolic violence* perpetrated against Black students in educational spaces. Symbolic violence refers to non-physical violence perpetrated against students and is evidenced through the negative stereotyping of people of color.

Muhammad also includes in her framework the *pursuits of skills* and *intellect* as essential learning for students. Because the acquisition of skills and intellect hold a prominent presence in school spaces, the emphasis here is the endpoint, the ultimate goal being criticality, which encompasses those attributes. Criticality is the culmination of the three previous pursuits; the layered work in three previous pursuits is a necessary catalyst for the pursuit of criticality.

With the *pursuit of criticality*, Muhammad seeks to enhance students' ability to critique the world around them en route to transforming it. Often due to how the curriculum is designed and how some educators teach, students in K12 spaces need considerable support in transferring school

learning to real-world contexts. When students develop criticality, Muhammad maintains, they become equipped with the needed skills to combat enormity, racial microaggressions, and general injustice (p.119). Concomitantly, skills and new learning must be enacted in ways that transform. Muhammad urges educators to promote an action orientation of acquired learnings and she encourages educators to develop their own sense of criticality to assist students in fostering theirs (p.113).

In Part Three, Muhammad begins by defining texts as "anything that can be read- both print texts and non-print texts." While we would explicitly add thinking and speech to that definition, Muhammad states that Black people were reading the texts, but they were also reading the world; they also read the social times and images as text, as the social milieu was/is exceedingly dangerous for early Black readers. To accurately interpret all forms of text required considerable discernment and skill, rendering the early Black readers deft and nimble, contrary to conventional beliefs about enslaved Black people.

Muhammad also posits that selecting historically responsive texts is critical for the success and cultural nurturing of Black students, as the vast majority of children's literature does not represent imagery of Black people nor center their voices. She cites a study conducted by the University of Wisconsin-Madison that found the vast majority of the texts children read depict White characters or animals; approximately 21 percent represent Black, American Indian, or Latinx populations. Further, Muhammad argues that texts are typically selected to cultivate skills only, missing rich opportunities to enliven discussions and purposefully connect students with content.

Muhammad offers several questions for consideration when selecting texts, such as *what is worthwhile for learning in my content area*? and *how will this text advance my students' learning of skills?* According to Muhammad, the answers to these and other critical questions brings educators closer to making responsible decisions in classrooms; texts should contribute to the meaningful development of identity, skills, intellect, and criticality. Among the several techniques Muhammad suggests for achieving success in the classroom is layering texts. Muhammad argues that when educators layer texts, they employ various texts, print and nonprint, to support the learning goals.

Cultivating Genius is a very timely and desperately needed text. Inspired by the historic Black literary societies, Muhammad creates a strong argument for culturally and historically responsive pedagogy as a means to restore equity in the classroom and empower Black students. While Muhammad specifically names Black students as the target population and inspiration for this work, there is an unspoken element to the cultural disconnect that we find in schools. The cultural disconnect that we often speak of as an educational community is discussed in terms of the diverse cultural backgrounds of our students, but rarely mentioned is the lack of diversity in the cultural backgrounds of educators. It's not *just* that we are working with increasingly diverse populations of students, but also that the culturally diverse backgrounds of our students often directly contrast with the White Eurocentric cultural background of educators and the educational institution at large. In not naming both sides of this cultural disconnect, we neglect an important

and fundamental aspect of this relationship. While Muhammad calls for educators to be self-reflective before asking students to engage in this reflective work, we craved more attention to what educators, and specifically White educators, need to self-explore to be successful in their implementation of HRL with students.

As Muhammad moves from theory to practice, the text declines in strength. The strong attention to detail and lucid explanation that is present in the first half of the book is missing in the latter. We specifically sought more attention and time to grapple with the implementation of this pedagogical practice. While lesson plans are provided in Part Three, we found them to be simplistic and better situated earlier in the text. Integrating the lesson plans earlier in the text alongside the dissection of the four pursuits of HRL would have created a stronger connection and opportunity for further analysis. While experienced teachers may be better equipped to integrate this historical responsive framework into their culturally sustaining pedagogical practices, there is a desire for some of these connections to be made more explicit for our novice teachers.

Overall, we need to make space for this framework in our teacher education programs and classrooms. While at times we craved more attention and detail to the implementation of this framework, *Cultivating Genius* creates a foundation for us as an educational community to build upon. We hope to see more work that uses the HRL framework as a springboard to further discuss the intricacies and results of engaging in this practice.

REFERENCES

Fortus, D., Krajcik, J., Dershimer, R. C., Marx, R. W., & Mamlok-Naaman, R. (2005). Design-based science and real-world problem-solving. *International Journal of Science Education*, *27*(7), 855-879.

Love, B. L. (2013). "I see Trayvon Martin": What teachers can learn from the tragic death of a young black male. *The Urban Review, 45*(3), 1–15.

Muhammad, G. (2020). *Cultivating genius: An equity framework for culturally and historically responsive literacy*. Scholastic Incorporated.

CLEAR | Center for Leadership Equity and Research