Racial Disproportionality as Experienced by Educators of Color: The Perceptions of Educators of Color with Respect to Their Pre-service Preparation

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Dissertation in Practice
by

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submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Education

May 2018

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Abstract

Even before working in school as a teacher or administrator, many factors were influential in the preparation process. Given that the vast majority of teachers in the workforce come from traditional university education programs, the role that schools of education play in graduating people of color to enter the teaching force is important to examine. This qualitative case study sought to answer the following research question: What are the perceptions of educators of color with respect to their pre-service education preparation? This study falls within a broader study on the overall perceptions of educators of color with respect to the racial disproportionality and its impact on the educator pipeline and schools. Both from literature and the counter narratives of these educators of color, these topics emerged as salient: the racial diversity of universities and schools of education, the impact of barrier exams, the curriculum of schools of education, and the sense of belonging of people of color in universities and their schools of education. Semi-structured interviews with 12 educators of color in the Cityside Public Schools were examined through the lens of Critical Race Theory (CRT). Findings supported what was found in the literature regarding demographics in schools of education not favoring people of color, exams required to get into school of education being barriers, and people of color feeling disconnected from their universities in a number of ways. Further, participant interviews revealed the additional barrier posed by exams needed to gain teaching certification, the

substantial value of connections at various points throughout the pre-service experience, and how important practicum and internship experiences are to aspiring educators.

Acknowledgements

First, I must acknowledge the guidance and support given to me by Dr. Lauri Johnson, Dr. Jim Marini, and Dr. Oh Myo Kim. Lauri, your commitment to social justice made the decision to pair us with you an excellent one. We benefited so greatly from your expertise in this area. You pushed us to go deeper and all of your efforts show in this product. Jim, your practical experience was invaluable to us, both in understanding how to work with a district and also how to work with each other. You helped us through the bumpy times and celebrated our successes. It was a pleasure getting to know you. Oh Myo, your thoughtful questioning during the proposal process was a fitting introduction. While we did not get many chances to interact in person … as you were experiencing the joy of a new family … your feedback demonstrated your skill as a researcher and led to a better finished product. Thank you to all three of you.

I must acknowledge the support I received from Boston College High School. Both financially and in terms of time, I felt that this commitment was a shared one. From the many days off working at BC to tolerating an over-tired and (more) grumpy colleague, I knew that the school was behind me. Thank you.

Finally, Cohort IV and Team UTZ deserve special recognition. I learned so much form the 23 of you, most succinctly, how to be a better educator. The perspective that I gained in conversation with you (most often in listening to you) will serve me well for the rest of my career. The friendships that have developed out of this program are an added bonus. To Team UTZ, you are the best. I feel so fortunate to have been grouped with you. We started off by sharing an interest, but in the end shared so much more than that, most notably laughs. We challenged each other and in doing so accomplished great work. I am a better person for having worked with each of you.

Dedication

To my mother and father who have been my educational inspirations throughout my life: To my father, you taught me what it was to be a life-long learner before life-long-learner was even a concept. You made it possible for me to receive the best education possible. You were here to see me start this program, and I only wish you were now as well, but you would be happy to know that your namesake now also shares a prefix with you, and no real desire to use it. To my mother, whom my father always referred to as the smartest person he knew, you taught me how to be a student. You pushed me to become a better writer even though it was never my strength. You nurtured my love of math. You supported my decision to become a teacher. Throughout this process, you helped whenever we needed you, in whatever way. We could not have done this without you.

To my wife and children who are my enduring inspirations: To my wife, Elena, who could not have been more supportive throughout this process, you never hesitated to do more so that I could do more. Thoughtful and self-sacrificing are as close as I can come to describing how you acted these last three years, but no words can really suffice. You encouraged me when I needed it and you were understanding when what I needed was space. We earned this together.

To Emily and Ali, you understood when I said that I could not coach your teams. You understood when I had to go downstairs to work. You knew when the door was closed, that I was probably on a call with my classmates … and you were a little quieter. You asked questions about what I was doing and you pretended to care when my answers dragged on. And, you became bigger BC fans! We know that you possess the ability to pursue whatever inspires you in life. I only hope that you quickly come to recognize what that is and never stop in its pursuit.

I love you all.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables

List of Figures

CHAPTER 1[1]

PROBLEM STATEMENT AND LITERATURE REVIEW

Statement of Problem and Purpose

The demographics of the United States population are shifting dramatically. This shift is due to increased birth rates within populations of color and immigration (Boser, 2014). As a result, schools that once catered to a mostly White student body are now educating children from a number of different races and ethnicities (Frey, 2011). This is true in almost every state (Boser, 2014) and in urban (Achinstein, Ogawa, Sexton, & Freitas, 2010; Justiz & Kameen,1988), suburban (Lee, 2013; Mabokela & Madsen, 2003), and rural (Castaneda, Kambutu, & Rios, 2006) districts. Though the percentage of minority students is increasing significantly, the racial and ethnic diversity among educators has not kept pace (Ahmad & Boser, 2014; Ingersoll & May, 2011; Justiz & Kameen,1988). The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) (2016a) reported the distribution of U.S. public school students in the fall of 2015 as 49.2% White, 15.5% Black, 26.1% Hispanic, 5.3% Asian/Pacific Islander, 1.0% American Indian/Alaska Native, and 2.9% two or more races. The NCES (2016b) also reported the 2015-2016 distribution of public school teachers as 80% White non-Hispanic, 9% Hispanic, 7% non-Hispanic Black, and 2% non-Hispanic Asian .

This phenomenon has gripped the state of Massachusetts. The Massachusetts Department for Elementary and Secondary Education (DESE) reported that during the 2016-2017 school year, 38.7% of MA public school students were students of color, while teachers of color accounted for only 9.7% of the educator workforce (Massachusetts Department of

[1] This chapter was jointly written by the authors listed and reflects the team approach of this project: Charles J. Drane III, Diana Guzzi, Roderick V. MacNeal, Jr., Leslie M. Patterson, Nancy Robbins Taylor, and Joan M. Woodward.

Elementary and Secondary Education, 2017b). This racial disproportionality is even more apparent when considering specific MA school districts. For example, in Brockton Public Schools, the disparity is 79.6% students of color to 8.2% teachers of color . Similarly, in Lowell Public Schools the disparity is 71.7% students of color to 10.4% teachers of color (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2017b). These districts are just two examples among many in Massachusetts that are experiencing this significant diversity gap.

This imbalance is troubling and a matter of urgency for several reasons. First, educators of color have the potential to be social justice change agents (Villegas & Davis, 2007). Second, educators of color can serve as exemplary role models for all students, and perhaps even more so for students of color (Branch, 2001; Graham, 1987). Third, educators of color have the power to successfully enact culturally responsive practices (Villegas & Irvine, 2010). Finally, perhaps the most compelling reason is that educators of color can positively impact student achievement (Dee, 2004; Irvine, 1989).

Practitioners and policymakers have attempted to address the racial disproportionality in schools through the development and implementation of effective hiring and retention strategies. These strategies include alternative certification pathways such as Teach for America and the New Teacher Project-Fellowship, and formalized supports such as mentoring and induction programs (Bireda & Chait, 2011). Specifically in Massachusetts, to increase hiring rates of a diverse staff, educational leaders have relied on various forms of networking, relationships with colleges of education, and job fairs (Pohle, 2016). Additionally, educational leaders are promoting the teaching profession to high school students with the hope that these same students will eventually want to return to teach in their home district (Rocheleau, 2017). Furthermore, to help retain teachers of color, school districts utilize support programs

such as one created by Travis Bristol, an education professor at Boston University. This program, active in Boston Public Schools, "allows minority teachers to network with one another and discuss the challenges of navigating a white-dominated system" ("Mass. should diversify," 2017, p. 4). In spite of these numerous established strategies, the minority student-teacher imbalance remains, and in fact, continues to grow (Boser, 2014).

Despite the imperative to hire and retain more educators of color, and a growing body of literature related to this topic, there is a gap in research. Best practices with regard to the recruitment, hiring, evaluation, and retention for this particular group of educators have yet to be established. Additionally, there is a significant gap in the existing research related to how educators of color view their pre-service preparation programs, perceive the impact of their racial/ethnic identity on their work, and experience issues related to student discipline. Furthermore, the fact that first-hand perspectives of educators of color are not consistently included in the conversation contributes to this research gap.

Therefore, the purpose of this study was to capture the perceptions of educators of color related to racial disproportionality and its impact on the educator pipeline and schools. The educator pipeline refers to preparation, recruitment, professional experiences related to students and colleagues, and retention of educators. (The definition of "educator pipeline" is discussed later in this chapter.) A primary goal of this study was to hear directly from those most impacted. Accordingly, this study was guided by the following research question: How do educators of color experience racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools? Specifically, we considered the experience of educators of color and their perceptions related to pre-service programs, recruitment and hiring, student discipline, their racial/ethnic identity as it impacts students, evaluation, and job satisfaction. The primary research questions

for these individual studies are noted in Table 1. An abstract for each individual study can be found in Appendices A through E.

Table 1

Researchers' Focus Areas

Last Name	Category	Focus Area
Drane	Pipeline	How do educators of color perceive their pre-service preparation?
Patterson	Pipeline	How do educators of color experience the recruitment and hiring process? Which practices and policies do school and district level leaders implement in the recruitment/ hiring process for educators of color?
Woodward	Schools	How do educators of color perceive the impact of their racial/ethnic identity on their work with students?
Taylor	Schools	How do educators of color perceive the role of race on the discipline system in their district?
MacNeal	Pipeline/Schools	How do educators of color perceive the evaluation process and its impact on their professional growth and development?
Guzzi	Pipeline/Schools	What are factors that influence job satisfaction for teachers and administrators of color? How do teachers and administrators of color perceive the factors of job satisfaction to influence their retention?

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework used for this study is critical race theory (CRT). The basic principle of CRT espouses that racism has become a normalized practice within our society (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). The use of CRT provides a lens for identifying the inequities that have plagued the experiences of people of color in this country (Ladson-Billings, 1998). In education, the use of CRT considers the perspectives of people of color to provide a counter

story to the majoritarian viewpoint connected to positions of privilege and power acquired based upon race (Capper, 2015; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004).

Critical race theory evolved from critical legal studies (CLS) which scholars have used as a lens to advocate that legal policy and doctrine has contributed to an ideology that "create, support, and legitimate America's present class structure" (Crenshaw, 1988, p. 1350). Absent within CLS, was an emphasis on race, thus CRT was created in order to provide another lens for analysis (Capper, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 1998). Since its inception, CRT has been used to underscore the notion that racism has become normalized within American society and the law. This has become particularly true for citizens of color and individuals who possess a lower economic status (Capper, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 1998).

Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) first used CRT to examine the inequities that exist within the educational system. Subsequent research has used the tenets contained within CRT to provide insight as to how structures within the educational system support White privilege over the needs of people of color. The tenets used for this study include permanence of racism, counter storytelling, critique of liberalism, and Whiteness as property (Capper, 2015).

The Permanence of Racism

The permanence of racism professes that racism is a constant fixture in society which "appears both normal and natural to people in this culture" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 11). López (2003) states that racism is an endemic part of society that is not just defined by overt acts of oppression or violence. DeCuir and Dixson (2004) highlight how racism dictates the various structures of influence within our society, notwithstanding the field of education. Within the context of educational leadership, CRT has been useful with highlighting

how the permanence of racism has influenced the development, hiring, and retention of educators of color (Capper, 2015).

In their study, which took place in a Southeastern state, McCray, Wright, and Beachum (2007) examined the placement of African-American secondary principals by surveying all public secondary school principals in that specific southeastern state. Findings from the study reveal that White principals received a greater opportunity to serve in majority Black and White school settings than their African-American counterparts. (Note: throughout our paper, the terms African-American and Black will be used interchangeably, often determined by the author being cited.) The use of race as a pre-determinant factor to fulfill principal vacancies is an example how the permanence of racism impacts placement options.

In another study by Knaus (2014), preliminary interviews were conducted to identify three case studies. The case studies included semi-structured interviews of three principals who identified two teachers in each of their buildings who exhibited the most promise for school leadership positions. The pairings included one African-American teacher and one White teacher. The principals were asked how they provided leadership opportunities for each of the identified teachers. Each teacher was interviewed about professional development and leadership positions offered to them. Findings from the study highlighted how principals categorized African-American and White teachers based upon race rather than evidence from direct observations. White teachers were perceived to be more effective at teaching the standards. In comparison, the African-American teachers in the study were relegated to being culturally responsive teaching experts and heralded for their excellent classroom management skills. In comparison, the White teachers received more responsibilities and increased opportunities to serve in leadership roles. Based upon the findings, the cultural background of

the African-American teachers influenced how their White principals viewed them and precluded them from receiving opportunities for leadership positions.

Counter Storytelling

The use of counter storytelling (also referred to as "counter stories" or "counter narratives") provides an alternate perspective to the majoritarian viewpoint which is used by Whites to explain racial inequities that are "embedded with racialized omissions, distortions, and stereotypes" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 18). In the context of education, counter stories of principals and other leaders of color are extremely important when seeking to provide equity (Capper, 2015).

In the study by Knaus (2014), African-American teachers who were identified by their White principal as "most promising" (p. 424) were interviewed. The findings use the input of African-American teachers to provide insight as to how they were treated differently than their White counterparts. The African-American teachers provided a counter story that conflicted with the perspectives of their supervisors.

In a study by Lynn (2002), African-American male teachers who work in South Central Los Angeles were interviewed regarding whether their racial identity informed their pedagogy, and how their racial and gender status impacted the relationships with their students. The schools in which the participants worked were majority Hispanic and African-American with 84% of the student population receiving free and reduced lunch. The participants in the study consistently exhibited a passion for working to improve the conditions of their students through teaching. The personal stories provided by interview data challenged prior research that gave a less than appealing description of educators of color.

Critique of Liberalism

Proponents of CRT advocate that liberal movements are often characterized by colorblind and neutral ideologies that fail to address the historical impact race has had in society (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 1998). Color blindness, or the state of not viewing race as a relative difference, is identified as a significant contributing factor in the perpetuation of institutional racism. Researchers have discovered that when organizations, including educational systems, demonstrate colorblindness and it becomes formal or informal policy, the effects seem to be predominantly adverse for minorities (e.g., Lewis, 2001; Schofield & Anderson, 1986; Tarca, 2005). López (2003) posits that it is a fallacy to believe that a race neutral political agenda will effectively resolve racism. Substantial change can only come from a deep examination of how the impact of race has been interwoven into society, which includes the field of education. Educators who fail to recognize race and one's ethnic background "are unconscious about the ways schools are not racially neutral but reflect White culture" (Capper, 2015, p. 817).

A study by Evans (2007) examined how educators in three suburban high schools responded to the racial and demographic change that took place between 1990-2000. The participants who were interviewed included school staff, principals, and superintendents. Findings from the study reveal how teachers resisted an effort by district administration to initiate multicultural professional development. Faculty resisted under the belief that children are all the same. However, the teachers and administrators expressed a deficit perspective regarding the incoming African-American students. It was widely believed by the teachers that their new students were coming from school environments which held low academic

expectations. The examples highlighted by this study exemplify how colorblind perspectives perpetuate discriminatory practices that disregard the needs of students of color.

Whiteness as Property

The concept of Whiteness as property can be linked to a legal system that is based upon protecting its membership and excluding all others (Harris, 1993). Thus, this tenet espouses that the rights and privileges that are connected to being White are exclusive and can only be shared by those from this majoritarian class. Within the context of education, Whiteness as property has been utilized to explain how curriculum and the right to upper-level Advanced Placement courses have been implemented to perpetuate privilege and exclude those from marginalized backgrounds (Pollack & Zirkel, 2013). Ladson-Billings (1998) explains how remnants of African-American culture are often omitted from school curriculum. As a result, a false representation of true events distills the significance of African-American figures who have made major contributions to our society and the world.

Decuir and Dixson (2004) highlight a school that created a culture that prohibited students from wearing clothing that represented African culture. School policies aligned with White culture dictated that students must suppress or find inventive ways to express their individual ethnic or racial culture through dress. An example includes a student who wanted to wear an African headwrap during graduation, but could not because all graduates were required to wear white. To conform to the policy, the student wore a white head wrap that featured African symbols in white.

We used CRT to examine how race impacts the experience of educators of color within the Cityside Public School District. Each tenet provided a specific lens to analyze data and assist with developing an understanding of the overall research question, how educators of color

experience racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools. The use of permanence of racism assisted with identifying examples of implicit bias and overt acts of racism for participants of this study. The use of counter storytelling provided a voice to participants as they shared their experiences while working in the district. The use of critique of liberalism provided a perspective as to how the use of race is considered when examining various policies and practices that help to shape the working environment in Cityside. Finally, the use of Whiteness as property helped examine how participants perceive their opportunities to build relationships, make connections, grow and achieve positions of leadership within the school district. Overall, the use of CRT provided us with a framework for assessing the conditions which educators of color need to navigate in order to thrive within the Cityside Public School District.

Literature Review

The value of a diverse educator workforce has been a research topic explored by many. Currently, scholars are making more efforts to highlight the voices of educators of color in their studies. This literature review was grounded in a discussion of the importance of educators of color and followed by a discussion of topics related to the experiences of educators of color within the pipeline and schools. These topics include: pre-service programs, recruitment and hiring, student discipline, racial/ethnic identity as it impacts students, evaluation, and job satisfaction.

The Importance of Educators of Color

As stated in this chapter's introduction, educators of color can positively impact the school experiences for all students. They can do this through their capacity as social justice change agents, role models, and proponents of culturally responsive practices. Additionally, the

presence and approaches of educators of color can lead to increased levels of student achievement.

Social justice change agents. Villegas and Davis (2007) claim that teacher candidates of color, if provided with the necessary preparation, will be able to successfully translate "their commitment to making schools more equitable and just for students of color" (p. 146) into positive outcomes. Supporting this, scholars have found that some educators of color devote significant energy to explicitly addressing racism with their students (Villegas & Irvine, 2010). Specifically, these educators tackle issues pertaining to societal and institutional power, resulting in students of color more successfully navigating their world. Beauboeuf-Lafontant (1999) posits that numerous African-American teachers have "recognized the existence of oppression in their students' lives and sought to use their personal, professional, and social power to encourage children to understand and undermine their subordination" (p. 702).

Several scholars have supported these claims through their related research. After interviewing thirty-six Black male teachers employed by the Los Angeles Unified School District, Lynn (2002) found that most of these study participants felt called "to change the lives of African American youth" (p. 125), and that teaching was a way to make this happen. They focused specifically on their work with students living in working-class and poor communities, expressing clearly that their goal was to empower these students and help them to overcome social, political, and economic barriers. Similarly, Ladson-Billings and Henry (1990) studied successful teachers of Black students in the United States and Canada. Of the thirteen teacher participants, ten of them were either African-American or Afro-Caribbean. Ladson-Billings and Henry (1990) found that these teachers engaged their students in conversations about the realities of life, addressing controversial topics that others might have determined only appropriate for

adult discussions. These teachers made sure that students contemplated the "responsibilities they have to make life better for everyone" (Ladson-Billings & Henry, 1990, p. 79).

Role models. Graham (1987) posits that academically successful Black teachers serve as needed role models for Black students as well as non-Black students; for all of these children need to recognize that Black people are essential members of society. Similarly, Irvine (1988) states that "white students need black teachers as role models so that they can gain accurate perceptions of our multiethnic society" (p. 506). Branch (2001) emphatically addresses this issue:

> Not enough has been said, however, about the role models that teachers of color can be for European-Americans in schools. Though teachers are not paid nearly what they are worth, they are still held in high esteem by much of the populace. … Now, children of all races are developing these positive notions about an overwhelming number of European-American teachers and very few teachers of color . . . erroneous assumptions about the intelligence of African-Americans, Latinos, and other people of color may be reinforced merely by their absence as teachers in the nation's classrooms. (p. 258)

Also, Irvine (1988) recognizes the role that Black teachers play in negating hurtful stereotypes about their race. On a related note, Stewart, Meier, and England (1989) speak to the importance of Black teachers specifically for Black students, as they state that the mere presence of Black teachers positively impacts Black students because of the influential power of same-race role models.

It is important to highlight that while role modeling is often recognized by scholars as an important attribute of educators of color in schools, this position has not been well researched (Villegas & Irvine, 2010). In fact, Irvine (1989) and Villegas and Irvine (2010) critique the high

status that has been given to the "black teachers as role models" argument, with Villegas and Irvine (2010) noting that during the course of their research, they did not encounter any related empirical studies.

Proponents of culturally responsive practices. Branch (2001) addresses culturally responsive practices as he recognizes that teachers of color can play a critical role in ensuring the existence of culturally relevant curriculum. Irvine (1989) offers that Black teachers are most qualified to be "cultural translators" (p. 55) as they help marginalized Black students navigate a school culture that is not aligned with their home culture. Similarly, Villegas and Irvine (2010) discuss the idea that because teachers of color can genuinely connect with the cultural experiences of students of color, this particular type of student-teacher matching is critical. This claim is supported by the work of Ladson-Billings and Henry (1990). During their study of successful teachers of Black students, they found that these teachers connected the curriculum directly to students' lived experiences and also employed pedagogical strategies that were based on students' cultural roots (e.g. incorporating proverbs, call-and-response interactions, and hymns).

Student achievement. Irvine (1989) claims that Black teachers' distinct approach to teaching is likely responsible for Black students' academic success. Supporting this claim, Dee (2004) found that after one year of elementary school, students learning from Black teachers saw their math and reading scores rise. The study of Egalite, Kisida, and Winters (2015) resulted in similar findings. After analyzing a large dataset provided by the Florida Department of Education that linked approximately three million students to 92,000 teachers from the fall of 2002 to the spring of 2009, they concluded that when students are paired with a teacher of their same race/ethnicity, reading achievement was positively impacted for Black and White students

and math achievement was positively impacted for Black, White, and Asian/Pacific Island students. Another study, with a less direct though still important connection to student achievement, was conducted by Fox (2016). Fox, analyzing survey data from the 2002 Educational Longitudinal Study, found that Black teachers in comparison to their White counterparts held higher expectations for their Black students. These Black teachers were more likely to believe that their Black students would continue their formal education past high school. Fox (2016) speaks to the significance of this finding:

> Once a teacher forms academic expectations for students, he or she may teach in a way that is consistent with those expectations; thus, if differential expectations result in differential treatment, there is the potential for such treatment to result in differential student learning and achievement. (p. 3)

Taken together, these studies provide evidence that educators of color can significantly influence the academic trajectory of their students.

While this research supporting the importance of educators of color (especially when focused on racially congruent teacher-student pairings) may lead some to draw the conclusion that racially segregated schools are beneficial, Boser (2014) highlights that it "is important for all students to interact with people who look and act differently than they do in order to build social trust and create a wider sense of community" (p. 3). Additionally, in a recent student perception study utilizing 50,000 sixth through ninth grade student reports on 1680 classroom teachers, Cherng and Halpin (2016) concluded that students (independent of race) feel more favorable towards Latino and Black teachers than towards White teachers. This finding further supports the notion that "minority teachers can translate their experiences and identities to form rapports with students that do not share the same race or ethnicity" (Cherng & Halpin, 2016, p. 10). In

sum, this research adds significant credence to the claim that educators of color can positively impact all students.

Educator Pipeline

The term teacher pipeline or educator pipeline is routinely found in literature on the education workforce. Villegas and Lucas (2004) offer this term as a metaphor that traces the path of people in the teaching profession back to elementary school. They present the pipeline as elementary students who become secondary students, who become college students enrolled in teacher education programs, and who then become educators.

Often, when the educator pipeline is described, authors characterize it as "broken" (Ladson-Billings, 2005, p. 230), a "revolving door" (Ingersoll, 2002, p. 23; Lau, Dandy, & Hoffman, 2007, p. 27), or "leaky" (Butty & Brown, 1999, p. 282). Lau, Dandy, and Hoffman (2007) go so far as to describe the education workforce as a "sieve" (p. 27). Throughout the educational research literature, scholars have examined many of the points where the flow of the pipeline is interrupted (Achinstein et al., 2010; Cochran-Smith, 2004; Evans & Leonard, 2013; Haddix, 2017; Kohli, 2009; Villegas & Lucas, 2004). Ultimately, these studies converge on the same conclusion that no matter the source of the leaks or the point in time when they surface, the leaky pipeline is having a negative impact on the availability of educators of color in schools today.

In response to the detrimental consequences of a failing pipeline, Villegas and Lucas (2004) assert that:

> nothing less than a comprehensive and coordinated initiative to expand the number of students of color in the pipeline and to stop the leak of human potential at the identified

> critical junctures will alter the demographic makeup of the teacher workforce in any significant way. (p. 83)

It is important to note that Villegas and Lucas contend that two things must happen. First, the number of people of color in the pipeline must grow. Second, the departure of educators of color from the profession must be stemmed. The first point speaks to educator preparation and recruitment, and the second to retention.

For the purposes of this study and drawing from the work of Villegas and Lucas (2004) and others, we will take the previous definition of an educator pipeline, which stops when the educator is hired, and extend it to include the retention of educators. The work of Ingersoll and May (2011) support the need to be attentive to not only the inflow of educators into the pipeline, but also to the "exit end of the pipeline" (p. 4). Additionally, while definitions of the educator pipeline extend as far back as elementary school, we will begin our examination of the pipeline with university schools of education. In short, we will consider the educator pipeline to consist of the preparation, recruitment, and professional experiences related to students and colleagues, as well as retention of educators.

Educator preparation. Eighty-five percent of teachers come from traditional education programs (Barth, Dillon, Hull, & Higgins, 2016). For that reason, it is essential to examine the experiences of pre-service educators of color in university schools of education. While many factors have been uncovered as reasons for the smaller-than-optimal pool of educators of color, four emerge most often: the current demographics of colleges and universities, the make-up of schools of education, barrier exams, and the curriculum in schools of education (Branch, 2001; Brown, 2005).

Both in American universities in general and their schools of education specifically, people of color are disproportionately represented. Considering that enrolling in a university is contingent upon previous educational attainment, Achinstein et al. (2010) and Aud, Fox, and KewalRamani (2010) describe how disadvantageous earlier schooling opportunities have led to the presence of a disproportionately low number of people of color in American universities. Narrowing down to schools of education, Cochran-Smith (2004) and Evans and Leonard (2013) describe school of education demographics as overwhelmingly consisting of White females. Consequently, it is in relation to both previous educational disadvantages and the existence of large numbers of White females in schools of education that the current demographics do not work in favor of a diversified workforce of educators. Also, negatively impacting the pool of educators of color is the increasing opportunity for people of color to be employed in fields other than education. While this is a positive result of the Civil Rights Movement and desegregation (Madkins, 2011), the field of education is feeling the impact nonetheless (Wilder, 2000).

As with demographics, both in admission to universities in general and schools of education specifically, entrance requirements such as SATs/ACTs or the Praxis I exam work counter to creating a more diverse field. Nettles, Scatton, Steinberg, and Tyler (2011) examined results of the Praxis I exam, a requirement for entrance into many education programs, and found that approximately 80% of White students pass on the first try while 40% of African-American students pass on the first try. This statistic is even more disheartening when recognizing that success on a barrier exam like the Praxis I is not even a predictor for success in the field of education (Darling-Hammond, 2000). So, both barrier exams required in order to be accepted

into universities and other exams required to enroll in education programs are serving to limit the number of students of color available in the workforce.

Another factor affecting the availability of educators of color in Massachusetts is the need to pass the Massachusetts Test for Educator Licensure (MTEL). An April 2008 memo from the Acting Commissioner of the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2008) informed the DESE Board that 77% of White test takers pass the MTEL while 46% of African-American test takers and 48% of Hispanic test takers pass the exam (http://www.doe.mass.edu/boe/docs/FY2008/0408.pdf). The memo goes on to report that these pass rates mirror what is found on the Praxis II exam. Data available on the DESE (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2016) website for 2015-2016 is encouraging in that pass rates for all three racial groups have gone up, but a gap of 13 to 20 percentage points remains (http://www.doe.mass.edu/mtel/2016ResultsByCategory.html).

Brown (2014), Cochran-Smith (2004), and Montecinos (2016) contend that another factor limiting the pool of people of color in the field of education is the curriculum in university schools of education. Cochran-Smith (2004) argues that a way to fix this issue is "by incorporating their [people of color] perspectives into the curriculum and finding ways to decrease the alienation they often experience" (p. 390). Achinstein et al. (2010) conclude that programs of education that concentrated on recruiting and supporting pre-service educators of color showed higher educator retention than the teaching force as a whole.

Just as literature has focused on the factors leading to the disparity in people of color in university schools of education, research has also suggested answers to this disproportionality. While a number of possibilities have been posited, two such suggestions stand out in the

frequency with which they appear. First, Schmitz, Nourse, and Ross (2012) suggest that more communication between schools of education and departments of education could help to produce college graduates in fields better aligned with disciplines most in need of educators. A second suggestion is to provide pre-service teachers with better clinical experiences so that they are more likely to remain on track to become an educator (Achinstein et al., 2010).

Recruitment. While teacher preparation is a vital phase of the educator pipeline, it is teacher recruitment that Barth et al. (2016) describe as "the leakiest section" (p. 11). Three reasons were offered for why this portion of the pipeline is so leaky. First, graduates of schools of education do not necessarily enter the field of education. Next, the need to pay off loans adversely impacts the ability to enter the field of education. And, a clinical experience too late in the training process can lead to a late change out of the field of education.

Because states generally do not keep data on the jobs that graduates from schools of education pursue, it has been left to the research community to attempt to quantify this data. Studies differ in their conclusions of how many graduates from university schools of education do not remain in education, but even the varying findings speak to a problem in the system. Barth et al. (2016) conclude that between 25-50% of education school graduates do not go on to teach. This high number of teacher education graduates who do not follow through and teach only exacerbates the already small number of candidates in schools of education.

While some graduates of schools of education may want to enter the field of education, Barth et al. (2016) found that the need to pay off school loans coupled with the perception that education is not a lucrative profession has led some people to choose a different field. Ladson-Billings (2005) and Shipp (1999) report that the decline of people of color in the field of

education coincides with increases in fields with higher paying jobs, like law and medicine. As will be discussed later, loan forgiveness programs can be a way to counter this trend.

As noted with regard to the teacher preparation aspect of the pipeline, clinical (practicum) experiences can cause some educators of color to fail to graduate from schools of education. Torres, Santos, Peck, and Cortes (2004) examine the timing of these experiences. They conclude that clinical experiences that are scheduled toward the end of the degree program force some students to go far down the path toward being an educator before a field experience gives them pause to reconsider. Those same students choose to graduate with a degree in education, but do not pursue a job in that field.

Recent literature proposes three successful strategies for improving recruitment of educators of color. School residencies, such as the Boston Teacher Residency Program, have been shown to increase the number of educators of color available to be placed in teaching positions (Solomon, 2009). Second, given the high cost of university education, Villegas and Davis (2007) assert that an important recruitment effort has been programs that reduce or remove college loans for people who teach for a set amount of time after college. Finally, a good amount has been written about programs that seek to interest high school and even elementary school students in the field of education, known as "grow your own" programs.

Impact on students. As stated previously, there is significant research on the impact that educators of color have on their students. When considering this impact, two themes emerge in the literature. The first relates to how educators of color may serve as role models to students and the second addressed how the racial and ethnic backgrounds of educators of color positively impact curriculum and learning.

The work of Atkins, Fertig, and Wilkins (2014) and Beady and Hansell (1981) explain the motivating influence that educators of color have on students of color. When students of color see all races represented in the faculty of their school, they are exposed to greater expectations for their own futures. Additionally, these authors note that the presence of educators of color positively affects the perceptions of students of color by making them feel a part of the school. This sense of student belonging results in greater student engagement and connectedness, which are important factors in a student's ability to be successful.

Castaneda et al. (2006) conducted a study that explored the perceptions of educators of color working in diasporic rural settings in Wyoming and the inevitable challenges these educators face. Although challenges are noted, the participants' influence as role models, to bring cultural authenticity, inspiration, and multiplicity of perspective to all students in ways that White teachers could not, serves as an example of the importance of employing educators of color.

When educators of color bring cultural authenticity, inspiration, and a multicultural perspective to the schoolhouse, racial inequities are reduced. Supporting this research, Goodwin (2004) conducted a study with seven post-secondary educators of color to explore what educators of color feel they bring to their work and the teaching profession. From this research, it was found that "teacher educators of color possess an empathic understanding of the lives of children of color, which results in a strong desire to engage in social action and redress inequities" (p. 22).

To address the inequities in educating students, Gist (2014) conducted a study that investigated the pedagogy of three socio-politically conscious teacher educators in teacher preparation programs to understand how to tailor teacher preparation for educators of color as a

means to equip these teachers with the skills necessary to provide culturally responsive pedagogy to the students they will eventually teach. From this study, Gist purports that teachers of color are situated to make meaningful contributions to the teaching profession at a time when "the educational community is attempting to more precisely define aspects of effective instruction for students of color" (p. 280).

Discipline. The fact that Black students are suspended or excluded from schools at a remarkably higher rate than their White peers was first studied and published in 1975 by the Children's Defense Fund (1975). In the four decades that followed, this finding of racial disproportionality in school discipline has remained consistent (Costenbader & Markson, 1998; Glackman et al., 1978; Gregory, 1997; Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010; Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002). However, understanding the perceptions that educators of color and White educators may have regarding how race may or may not influence the school discipline system has not been studied extensively. While pre-service programs and the hiring process ultimately impact students, discipline has a direct and immediate impact. The research speaks to three components of the impact of discipline: the role of the educator, the subjectivity of the educator, and interplay between the educator and student.

The role that the educator plays in discipline speaks to the influence of educators as role models enhancing student attendance and achievement. Simply put, the presence of African-American educators increases the connection of students of color to schools (Villegas & Irvine, 2010). This connection can improve student attendance rates, and better attendance is logically linked to increased academic achievement. Therefore, educators of color play a crucial role at the start of this continuum. The work of Lindsay and Hart (2017) promotes educator diversity as a means of increasing academic achievement of Black students. In this study, Lindsay and Hart

found evidence that supports a decrease in discipline and an increase in the reading scores of Black students when these students are taught by same-race teachers.

Given that discipline is meted out by human beings, it is important to consider the possible impact of subjectivity on patterns of discipline. One way to understand educators' subjectivity is to explore their individual perceptions of expected student behavior and if those expectations are applied differently to Black students. Two themes emerge when looking at the subjectivity of discipline: subjectivity of the interpretation of behavior and subjectivity in the assigned consequences. Skiba et al. (2002) assert that the consequences for disciplinary infractions by African-American students are subjective because an educator's own beliefs and assumptions about Black students may influence how behavior is managed based on preconceived ideas. Skiba et al. (2002) conclude that significant discrepancies in school discipline between White and Black students indicates a systemic bias.

Interactions between students and educators are inherently complex. When educators and students come from different racial and cultural backgrounds, this complexity is enhanced and may influence the relevancy of the discipline (Gregory & Mosely, 2004). These authors refer to Culturally Relevant Discipline (CRD) as a frame through which to more critically examine student discipline. CRD posits that for an individual student's discipline to be relevant, an educator must consider cultural and racial factors as well as previous discipline experiences in each disciplinary incident (Gregory & Mosely, 2004).

Retention of educators of color: Evaluation and satisfaction. Research regarding the retention of educators has been narrow because of limited data, especially at the national level (Ingersoll, 2002). In order to gain a better understanding of topics related to the experiences of teachers and principals, the NCES conducted educational surveys beginning in 1987. These

surveys focused on general school conditions, including student demographics as well as hiring and retention practices (http://www.nces.org). Using the data from the NCES educational surveys, Ingersoll (2002) found that teacher retention was influenced by varying factors including retirement, school staffing decisions, personal reasons, interest in pursuing another job, and/or job dissatisfaction. The data also showed that 39% of entering teachers leave the profession within the first five years of teaching (Ingersoll, 2002). This lack of retention of teachers in the first five years was related to the aforementioned factors, with the exception of retirement.

Principal retention was more likely to be influenced by factors like school level and setting as well as student demographics and achievement, while personal characteristics such as age, race, and gender had a smaller influence on principal retention rates (Fuller & Young, 2009). After the 2011-2012 school year, 78% of principals remained at the same school while 6% of principals moved to another school, and 12% of principals left the role of principal (Goldring & Taie, 2014). DiPaolo and Tschannen-Moran (2003) found that within five years 26% of principals would retire, 11% of principals would seek central office positions, and 2% of principals planned to leave the profession. When asked about filling the anticipated vacancies, principals expressed that they believed a principalship was not a desirable position. The primary reasons given were job-related stress and hours required of the position (DiPaolo & Tschannen-Moran, 2003). National survey data like this, as well as single case studies and other independent studies, have been used to better understand the retention of educators of color.

Retention of teachers of color. The preparation and recruitment process does not solely limit the number of teachers of color in the educator pipeline. The disproportionality between teachers of color entering the profession and those leaving the profession also has an

influence. In the beginning of the 2003-2004 school year, 47,600 teachers of color entered teaching, however, by the end of the year, 56,000 teachers of color left teaching (Ingersoll & May, 2011). Since 1988, the turnover rate of teachers of color has gradually increased. From 1988-1989 to 2008-2009, the annual turnover rate of teachers of color has grown from 15.1% to 19.3%. Attrition of teachers of color is influenced by one or more of the following factors: 32.9% of teachers of color identified leaving teaching because of retirement; 45.3% of teachers of color identified leaving teaching for personal reasons; 35.4% of teachers of color identified leaving to pursue another job; and 35.3% of teachers of color identified leaving because of job dissatisfaction (Ingersoll & May, 2011). Only one-third of the teachers of color are leaving the profession because of retirement, while two-thirds of teachers of color are leaving their jobs because of personal reasons, to pursue another job, and/or job dissatisfaction.

Job satisfaction of teachers of color. Ingersoll and May (2011) found that organizational conditions, like faculty decision-making influence and teacher autonomy, have a more significant impact on job satisfaction for teachers of color than for White teachers. While administrative leadership and support, as well as salary and resources have an influence on retention rates, there is a similar significance for all teachers. Factors like student demographics, including higher rates of low socioeconomic status or population of minority students, did not influence the turnover of teachers of color (Ingersoll & May, 2011). These findings validate an earlier study completed by Ingersoll (2006) which reported that organizational conditions such as administration, accountability testing, student discipline, influence and autonomy, workplace conditions, classroom intrusions, salary and benefits, teaching assignments, and class size influence public school teachers of color, independent of school and student population. In

summary, organizational conditions and administrative support contribute to the job satisfaction of teachers of color.

Evaluation of teachers of color. The evaluation of teachers has been impacted by legislation focused on accountability and student achievement. As a result, school districts have worked to add reforms to how teachers are observed and evaluated (Clifford & Ross, 2011; McCleary, 1979; McQuinn, 2012). A model evaluation has been defined as one that links instructional practices to student learning outcomes and ensures accountability (Phillips, Balan, & Manko, 2014). Other effective characteristics include a focus on reflective conversations with teachers, standards-based criteria, procedures for collecting multiple sets of data, detailed scoring rubrics, and methods for assessing specific teacher behaviors (Danielson, 2010; Odden, 2004; Toch, 2008). Despite efforts to create reforms, the teacher evaluation system still has challenges linked to subjectivity and a lack of training of the building principal who in most cases is responsible for evaluating teachers (Cosner, Kimball, Barkowski, Carl, & Jones, 2014; Danielson, 2010). Consequently, the subjectivity and lack of training of principals can lead to inequities that impact the ability of teachers of color to grow and receive opportunities for leadership positions (Knaus, 2014).

Retention of administrators of color. According to the NCES, 20% of public school principals were educators of color in 2011-2012 (Hill, Ottem, & DeRoche, 2016). This represents a slight increase since the 2003-2004 school year when 18% of public school principals were educators of color. While the percentage of Black principals has not dramatically changed, the percentage of Hispanic principals has slightly increased from 3% in 1987-1988 to 7% in 2011-2012. However, the percentage of White principals has decreased from 87% to 80% during this same time period (Hill et al., 2016).

Job satisfaction of administrators of color. When studying school characteristics, White et al. (2011) identified how factors like student demographics, school climate, parent support, and school location influenced the job satisfaction of principals of color. Bitterman, Goldring, and Gray (2013) reported preliminary data gathered from public school and private school principals, with a 20% participation rate of principals of color, however, they did not control for race or ethnicity. Principals reported how their level of influence on school based experiences including setting student performance standards, establishing curriculum, determining professional development, evaluating teachers, hiring teachers, setting discipline policy and overseeing budget influenced their job satisfaction. With limited research published about the job satisfaction of principals and administrators of color, it is evident that there is a gap in research.

Evaluation of administrators of color. Over the years, the responsibilities of the building administrator have become more complex. Along with ensuring student growth and achievement, the modern-day building administrator is also responsible for managing resources and maintaining a myriad of relationships inside and outside the school community (Davis & Hensley, 1999). As a result, the administrator evaluation needs to be comprehensive, equitable, and provide for reflective feedback from both the evaluator and the evaluatee (Clifford & Ross, 2011). Despite reform efforts there remains a gap in research that offers a clear and consistent theoretical framework for conducting an effective evaluation (Reeves, 2005). As a result, there is a void in research literature that examines how current evaluation systems impact the growth and development of administrators of color (Glasman & Heck, 1990; Goldring et al., 2009).

While there have been studies that identify the factors related to retention of administrators (DiPaolo & Tschannen-Moran, 2003; Papa, 2007; Whitaker, 2001), fewer studies

have explored the factors that influence the retention of administrators of color. This is a gap in the research that needs to be addressed as the number of administrators of color gradually increases. Additional research will also help to identify the factors that influence the retention of administrators of color and refine practices and policies that will increase the number of administrators of color.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we examined the issue of the experiences of educators of color in recruitment, hiring, and retention, and identified the impact that the lack of diversity has on the educational environment. We presented research questions that we studied as a group hoping to fill the current research gap that is connected to this issue.

The statistical data we reviewed indicate that educators of color working in U.S. public schools are greatly underrepresented. This disparity becomes more significant as the population of students within public schools becomes more diverse. To understand the impact of this phenomenon, we have reviewed literature that considers the experience of educators of color and their perceptions related to pre-service programs, recruitment and hiring, student discipline, how their race and ethnicity impacts students, how they experience the evaluation process, as well as their job satisfaction and retention. Our efforts have unveiled a lack of literature that is able to provide successful strategies that offer viable and effective solutions. As a result, we constructed a study that collected data to answer the research question: How do educators of color experience racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools? The counter narratives provided by educators of color gave us a unique perspective based upon their experiences.

It is our hope that the data collected from our study will help to inform further research studies and provide guidance to schools and districts who are interested in creating a more diverse staff. Chapter 2 will describe the methodology used in this study.

CHAPTER 2[2]

METHODOLOGY AND LIMITATIONS

Methodology

All researchers for this study designed protocols and practices for collecting and analyzing data. The research team was divided into three pairs based on the relatedness of their individual research studies. Collected data contributed to the overall study's findings while individual team members analyzed data independently as it related to their individual study. This chapter will outline the study design, shared protocols and practices for data collection and analysis, as well as the study limitations.

Study Design

The purpose of this single-site case study was to explore and understand the experiences of educators of color in light of the persisting racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools in a Massachusetts district. The team employed a single-bounded case study of Cityside Public Schools (pseudonym) to explore how a sample of educators of color perceived their experiences of preservice education, recruitment and hiring experiences, the impact of their race on students and student discipline, educator evaluation processes, and job satisfaction. This case study relied on data consisting of a job satisfaction survey, Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) protocol, semi-structured interviews, and document analysis. The rationale for implementing this design was to utilize different data collection forms at the same time in order to both confirm and triangulate findings, as well as enrich our collective understanding of the research problem (Creswell, 2012; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). As the

[2] This chapter was jointly written by the authors listed and reflects the team approach of this project: Charles J. Drane III, Diana Guzzi, Roderick V. MacNeal, Jr., Leslie M. Patterson, Nancy Robbins Taylor, and Joan M. Woodward.

research was limited to one district, the study was delineated by the time allotted for data collection within the district, November through December of 2017, and the time allotted for subsequent analysis, December 2017 through March 2018.

Site Selection

According to the Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (Massachusetts Department of Education, 2017b), in 2016-2017 9.7% of educators in Massachusetts were identified as non-White. For this study, research was conducted in Cityside Public Schools (CPS), an urban district in eastern Massachusetts. This district employs the second-largest percentage of educators of color (26%) in the Commonwealth. More specifically, the CPS Office of Human Resources reported 22% teachers of color teach a non-White student population of 60.1%. Site selection was also determined by the following criteria: a hiring and retention process that focuses on increasing educator diversity, the current employment of educators of color, and a diverse student population as identified by and reported to DESE which included the following race(s) and/or ethnic groups: American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Black or African-American, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, as well as Hispanic or Latino. Additionally, the site selection was ultimately determined by Cityside's willingness to participate in the research.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data collected for this case study was generated through recruitment emails (See Appendices F and G), a job satisfaction survey (See Appendix H), the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) protocol (See Appendix I), semi-structured face-to-face recorded individual interviews (See Appendices J through M), and document analysis. Documents that were reviewed included Cityside's Teacher Recruitment and Hiring: Administrator Survey, [Cityside]

Hiring Committee Selection Process document, [Cityside] Public Schools Staff Diversity Recruitment, Hiring and Retention Programs and Initiative document, DESE staff and student demographics and discipline report data, and Cityside's collective bargaining agreements for Unit A and Unit B.

Job satisfaction online survey. The job satisfaction online survey designed for this study was adapted from the Teacher Follow-Up Survey (TFS) administered by the National Center of Educational Statistics (NCES, 2013). In order to assess job satisfaction, the following areas were presented to participants in a four point Likert scale survey online addressing areas which included student discipline, administrative support, decision-making participation, job stress, colleague-to-colleague relations, gender, family support systems, overall job satisfaction, as well as demographic and employment information. The online survey link was shared in the initial recruitment email to all CPS educators of color. This data was then synthesized and compared to some of the semi-structured interviews.

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure. Phinney (1992) developed the MEIM protocol used to determine how individuals identify with their ethnicity and their sense of belonging within their ethnic group. Study participants who were interviewed were asked to complete this protocol. The MEIM has been used in multiple studies and been shown to be a reliable identity tool (Roberts et al., 1999). While the MEIM is typically considered a quantitative methodology tool, the limited sample size in this case study was not large enough to complete a statistical analysis. Instead, this data was used to gain awareness of how participants identify themselves ethnically and was examined to inform the qualitative data gained from the participant interviews. The protocol was distributed to participants at the time of the interview.

Semi-structured interviews. The interviews, on the other hand, allowed us to explore participants' perceptions of lived experiences within these processes. We recruited a sample of educators of color, defined as district leaders, building leaders, teachers, and counselors. Additionally, we recruited a sample of building and district level administrators (of different races) who are responsible for the recruiting and/or hiring process at the district level or building level in Cityside. The process of recruiting participants involved an email prepared by the research team sent by Cityside administration and networking through snowball sampling.

Through purposeful design of the interview questions for this qualitative case study, interviews produced counter narratives about the experiences of educators of color in the educational workforce. Counter narratives or counter storytelling, provided an opposing perspective to the viewpoint used by the White majority that accounts for racial inequities (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Moreover, Milner and Howard (2013) identify that "a counter-narrative provides the space for researchers to reinterpret, disrupt or interrupt pervasive discourses that may paint communities and people, particularly communities and people of color, in grim, dismal ways" (p. 542). We sought to understand and assign meaning to the reported experiences and personal reflections of the selected interviewees (Creswell, 2012). The purpose of the interviews was to understand how educators of color experience teacher preparation programs, hiring, supervision and evaluation, job satisfaction, the student discipline system, and how their race/ethnic identity impacts their work with students. This research also sought to understand how study participants experience being one of a disproportionate number of educators of color and whether it would make a difference if there were more educators of color in the district.

As a team, we developed interview protocols to be utilized for both district and building-level administrators of color, as well as faculty of color. The semi-structured nature of our

protocols allowed for flexibility to respond to the interviewee with additional probing questions in the moment (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Prior to interviewing our subjects, the team piloted interview questions with colleagues of color from outside the target district. The benefit of piloting the questions ensured that questions were clearly and respectfully worded and elicited relevant responses. All interview participants received the following: a letter of intent explaining the purpose of the interview, a request for signed informed consent, and a confidentiality statement (See Appendix N and O). These documents were distributed to participants electronically. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed through Rev.com, and reviewed for accuracy by the research team.

Interview participants. As shown in Table 2, interview participants included district level administrators, building level administrators, teachers and counselors. Administrators were identified based on their role in the hiring and retention practice as well as being evaluators and providers professional development opportunities. This included building-level educators responsible for discipline. All educators were interviewed by an individual researcher or a two-person team with the opportunity for follow-up communication.

Table 2

Interview Participants

	Number of Participants	Number of Educators of Color	Number of White Educators
Building Administrators	11	8	3
District Administrators	3	3	
Educators, e.g. counselors and teachers	14	14	
Total Number of Participants	28	25	3

A total of 28 educators volunteered and were selected to participate in this study. As shown in Figure 2.1, there were 14 African-American or Black educators, 3 Asian or Asian-American educators, 3 Black Latino educators, 3 Hispanic or Latino educators, 2 multi-race, non-Hispanic educators, and 3 White educators.

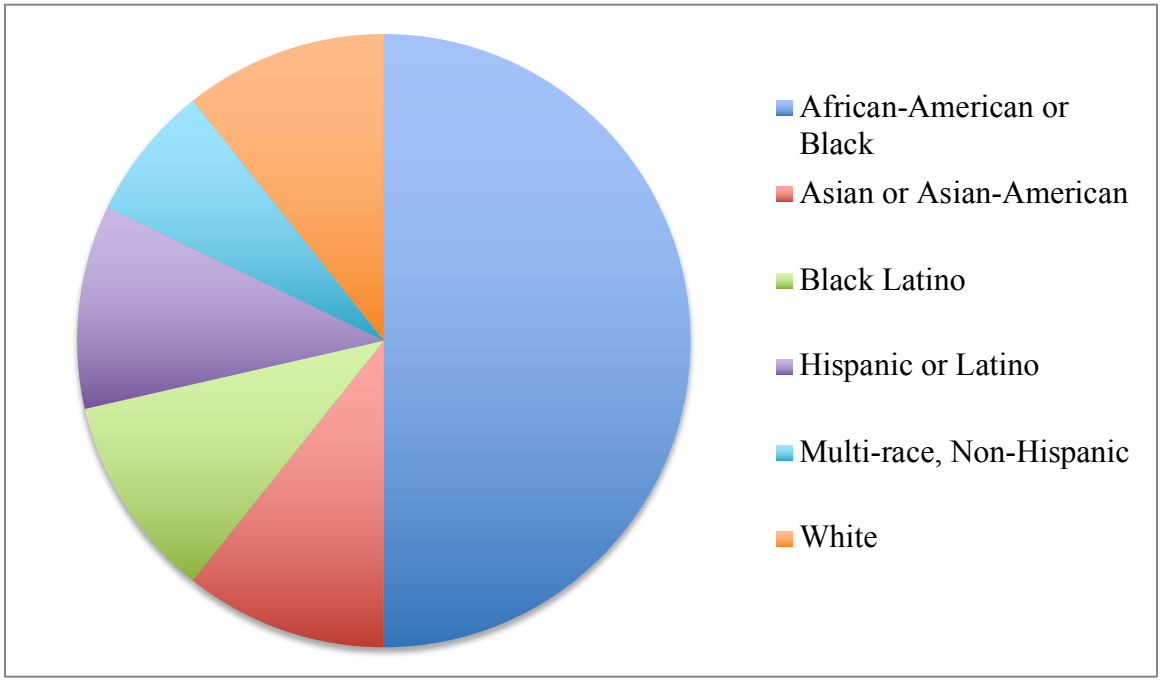

Figure 1. Race and/or ethnicity of interviewed participants. This chart represents the interviewed participants based on race and/ethnicity.

Interview research teams. Our team was divided into pairs based on the themes of our individual research studies and we then determined the feasibility of conducting all interviews in our selected pairs. In the end, most interviews were conducted in pairs. These pairs were devised to understand educators' of color perceptions of one of the following: 1) teacher preparation and pre-service programs coupled with the experiences of the recruitment and hiring process; 2) the influence of race/ethnicity on student discipline and its impact on students; 3) the impact of the evaluation process on educator growth and factors that influence job satisfaction and teacher retention.

On the one hand, we questioned whether our work would be enhanced by interviewing in pairs. This model allowed for one person to be the designated lead interviewer who maintains the momentum of the interview, leaving the other to take notes, review responses in line with learned information from other analyses and interviews, and suggest additional, follow-up

questions. On the other hand, we considered whether or not educators of color may be more forthcoming in a one-on-one interview. Each pair made the determination regarding the setup of the interview. Each educator of color was interviewed based on the responsibilities of their position and their relevance to the six individual studies.

The team worked to manage the interviewing partnership (Weiss, 1994) in a manner that created emotional safety and encouraged interviewees to speak about their perceptions and experiences, if any, of oppression and racism encountered in the educational system. The components of CRT provided the lens through which we framed the interview experience. The components of CRT, including the permanence of racism, counter storytelling, the critique of liberalism, and Whiteness as property, speak to the reality of racism and its acceptance as a normal part of the dominant culture (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Specifically, we hoped to provide the opportunity for interviewees to speak their counter narratives. Understanding counter narratives is critical to promoting equity in the educator workforce. Giving voice to counter narratives enhanced our understanding of the reality of educators of color. For example, we heard personal stories of how educators of color felt perceived by their colleagues that may be inconsistent with an accepted cultural norm (Milner & Howard, 2013). In addition, we used the data collected from the MEIM responses to gain awareness of how the interview participants identified themselves racially or ethnically and how they viewed their sense of belonging within their ethnic group.

Interview analysis. To analyze the qualitative interview data, we broke the data down into categories that answered the research questions of individual studies. The data was further coded into subcategories by themes or segments as we recorded redundancy and overlap and examined presenting themes. The process of assigning codes to the slices of data was guided

and informed by the tenets of CRT, including the permanence of racism, counter storytelling or narratives, the critique of liberalism, and Whiteness as property, which provided the conceptual framework for this study.

To assist in the analysis, four of the six researchers used the software program Dedoose to categorize and code the interview transcription data. The other two researchers utilized a more traditional manual approach to coding data. All data were reviewed for evidence of how educators of color perceived and experienced the racial disproportionality that exists in the education system.

Document review. The reviewed documents highlighted the processes (e.g., recruiting and hiring educators of color, evaluating these educators, or the influence of race on student discipline) experienced by selected participants. As the team analyzed district documentation, we remained aware of the strengths and weaknesses, as illustrated by Yin (2009), of such documentation. Yin (2009) defined four strengths of documentation: stability in that they are available to review repeatedly, unobtrusive in their creation, provision of exact information, and broad coverage of events over time. On the other hand, Yin (2009) defined four weaknesses of documentation: difficulty in locating, the potential for bias in selectivity, the presence of reporting bias, and limited access.

Positionality of the Researchers

Our six-person research team was comprised of four females (one Black and three White) and two males (one Black and one White). Positionality "reflects the position that the researcher has chosen to adopt within a given research study" (Savin-Balden & Howell Major, 2013, p. 71). The nature of qualitative research establishes the researcher as a data collection tool. It is reasonable to expect that the researcher brings his or her own beliefs, cultural background, and

experiences with them to the interview. Each researcher reflected upon the possible influence their positionality had on the interview process (Bourke, 2014). In other words, the team acknowledged that our own cultural background, personal beliefs and individual experiences might have varied from those of the individual interviewees. We remained cognizant of any potential impact these differences may have had on both the interview process and the interpretation of data.

Limitations

This study had several limitations. The sample size was limited to one district, therefore did not account for the variations amongst schools within Massachusetts or the United States. The data was only derived from 29 interviews, the administration of the MEIM to 24 participants, and the completion of the job satisfaction survey by 40 participants. Additionally, the positionality of our research team may have potentially affected our data collection and analysis in any instances where we were not transparent or mindful of the influence that the race of the researcher may have had on the research process. Lastly, due to constraints inherent in our doctoral program, our research was limited by the allotted time dedicated for data collection and analysis.

Variations of the methodology described within this chapter were implemented in the six individual studies, which will be presented in Chapter three. Each individual study includes the research questions, conceptual framework, literature review, methodology, and findings. It concludes with recommendations for Cityside Public Schools and future researchers.

CHAPTER 3[3]

INDIVIDUAL STUDY: THE PERCEPTIONS OF EDUCATORS OF COLOR WITH RESPECT TO THEIR PRE-SERVICE PREPARATION

Introduction: Problem and Purpose

While the number of students of color in elementary and secondary schools in the United States continues to increase, the gap between the percentage of teachers of color and the percentage of students of color is widening (Ingersoll & May, 2016). Significant research has been conducted over the last decade to show the positive impact that teachers of color have on students of color (Villegas & Irvine, 2010; Goings & Bianco, 2016; Achinstein, Ogawa, Sexton, & Freitas, 2010) and, in fact, on all students (Ladson-Billings, 2005). Therefore, this disproportionality is extremely concerning.

The experience of educators of color can be examined at a number of times throughout what can be described as the educator pipeline. Butty and Brown (1999) noted:

> The number of African-American males who go into teaching is influenced by the number of African-American males who attend college, which in turn is influenced by the number of high school graduates and so on … unfortunately the pipeline that moves African-American students from public school to public school teaching is a leaky one. (p. 282)

Our overall case study extends Butty and Brown's concept of the pipeline by considering it beginning with the hiring process and continuing through retention. We examined six aspects of the experience of educators of color in Cityside at various times in the pipeline. In doing so, we

[3] This chapter was individually written by Charles J. Drane III.

are able to provide a picture of the experience of educators that is more valuable than simply a snapshot at one point in time.

This individual study is situated at the earliest stage of the pipeline discussed above. Educators of color in Cityside were asked to describe their path to the field of education, specifically their pre-service education experience. This study complements the overall study in its ability to shed light on the early stages of an educator's career. From this foundation, the work of other team members on hiring, job satisfaction, and how educators of color perceive their impact on students follows.

Research Questions

Experiences of educators of color can be examined at various points in time and many questions flow from these examinations. The group research project studied some of these questions, such as:

How do educators of color experience the hiring process?
How do they experience the evaluation process?
How do they describe their job satisfaction?
How do they view the discipline system within schools?
How do they perceive the impact of their racial identity on their work with students?

This individual study examined the experiences of educators of color from their pre-service days when they were preparing to be educators.

Since pre-service preparation for the teaching profession is a logical place to begin an examination of the experiences of educators of color, a number of studies have been conducted that examined pre-service education programs and perceptions of people of color enrolled in those programs (Brown, 2014; Evans & Leonard, 2013; Frank, 2003; Ladson-Billings, 2005). What has been lacking in recent literature are studies of the perceptions of current educators looking back at their pre-service preparation. It is one thing to ask those preparing to be

educators about the programs in which they are presently enrolled, but lacking the experience of working in a school makes their observations different than those of someone who has assumed an educational role. Thus, there is a gap in literature about current educator perceptions of their pre-service preparation. That gap was addressed in this study.

The path to becoming an educator is not identical for every person. Eighty-three percent of teachers in the workforce, however, come from traditional university education programs (Feistritzer, 2011) and most of the remainder come to the profession from the workforce (Madkins, 2011). Regardless of the path, the experiences of these educators are valuable pieces of information for educational leaders to consider. Because the vast majority of educators come to the profession through traditional schools of education, the scope of this study was limited to those who enter through this pathway.

When considering the impact of traditional pre-service preparation programs, research has shown that teachers persist at a higher rate if they enter the profession with pre-service preparation (Achinstein et al., 2010). Therefore, it is important for this study to answer the following research question:

- What are the perceptions of educators of color with respect to their pre-service education preparation?

Literature Review

To contextualize the work on pre-service preparation, I will first identify how Critical Race Theory (CRT) frames this topic. Then, existing literature that has examined aspects of pre-service experiences of teachers will be discussed. Thus, both the frame of CRT and the existing body of knowledge provide the necessary foundation to support this study of the perceptions of educators of color with respect to their pre-service preparation.

Conceptual Framework

Just as our overall DIP case study used CRT as a framework, I also employed CRT in this individual study. Brown (2014) explains that "the goal of CRT in education is to excavate how race operates in society and in education, at both the structural and local, everyday levels" (p. 329). Educators' pre-service experiences have implications that are certainly both structural and local. Just as our overall dissertation focuses on the permanence of racism and the use of counter narratives, so, too, does this study. Additionally, this study considers the tenet of Whiteness as property (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). See Table 3 below for a comparison of how CRT is foundational to both the overall DIP work and that of this individual slice.

Table 3

Critical Race Theory Tenets Used in DIP Team Study and Individual Study

Overall DIP Study	Individual Study
Permanence of racism	Permanence of racism
Counter narrative	Counter narrative
Critique of liberalism	Whiteness as property

Permanence of racism. For this study, as in our overall study, the foundational assumption that racism exists in our society grounds the work. While the *Brown v. Board of Education Topeka, Kansas* (1954) decision impacted the racial makeup of schools, in the 10 years following Brown, over 45% of African-American educators in Southern states lost their jobs (Lewis, 2006). Currently, African-Americans make up approximately 16% of the student population, but only 8% of the overall teaching force and 1% of the male teaching force (Lewis, 2006; Evans & Leonard, 2013). Additionally disconcerting, Kohli (2009) reported that a 2004 study by the National Collaborative on Diversity in the Teaching Force "found that … more than 40% of schools do not even employ one Teacher of Color" (p. 237). These statistics support the assertion that racial inequity in terms of the teaching force persists in our schools.

The data in Massachusetts and Cityside show the same trends. In Massachusetts, over 30% of students are students of color, however fewer than 10% of teachers are people of color. The disparity is greatest among Hispanic students (19.4%) and teachers (2.9%). In Cityside, approximately 60% of the student population is made up of students of color, but only 22% of the teachers are people of color. Unlike the state of Massachusetts, the greatest disparity between students and teachers lies with African-Americans (25.5% students and 8.7% teachers). See Figures 2 and 3 for a complete illustration of this demographic data (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2017a), http://profiles.doe.mass.edu/state_report/teacherbyracegender.aspx).

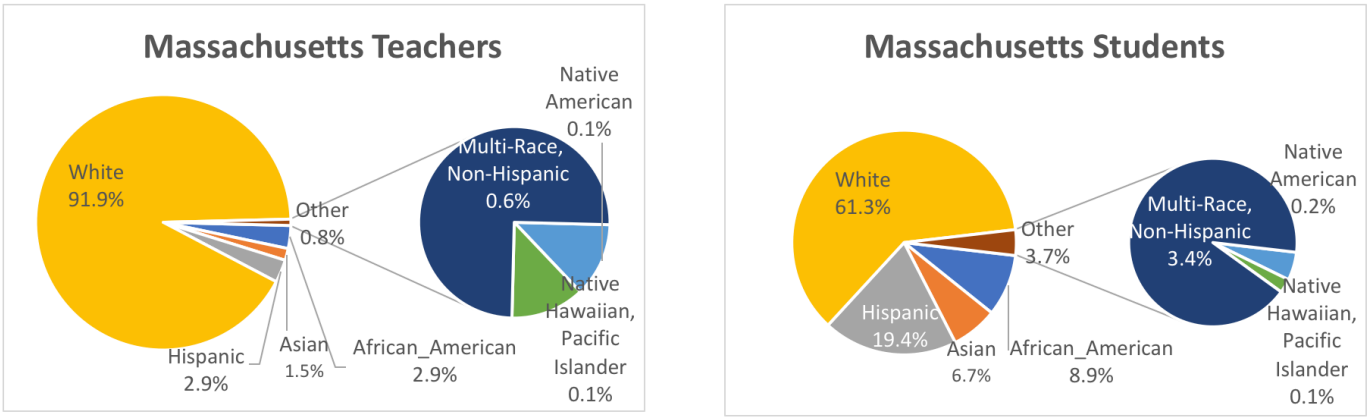

Figure 2. Racial make-up of Massachusetts teachers and students, 2016-2017, DESE.

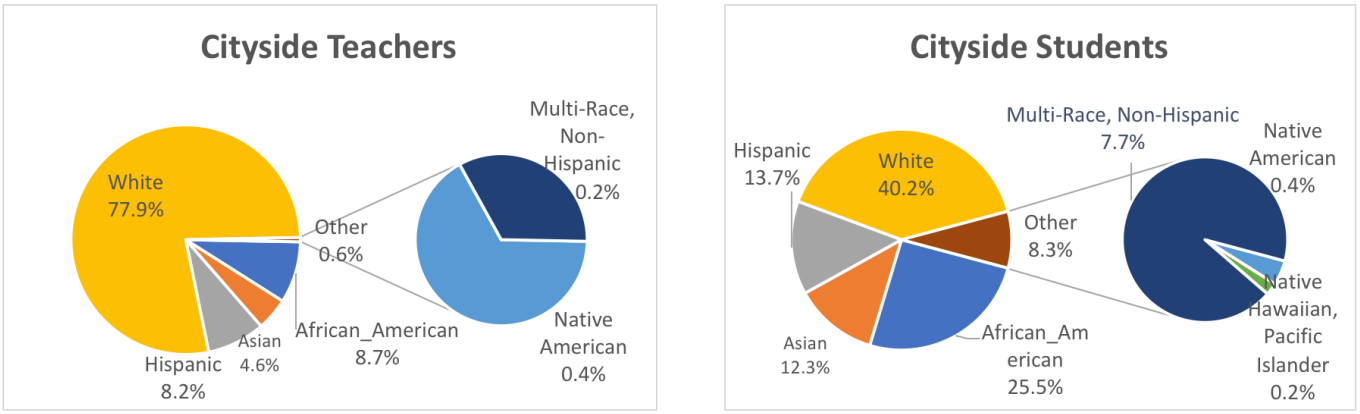

Figure 3. Racial Make-up of Cityside Teachers and Students, 2016-2017, DESE.

Counter narrative. As discussed earlier, the tenet of counter narrative is essential to both our broad work and this individual study. The experiences of educators of color in their pre-service preparation are often described as "alienating and ineffective" (Brown, 2014, p. 336). Through the stories of educators of color, I gained insight into ways in which the dominant White culture impacts the pre-service preparation of educators of color. Specifically, I looked to examine the extent to which the educators interviewed agree with Brown's assertion that pre-service preparation programs are seen to be alienating and ineffective.

Whiteness as property. Brown (2014) writes: "Whiteness operates as a form of property by which pre-service teachers that possess the experiences, perspectives, knowledge and dispositions aligned with and valued by the dominant White society find reinforcement and success" (p. 337). In examining the perceptions of the educators of color who were interviewed, I assessed the extent to which they experienced pre-service programs where Whiteness was collateral and their racial background and experiences were a detriment.

Relevant Literature

Previous studies of pre-service teachers and novice teachers have uncovered a number of topics that were expected to emerge in this work. It was important to understand this literature in order to construct interview protocols that would generate the desired information and also create a foundation onto which interviewee responses could be examined. A thorough literature review uncovered the following topics as being pertinent to this work: the importance of having educators of color employed in schools, college enrollment statistics for people of color, demographics of schools of education, barrier exams, the curriculum in schools of education, and the sense of belonging of people of color enrolled in universities.

The importance of employing educators of color in schools. It is an assumption that the make-up of the teaching force must match that of the student population, therefore it is important for that assumption to be supported. Not only has significant research been conducted on the positive impact of educators of color on students of color, but further research exists on the positive influence of educators of color on White students as well. Based upon thorough reviews of literature, Villegas and Irvine (2010) and Villegas and Lucas (2004) offered support for the notion that educators of color provide benefits to students of color. Villegas and Irvine (2010) asserted that the main benefit is in the ability for educators of color to serve as role models for students of color. Specifically, they conclude that educators of color increase the self-worth of students of color, motivate them, and help to counter the alienation that they feel in schools. In the work of Villegas and Lucas (2004), the advantage of educators of color is described as being greatest in the cultural experiences that they share with their students.

As noted earlier, the benefit of educators of color being present in schools is not only for students of color. Cochran-Smith (2004) and Ladson-Billings (2005) both point to the positive impact of educators of color on all students. Lewis (2006) describes a benefit of African-American educators as their presence as models for to all students about the abilities of African-Americans.

College enrollment statistics for people of color. As was offered earlier by Butty and Brown (1999), the educator pipeline is greatly impacted by the experiences of children of color all the way back to their elementary schooling. Research by Achinstein et. al. (2010) and Aud, Fox, and KewalRamani (2010) has shown how early educational disadvantages for students of color persist when it comes to enrolling in a university. Table 4 presents data used by Aud et al. (2010) which supports the claim that there exists racial disparity in college enrollment.

Table 4

College Enrollment Percentages by Race 1980 and 2008

	High School Completers		All 18-24 Year Olds	
	1980	2008	1980	2008
Black	44%	56%	20%	32%
Hispanic	50%	62%	16%	26%
White	50%	72%	28%	44%

This data supports the CRT tenet of permanence of racism in the persistent disproportionality of college enrollment by racial category.

Demographics of schools of education. An off-shoot of the previous discussion on the overall educational attainment of students of color is the demographic composition of schools of education. Schools of education are predominantly made up of White females (Cochran-Smith, 2004; Evans & Leonard, 2013). (See Figure 4 for a breakdown.) So, compounding the fact that there are racial inconsistencies within universities as a whole, the same, if not worse, disparities exist in schools of education – another example of the permanence of racism.

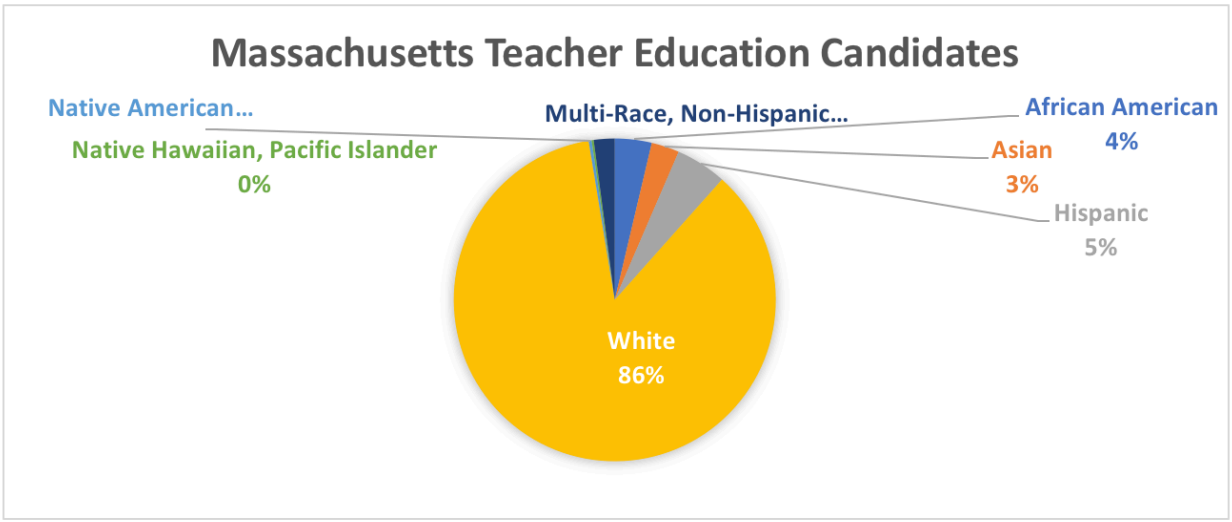

Figure 4. Racial Make-up of Massachusetts Teacher Education Candidates, 2015-2016, DESE.

Related to the decline of people of color in university schools of education is the recent trend in the increasing availability to people of color of jobs in fields other than education (Wilder, 2000). Shipp (1999) identifies business, science, and mathematics as majors that have grown at the same time that a decline in education as a major has taken place. Shipp points to the financial benefit and cachet of these other majors as reasons for this trend. Taken together, enrollment and increased opportunities elsewhere, the current demographics of schools of education have been unable to support the need for more educators of color in the pipeline. In Massachusetts, the teacher education candidate data shows racial diversity to also be lacking.

Barrier exams. Related to the demographics of schools of education is the fact that admission to schools of education often includes passing an exam. Additionally, many states and districts require educators to pass exams in order to enter the teaching force. Nettles, Scatton, Steinberg, and Tyler (2011) examined results of the Praxis I exam, a requirement for entrance into education programs in many states, and found that approximately 80% of White students pass on the first try while 40% of African-American students pass on the first try. Madkins (2011) and Petchauer (2012) add to this research by concluding that failure to pass these exams reduces the pool of students of color in schools of education. Taking this a step further, Darling-Hammond (2000) contends that success on a barrier exam like the Praxis I is not even a predictor for success in the field of education. And, so, where these barrier exams exist, they serve to support the dominant White culture (Whiteness as property) and at the same time negatively impact the pool of people of color entering the field of education.

Curriculum in schools of education. How do the curricula of undergraduate education programs support the training of teacher candidates to be culturally proficient? Brown (2014) found that students in schools of education report that the curricula to which they were exposed

was not culturally diverse. Similarly, Montecinos (2016) described how students of color felt that the curriculum in schools of education was not adequately preparing them to enter an educational system that is increasing in diversity. Taken a step further, Montecinos aptly asks the following question illuminating the need for more inclusive curriculum in schools of education: "On what basis can we expect teacher education students to practice inclusion when they experience the ways in which teacher educators ignore the needs and concerns of the students of color present in their teacher preparation university classrooms?" (p. 178).

Sense of belonging of people of color in universities. The work of Souto-Manning and Cheruvu (2016), interviewing four teacher education candidates of color at predominantly White institutions on multiple occasions, illuminated the need to consider the belonging that people of color feel within universities and specifically schools of education. They report that people of color in schools of education experience a feeling of exclusion in all aspects of their schooling, from class discussions to student-teaching placement. The value placed on Whiteness within an educational institution (Whiteness as property) is collateral that cannot be underestimated (Brown, 2014).

Conclusion

The relevant literature on experiences of people of color during their pre-service schooling was examined through the lens of various CRT tenets. Whether it is the benefit of educators of color for students of all races or the demographics of colleges and schools of education or the experiences of people of color in schools of education, race plays a role. It is from this literature and through Critical Race Theory that this study was constructed in order that valuable information might be discovered about perceptions of educators of color regarding their pre-service experiences.

Methods

Consistent with our broader study, this work employed a case study design to examine how educators of color view their pre-service preparation. Semi-structured interviews provided the data that was analyzed. Chapter 2 outlines in more detail the methodology used in the overall study. This section will discuss the areas of the research that are notable for this individual work, specifically participant selection, interview questions, coding of the data, positionality, and the limitations of the study.

Study Design

As with the overall study, this work followed a case study design employing interviews in order to determine the perceptions of educators of color regarding their pre-service preparation. The interview nature of this study allowed us to both gather valuable perception data and also hear the stories of educators of color. Since perception data was essential to this work, the semi-structured nature of the interview protocol (described in more detail later in this chapter) allowed us to gather this data, while also left space for the educators to expand on their experiences. Following from the CRT tenet of counter narrative, the interviews allowed me to examine how the perceptions of educators of color speak to racism and contradict the dominant, White narrative.

Participant Selection

From the pool of educators of color in Cityside who responded to our recruitment email, those who indicated that they attended traditional university schools of education in the last eight years were selected to be interviewed for this individual study. The reason for considering how recently they attended a school of education was twofold. First, we wanted to assure that the recollections of the educators were fresh and we also wanted to understand practices currently or

recently employed in those schools of education. Five educators of color went through the full interview protocol and seven others were asked questions or prompts that pertained to this individual study when the interviewer identified them as appropriate. The gender make-up of the 12 participants (eight female and four male) is a good representation of CPS. The racial make-up of the participants (seven Black or African-American and only two Hispanic or Latino) is not representative of educators of color in CPS as a whole. The nature of the solicitation of the participants, partially done through snowball sampling, could be the cause of this. Detailed information about the 12 participants can be found below in Table 5.

Table 5

Interview Subjects with Pseudonym, Code, Gender, Role, and Race

Pseudonym (Code)	Gender	Role	Race
Angelica (T15)	Female	Teacher	Black or African-American
Andrea (A1)	Female	Administrator	Black or African-American
Carla (T11)	Female	Teacher	Asian or Asian American
Carlos (T14)	Male	Teacher	Black or African-American
David (A7)	Male	Administrator	Hispanic or Latino
Donna (T2)	Female	Teacher	Black or African-American
Diego (T17)	Male	Teacher	Black or African-American
Fernando (A9)	Male	Administrator	Black or African-American
Lauren (T18)	Female	Teacher	Hispanic or Latino
Olivia (T3)	Female	Teacher	Black or African-American
Sonya (T16)	Female	Teacher	Black or African-American and Hispanic or Latino
Sally (A13)	Female	Administrator	Multi Race, Non-Hispanic

Data Collection and Analysis

Data Collection. Of the 25 educators of color who volunteered to participate in the broader study, the perceptions of 12 were used in this individual study. The interview protocol contained six main questions and corresponding prompts. Appendix J provides an outline of the interview protocol and more detail on the specific questions and prompts.

Data Analysis. As both the group case study and this individual study are aimed at analyzing the perceptions of educators of color, the overall goal of the coding work was to position me to hear, report, and analyze the counter narratives of the educators interviewed. The

work of Solórzano and Yosso (2002) and Delgado (1989) were essential in reminding me of the special attention that needed to be paid to assembling stories that spoke to my research question. From the words of Solórzano and Yosso (2002), counterstories "can teach others that by combining elements from both the story and the current reality, one can construct another world that is richer than either the story or the reality alone" (p. 156). Consequently, it will be through the analysis of data pertaining to these interviews that this study will produce a comprehensive examination of policies and practices perceived as successful in assisting educators of color to enter the workforce.

All interviews used in this individual study were coded in order to assist in answering the research question. The first round of coding aimed at identifying perceptions stemming from the main themes in the review of literature conducted prior to the interviews taking place. Codes used in this round were: barrier exams, belonging, culture of school of education, curriculum of school of education, demographics of school of education, and internships. Following that round, I looked to identify where interview responses fit the CRT tenets underpinning this work. Specifically, I coded for the tenets of counter narrative, permanence of racism, and Whiteness as property. Finally, based upon a thorough reading of the interview transcripts and in order to synthesize the findings into points for discussion and recommendations, I coded one final time for the themes of relationships, school of education program structure (i.e. cohort or not), and the dichotomy of theoretical versus practical.

Limitations and Positionality

Two limitations of this work are most noteworthy. First, the perceptions found in this study are those of a limited group of people in one school district in Massachusetts. Therefore, they cannot be seen to be representative of all educators of color in every area of the country.

However, their perceptions will certainly add value to those looking to better understand the experiences of educators of color.

The second important limitation is the makeup of the group of researchers. The group is comprised of four females and two males. Further, there are two members who are African-American and four members who are White. While the interview protocol was followed by each member no matter who was conducting the interview, it is possible that the race and/or gender of the interviewer impacted the responses of the educators being interviewed. For the five educators of color who experienced the full interview protocol for this study, all interviews were conducted by two research team members, one African-American and one White. Of the other seven, four also experienced a research team that was made up of one member who is African-American and one who is White, two by a team that was made up for two White researchers, and the last was interviewed one-on-one with a researcher who is White. None of the research teams felt that the interviews were negatively impacted by the race of the interviewers, but it is also impossible to know that for sure. Of great value, though, was the ability of the full, mixed-race research team to have lengthy discussions about the data and findings.

Conclusion

Through semi-structured interviews, I gathered extensive data on the experiences and perceptions of the pre-service programs attended by 12 educators of color in the Cityside district. Through their stories and recollections, I was able to construct their counter narratives. In doing so, valuable information will be available to those who are in position to reverse the racial disproportionality between students and educators that is present in schools today.

Findings

The findings below are organized in two parts. First, stemming from my research question, the perceptions of educators of color pertaining to the key concepts illuminated in the preceding review of literature will be discussed. Then, I will undertake an examination of ways in which the tenets of Critical Race Theory were apparent in the interview data that was collected.

Key Findings

Throughout interviews with 12 educators of color in the Cityside Public Schools, various perceptions of their pre-service experience were examined. Ranging from what led them to the field of education to state mandated credentialing tests and other experiences in between, the educators of color discussed how their race impacted their early career trajectory. Following are key findings that relate to school of education demographics and curricula, barrier exams, and the educators' sense of belonging. Additionally, the importance of internships and practicum experiences as well as mentors and advisors will be discussed.

School of education demographics. The experiences of the educators of color who were interviewed supported the notion that the demographics of schools of education impacted the quality of experiences that students have in those settings. From the small number of educators of color graduating from schools of education to the makeup of the cohorts and classes, participants reported experiences that proved detrimental to improving the demographic disproportionality that exists in schools, including the Cityside Public School District. A comparison of two very different programs in one university school of education highlights the effect of race and each program's focus on cultural competence. This contrast provides a vivid

example of how attention to racial equality and a curriculum focused on cultural competence can positively impact its students.

Administrative perspective. Even before speaking with educators who were recent graduates of schools of education, two conversations with administrators responsible for hiring affirmed the reality of the uphill battle Cityside faces in diversifying their teaching force, specifically in terms of African-American males. David, a Hispanic male, called the percentage of African-American male educators, both in Cityside and the nation in general, "highly problematic." When discussing what Cityside has done to partner with schools of education in order to spur the hiring of educators of color, he lamented that "unfortunately what we've found is that honestly there aren't that many people of color in these programs." While David said that he will "absolutely be present at [local university], [local university], [local university], [local university], and [local university], … with the knowledge that less than 30% of those folks are going to be people of color," he went on to talk about other initiatives he will explore that he hopes to be more fruitful.

Another administrator of color, Fernando, an African-American male, talked about the role that individuals themselves need to play in gaining admittance into schools of education in order to strengthen the pool: "At some point we've got to take ownership. [W]hy don't we have more Black teachers in the district? It had nothing to do [with them not wanting] to give us jobs. It's because we're not qualified enough. We don't have enough brothers that are going to college, at [local university], going to get their doctorate, getting their Master's degree, Bachelor's or even Associate's, you know? Because they don't have that path and the support that teaches them how to get at the next level."

David and Fernando describe the problem of a shallow pool of educators of color in slightly different ways, but they speak of the same reality. David recognizes that locally there is a dearth of educators of color coming from schools of education, so he needs to broaden his search. Fernando chooses to look back even further to the need for increased support to help strengthen the numbers earlier in the educational progression. It is just the "path and support" that Fernando mentioned that came up over and over during our interviews and will be discussed in a following section.

Teacher of color perspective. When speaking with teachers of color, their perceptions of the racial diversity of their schools of education were consistent with what David and Fernando describe. Most teachers responded that the demographics of their school of education did not include many people of their race. Carla, an Asian female, reported: "I think I was the only Asian." Carlos, an African-American male said, "I was the only Black male." Lauren, a Multi-racial woman, and Sonya, an AfriLatina, used almost the exact phrase to describe the demographics of their school of education: "basically White women." Sonya summed up her feeling about the demographics of her school of education simply as "disappointing; I expected more."

What was especially striking was how none of the participants were surprised by the predominately White demographic makeup of their university program and almost resigned to it. Listening to Carlos reconstruct his experience is a telling example: "When I think about it, I might have been the only Black male when you separate the subjects, in our math education classes. I believe I was the only Black male, and there was one other Black female who was in the [program]. That's, I believe, the demographic of [the school of education]." While he knew that he was far from being in the majority, even he sounded surprised at the reality. Similarly,

Carla said: "Mostly white. I think I was like the only Asian, too, in my class. And we had two black students." It was her use of 'I think' and his use of 'I believe' that was striking, almost as if they were surprised themselves.

It was somewhat coincidental, but fortuitous, that two educators of color who were interviewed attended the same university, but were in different programs and had very different pre-service experiences. Diego, an African-American male, attended a special cohort-based program within his school of education and his perception was markedly different than not only the other educator of color who attended the same university, but the other participants interviewed as well. Diego described his program this way:

> I was exposed to individuals from across the country, with different learnings, a lot of social and personal experiences. I think having the opportunity to have trainings and seminars centered on dialog, on race, and culture, and gender, and identity, it reinforced this idea that we're not just working with younger individuals to make sure that they can pass a test. This idea that everyone is human. This idea that everyone has this background that is worth understanding, even if we are 'familiar' with it.

Diego's sense of pride in his teacher preparation program was evident. In terms of his impressions of the racial demographics of the program, he said that "it never felt like there was a majority of any one culture or background." What became apparent throughout his interview – and in contrast to other interviews – was that the racially and culturally diverse composition of his teacher preparation program seemed to lead to other differences between his perspective about the influence of preservice education and his Cityside colleagues.

When asked about how his school of education shaped him as an educator, Diego immediately responded positively and spoke of more than the theory that was imparted. He said:

> Yes, it definitely provided me with a special lens … like the third eye. I do think that the program that I did allowed me to see not just a student who had been missing a few days of class, or struggling on a history assignment, but the student who's sleeping in the corner. … I think the smallness of the cohort and diverse ideas, definitely polished my own understanding about the difference between being a teacher – anyone who can follow any structured lesson plan – versus an educator.

The descriptions of two other educators of color regarding how their school of education experience shaped them were decidedly different from Diego's. Sonya started off by responding: "I will say I think it was very difficult for me to adjust … I felt very disconnected." Carla said, "To be honest, I don't think it [did shape me]." Although impossible to attribute all of Diego's sense that his school of education shaped him to the diverse demographics of the preparation program, the way he spoke of the program and its commitment to race could naturally lead to the conclusion that race and demographics played a role.

It was Sonya who attended the same university as Diego, but not the cohort-based program. From her outsider perspective, she described Diego's program as "definitely way more diverse than the general education [program]" in which she was enrolled. When asked about the sense of belonging to their school of education, the difference again could be seen. Diego replied:

> Very optimistic. Very hopeful. I wasn't unaware of being part of the lowest demographic as a Black educator, and then a Black male educator. And so being exposed to a program like [name omitted], I was truly fortunate. … The schools that I've been to definitely challenged my sense of belonging, and in a way definitely challenged my sense of trying

> to create that belonging, not only for the students, but also for the adults that I was working with.

By contrast, Sonya described her experience this way:

> I just thought it was going to be different. A lot of the classes that I took, it just felt like everyone was disengaged. I felt like I was going in there like, 'Let's talk about this,' but everyone just wanted to know when the next paper was, and when to pass it in. I feel like because of my disengagement with my peers, I gravitated toward my professors and I just kind of clung to them because I was like, 'I have nothing else.'

Again, these are only two examples of experiences at this one university, but the perceptions of these educators were almost polar opposites. It is hard not to conclude that the diverse, specialized cohort program was at least partly responsible for how Diego's outlook about his pre-service experiences differed from Sonya's.

In conclusion, what was noteworthy in contrasting Diego's interview and the other educators of color was the difference in how he spoke of his university experience. He was energized by it; he was excited to recount it; he drew great value from it. The others spoke with varying levels of satisfaction, but even those who spoke positively of their teacher education, almost sounded detached as opposed to being personally engaged.

School of education curriculum. The general sense provided by the educators of color about the curriculum in their teacher preparation program was one of a lack of a cohesive focus on cultural competence. The interviewees were all asked to talk about courses, programs, or policies that focused on cultural competence. While most were able to name a course or two that dealt with race or culture, for example "Social Contexts of Education" or "Bilingualism," when probed for threads running throughout the entire curriculum, most struggled to see the

connections. Very succinctly, Sonya said, “I don't think it was a common thread I got from the courses.” She went on, “I wouldn't say that I left thinking that [university name omitted] is about social justice, or equity, or cultural responsive. That really wasn't my take from the program. … If I had a curriculum map, I wouldn’t know which of these were talking about culturally responsive practices.”

The most notable observation, made by three teachers, was that the cultural competence curriculum of their school of education was more theoretical than practical. Each of them expressed a desire for the curriculum to have included more skills that were directly applicable. Carla reflected: “My wish is that they would have taught us more practical strategies in dealing with different cultures.” Lauren identified a focus on cultural competence in her university program, but agreed with the lack of practicality:

> I think there is a large focus on cultural competence. I don't know that it did translate to the practical as much. I think, at least at [university name omitted], my classes were so theoretical that it was, this is the theory or this is multicultural theory, or this is the big picture. But then when you’re sitting down working or sitting with an individual it’s like, ‘Okay, so how do I really translate that theory into practice and how do I maybe sit with a recent immigrant or somebody whose ethnicity or culture is very different than my own and do it in a way that feels meaningful and honoring that man’s people?’ So, I think that’s where there was a disconnect, but I do think that there was a focus on it.

Carla shared a similar experience and how her practical education has occurred while working in Cityside, not at the university: “I think what I wish is that they would have taught us more practical strategies in dealing with different cultures. What I learned here [at Cityside] is, sometimes you should focus more on what they say than how they say it, and I think that’s

advice that I got from this school [Cityside school name omitted] as opposed to advice that I got from grad school." So, while the educators of color interviewed saw varying levels of focus on cultural competence in their university programs, often there was a disconnect between individual courses and the program as a whole and also a lack of connection to the practice of teaching.

Barrier exams. Teacher education candidates face barriers on a number of occasions in their path to becoming an educator. In the course of the interviews, both exams for admittance into schools of education and those required by state boards of education for teacher licensure were discussed. While the experiences of these teachers all differed slightly and also demonstrated that there is no one typical path, they also contained some noteworthy similarities. What stood out especially was the presence of mentors or advisors who, at different stages of the educator of color's pre-service experience, guided or counseled them in a way that enabled them to continue. It was also interesting that the theme of mentoring came up so clearly when the topic of testing was introduced.

Entrance exams. Many of the teachers interviewed attended graduate schools of education. As such, taking the Graduate Record Exam (GRE) is the most common requirement for admission into these programs. However, none of the teachers were actually required to take the GRE. One took the GRE for a previous graduate program which she attended, so was not required to take it again. Two others cited their matriculation to the graduate program in the same university as their undergraduate degree, so they presumed that was why they did not need to take the GRE.

The experiences of two teachers stood out. For Carlos, although he was not required to take the GRE, his GPA necessitated him being interviewed by a committee before being

admitted. He appreciated the chance to present his case and in his mind it was his answer to a question about his ability to balance the many aspects of graduate school that ultimately led to his admission. Sonya told a compelling story of a conversation she had with an undergraduate professor who counseled her to ask if her prospective graduate program would accept the Miller Analogy test in place of the GRE. He felt that test provided her with a better chance for success. She found out that the graduate school accepted the Miller Analogy and after studying she did well enough to be accepted. She spoke with appreciation of how still having "connections with my professors … help[ed] me with the application process."

What these two stories illustrate is how flexible admission practices can help with the recruitment of teacher education candidates of color who might otherwise be restricted. Carlos was able to explain his GPA and assure the committee that he had the time and desire to succeed in the graduate education program. For Sonya, if her former professor did not suggest to her to ask for an alternative testing option, she may not have met the requirements to enroll in graduate school.

Licensure testing. In contrast to methods for gaining admission to graduate programs, the experiences of the interviewed teachers with regards to the Massachusetts Test for Educator Licensure (MTEL), which is required of all teachers in the state of Massachusetts, contained many similarities. All but one of the educators interviewed used one or more of the following words to describe their experience with the MTEL: "obstacle, challenge, struggle, and scared." While the particular section on the test with which the educators expressed difficulty varied, their overall experience with the test was consistent. David, from his position as an administrator with a focus on hiring, described the MTEL as follows:

> I think the Mass. certification requirements are an obstacle, particularly for people who are coming [from] out of state. Most other states use the Praxis. When you come into Massachusetts, you have to take the MTELs, or you have to do this, or you have to do X, Y, and Z. … It's expensive; it's burdensome.

The perspectives of the teachers of color interviewed were consistent with David's assessment.

For Carlos, being a Math teacher provided an interesting perspective on the MTELs, specifically the writing section:

> Mathematically, the test wasn't a challenge for me. I was able to pass it no problem the first time. The reading part, I passed it as well the first time. The writing part was a challenge. It had three sections correcting some writing, writing a summary, and a persuasive essay. In [neighboring state], it was just a persuasive essay. Now that it's been a few years, I could still persuade in a writing, [but] the expectation of having possible quotes, possible background resources, to make my point … I think that was the obstacle for me.

So, for someone who was able to pass the exam in a neighboring state, as David noted, having to pass the MTEL makes coming to work in Massachusetts difficult. The Communication and Literacy section was mentioned as an obstacle by Sonya as well. She described the impact that studying for this section had on her: "I waited and I waited to take the MTELs, because I was studying for the writing portion." Whether it is retaking sections which a candidate did not pass or postponing taking the whole test, the obstacle that the MTEL presented these educators was real.

It was the content section that Diego saw as an obstacle, largely related to the fact that he went to college in another part of the country and his content was social studies. As a

prospective social studies teacher, the content section of the MTEL naturally involves a heavy emphasis on Massachusetts history, but in Diego's university (outside of Massachusetts) exposure to Massachusetts history was less extensive than was necessary to pass the test. Therefore, he had to do more work to prepare himself than other test takers. Although he took this in stride – "I've got to learn about New England history, okay" – this speaks further to the challenge of attending school in one state and testing to be a teacher in Massachusetts.

Sonya described her experience with the content portions of the MTEL as one hampered by fear: "I was scared to take them because I didn't want to fail, so then I was kind of sitting [around] and not applying." It was only after a supervisor from a practicum experience got involved by sending out her resumes that she got over the fear and finished taking the MTEL. While it is important to assure that teachers are competent to be in the classroom, it is clear that mandated testing can impede educators of color in their path into the field. Andrea, an African-American administrator with responsibility for hiring, referred to the MTEL as a "systemic obstacle." In all, for the educators interviewed, the barriers getting into schools of education did not pose nearly as much of a challenge as the exam for licensure. Each described some aspect of the MTEL that hampered their progress toward entering the teaching profession.

Sense of belonging. When considering the feelings that the educators had about their connection to their teacher education programs, the responses varied a good deal. For Carlos, attending his graduate program in the same university as his undergraduate degree gave him a sense of community:

> So, the way the program was set up, it was almost a cohort from undergrad. So, you build a community within the community. So, feeling [out of place] wasn't totally there

because of the people I was with, being with them since possibly sophomore year of undergrad.

Carla described much less of a sense of community, but she took much of the responsibility for that: “I didn't really feel like I fit in that much, but that may have been because I didn't really put in that much effort.” She explained that she had set out to finish a two-year program in just over one year, so her focus was very much on her schoolwork and not making connections. Finally, Lauren attributed her maturity and the fact that she was in a counseling program with people of similar personality type for her comfort in her program.

It was again the stories of Diego and Sonya that provided the most telling image of belonging in teacher education. When asked about belonging, Diego talked about the separate cohort-based program at length in saying, among other things: “From other programs that I’ve heard – and love to all my friends who’ve done various programs – none of them seem to hold a candle to what the [program name omitted] offered in making educators.” Sonya echoed this sentiment from her perspective at the same university, but not in Diego’s program: “Definitely way more diverse than the general ed. They have a whole different mission.” She also spoke of the relationships that she formed with people in the program and how her interactions with them were more fulfilling than with those not in the program. What the stories of Diego and Sonya illuminate is how even within the same university the makeup and focus of a program can have a significant effect on the value that the participants place on the experience.

Connections, mentors, and advisors. Related to a sense of belonging, but not explicitly present in the research literature, the value of connections, mentors, and advisors in the pre-service experience of educators emerged as a common theme. Whether it was a push to apply to college at all, the undergraduate connection to a university that led to graduate school, or the

connection with a professor or mentor, those relationships helped smooth the path for educators of color into a graduate program. Donna, a Haitian-American teacher, spoke of the personal attention that made all of the difference in her deciding to attend college:

> When I was in high school, the only reason I went to college was because my guidance counselor happened to ask me, 'What are you doing in the fall?' She and I had a conversation, and it just evolved into this, 'Well, let's sit down; I have a particular school that I think would be great for you.' She literally sat with me, filled out the application for school, and provided the fee that you have to send. Sure enough, a week later, perhaps it may have been two or something, said to me, 'Have I heard anything?' I said, 'I have not.' She got on the phone and called the dean of admission for the minority students. Two to three days later, I received my acceptance letter. I have to say that if it was not for my guidance counselor, and she was not a woman of color, [I would not have gone to college].

As described earlier, Sonya did not even send out her own resume for the position she ended up getting in Cityside. It was her practicum cooperating teacher who made the initial connection for her.

For Sonya, the lack of connection to her classmates made the relationships to her professors so important:

> I feel like … they looked out for me. I was identified as a student that was struggling to meet the timelines, passing in my assignments. I had a lot of issues just like with my management. But I really do think that they were very accommodating. So yeah, I feel like I was very supported …by the staff.

She even spoke of her relationships with the food services workers at the university who helped to make her time at the university more comfortable.

The most compelling stories of the educators interviewed as they discussed their path into their current profession were those who spoke of the assistance they received along the way. Whether it was a gentle nudge or a more forceful act, many educators of color could point to the influence of someone else as they recounted their journey into teaching.

Importance of internships and practica. What also became clear throughout the participant interviews was the value that internships and practicum experiences had in encouraging education as a field to pursue.

Three educators described how outside pressures were working against them in pursuing education, but they ultimately ended up as teachers. Tia, an African-American teacher, described her path from social work to marketing and eventually to education as one shaped by her internship in a 3rd and 4th grade classroom. Although she described those students possessing "a whole different type of energy," it prompted her to "[take] on an additional year student teaching, where I did 5th and 6th grade. That felt so much better. It's just a whole different ballgame. I had energy at the end of the day, which was good. I realized that, oh, I want to work with the older kids."

Angelica, an African-American teacher, described how she started off with the intention of pursuing law school and "fell into" teaching.

> I think in my becoming an educator was certainly something that I fell into. When I first started school, I started school with the pre-law with the intention of pursuing law like my mom. However, at some point I got a chance to work with some students, youth who were on probation. My professor gave me and a few of my classmates an opportunity to

> develop a program in partnership with the court in order to help create some more opportunities to reduce recidivism. … What we understood, the reason why they didn't want to stay in school was because they couldn't find things to identify with in the school … or people that care. So, when I saw that, I really liked the idea of trying to reach students before they get to the point where they're in the system and need my services, so I thought that I should probably go into education to see how many more I could impact.

Her use of the word 'opportunity' is one that speaks well to the impact that was afforded to her and its result in leading her to teaching.

Olivia, an African-American teacher, described how her family was not supportive of her going into teaching "because they felt it was a dead-end job and there was no money in it." Her slow path through school softened her family's objections giving her the freedom to do a practicum and observe classes. "I liked it and to me it was fun." She has been teaching ever since.

Sally, an African-American administrator, described how a practicum experience confirmed not only her desire to be an educator, but the type of community she preferred:

> They send you through that practicum experience and it was pretty clear from the get go. I said, 'I don't even want a private school placement if that's possible. I would like you to put me back in an urban school because that's where I want to be.'

Sally described her sense that being in an urban setting was more "compelling … more interesting and invigorating and challenging." She went on to say, "now I can tell you a whole host of reasons, but at that point in time in my life, that's where I was."

Carlos' undergraduate work also gave him the experience of working in a school and it eventually led to his decision to pursue a graduate degree in education:

> And as an undergraduate, we had courses [where we] mentor[ed] at a school nearby. That was an experience for me that I enjoyed. I enjoyed being around and mentoring middle school children, high school children, which kind of gave me that early feeling that education might be a great path for me. Especially being embraced by the majority of students of color.
>
> It [was] also [the] atmosphere. When I compare it to the direction of maybe getting into economics or business, I don't think it would be something I would enjoy, … so I chose to give this a try. During those courses, I succeeded and I enjoyed it, and I think that gave me the aspiration to pursue education for high school.

While Carlos's experience was not intended to be a practicum, it served the same purpose for him and introduced him to his future field.

So, while the educators of color spoke with mixed feelings about the curriculum in their schools of education, it was more universal that a positive practical experience while in a school, with children, was pivotal in their progression to becoming a teacher.

Conclusion. The experiences of educators of the color in Cityside who were interviewed presented a picture of a pre-service system that is lacking in some ways and so struggles to support future teachers of color. From demographics to curriculum, testing requirements to belonging, students of color experience a structure that does not serve them or the development of a diverse educational system well. However, there are rays of light, like the mentors and advisors who advocate for students of color or the internship and practicum programs that introduce them to teaching. In sum, the experiences of the educators of color interviewed for this individual study do well to illuminate areas where pre-service programs should direct their

attention for improvement, but also characteristics that should be highlighted and expanded due to their benefits.

Discussion

"If teacher education programs want to take seriously the call for recruiting more teachers of color, this goal must be grounded in the fact that teachers of color need quality teacher education training that fully addresses the contextual needs of its participants" (Brown, 2014, p. 340). In a review of literature on the experiences of pre-service educators, Brown (2014) concluded that educators of color experience their pre-service programs as "alienating and unsupportive" (p. 334). Taken together, the perceptions of the educators of color interviewed for this study can provide a composite depiction of the components of a successful pre-service education program. These perceptions coalesce into three themes: the importance of relationships and sense of belonging; the need for more *practical* preparation in a pre-service program; and, the benefits of a cohort-based structure.

Importance of Relationships and Sense of Belonging

Throughout the interviews, educators spoke of people or instances where a key relationship had great impact. Whether it was Donna who would not have attended college if not for a push from her guidance counselor in high school or Sonya who was counseled on what entrance test to take and whose mentor-teacher actually submitted her resume for the job she currently holds in Cityside, these people benefited from the counsel of someone interested in their success. Although it should not be a surprise that relationships are important, it is well worth reaffirming their benefit.

The Need for Practical Pre-service Preparation

Without prompting by a specific question, two educators of color who were interviewed specifically noted their sense that their pre-service program could have been better if it had been more focused on practical matters as opposed to theoretical ones. Through that lens, comments by other interviewees also support that sentiment. It was universally true that some direct experience with teaching and with students was essential in each educators' path to the teaching profession. Further, given the significant struggles educators faced on the MTEL exam, practical preparation for mandated exams as a part of a pre-service program could be beneficial.

Practica/internships. While practicum or internship experiences are commonplace in teacher preparation programs, the experiences of the educators of color interviewed signal a need to consider expanding their role. Each teacher spoke in positive terms about what they learned through their hands-on work in schools. A study by Szecsi and Spillman (2012) of the perceptions of three undergraduate teacher education candidates mirrored what was found in this study: "the participants found the internship experiences beneficial and well-supported. They all acknowledged that the internship experiences opened their eyes to the difference between their ideals about teaching and reality" (p. 27).

The previous quote also illuminates another aspect of the benefit of practica or internships, theory versus practice or "ideals" versus "reality." Carla put it well when she said, "The behaviors that I manage on a day-to-day basis, it's just something that we … learned about, … but it wasn't as practical as I would have liked it to be." Lauren commented on the need for more practical training around cultural competence:

> I don't know that it did translate to the practical as much. I think … my classes were so theoretical that it was, this is the theory or this is multicultural theory, or this is the big picture. But when you're sitting down working with an individual, it's like, 'Okay, so

> how do I really translate that theory into practice and how do I sit with a recent immigrant or somebody whose ethnicity or culture is very different than my own and do it in a way that feels meaningful and honoring that man's people.' So, I think that's a little bit where there was a disconnect.

It was just this type of desire – also in the area of cultural competence – that Assaf, Garza, and Battle (1993) present. In a study of 14 teacher educators and their perceptions of what pre-service teachers found useful and effective:

> All of the teacher educators believed that field-based learning experiences offer important opportunities for teacher candidates to gain valuable knowledge about multicultural teaching and learning, to connect theory with practice, to become integrated into the school community, and to become more aware of and responsive to diversity (p. 124).

The need for increased attention on practical training was not limited to cultural competence. It was also identified in the realm of credential-based testing.

Admission or certification test preparation. Testing emerged as a significant topic of discussion throughout the interviews. What became apparent was that schools of education were willing to work with candidates to assist them in matriculating into their programs, but when the candidates completed the programs, it was then that testing requirements became significant obstacles. All but one of the educators of color who spoke of their experience with credential-based testing, generally the MTEL, spoke of the struggles they have endured (or currently endure).

While research does not exist on the very specific credential-based testing in Massachusetts, the MTEL, it is not unreasonable to extend the work done on other testing, both admissions-based and credential-based, to understand their impact on educators of color. In a

longitudinal study of 44 undergraduate educators of color, Bennett, McWhorter, and Kuykendall (2006) conclude that:

> [The] PRAXIS I, as it is currently used in most settings, is an inequitable TEP [teacher education program] admissions tool because it establishes a single standard to assess the capabilities of talented students who have had unequal educational opportunities and unequal access to the knowledge needed to attain passing scores on the test (p. 567).

As noted earlier by Darling-Hammond (2000), the Praxis I is not even a predictor of future success in the field of education.

The educators of color interviewed in this study offer support for the negative impact, both practically and emotionally, of certification tests such as the MTEL. When asked about his experience on tests required to obtain a teaching job, Diego took that opportunity to express his experience of standardized tests in general. He stated that he saw them to be "just biased across the board – this idea that a computer-based or a paper-based assessment can determine if I am qualified to challenge and enrich and empower the minds of young people." So, while the need for credentialing of educators is not being questioned, the experience of these educators of color – and supported by the literature – points to the existence of racial bias in the area of testing. This topic draws an interesting link between the CRT tenets of permanence of racism and Whiteness as property in the perpetuation of racial imbalance through testing and the cultural benefit of Whiteness as demonstrated by pass rates.

The Benefits of a Cohort-based Structure

It was only coincidence that two of the educators of color who were interviewed attended the same university school of education, but different programs within that school of education. It was through the perceptions of their experiences, though, that an important observation can be

made about how the structure of a pre-service program can impact the experience of the students. In the case of that university – and through the lens of two educators – the commitment to cultural competence in the cohort-based program and its diverse make-up were instrumental to the sense of belonging fostered in its participants.

This is not to say that a cohort-based structure is the only one that will work. Gist (2017) concludes that what is most important is for universities to engage in the work of understanding how to be culturally responsive. To do that, they should "develop a more concise articulation of what critical and just preparation for teacher candidates of color entails" (p. 947). This 'concise articulation' is what Assaf et al. (1993) and Hammerness (2006) refer to as coherence. The critically-important topics of cultural competence education and demographics are just the types of areas where Hammerness (2006) calls universities to perform "the steady work of … adjustment, revision, and calibration" (p. 1263).

Conclusion and Recommendation for Further Study

Although not within Cityside's control, this study affirms what is known throughout the field of education – more must be done to stem the disproportionality that exists between students and educators of color. While the interview protocol did not specifically aim to uncover examples of institutional racism in schools of education, a few interviewees touched upon aspects of their pre-service experience that spoke to inherent racism. When Carlos was reflecting on being African-American with respect to others in his predominantly White school of education, he recognized that he only thought of it a few times and just "accepted it the way it was." This sentiment was consistent across interviewees in terms of their acceptance of the predominately White demographics of their school of education and acknowledgement of how racial disproportionality existed in their school of education experience. Sonya said, "it was very

White, a lot of White women. Not that that's a disappointment in itself, but I just, I expected more." Carla, in a matter-of-fact tone responded, "mostly White." Carlos also said, "Yeah. If I had to put a percentage towards the black students, it would probably be less than 15%." Again, his tone was one of resignation. In order for student/teacher disproportionality to be eliminated, racial bias of all kinds within schools of education must be addressed.

Finally, the CRT tenet that was woven through the entire process of conducting these interviews – and has been presented on the previous pages of this findings section – was the tenet of counter storytelling. As was the intention of the design of this study, it was our goal to hear stories that recounted the experiences of educators of color in a setting where they are a minority. There were moments in all interviews where the educators were enthusiastic in discussing how their experience went counter to the dominant narrative: Diego speaking with pride about his program; Carla talking about why she chose to pursue special education; Carlos saying that he is "happy to be a role model for the students of color"; Sonya telling her hiring story that involved the support of former mentors.

More numerous, though, were the moments when the educators described inequities in their experiences compared to their White counterparts: Sonya's view of Diego's cohort-based teacher education program from the outside and knowing it would have been more rewarding for her; Diego, Sonya, and Carlos talking about their struggles on the MTEL; David recognizing how the pool of teacher candidates makes turning around the racial disproportionality in Cityside so complicated; and more. The enthusiasm with which these educators responded to our invitation to speak and their participation in the process indicates the need for more such work. Gist (2017), after concluding a study of nine pre-service educators of color, suggests:

> Specifically, an intentional commitment to hearing and centering the voices of teacher candidates of color, in particular in programs where they are a racial/ethnic minority, by evaluating their program experiences incrementally over the course of preparation could reveal more specifics about how responsive pedagogical approaches can be developed to help teacher candidates of color to not only succeed but also become highly effective teachers who transgress systemic ties. (p. 949)

It would serve Cityside well to engage in a systematic process to interview their educators of color to illuminate their stories and help inform practice and policies. In interviewing just a portion of the CPS educators of color, potential for improvement can already be seen.

CHAPTER 4[4]

DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to capture the perceptions of educators of color related to racial disproportionality and its impact on schools. More specifically, we sought to answer the research question: How do educators of color experience racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools? We defined the educator pipeline to include the preparation, recruitment, and professional experiences related to students and colleagues, as well as retention of educators. Because race served as a common thread that tied each of the individual studies together, Critical Race Theory (CRT) was utilized as a framework to analyze the data collected from a job satisfaction survey, the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), semi-structured interviews, and a document review. The basic principle of CRT espouses that racism has become a normalized practice within our society (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

In the following sections, information will be presented regarding district context that is relevant to this study followed by common themes that emerged from the individual findings. The chapter will conclude with recommendations of practice for Cityside district administrators and areas for future research. To protect the identity of each one of the participants, a pseudonym has been given to replace their actual name and when necessary their role and the level of school has not been identified.

District Context

[4] This chapter was jointly written by the authors listed and reflects the team approach of this project: Charles J. Drane III, Diana Guzzi, Roderick V. MacNeal, Jr., Leslie M. Patterson, Nancy Robbins Taylor, and Joan M. Woodward.

Cityside Public Schools is one of the leading school districts in Massachusetts for staff diversity, with 26% staff and 22% teachers of color (Cityside Public Schools, Office of Human Resources, 2017). Yet, the district is striving to do even better in this area. To this end, Cityside Public Schools' district level administrators are devoting significant resources to realizing this goal. Specifically, established in the FY18 budget is a new initiative related to increasing educator diversity as well as a new district level position, both designed to actively address racial disproportionality, or the "student-teacher diversity gap" (Cityside Public Schools, Office of Human Resources, 2017) in Cityside Public Schools. The primary goal of the diversity initiative is to highlight that increasing the number of educators of color in the district is a matter of urgency, and to ensure that efforts in this area are supported by "diversity, inclusion, and equity programs and initiatives" (Cityside Public Schools, Office of Human Resources, 2017) across the district. The new district level position is in place to focus explicitly on diversity recruitment. It should be noted that several study participants expressed excitement for the creation of this new role.

Additionally, Cityside administrators at the district and building level are facilitating professional development experiences with a cultural proficiency focus. For example, administrators are discussing the content of Mica Pollock's book *Schooltalk* (2017) at their monthly administrative council meetings, and this book is also being used by one of Cityside's principals as a basis of discussion with his staff. Another principal offered an optional course for the educators in her building that examined racial bias, while yet another principal is leading his staff through a discussion of Glenn Singleton's *Courageous Conversations About Race* (2015).

Discussion

In examining the findings from each of the individual studies, three significant themes emerged: race as an asset, the permanence of racism, and the connections that educators of color

have established with the Cityside Public School District. The themes were determined as a result of each researcher presenting the findings from their individual study during a group discussion. This lead to an analysis of data that focused on finding common themes that resonated in each of the six studies. The themes are presented in each of the headings in the following section. Although the CRT tenet permanence of racism serves as a heading, it was also utilized to explain how the construct of race was considered in each of the aforementioned three themes. In addition, the CRT tenets of counter storytelling, whiteness as property, and critique of liberalism were also used to explain how the construct of race was considered in each one of the themes.

Race as an Asset

Educators of color in CPS view their race as beneficial in a number of ways. Specifically, these benefits positively impact their relationships with students and with adults. Related to the students, educators of color often mentioned being a role model to them in various ways and they highlighted their culturally responsive approach to student discipline. And, with fellow educators, race was significant in mentoring, professional networks, and the evaluation process. The following sections will present in more detail how educators of color experienced the assets of their race.

Race as an asset in relationships with students.

Role model for students. Educators of color made numerous comments related to being a role model for students. When analyzed, these comments were grouped as follows: the sense of satisfaction in being a role model; the importance of students seeing people like them (or not like them); and, providing career-related examples for students.

Satisfaction. In hearing counter narratives of the educators of color who were interviewed, it was clear that there was a true sense of satisfaction in being an educator who was also a person of color. Connie, an African-American teacher, stated this well when she said, "I think it does the students a good service, in that they're seeing educators of color standing before them. That is gratifying to me." It was Connie's sense of pride to be standing before students of color, not only as a teacher of color, but also as a role model and exemplar for her students of color that was notable. Connie's experience of being a role model for students of color is an example of how Black teachers serve as needed role models for Black students as well as non-Black students (Graham, 1987). Other teachers similarly used the words "wonderful," "happy," and "empowering" when they talked about the satisfaction they gained from being role models to their students.

The importance of students seeing people like them (or not like them). Of the 25 educators of color interviewed, almost all participants used the phrase, "someone who looks like me" at some point during their interview. The value that the educators of color placed on students of color seeing them was unquestioned. What was also expressed by some was the value that all students gain from seeing people of color as their teachers. As discussed in Chapter 1, the work of Stewart et al. (1989) and Egalite et al. (2015) support the concept of the positive influence of same-race role models.

When interviewing about pre-service experiences, Sonya, a Black Latina teacher, even discussed the importance of seeing people who looked like her with regard to her experience as a person of color in her graduate program. She said, "I knew the people in the food service staff at [university name omitted] because they were the only people that looked like me." Her awareness of her connection to them is just what the educators of color reported about their

presence in Cityside. Succinctly, Pia, a biracial teacher, asserted: "I'm sure for some of them it's wonderful to see a teacher that looks like them in front of them."

Carlos, a Black teacher, made the point that is well supported in research by Irvine (1988) and Branch (2001) that it is not only students of color who benefit from an educator of color in front of them, but it is all students who benefit: "I'm happy to be a role model for students of color. I'm happy to be a role model for all students." Another study participant shared, "I have to be conscious of reaching out to White students in the school … because if not, they just think of me as the teacher that just services [students of color]." An administrator of color shared how students were interested in learning more about him after meeting with a group of students in an organized after school program. "It was interesting having the conversation. They were very interested in my background and what brought me to this position."

Providing career-related examples for students. Taking their impact a step further, the educators of color who were interviewed also talked about their presence being one that could eventually lead their students into the field of education (or other fields). In terms of the impact of educators of color in the classroom, Pia expressed the perception that students have not seen many educators of color in that profession, so her presence was especially important:

> For students that have primarily seen people of color … predominantly as assistants, or support staff ... to see teachers in a lead role that are of color sends an empowering message - that we're leaders. ... It's all about perception. So, ... when what you see, especially in your formative years, is people of color always in a subservient or an assistant role, you can't help but create this notion that, 'Oh, White people know what they're talking about,' or, 'Black people, you always see them deferring to the White leaders in the classroom.' You know? It sends a really harmful message.

More simply, Fernando, a Black educator, describes a similar feeling: "I'm here to show these kids … there are different kinds of teachers." Furthermore, Carlos believes that as a teacher of color he models to students of color that they can aspire to be professionals: "It possibly will give students of color the feeling [that] they can be in a role such as a teacher or another positive career choice that they may not see daily, especially if the person in front of them does not look like them." So, the impact of educators of color is not just to present an image, but to also present an aspiration.

Culturally responsive discipline. Cityside Public School educators of color suggested that their educator-student relationship impacts school discipline. Findings revealed that some educators of color may be better suited to interpret certain student behaviors as an expression of one's culture rather than as an example of misbehavior. Scott, an African-American male educator, uses his racial background and experience to empathize with Black male students, "I know how to deal with my Black scholars. I know how they are feeling because I have been there as a Black male." As a result of this cultural understanding, educators of color may be better able to establish positive relationships with students of color. Moreover, there was a perception that these established relationships underscore a commitment by educators of color to create and maintain a school culture that is positive and affirming. The nature of the educator-student relationship may be highlighted in the use of newly adopted discipline practices, such as restorative justice. The process of restorative justice considers the "reintegration, dialogue, collaboration and mutual respect" in managing discipline issues (Simson, 2014). Additionally, Simson (2014) argues that restorative justice aligns with the principles of CRT and is more "conducive to creating nurturing, safe and inclusive school environments."

Taken together, the educators of color who were interviewed described many ways in which their race was an asset in their dealings with students. From being a professional to whom to aspire, to representing a supportive, familiar face to students during the discipline process, the educators of color were certain of their impact. It was evident that these educators gained satisfaction from being such an important figure to their students.

Race as an asset in relationships with adults.

Social networks. Networks among educators of color appeared to play a significant and positive role in helping educators of color find jobs in Cityside. Several study participants discussed how their direct and indirect connections with teachers and administrators from CPS helped them develop a social network that they utilized during the recruitment and hiring process. Angelica, Donna, and Paula shared how they used their connections and social networking to look for new jobs when they were leaving their former districts. Angelica, an African-American teacher, described how she relied on networking with educators of color when she needed to find a new job:

> A friend of mine who happened to know our [current] assistant principal, mentioned to her that she knew me, [a teacher] looking [to transfer to another] school. Then we connected, and I submitted my application and interviewed, and I'm here.

When Donna, a Black educator, needed to part ways with a school system she had been in for three years, she recalled Fred, an educator of color with whom she had connected during a professional development training at the start of her time in the district. Since that time, Fred had moved on to a principalship in Cityside. Donna explained:

> I called Fred and nothing in life happens by chance. It just so happened he was looking for a [licensed practitioner]. I literally ran here with the phone while talking. It's like you start working with someone, and you feel like you could have run and then it ended.

> When I got the opportunity, I just couldn't believe it. That's how I ended up here, working here.

Paula, an African-American teacher, learned of her current job through her landlords, who happened to be the aunt and uncle of her current school leader who also identifies as African-American. Paula shared:

> So actually, when my first husband moved here we lived in an apartment that belonged to Halle's [current principal's] aunt and uncle. And the landlord was like, "Oh, my niece is going to try to be a principal at the school," because she was at [name of school] . . . "So she's looking for teachers." So I interviewed here and took the teacher's test the same month, I think the same day or the same weekend. And that's how I got the job here.

Paula's story, as well as the stories of Angelica and Donna, clearly illustrate the power of personal connections in support of career advancement. Their experiences support the work of Lin, Ensel, and Vaughn (1981) who found that job seekers' use of weak ties can impact their ability to connect with an insider contact of high status, who in the case of this study is a Cityside building principal. Also, their hiring scenarios support the findings of Mouw (2002) who countered previous researchers' claims that Black workers are disadvantaged when they rely on informal networks to find a job.

Additionally, Cityside administrators shared perspectives that supported these educators' of color positive networking experiences. For example, Cooper, a Black administrator, explained how he maintains relationships to utilize during the hiring process:

> I am also one who spends a lot of time informally connecting with folks at churches, community groups, and I will try to maintain relationships with educators at schools across the state. And my feelings about this are that the recruitment is not just about we

> have a position that's opening [so] let's go out and find someone, but more about managing relationships and having open communication with folks. … So I have not done job fairs. Primarily, it's really been informal networks and word of mouth.

While Andrea, an African-American administrator, also shared how she utilized the connections and social networks of teachers in the building during the recruitment and hiring process, "being able to bring in [to Cityside Public Schools] some additional Black male educators was super, [and this] . . . expanded networks because they brought their own networks of people." Thus, both Andrea and Cooper gave a nod to the reality and effectiveness of same-race social networks (Green, Tigges, & Diaz, 1999; Stainback, 2008), as had Paula, Angelica, and Donna.

Mentors. Another way that educators of color experienced their race as an asset was through informal and formal mentoring. One teacher of color highlighted the support she received from her "aunties," who were other Black teachers who were supportive and embraced her. Olivia, an African-American teacher, shared:

> I had so many people that took me under their wing, like just old-school teachers. They got me involved in the union. They would say, "Look, you've got to do this. You can't be late to the meeting because you're the only black person on staff. They're going to notice you're not there.

Olivia also explained how her relationship with an administrator prompted her to get her Master's degree:

> I had an administrator, she was African-American, and she said look what you are doing here, you're a single mother, you have three kids. They were all under four, and she said 'look, you have got to go get your Master's. She talked to me differently, she was the one who really broke it down, this is what you need to do to stay in the job.' And that

> really helped. She would push me, she kept pushing. And I feel a lot of educators of color do not get that.

Olivia noted that colleague connections were not limited to only teachers of color, "You've got to find someone you trust, whether a person is Black, White, or whatever, and tell them what's going on with you so you can get support."

Evaluator/educator relationships. Race positively impacted how educators of color experienced the evaluation process in CPS. Connie shared how her current evaluator, who is a person of color, is familiar with the culture of the district and is someone who understands her role as a teacher:

> Most recently, I feel personally, for the evaluator that I have currently, it's been a fair evaluation. …She understands the population which I'm serving. When she comes in, it is non-judgmental, because she was in the teaching field for quite a long time right here in Cityside, so I think that makes a great difference.

While Craig, a Black Latino teacher, emphasized how he benefited from both African-American mentors and his current evaluator in helping him to understand the evaluation process, "…basically Black colleagues helped me. And also, my evaluator is straightforward. … He's very black and white, says, 'this is what I want.' He outlines everything and does it." Additionally Walter, a Black African-American administrator, spoke to how he valued the relationship he has with his supervisor, which impacts how he experiences the evaluation process:

> I think that she is culturally competent, and that she does a great deal to make sure she gets to know the individuals she works with, and I think that she's done that with me, so that I feel very, very comfortable being vulnerable and honest.

Permanence of Racism

Along with experiences in which participants viewed their race as an asset, they also cited examples in which they felt the symptoms of racism while serving in their respective roles. Based upon the definition of permanence of racism, the experiences shared by participants can be attributed to implicit bias and/or overt acts of racism. Despite the distinction of how racism is manifested, the impact on each one of the participants reinforces the notion that racism is a normal part of our society (Ladson-Billings, 1998; López, 2003). Specific factors that contributed to the perceptions of each one of the participants include feelings of isolation, disrespect stemming from microaggressions, and a feeling of having to work harder than their White peers. Within this section, the aforementioned themes are discussed with regard to how they were revealed in various parts of the educator pipeline and schools within Cityside.

Isolation. In answering the overarching research question for our group study, we found it was not uncommon for study participants to feel isolated and disrespected because of their status as a racial minority, an example of where the CRT tenet of permanence of racism intersects Whiteness as property. Several teachers of color, when reflecting on their experiences in Cityside schools gave vivid descriptions on what it felt like to be one of the only people of color in their working environment. Olivia stated: "Sometimes you can feel so alone." An Asian educator commented, "I do wish that I saw more Asian people on staff, though. I think it feels more comforting to see more people that look like me." Also, the feeling of aloneness came from a lack of positive contact and genuine support from colleagues. Reflecting on her first job [within CPS], Olivia, recalled: "My first job was at the [school name], which no longer exists. I was the only Black teacher there for years, and I was the youngest, and there was no

mentoring." Olivia's experience of being left to fend for herself was echoed by several others as they also addressed the stress they experienced as members of a majority White school staff.

The feeling of isolation also impacted whether or not educators of color asked for assistance. Craig shared that he was hesitant to ask colleagues for help with the evaluation process because he did not want to appear incompetent as one of the only African-American teachers in his setting. He described his feelings by stating:

> … It's pretty much trial and error, and it's kind of that time, it's that thing where you're going in blindly and people are kind of second guessing. So only imagine if you're a teacher of color, or you're a Black teacher and you're the only Black teacher in the whole school, you don't want to show others that you're incompetent. So, it's kind of the type of thing like you want to ask but you really don't want to ask. Is that what is expected from me, and I'm supposed to know this as a professional? Because if you don't want to look as if like … you don't know what you're doing as a professional.

Pre-service. Sonya shared that she did not feel connected to the students in her college program, "I will say I think it was very difficult for me to adjust … I felt very disconnected." The feeling she expresses is supported in the work of Souto-Manning and Cheruvu (2016) who interviewed four teacher education candidates of color at predominantly White institutions on multiple occasions. They illuminated the need for school leaders to consider the belonging that people of color feel within their universities and specifically the schools of education. They report that people of color in schools of education experience a feeling of exclusion in all aspects of their schooling, from class discussions to student-teaching placement. The value placed on Whiteness within an educational institution (the CRT tenet of Whiteness as property) is collateral that cannot be underestimated (Brown, 2014).

For Sonya, the lack of connection to her classmates made the relationships to her professors very important:

> I feel like … they looked out for me. I was identified as a student that was struggling to meet the timelines, passing in my assignments. I had a lot of issues just like with my management. But I really do think that they were very accommodating. So yeah, I feel like I was very supported...by the staff.

Further, it was the guidance of an undergraduate professor who helped Sonya navigate the steps necessary to enroll in a graduate program. She commented specifically how "connections with my professors … help[ed] me with the application process."

Diego, a Black teacher, had a stronger sense of belonging at the same university that Sonya attended because of the cohort-based program in which he was enrolled, yet he still recognized his minority status. He shared that he felt "very optimistic. Very hopeful. I wasn't unaware of being part of the lowest demographic." Therefore, Diego now strives to ensure that as a Black educator he can create "that belonging, not only for the students, but also for the adults" with whom he works.

Disrespect/microaggressions. Furthermore, the feeling of aloneness by Cityside educators of color could be attributed to negative interactions they had with families and colleagues that were, in essence, racial microaggressions. This counter narrative told by an Asian-American educator vividly illustrates a racial microaggression that the educator encountered and it captures, in full, elements of what several other interviewees experienced while in Cityside:

> I think for some of our White parents, our more entitled parents, it's usually pretty shocking for them to meet me. That's just par for the course for me now. … I'll still get

> the, oh you're the [educator] or even if I've been emailing with that parent, they see my title, I had a parent see me, they kind of did a double-take and they weren't sure who I was. I walked them to my office, they stopped and looked at the name card outside, but still had to ask twice what is your position again? Asked me how long have I been here? Where did I go to school? I get that a lot. I get that a lot which has been incredibly frustrating.

Angelica refers to a time when her White evaluator, exhibited low expectations for the students of color that she is responsible for teaching. To support her belief, Angelica gives an example of a goal she set to raise the writing growth of her boys of color on an IEP to 75% on the two major essays for the year. She states that her evaluator balked at the idea by stating, "Don't you think that is a lofty goal?" Her evaluator further stated that, "… It's ok if you do not reach everyone, it's not a reflection upon you." This statement left Angelica to wonder:

> Do I tell her… 75, a C on a paper is a lofty goal for Black boys? Why isn't your response, 'What are you going to do to get there?' What is the plan?' But your first reaction was, "Oh, that seems kind of high. It's okay that we don't reach them.

She further discussed how someone should have a conversation with her evaluator about her implicit bias and how it is impacting her expectations about students of color.

Examples of racial microaggressions surfaced throughout the counter narratives that came to light in all six of the individual studies. These microaggressions, defined by Sue et al. (2007) as "brief, everyday exchanges that send denigrating messages to people of color because they belong to a racial minority group" (p. 273), are examples of how the CRT tenet of permanence of racism is exemplified in the day-to-day experiences of these educators of color.

Work harder. Two educators of color made specific note of their belief that they needed to work harder than their White colleagues. Whether it was the need for particular attention to detail or a feeling that they represented their race in whatever they did, the need to present themselves in a certain way based upon their race was on their mind. It is this type of thought process that underscores how the permanence of racism and implicit bias can result in educators of color believing that they have to overcompensate when they work in an environment in which they are underrepresented.

Olivia described her early experience as an educator in Cityside this way: "I just always felt the expectations were higher for me, in terms of me being able to be successful, … because I started teaching at a time when I was expected to sink or swim." She went on to talk about how she sees the need to attend to every detail:

> I've always felt that I had to work harder than everyone else. I've always felt that I had to watch my back, that I had to make sure that I crossed my T's and dotted my I's. So I've always, always kept my paper trail. I never ignore anything in writing, positive or negative.

Other educators who were interviewed also expressed a clear sense that their actions were perceived as ones that represent their race. For example, Angelica made this point when she said:

> I think everything I do has to be purposeful. It feels like it has to be purposeful and calculated because whether I choose to admit it or not, or others choose to admit it or not, I make moves on behalf of my race, and what I do and my ability to do my job I think impacts another person's ability to come into the school and continue the work that I

> started or others have started. So it just feels … a bit like I come in and there is a load I carry and I have to be careful in things that I do, in everything that I do.

Olivia echoed Angelica's thoughts in talking about her drive for perfection based upon her race:

> I had to be better than everyone else. I can't make the same mistakes everybody else makes, because I will get called on it more than other people would. … And I feel that I have to go above and beyond to show that I'm compassionate and I have higher expectations and that I'm a professional.

Finally, Angelica articulated well a dilemma she acknowledges regarding the source of her struggles:

> As a Black educator, it's hard to draw a line between the struggles I face because teachers have struggle[s] … or is it a struggle I face because [I am] a black woman [and] … there's an additional role I'm expected to play or there's an additional step I need to take to prove my competence … that my colleagues who are not of color don't have to go through, hoops that they don't have to jump through to get the same things done.

These narratives shared by participants in this section build off biases related to actions of people who are not White, accentuating the value our society places on Whiteness and the negative impact of the permanence of racism in the form of racial stereotyping (Harris, 1993; López, 2003). What Olivia and Angelica describe points to the dominant image of a successful teacher. Simply put, it is one who can navigate a system where Whiteness is capital.

Overall, the two themes described in the aforementioned sections reveal how educators of color who work in Cityside perceive their race as an asset and how the symptoms of racism impact their daily experiences. District administrators can use these findings to emphasize the importance of building social networks for educators for recruiting and combating the feeling of

isolation. Other efforts should include that exploration of how the presence of microaggressions, and implicit and explicit bias can hinder efforts to create an environment in which access and equity is the priority.

Connectedness to District

The narratives of educators of color who were interviewed shared how the school community and culture impacted their experience as educators of color in CPS (Ladson-Billings, 1998). When providing details about working in the district, administrators and teachers gave specific reasons as to why they prefer working in Cityside. The reasons included the diversity of the student population, same-race administrative support, feeling a sense of belonging, level of compensation, and access to resources.

For example, Carla, an Asian teacher, noted that she values working for CPS and linked this sentiment to a sense of belonging as a result of the diverse student population:

> I do feel like I belong here more than other school districts that I've been in. I've been at [neighboring school district] and [neighboring school district]. I think this school is really diverse. It's one of the most diverse schools in the nation, and I do feel like I connect with the students more than I do with a majority White high school. I'm not sure why that is. I think it's myself, not being from here, I can relate to a lot of that . . . I think Cityside is a really good district. The pay is good. I student taught here. I think the biggest thing was that I did feel like I belonged here in a certain way, more so than I did at other schools. The diversity definitely played a role. It was probably the biggest factor to be honest.

Participants also valued the connections created with their administrators. Paula stated that sharing the same cultural background with both of her administrators influenced her decision

to stay in her current role when her school transitioned from a K-8 school to a K-5 school: "We have two African-American leaders… That's why I won't leave here. I'm staying right here." Paula's response confirms findings from a study conducted by Ingersoll (2006) which lists administrative support as a contributing factor to job satisfaction. Sharing the same cultural background as her two administrators influences Paula's decision to stay in her present school. She noted that it also helped to alleviate the stress of the evaluation process. Additionally, Craig shared his experience with his administration. He stated, "So I met the principal and the vice-principal, and then I just had that feeling. I had that connection, like, oh, this is such a good district." Ma and MacMillan (1999) found that teachers who believed they had a strong relationship with school administrators also had a higher job satisfaction.

It was not just teachers who felt a sense of belonging or connection with the district, administrators also spoke about the support and opportunities that Cityside has been able to provide. For instance, Cooper focused on the vast amount of resources available in Cityside as one of the main reasons for his preference:

> I think in terms of educators in general, for Cityside district, I think it's the notion of this district being resource rich. The fact that folks have opportunities to receive so many supports and I think there is this attraction to, particularly for folks who still want to have that urban experience of being able to say, 'Hey, I'm in an urban or semi-urban environment, but not at a place in which there's a lack of access to resources in terms of professional development, technology, and all of that stuff.'

While Erica, an Hispanic administrator, focused on the manner in which she felt accepted and valued based upon her ethnicity and her bilingualism:

> Here in Cityside, I'm still the only administrator that can speak Spanish and make that phone call, but I'm surrounded by administrators [and] evaluators that understand the strength in that - that kind of asset of being bicultural. [I appreciate] working in a district where it's not that it's an expectation, but it's a real value and norm. … It kind of normalizes who I am.

Erica concluded, "Here in Cityside ... I'm not negatively affected in the slightest bit by who I am and what I am. I love this place, and I think the district values who I am." Also, Halle, an African-American administrator shared:

> I think there are personal connections that make you want to come and talk with people, do this work with people. You appreciate conversations, feedback and just the relationship. I think that's been enormous and just sort of this urgency around ensuring that kids of color have the right educational footing to begin their journey. That keeps me coming back every single day.

Furthermore, Paula powerfully and succinctly stated, "I'm satisfied with where I work and the kids I have in front of me. … I have no desire to teach anywhere else." Finally, teachers also shared experiences about encountering families in the Cityside neighborhoods where students live and visiting families' homes. The supportive connections with families were reinforced in the job satisfaction survey as well; 91% of teachers believed that parents support the work educators do in school.

Participants in this study value access to professional development, leadership opportunities, resources, and feeling appreciated due to their ethnicity. As mentioned before, when speaking about creating connections and relationships, participants commented how feeling connected to the school and the district helps them feel supported. Additional factors that

contributed to the feeling of connectivity included sharing the same cultural background as a supervisor and the diverse student population of Cityside.

Recommendations for Practice

The findings of the six individual case studies included in this research study informed the following recommendations, which fall under the theme of culturally proficient practices.

Culturally Proficient Practices

Educators of color interviewed in this study articulated that cultural proficiency practices differ from building to building and there is a need for greater uniformity and consistency across the district. Areas of need that fall under this theme include the exploration of implicit racial bias, recruitment and hiring, affinity work groups, and professional development. In order to address implicit bias and expand upon the work the district has begun with regard to the above-mentioned areas, it is highly recommended that Cityside continue its commitment to the allocation of fiscal resources for this important work.

Implicit racial bias. To address the implicit bias referred to by the participants in this study and to increase culturally proficient practices, it is recommended that the district explicitly recognize that the work of increasing cultural proficiency is the shared responsibility by all stakeholders. In response to developing a shared responsibility, the district can identify tools to assess their current practices. The data collected from using such tools should be reviewed, disaggregated and communicated to all stakeholders in the district. As a result, subsequent discussions can lead to a collaborative effort that explores implicit bias.

Recruiting and hiring educators of color. While Cityside maintains a goal to increase the diversity in their educator workforce to 30%, specific areas were identified for improvement. Interview data supports that active recruitment of educators of color is taking

place in some of the schools within the district. However, participants confirmed that this active recruitment is not taking place in all schools throughout the district. Findings suggest that a subset of administrators of color and a selected number of White administrators may be the catalysts for the recruitment through their use of social networking. Thus, all administrators should explore the practice of tapping into various networks that are likely to identify candidates of color to fill vacant positions within the district. Given that social networks are frequently racially segregated, White administrators will need to communicate with administrators and educators of color to identify which networks will lead them to a robust pool of candidates of color during the recruitment and hiring process.

It is also recommended that the newly hired diversity director work closely with building based administrators to ensure that the district recruitment and hiring practices are being consistently implemented. This includes the district's expectation that all hiring administrators submit a list of candidates for a particular position to verify that a certain percentage of candidates are educators of color.

We further recommend that CPS consider how they articulate their stated commitment to hire more educators of color. It is not simply to increase the number of educators of color or to race-match student demographics, but rather it is also to improve the learning environment for all students by tapping into their professional repertoire and rich cultural background, and their unique ability to serve as role models for all students.

Affinity work groups. It is also recommended that CPS create opportunities for educators of color to interact with each other thereby eliminating the feeling of isolation that was expressed by a critical number of study participants. While it appears that there are opportunities for social networking amongst Black educators in the district, it is recommended that these social

networking opportunities be expanded to include other educators of color who are from a different racial and ethnic group.

Professional development. Cityside's administration has shown a commitment to a culturally responsive learning environment, as evidenced by Cityside's strategic plan that includes "expanding rigorous, joyful, culturally responsive learning experience for all students." This work is reflected in the cultural proficiency professional development opportunities provided for faculty discussed previously. While this work is considered important by the study participants, it is not sufficient to address the complex topic of race. Due to the urgency of addressing race, we recommend that district administrators prioritize professional development opportunities that explicitly focus on race and how to conduct conversations about race with an emphasis on ensuring that educators of color are not solely responsible for enhancing cultural proficiency in the district.

Connections and relationships with students. Some educators of color acknowledged their confidence with building strong connections with students of color, yet they struggled in building those same relationships with White students. It is recommended that professional development opportunities include a focus on building trusting relationships with all students regardless of racial and ethnic backgrounds. These conversations will increase cultural awareness, the understanding of racial and ethnic differences, and decrease the tendency to make judgments based upon stereotypes and misinformation.

Culturally responsive pedagogy. Many educators of color specifically addressed how their racial and/or ethnic identity influences their instructional practices. As an example, one biracial educator articulated that she strives to build greater understanding of diversity within the curriculum and instructional materials to which she exposes her students. She spoke of how she

intentionally creates opportunities for students to experience more cultural diversity in the texts they read in class and highlights the racial and/or ethnic background of authors and characters to promote conversation of diversity that includes all students in their classroom. We recommend that the district analyze the curriculum and instructional practices used to ensure there is an understanding of racial and/or ethnic backgrounds and cultural differences to help students set higher academic expectations for themselves without losing a sense of their cultural identity.

Culturally responsive discipline. Some interviewed participants discussed their impact on discipline and found that they were able to respond more appropriately to certain behaviors, especially of students of color. In addition to the above recommendation related to connections and relationships with students, it is recommended that CPS broaden its implementation of restorative justice practices to manage student discipline across all school levels. We further recommend that CPS develop a system to track discipline referrals to identify trends that may lead to changes in practice.

Mentors. Experiences of existing CPS educators of color indicate that strengthening the practicum student to employee relationship can be a successful way to increase the number of educators of color in CPS, make for a smooth transition, and increase retention. Drawing upon their existing relationships with university schools of education, CPS should examine ways to strengthen its recruitment of practicum students of color into the CPS schools. Further, in addition to formal culturally proficient professional development, we recommend that the district provide job-embedded professional development that includes assigning mentors of color for pre-professional teachers as well as other educators of color.

Evaluation. An analysis of Cityside's evaluation process suggests that all administrators who are responsible for evaluating personnel participate in cultural competency training to

reflect on their own personal biases related to race. A notable number of participants in this study expressed a concern as to whether or not their White evaluators understood who they were as individuals and their mission to service the students of color present in their classrooms. A further recommendation includes a focus on how evaluators frame their feedback that exhibits an understanding of the challenges that face educators of color and the students of color they serve in their classrooms.

Equity audit. In order to address the inherent racial bias found within Cityside's policies, systems and structures, it is recommended that Cityside conduct an equity audit. The educators of color interviewed demonstrated a passion for providing counter narratives to combat stereotypes and low expectations for students of color and they should be seen as beacons for other educators. Conducting an equity audit will provide opportunities to capture the voices of Cityside educators of color through the use of surveys, interviews, and focus groups. It must not be overlooked that institutional racism and bias exists in the structure of Cityside's school policy development, implementation, and oversight. Policies and practices identified by this study includes hiring, mentoring, discipline, instructional practices, educator evaluation, and retention.

Limitations and Recommendations for Future Research

Recognizing the inherent limitation of a case study involving only one site and due to the limited sample size in this study, the ability to generalize some of the findings across the Cityside district as well as to other school districts in Massachusetts is difficult. This research group acknowledges the limitation of deriving implications from a study that interviewed 25 educators of color (14 of whom identified as Black or African-American) and three White educators, administered the MEIM to 24 interview participants, and surveyed 40 educators of color on job satisfaction, all of whom work in the same district. However, the findings derived

from the six individual focus areas strongly illuminate the importance of addressing racial disproportionality in the educator workforce and offer implications for changes needed in policy, practice, and future research.

A goal of our study was to identify further research needed to address and narrow the racial disproportionality of the educator workforce that exists within public schools across the United States. The need for additional research to understand how educators of color develop strong nurturing relationships with students grew from this study. In addition, further research is necessary to identify elements that contribute to a safe and supportive workplace environment for educators of color. There is a significant gap in research on racial and ethnic identity and its direct impact on student achievement, necessitating further research in this area. Furthermore, while there is a plethora of research to support the disproportionate discipline of Black and Latino students, there is limited research addressing the biases in discipline policy and practice implementation.

A future study recommendation is to implement a similar study with all educators in the district to compare how all educators have experienced teacher preparation, recruitment and hiring, racial identity, student discipline, evaluation and overall job satisfaction. This could allow researchers to see the overall strengths and challenges of the district, as seen by all educators, and compare the experiences of educators based on race. A broader study like this could also allow researchers to analyze the impact of having a same-race principal or principal of color versus a White principal for educators of color. A similar study, including a job satisfaction survey and exit interview, focused on educators who recently left the district could also be implemented to learn how these educators experienced working for the district and how their experiences impacted their decision to leave the district.

Conclusion

At the beginning of our study, we sought to answer the research question, how do educators of color experience racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools? The findings from this case study helped to identify some best practices for teacher preparation programs, hiring and retaining educators of color, the impact of racial and ethnic identity on students and student discipline practices, educator evaluation, and increasing educator satisfaction. Additionally, findings included educators' perceptions of the presence of racial bias in teacher preparation programs, district hiring practices, school climate and culture, classroom instruction and evaluation practices. This study illuminated how educators' racial and ethnic identity influences students as well as the overall climate and culture of the school. Recognizing the urgency of this work, it is anticipated that this study will benefit practitioners as it directly relates to the work of the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (DESE) to develop a more diverse educator workforce in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and add to the scholarly discourse on how educators of color perceive and experience the racial disproportionality that exists within the hiring pipeline and schools.

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Appendix A

Abstract for Leslie M. Patterson's Individual Study

Racial Disproportionality as Experienced by Educators of Color: Recruiting and Hiring

This qualitative case study explored how educators of color experienced recruitment and hiring practices in the Cityside Public School District (pseudonym). It was part of a larger group case study that sought to capture the perceptions of educators of color related to racial disproportionality and its impact on the educator pipeline and schools. Two research questions guided this individual study: (1) How do Cityside educators of color experience Cityside's recruitment and/or hiring processes? (2) What practices and policies might Cityside school and district level leaders utilize to increase the number of educators of color recruited and hired? Data for this study were collected from semi-structured interviews with nine Cityside faculty of color and with six Cityside administrators (of different races), as well as from a document review. Analysis of these data through the lens of critical race theory (CRT) revealed study participants' perception that implicit racial bias had the potential to negatively impact Cityside's hiring of educators of color. Additionally, leveraging social networks as an essential recruitment strategy to increase the presence of educators of color, and the benefits of hiring committees with a racially diverse membership, emerged as key findings. Finally, this study illuminated counter narratives that powerfully captured instances of microaggressions and perceived racism experienced by Cityside educators of color. Recommendations include requiring professional development with an anti-bias focus for all hiring committee participants, increasing the utilization of social networks to enhance recruitment efforts, ensuring a racially diverse composition of hiring committees, and actively seeking the counter narratives of Cityside educators of color.

Appendix B

Abstract for Nancy Robbins Taylor's Individual Study

Racial Disproportionality as Experienced by Educators of Color:

The Perceptions of Educators of Color about Discipline and Race in the Cityside District

This qualitative case study sought to understand the perceptions of educators of color on the role of race in student discipline in a Massachusetts Public School District. This individual study is part of a larger group case study designed to understand the perceptions of educators of color related to racial disproportionality and its impact on the educator pipeline and schools. Research has noted the role of racial disproportionality in school discipline for decades. Understanding the perceptions of educators of color regarding such disproportionality were evaluated with attention to Critical Race Theory (CRT). Such perceptions were uncovered through interviews during which members shared their personal backgrounds and experiences. Data collection also included a review of district discipline data reported to the Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (DESE). Findings evidenced that educators of color interviewed believe in the importance of educator-student relationships and viewed their race as a valuable asset in their work with students involved in disciplinary actions. The results of this study indicated that by virtue of their race and cultural experiences, educators of color provide strong and influential role models for students. Recommendations include recording, disaggregating, and analyzing student discipline data with a focus on race and supporting the current effort to increase the number of culturally proficient educators of color in the District.

Appendix C

Abstract for Joan M. Woodward's Individual Study

Racial Disproportionality as Experienced by Educators of Color:

Perceptions of the Impact of Their Racial and/or Ethnic Identity on Their Work with Students

Research has indicated that hiring and retaining educators of color can positively impact students of color, as educators of color have the capacity to be social justice change agents (Villegas & Davis, 2007), serve as strong role models for students of color (Ingersoll & May, 2011), promote culturally responsive curriculum (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995), and positively impact student achievement (Ahmad & Boser, 2014; Dee, 2004). However, there is a significant gap in the existing research on how educators of color perceive the impact of their racial/ethnic identity on their work in the classroom. This qualitative case study sought to answer how educators of color perceive the impact of their racial and/or ethnic identity on their relationships with students, their instructional practices, and the reduction of cultural bias in their school. It was part of a larger group case study that sought to capture the perceptions of educators of color related to racial disproportionality and its impact on the educator pipeline and schools. Data was collected through semi-structured face-to-face interviews and the administration of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure protocol with educators of color in the Cityside Public School District. Data was examined through the lens of Critical Race Theory (CRT), specifically the tenets of permanence of racism, critique of liberalism, and counter storytelling. Findings support that the majority of the participants interviewed have a strong sense of belonging to their racial and/or ethnic group. Moreover, educators of color perceive that they serve as positive role models, provide students of color with culturally responsive pedagogy, and offer counter narratives that combat stereotyping.

Appendix D

Abstract for Roderick V. MacNeal, Jr.'s Individual Study

Racial Disproportionality as Experienced by Educators of Color:

The Evaluation Process and Educators of Color

The purpose of this individual study was to address the gap in research and answer the following research question: How do educators of color perceive the evaluation process and its impact on their growth and development? It was part of a larger case study that sought to capture the perceptions of educators of color related to the racial disproportionality and its impact on the educator pipeline and schools. As educators of color work to maintain a presence within the educational system, it is essential to study how perceived biases related to race may impact the evaluation process. This single case study attempted to capture how five administrators of color and five teachers of color employed by the Cityside Public School District perceived the evaluation process used within their district. Additionally, a document review of union contracts was used to ascertain the evaluation process used by Cityside. The Critical Race Theory tenets of permanence of racism, counter storytelling and critique of liberalism provided a theoretical framework to analyze the responses given by each participant who participated in semi-structured interviews. Findings reveal that the majority of the participants do not believe the evaluation process has improved their growth and development. Other findings revealed that the racial identity and the level of cultural competency of the evaluator impacted whether or not participants believed their race was a factor in how they were evaluated.

Appendix E

Abstract for Diana Guzzi's Individual Study

Racial Disproportionality as Experienced by Educators of Color:

Job Satisfaction of Teachers and Administrators of Color

This individual study was part of a larger group case study that sought to capture the perceptions of educators of color related to racial disproportionality and its impact on the educator pipeline and schools in the Cityside Public Schools (pseudonym). The purpose of this study was to identify factors that influence job satisfaction for teachers and administrators of color and how teachers and administrators of color perceive how these factors might influence their job retention. This study included both teachers and administrators of color from one urban school district in Eastern Massachusetts, the Cityside Public Schools (CPS). Data sources included 11 semi-structured interviews with educators of color and 40 completed Likert scale surveys measuring job satisfaction and retention. The data was collected during one month. All data was coded thematically using three levels of ecological framework, as well as factors that contribute to job satisfaction and retention. The interview data was coded first, and then the survey data was coded. The data was coded using identified themes from previous research, as well as new themes that emerged from the interviews. All the data was then combined and synthesized to determine findings and make recommendations. This study found that many of the Cityside participants were satisfied with their job, while still recognizing that their work is challenging. Factors that influenced their job satisfaction were embedded in themes of connections, support, racial identity, resources and fatigue. These factors, except for the last, predicted slightly higher rates of perceived retention within the district among the teachers of color than the administrators of color.

Appendix F

Cityside Public School's Participant Recruitment Email

PLEASE SEE THE FOLLOWING TIME SENSITIVE INFORMATION FROM [NAME], DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENT.
THANK YOU.

Good morning colleagues.

I am pleased to share with you that CPS is partnering with a team of Doctoral Students from Boston College who are currently researching a range of elements associated with the topic of Racial Disproportionality as Experienced by Educators of Color.

During this first week of November, each CPS educator who has self-identified as a person of color is receiving both information about the research project and contact information if interested in participation in the study.

As stated by the B.C. Team: *The purpose of our group study is to explore how educators of color experience racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools. Specifically, we will consider the perceptions and experiences of educators of color related to their pre-service programs, recruitment and hiring, job satisfaction, student discipline, racial/ethnic identity, and the evaluation process. We use the conceptual framework of Critical Race Theory to guide our study.*

The Survey/Interview window for interested CPS Educators will take place between November 6-12.

Thank you in advance for your attention to this endeavor,

A copy of your invitation to participate in this research project is included below.

Please feel free to contact me directly if you have any questions prior to responding to the Boston College research team.

[Name]
Deputy Superintendent
Cityside Public Schools
[Name] Street
Cityside, MA [zip code]
[phone number]
[fax number]
[email address]

Appendix G

Boston College Research Study Invitation and Information Recruitment Email

Dear Cityside Public Schools Educator,

A research team from Boston College is engaged in a project to study the experiences of educators of color. Simply stated, the disproportionality that exists between the number of educators of color and students of color is alarming and demands attention. Our study looks to draw upon the actual experience of educators to help us form recommendations to address this issue.

Because our work relies on the experiences of educators in the field, our main source of data will come from interviews. We are reaching out to you, as an educator of color, to inquire whether you would be willing to participate in a 60-minute interview. Prior to the interview, you would also be asked to complete a survey, the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), to provide the interviewer with context for the interview. The Cityside Public Schools is aware of our commitment to maintain the confidentiality of those who are willing to participate. At no time will you be identified individually, but the collective experience will generate a rich source of data.

If you are willing to participate, we ask that you email me at dranec@bc.edu and we will follow up with more details and work to schedule a mutually convenient time. We appreciate in advance your consideration of this request.

Whether or not you wish to participate in an interview, we would welcome your participation on a job satisfaction survey. Please click this link https://bostoncollege.co1.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_9tWHmAzMKVqUKrj to begin the survey.

Sincerely,
Charlie Drane
Boston College
Lynch School of Education
Chestnut Hill, MA 02446
dranec@bc.edu

Appendix H

Online Job Satisfaction Survey

You are being asked to participate in a research study about how educators of color experience the racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools. You were selected to be in the study because you self identify as being an educator of color or non-white educator. All educators of color from your district, including faculty and administrators, are being invited to participate in this survey. The survey should take you approximately 15-20 minutes to complete, depending on how much you choose to share. The online survey includes questions about factors that contribute to job satisfaction as well as your short-term and long-term professional goals. There are no direct benefits to you, but you may feel gratified knowing that you helped further work in this important area. In terms of risks, the survey may ask questions that you consider sensitive. If you don't wish to answer a question, you need not do so. The study may include risks that are unknown at this time. There is no payment or compensation for participating in this study. There are no costs to you associated with your participation. All reasonable efforts to keep your responses and your identity confidential will be made. The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report we may publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify you. All electronic information will be secured using a password protected file. Please note that regulatory agencies, the Boston College Institutional Review Board, and Boston College internal auditors may review research records. Your participation is voluntary. If you choose not to participate it will not affect your relations with Boston College. You are free to withdraw or skip questions for any reason. There are no penalties for withdrawing or skipping questions. The lead researcher conducting this survey is Charles Drane. For questions or more information concerning this research you may contact him at: dranec@bc.edu. The Boston College faculty advisor for this study is Lauri Johnson, lauri.johnson@bc.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Office for Research Protections, Boston College, at 617-552-4778 or irb@bc.edu. This study was reviewed by the Boston College Institutional Review Board and its approval was granted on [insert approval date]. If you agree to the statements above and agree to participate in this study, please press the "Consent Given" button below.

○ Consent Given (1)

1. How do you classify your current position?

○ Teacher (1)

○ Administrator (e.g. principal, assistant superintendent) (2)

○ Other professional staff (e.g. counselor, curriculum coordinator, social worker) (3)

2. How many years have you been working in the district?

○ 0 - 3 years (4)

○ 4 - 9 years (1)

○ 10 - 15 years (2)

○ 16 or more years (3)

3. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements about your current position?

Strongly agree=1 Somewhat agree=2 Somewhat disagree=3 Strongly disagree=4

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
I am satisfied with my salary. (1)	○	○	○	○
The level of student misbehavior in the school (such as noise, horseplay or fighting in the halls, cafeteria or student lounge) interferes with my teaching. (2)	○	○	○	○
I receive a great deal of support from parents for the work I do. (3)	○	○	○	○
Necessary materials such as textbooks, supplies, and copy machines are available as needed by the staff. (4)	○	○	○	○
Routine duties and paperwork interfere with my job. (5)	○	○	○	○
Rules for student behavior are consistently enforced by teachers. (6)	○	○	○	○
In the school, staff members are recognized for a job well done. (7)	○	○	○	○
I am worried about the security of my job because of the performance of students on the state and/or local tests. (8)	○	○	○	○

State, district or local content standards have had a positive influence on my satisfaction with my job. (9)	○	○	○	○
I am given support I need to support students with special needs. (10)	○	○	○	○
The amount of students' tardiness and class cutting in the school interferes with my job. (11)	○	○	○	○
I am generally satisfied with being a teacher/administrator at the school/district. (12)	○	○	○	○
I make a conscious effort to coordinate with others. (13)	○	○	○	○

4. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each statement of the following statements?
Strongly agree=1 Somewhat agree=2 Somewhat disagree=3 Strongly disagree=4

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
The stress and disappointment involved in the job aren't really worth it. (1)	○	○	○	○
The educators like being here: I would describe us as a satisfied group. (2)	○	○	○	○
I like the way things are run at the school/district. (3)	○	○	○	○
If I could get a higher paying job, I'd leave as soon as possible. (4)	○	○	○	○
I think about transferring to another school/district. (5)	○	○	○	○
I don't seem to have as much enthusiasm now as I did when I first began. (6)	○	○	○	○

5. Indicate the level of importance each of the following play in your decision to remain in your current position.
Very important=1 Important=2 Somewhat important=3 Not at all important=4

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Convenience of school/district location (1)	○	○	○	○
Retirement benefits (2)	○	○	○	○
Salary (3)	○	○	○	○
Health benefits (4)	○	○	○	○
Job security (5)	○	○	○	○
Satisfaction of my job description or assignment (e.g. responsibilities, grade level, or subject area) (6)	○	○	○	○
Autonomy in my job (7)	○	○	○	○
Students (8)	○	○	○	○
Number of intrusions in my job (9)	○	○	○	○
Working for this school/district (10)	○	○	○	○
Workplace conditions (11)	○	○	○	○

Student discipline (12)	○	○	○	○
Influence over policies and practices (13)	○	○	○	○
Opportunities for leadership roles or professional advancement (14)	○	○	○	○
Student assessment/school accountability (15)	○	○	○	○
Support for preparing students for assessments (16)	○	○	○	○
Opportunities for professional development (17)	○	○	○	○
Opportunities for learning from colleagues (18)	○	○	○	○
Social relationships with colleagues (19)	○	○	○	○
Recognition and support from administrators (20)	○	○	○	○
Safety of environment (21)	○	○	○	○
Professional prestige (22)	○	○	○	○
Procedures for performance evaluation (23)	○	○	○	○

Manageability of workload (24)	○	○	○	○
Ability to balance personal life and work (25)	○	○	○	○
Availability of resources and materials/equipment for doing your job (26)	○	○	○	○
General work conditions (27)	○	○	○	○
Intellectual challenge (28)	○	○	○	○
Sense of personal accomplishment (29)	○	○	○	○
Opportunities to make a difference in the lives of others (30)	○	○	○	○

6. Have you enrolled in graduate courses since the end of last year?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

Skip To: 8 If Have you enrolled in graduate courses since the end of last year? = No

7. Which of the following best describes your enrollment in courses?

○ Individual courses (not part of a program leading to a degree or certificate) (1)

○ Master's degree granting program (2)

○ Education specialist or professional diploma program (at least one year beyond Master's level) (3)

○ Certificate of Advanced Graduate Studies Program (4)

○ Doctorate or professional degree granting (Ph.D., Ed.D., M.D., J.D., D.D.S) ? (5)

8. How long do you plan to remain in your current position?

○ As long as I am able (1)

○ Until I am eligible for retirement benefits from this job (2)

○ Until I am eligible for retirement benefits from a previous job (3)

○ Until I am eligible for Social Security benefits (4)

○ Until a specific life event occurs (e.g. parenthood, marriage) (5)

○ Until a more desirable job opportunity comes along (6)

○ Definitely plan to leave as soon as I can (7)

○ Undecided at this time (8)

9. In the last 12 months, have you applied for a job in attempt to leave the position?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

10. Overall, how satisfied are you as an educator in this district?

○ Very satisfied (1)

○ Satisfied (2)

○ Somewhat satisfied (3)

○ Not at all satisfied (4)

○ Other (5)

11. How do you identify racially and/or ethnically?

☐ Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others (1)

☐ Black or African American (2)

☐ Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others (3)

☐ White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic (4)

☐ American Indian/Native American (5)

☐ Mixed; Parents are from two different groups (6)

☐ Other (write in) (7)

Appendix I

Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure
Phinney, J. (1992)

You are being asked to participate in a research study about how educators of color experience the racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools. You were selected to be in the study because you self identify as being an educator of color or non-white educator. All educators of color from your district, including teachers and administrators, are being invited to participate in this survey. The survey should take you approximately 10-15 minutes to complete, depending on how much you choose to share. The online survey includes questions about your race, ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it. There are no direct benefits to you, but you may feel gratified knowing that you helped further work in this important area. In terms of risks, the survey may ask questions that you consider sensitive. If you don't wish to answer a question, you need not do so. The study may include risks that are unknown at this time. There is no payment or compensation for participating in this study. There are no costs to you associated with your participation. All reasonable efforts to keep your responses and your identity confidential will be made. The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report we may publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify you. All electronic information will be secured using a password protected file. Please note that regulatory agencies, the Boston College Institutional Review Board, and Boston College internal auditors may review research records. Your participation is voluntary. If you choose not to participate it will not affect your relations with Boston College. You are free to withdraw or skip questions for any reason. There are no penalties for withdrawing or skipping questions. The lead researcher conducting this survey is Charles Drane. For questions or more information concerning this research you may contact him at: dranec@bc.edu. The Boston College faculty advisor for this study is Lauri Johnson, lauri.johnson@bc.edu. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Office for Research Protections, Boston College, at 617-552-4778 or irb@bc.edu. This study was reviewed by the Boston College Institutional Review Board and its approval was granted on [insert approval date]. If you agree to the statements above and agree to participate in this study, please press the "Consent Given" button below.

○ Consent Given (1)

1. Choose the phrase that best indicates how much you agree or disagree with each statement.
Strongly agree=1 Somewhat agree=2 Somewhat disagree=3 Strongly disagree=4

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs. (1)	○	○	○	○

I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group. (2)	○	○	○	○
I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me. (3)	○	○	○	○
I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership. (4)	○	○	○	○
I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to. (5)	○	○	○	○
I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group. (6)	○	○	○	○
I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me. (7)	○	○	○	○
In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group. (8)	○	○	○	○
I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group. (9)	○	○	○	○
I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs. (10)	○	○	○	○
I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group. (11)	○	○	○	○

I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background. (12)	○	○	○	○

2. My ethnicity is:

○ Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others (1)

○ Black or African American (2)

○ Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others
White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic (3)

○ American Indian/Native American (4)

○ Mixed; Parents are from two different groups (5)

○ Other (write in) (6)

2b. Your ethnicity:

_____

3. My father's ethnicity is:

○ Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others (1)

○ Black or African American (2)

○ Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others
White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic (3)

○ American Indian/Native American (4)

○ Mixed; Parents are from two different groups (5)

○ Other (write in) (6)

3b. Your father's ethnicity:

_____

4. My mother's ethnicity is:

○ Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others (1)

○ Black or African American (2)

○ Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others
White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic (3)

○ American Indian/Native American (4)

○ Mixed; Parents are from two different groups (5)

○ Other (write in) (6)

4b. Your mother's ethnicity:

_____

Appendix J

Interview Protocol for Pre-service, Recruiting and Hiring

Opening Reminders

Opening reminders of practices we will remember when collecting information in the interview.

- We will be recording this interview.
- At any time of this interview you can request that I turn off the recording device.
- After collecting our data we will ensure that schools and/or leaders are not being identified individually.
- The data we collect from this research project will eventually be shared with your central office. However, at no time will your individual responses be shared with anyone in central office or your district's school committee.
- All interview questions are optional.
- At any time during the interview you can request to end the interview.

Introduction Questions

- Tell me/us about your role.
- How many years have you been in this role?
- What led you to your current position?
- What inspires you in this role?
- What do you find challenging in this role?
- This research focuses on the experience of educators of color. Do you feel comfortable identifying your race and/or ethnicity? If so, how do you identify racially and/or ethnically?

Questions for educators of color:

1. What path did you take to the field of education (i.e. university school of education, from the workforce, from an alternative certification program such as Teach for America)?

(Questions 2 - 6 are only for those who came from the university school of education path.)

2. How did your teacher education shape the educator you are today?

3. How would you describe the racial makeup of your school of education?

4. How, if at all, did your teacher education program address issues of race or culture?

    Prompt: Did you learn about specific strategies or curriculum for working with students of diverse racial and cultural backgrounds? If not, why not?

5. Were you required to pass an exam (such as Praxis I) in order to enroll in the school of education? If yes, how did you find the exam? How many attempts did it take for you to pass?

    Prompt: If MTEL was not mentioned, probe about experiences on the MTEL.

6. How would you describe the climate and your sense of belonging in the school of education?

Prompt: If race was not discussed, probe about how race played into belonging.

7. How did you experience the recruitment and hiring process for Cityside?

Prompt: How did you learn about the job opening?

Prompt: If you attended a job fair, please describe this experience.

Prompt: What factors contributed to your decision to apply?

Prompt: Please explain the interview process (including hiring committee makeup, questions asked, number and types of rounds, etc.) in as much detail as possible.

Prompt: What factors contributed to your decision to accept the job offer?

Prompt: How, if at all, did the racial composition of the teaching force impact your decision to apply to Cityside and/or accept the job?

8. How did you prepare for the interview process?

Prompt: Were there choices you made about your physical and/or oral presentation? If Yes, please describe.

Prompt: How, if at all, did your race impact your physical and/or oral presentation?

9. What is your perception of Cityside's efforts to hire and support teachers and administrators of color?

Prompt: Can you describe an instance when a job applicant's ethnicity/race made a difference (good or bad) during the recruiting and hiring process in Cityside?

10. Would you like to share any other relevant information?

Appendix K

Interview Protocol for Administrators: Recruiting and Hiring

Opening Reminders

Opening reminders of practices we will remember when collecting information in the interview.

- We will be recording this interview.
- At any time of this interview you can request that I turn off the recording device.
- After collecting our data we will ensure that schools and/or leaders are not being identified individually.
- The data we collect from this research project will eventually be shared with your central office. However, at no time will your individual responses be shared with anyone in central office or your district's school committee.
- All interview questions are optional.
- At any time during the interview you can request to end the interview.

Introduction Questions

- Tell me/us about your role.
- How many years have you been in this role?
- What led you to your current position?
- What inspires you in this role?
- What do you find challenging in this role?
- This research focuses on the experience of educators of color. Do you feel comfortable identifying your race and/or ethnicity? If so, how do you identify racially and/or ethnically?

Questions for administrators directly involved with hiring process:

1. What level of priority does Cityside give to hiring and recruiting educators of color?

   Prompt: (If high priority . .) What motivates you and/or Cityside to make this a priority?

2. Please describe the recruiting and hiring practices and policies utilized by your school/Cityside.

   Prompt: Please include a detailed description of the interview process (including hiring committee makeup, questions asked, number and types of rounds, etc.).

   Prompt: Which, if any, of these practices and policies are in place specifically to support the recruiting and hiring of educators of color. Please explain.

   Prompt: Which of these practices and policies do you believe to be the most effective for engaging candidates of color? Why?

3. Please describe your school's/Cityside's recruitment materials available to job applicants (e.g. brochures, website information).

Prompt: Which, if any, of these recruitment materials are designed and/or created to intentionally attract candidates of color? Please explain.

4. What are the characteristics of your school/Cityside that you believe candidates of color find the most attractive?

5. Please describe any anti-bias/diversity training that you have had.

Prompt: What year did training take place? Who sponsored it?

6. How, if at all, has this anti-bias/diversity training informed your hiring and/or recruiting efforts for your school/Cityside?

7. How successful do you feel that your school/Cityside has been in recruiting and hiring educators of color.

Prompt: What does your school/Cityside need to do differently to increase success?

8. Does your school/Cityside have any recruiting/hiring documents that I could access?

9. Do you believe that teachers are better prepared for the profession if they come from university teacher education programs, the workforce, or alternative programs (like Teach for America, for example)? Why?

10. Would you like to share any other relevant information?

Appendix L

Interview Protocol for Student Discipline and Student Impact

Opening Reminders

Opening reminders of practices we will remember when collecting information in the interview.

- We will be recording this interview.
- At any time of this interview you can request that I turn off the recording device.
- After collecting our data we will ensure that schools and/or leaders are not being identified individually.
- The data we collect from this research project will eventually be shared with your central office. However, at no time will your individual responses be shared with anyone in central office or your district's school committee.
- All interview questions are optional.
- At any time during the interview you can request to end the interview.

Introduction Questions

- Tell me/us about your role.
- How many years have you been in this role?
- What led you to your current position?
- What inspires you in this role?
- What do you find challenging in this role?
- This research focuses on the experience of educators of color. Do you feel comfortable identifying your race and/or ethnicity? If so, how you identify racially and/or ethnically?

Student Discipline:

1. Tell me about the discipline system in your district.

   Prompt: Does the district use any alternative discipline practices, such as a restorative justice approach or progressive discipline?

   Prompt: How does the district collaborate, if at all, with families to improve student behavior?

2. How, if at all, does the administrative team review discipline cases to look for patterns or trends?

   Prompt: Does the team consider race/ethnicity of the disciplinarian and the student when evaluating discipline data?

3. Do teachers of color and White teachers assess students' behavior differently? If so, how? How, if at all, does the district's code of conduct affect different racial groups of students?

   Prompt: Does the discipline code reflect an understanding of students with different cultural backgrounds and belief systems? (The "braid/hair extension" controversy at a charter school.)

Prompt: Do you work to understand the student's cultural background when providing him/her with due process?

4. Do you see any disparity in the rate or severity of discipline consequences assigned to students?

Prompt: Do you see a difference in the rate at which Black students are disciplined in relation to their White peers?

Prompt: Do students receive similar consequences for displaying similar types of behavior?

5. Do you have any concerns about the distribution of exclusionary discipline practices in this district?

Prompt: Are Black students assigned suspensions or expulsions at a higher rate when compared to their White peers?

Impact on Students:

6. Does your race or ethnicity impact the students in your classroom / school / district? If so, how?

Prompt: In what ways do you think your racial/ethnic identity drives the strategies you employ to teach/lead?

Prompt: How, if at all, has your racial/ethnic identify impacted cultural biases in the classroom/school/district?

7. Has race ever come up in your teaching experience? Tell me about it

Prompt: Has that impacted how you teach?

Prompt: What did you learn from that experience?

8. Does your school/district talk about race? If not, why not?

Prompt: How does it impact your teaching?

Prompt: What changes would you like to see in your schools/district?

9. How, if at all, does the fact you are a teacher of color influence your relationships with students of color? With White students?

Appendix M

Interview Protocol for Evaluation and Job Satisfaction

Opening Reminders

Opening reminders of practices we will remember when collecting information in the interview.

- We will be recording this interview.
- At any time of this interview you can request that I turn off the recording device.
- After collecting our data we will ensure that schools and/or leaders are not being identified individually.
- The data we collect from this research project will eventually be shared with your central office. However, at no time will your individual responses be shared with anyone in central office or your district's school committee.
- *Interview focus:* This interview will focus on your experiences with the evaluation process and overall job satisfaction.
- All interview questions are optional.
- At any time during the interview you can request to end the interview.

Introduction Questions

- Tell me/us about your role.
- How many years have you been in this role?
- What led you to your current position?
- What inspires you in this role?
- What do you find challenging in this role?
- This research focuses on the experience of educators of color. Do you feel comfortable identifying your race and/or ethnicity? If so, how you identify racially and/or ethnically?

Focus Questions

Evaluation Process

1. Please describe the evaluation process for this district.

2. How has the evaluation process impacted your growth and development as an educator? (Please, give examples)

3. What, if anything, would you change about the process?

4. How would you describe the impact, if at all, of your race/ethnicity on how you have been evaluated?

Job Satisfaction and Retention

1. How would you describe your overall job satisfaction?

   Prompt: What other factors contribute to your job satisfaction?

2. What, if anything, could improve your job satisfaction?

3. How do you think your race and/or ethnicity impacts your job satisfaction?

4. How long do you plan to work for the identified school district and in what capacity?

Closing Question and Remark

Is there anything else you would like to add regarding your experience as an educator of color within the school district?

Thank you for taking time to participate in our research. We value your input.

Appendix N

Educator of Color Consent Form

BOSTON COLLEGE
Lynch School of Education
Professional School Administrator Program

Research Study: Racial Disproportionality as Experienced by Educators of Color
Lead Researcher: Charles Drane

Individual Consent Form

Introduction:

You are being asked to participate in a research study about how educators of color experience the racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools. You were selected to be in the study because you self-identified to participate in the research study as an educator of color who works within the district. Please read this form. You may ask any questions that you have before you agree to be in the study.

Purpose of Study:

The purpose of this single site case study is to explore and understand the experiences of educators of color in light of the persisting racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools in a Massachusetts district. The educator pipeline refers to the preparation, recruitment, professional experiences related to students and colleagues, and retention of educators. Specifically, we will consider the experience of educators of color and their perceptions related to pre-service programs, recruitment and hiring, student discipline, their racial/ethnic identity as it impacts students, evaluation, and job satisfaction.

The research will be conducted in Cityside Public Schools [pseudonym] where 24% of its staff are educators of color. The staffing racial and ethnicity demographics do not reflect its student population which is 60% students of color. Faculty and administrators of color within this district will be invited to participate in this research, between 18-24 respondents will be self-identified to participate in semi-structured interviews. Additional building and district level administrators, including the Superintendent of Schools, Deputy Superintendent, Assistant Superintendents, Business/Finance Manager, Director of Human Resources, and Principals may be interviewed to address questions related to an area of the educator pipeline identified in this study.

What Will Happen in the Study:

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to participate in one semi-structured interview facilitated by one or two of the researchers and complete a short survey. The survey, called the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM), will only be used to provide context for

the interviewer and will not be shared with anyone outside of the research team. This interview will last up to one hour and take place in a mutually agreed upon location. It will be recorded.

Risks and Discomforts of Being in the Study:

There are no expected risks, however, there is a possibility that participants may share experiences that trigger discomfort or negative emotions. Participants will be reminded that they can choose not to answer a question for any reason and end the interview at any time. Thus, participants can choose not to reveal information that they feel is sensitive or uncomfortable. This study may include risks that are unknown at this time.

Benefits of Being in the Study:

The purpose of this single site case study is to explore and understand the experiences of educators of color in light of their persisting racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools in a Massachusetts district. The participants may derive some benefit from having the opportunity to discuss and reflect on their experiences and perceptions of racial disproportionality within the district. Further, the district may benefit from the information gleaned from the interviews and information gathered during this study. However, no benefit to the participants can be assured.

Payments:

There is no payment or compensation for participating in this study.

Costs:

There is no cost to you to be in this research study.

Confidentiality:

Participants' identity will remain anonymous throughout the research and reporting of this study. The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report we may publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify you. All electronic information will be coded and secured using a password-protected file, this includes transcripts of interviews. Audio files will be deleted upon the completion of this study.

Mainly just the researchers will have access to information; however, please note that a few other key people may also have access. These might include the Institutional Review Board at Boston College and internal Boston College auditors. They have the right to review the research records.

Choosing to be in the Study and Choosing to Quit the Study:

Choosing to be in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to be in this study, it will not affect your current or future relations with the Cityside Public Schools [pseudonym] or Boston College. You are free to quit at any time, for whatever reason.

Getting Dismissed from the Study:

The researcher may dismiss you from the study at any time for the following reasons: (1) it is in your best interests (e.g. your identity cannot remain anonymous), or (2) you have failed to comply with the study rules.

Contacts and Questions:

The lead researcher conducting this study is Charles Drane (dranec@bc.edu). The Boston College faculty advisor for this study is Lauri Johnson, lauri.johnson@bc.edu. For questions or more information concerning this research you may contact the lead researcher via email.

If you have any questions about your rights as a person in this research study, you may contact: Director, Office for Research Protections, Boston College at (617) 552-4778, or irb@bc.edu

Copy of Consent Form:

You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records and future reference.

Statement of Consent:

I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this consent form. I have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions. I give my consent to be in this study. I have received (or will receive) a copy of this form.

Signatures/Dates

Study Participant (Print Name): _____ Date_____

Participant's Signature: _____ Date _____

Witness/Auditor (Signature): _____Date _____

Appendix O

Building or District Level Administrator Consent Form

BOSTON COLLEGE
Lynch School of Education
Professional School Administrator Program

Research Study: Racial Disproportionality as Experienced by Educators of Color
Lead Researcher: Charles J. Drane III

Individual Consent Form

Introduction:

You are being asked to participate in a research study about how educators of color experience the racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools. You were selected to be in the study because you are a building or district level administrator. Please read this form. You may ask any questions that you have before you agree to be in the study.

Purpose of Study:

The purpose of this single site case study is to explore and understand the experiences of educators of color in light of the persisting racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools in a Massachusetts district. The educator pipeline refers to the preparation, recruitment, professional experiences related to students and colleagues, and retention of educators. Specifically, we will consider the experience of educators of color and their perceptions related to pre-service programs, recruitment and hiring, student discipline, their racial/ethnic identity as it impacts students, evaluation, and job satisfaction.

The research will be conducted in Cityside Public Schools [pseudonym] where 24% of its staff are educators of color. The staffing racial and ethnicity demographics do not reflect its student population which is 60% students of color. Faculty and administrators of color within this district will be invited to participate in this research, between 18-24 respondents will be self-identified to participate in semi-structured interviews. Additional building and district level administrators, including the Superintendent of Schools, Deputy Superintendent, Assistant Superintendents, Business/Finance Manager, Director of Human Resources, and Principals will be interviewed to address questions related to an area of the educator pipeline identified in this study.

What Will Happen in the Study:

If you agree to be in this study, you will be asked to participate in one semi-structured interview facilitated by one or two of the researchers. This interview will last up to one hour and take place in a mutually agreed upon location. It will be recorded.

Risks and Discomforts of Being in the Study:

There are no expected risks, however, there is a possibility that participants may share experiences that trigger discomfort or negative emotions. Participants will be reminded that they can choose not to answer a question for any reason and end the interview at any time. Thus, participants can choose not to reveal information that they feel is sensitive or uncomfortable. This study may include risks that are unknown at this time.

Benefits of Being in the Study:

The purpose of this single site case study is to explore and understand the experiences of educators of color in light of their persisting racial disproportionality within the educator pipeline and schools in a Massachusetts district. The participants may derive some benefit from having the opportunity to discuss and reflect on their experiences and perceptions of racial disproportionality within the district. Further, the district may benefit from the information gleaned from the interviews and information gathered during this study. However, no benefit to the participants can be assured.

Payments:

There is no payment or compensation for participating in this study.

Costs:

There is no cost to you to be in this research study.

Confidentiality:

Participants' identity will remain anonymous throughout the research and reporting of this study. The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report we may publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify you. All electronic information will be coded and secured using a password-protected file, this includes transcripts of interviews. Audio files will be deleted upon the completion of this study.

Mainly just the researchers will have access to information; however, please note that a few other key people may also have access. These might include the Institutional Review Board at Boston College and internal Boston College auditors. They have the right to review the research records.

Choosing to be in the Study and Choosing to Quit the Study:

Choosing to be in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to be in this study, it will not affect your current or future relations with the Cityside Public Schools [pseudonym] or Boston College. You are free to quit at any time, for whatever reason.

Getting Dismissed from the Study:

The researcher may dismiss you from the study at any time for the following reasons: (1) it is in your best interests (e.g. your identity cannot remain anonymous), or (2) you have failed to comply with the study rules.

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Signatures/Dates

Study Participant (Print Name): _____ Date _____

Participant's Signature: _____ Date _____

Witness/Auditor (Signature): _____ Date_____