

Perceptions of Professional Development Impact:
White Educators' Racial Identity Development and Anti-Racist Practice

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Abstract

US schools have seen limited success in meliorating inequitable outcomes for students of color amid the expanding gap between student and educator racial demographics, yet there is a dearth of research on suburban schools and effective white educators of children of color. While districts and institutions of higher education work to diversify the educator workforce, they must simultaneously expand anti-racist work among existing white educators. The literature suggests that racial identity development is a critical factor in the successful implementation of anti-racist practice for white educators. This study sought to understand the impact of anti-racist professional development (PD) on white educators in predominantly white suburban districts and specifically what PD impacted their racial identity development, understanding of racism, and anti-racist practice.

A five-strand conceptual framework grounded in Critical Race Theory and designed as a *White Anti-Racist Educator Identity and Practice Development Model* reflects the critical components of the literature review and a developmental continuum for racial identity, understanding racism, and anti-racist practice. This explanatory sequential mixed methods study with emphasis on qualitative research was conducted in two predominantly white (staff) suburban districts engaged in several years of anti-racist PD. The study utilized a quantitative and qualitative survey and case study interviews with a subset of educators. Comparative case study (CCS) was utilized to frame cases, organize data, and analyze data. I defined, examined, and compared districts as the horizontal axis, professional development as the vertical axis, and temporal educators' development over time as the transversal axis.

The conceptual framework served effectively to organize data at the individual, school, district, and study levels. Educators demonstrated higher placement on the model in racial identity and understanding racism than in anti-racist practice. There was a statistically significant relationship between years of anti-racist or equity PD and racial identity development, and between racial identity development and anti-racist practice. Educator development was

individual and the result of many experiences; PD needed to be ongoing, cyclical, and differentiated, as well as incorporate student feedback and experiences that offered perspective transformation. Finally, the tenets of CRT in education were evident in praxis.

Keywords: anti-racist, equity, professional development, white teachers, white educators, explanatory sequential mixed methods, comparative case study, K-12, students of color, suburban, racial identity development, racial justice, social justice, Critical Race Theory, critical whiteness studies, liberatory adult learning theory

Chapter 1: Introduction

An extensive body of research and literature has documented the systemic failure of U.S. schools to produce equitable outcomes for all students and the resulting imbalance toward underachievement for students of color. Almost all outcome data repeat this: standardized test scores, graduation rates, behavioral and discipline data, engagement data, special education referral and identification data, and talented and gifted program data (Horsford & Grosland, 2013; The Education Trust, 2020; National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2020a, 2020b, 2020c; Valencia, 2015).

This incontrovertible reality bears out most egregiously for American Indian, Black, and Latinx students. According to the National Center for Education Statistics (2020c), in 2017, the disparity of average fourth grade reading scores on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) was greatest among American Indian/Alaska Native (202), Black (206), Hispanic (209), white¹ (232) and Asian (241) students. While all demographic subgroups' performances had increased since 1992 (when it was 192 for Black students, 197 for Hispanic students, and 224 for white students), the relative disparity among racial groups has not changed significantly. The eighth grade reading achievement trends follow similar patterns, although the score discrepancy between Hispanic and white students decreased from 26 to 19 points (NCES, 2000c). Unfortunately, at 12th grade, the reading score discrepancy between Black students and white students increased from 24 points in 1992 to 30 points in 2015, and the overall reading achievement of Black students fell from 273 in 1992 to 266 in 2015. This

¹ While the American Psychological Association 7th Edition style guide requires capitalization of the “w” in white when referring to people who are racially white in the United States, I have made a conscious decision not to capitalize it. Amos (2011) reminds us that whiteness is a social construct and almost always employed as a negation of others. To quote View et al. (2020), “If antiracism encourages the decentering of whiteness, it starts with the language we use to describe human beings” (p. ix).

data is used to illustrate and explore the racialized achievement patterns in the United States as an endemic and inherent symptom of racism. Any suggestion or interpretation of deficit thinking toward students of color should be rejected (Valencia, 2015).

Schools and school systems are a microcosm of our larger society. The endemic racism that plagues the United States and its history, founded on centuries of oppression and marginalization, also afflicts our educational system. Far too often, our schools serve as mirrors of the social reproduction and institutionalization of race that exist throughout our nation (Ladson-Billings, 1998b). Mismatched curriculum and pedagogy exacerbate decades of exclusion, segregation, discrimination, and funding inequities (Horsford & Grosland, 2013). According to Ladson-Billings (2006), the result of decades of systemic racism and oppression in our country and schools is the accumulation of an "education debt." She posits that this is a more productive approach to changing outcomes, continuing to frame the "achievement gap" within an ahistorical context (Ladson-Billings, 2006) or as a majoritarian narrative regarding the inferiority of students of color (Valencia, 2015; Horsford & Grosland, 2013) will reinforce disparities in U.S. schools.

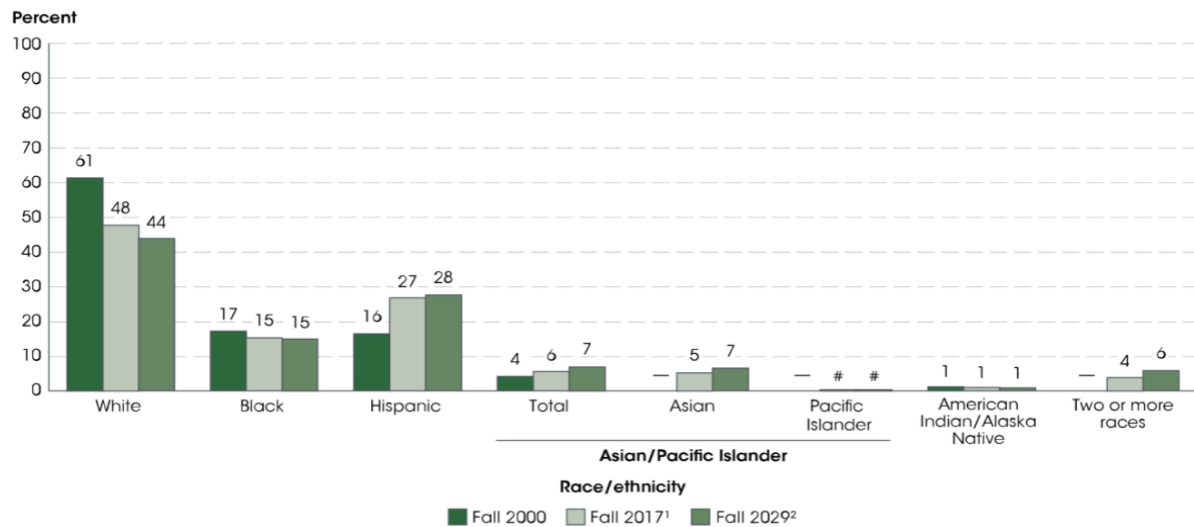
Education anthropologists' research has long suggested that pedagogy is rooted in educators' cultural beliefs and practices (Au & Jordan, 1981; Cazden & Leggett, 1981; Erickson & Mohatt, 1982; Ladson-Billings, 1998a). In her 1998 article "From Soweto to the South Bronx: African Americans and Colonial Education in the United States," Ladson-Billings (1998a) detailed the detrimental impact of Eurocentric curriculum, pedagogy, administration, and governance on students of color. Yet throughout the United States, the curriculum and instructional materials continue to reinforce the dominant white narrative and fail to affirm the identities of students of color (Banks, 2019).

These disparate outcomes continue as student populations have become increasingly diverse and while the teaching force remains predominantly white (Figure 1, Figure 2). From the fall of 2000 to the fall of 2017, the percentage of public school students of color increased from

39% to 52% (NCES, 2020b). By contrast, 79% of public school educators in 2017–2018 were still white, a shift of only 5% since 1999–2000, resulting in an expanding "demographic divide" between students and educators (Howard & Navarro, 2016). The growing demographic chasm between an increasingly racially diverse student population and a predominantly white teaching force will require that white educators accelerate their capacity to teach students of color effectively and that both preservice programs and school districts prepare them to do so.

Figure 1

Percentage Distribution of Student Enrollment in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools, by Race/Ethnicity^{2 3}



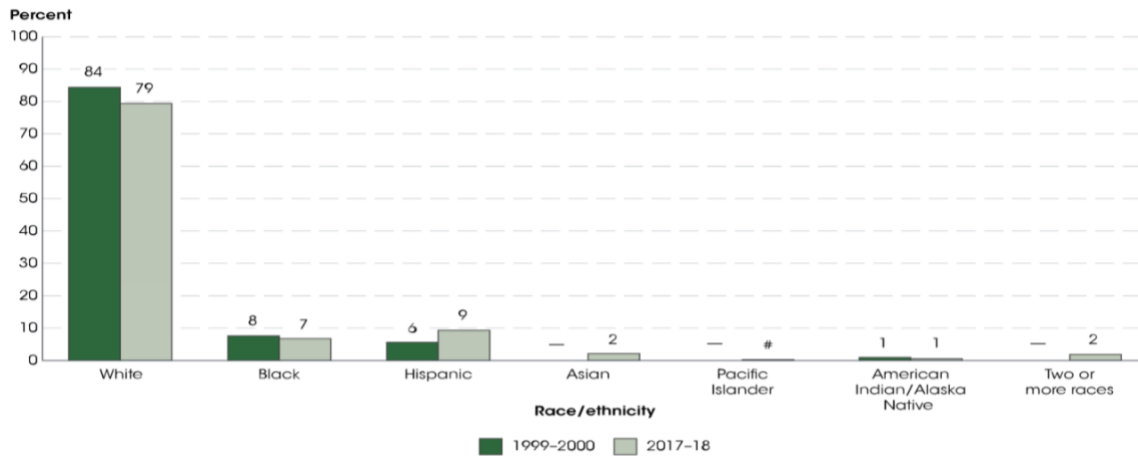
(NCES, 2020b)

² Data for 2029 are projected. Prior to 2008, separate data on students who were Asian, Pacific Islander, and of Two or more races were not collected; data for students who were Asian included students who were Pacific Islander, and students of Two or more races were required to select a single category from among the offered race/ethnicity categories (White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian/Alaska Native).

³ Prior to 2008, separate data on students who were Asian, Pacific Islander, and of Two or more races were not collected; data for students who were Asian included students who were Pacific Islander, and students of Two or more races were required to select a single category from among the offered race/ethnicity categories (White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, and American Indian/Alaska Native).

Figure 2

Percentage Distribution of Teachers in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools by Race/Ethnicity⁴



The systemic failure of schools and school systems to serve and affirm students of color requires a radical shift toward an anti-racist, culturally responsive pedagogy and a curriculum that reflects and empowers all students. While districts and institutions of higher education must certainly work to diversify the teaching force to be more reflective of the student population, we must simultaneously invest in expanding anti-racist work among the predominantly white educators who currently account for the majority of the teaching force (Landsman & Lewis, 2006). Current literature suggests that white educators tend to deny the "saliency of race, white identities, white privilege, or whiteness inherent in knowledge and social institutions" (Jupp et al., 2016, p. 1159; Chubbuck & Zembylas, 2008; Jupp & Lensmire, 2016; Matias, 2013; Young, 2011).

⁴ Data are based on a head count of full-time and part-time teachers rather than on the number of full-time equivalent teachers.

Far too often, white educators are unaware of or in denial of the deep-seated racism and white racial framing in the United States, including its schools, and have little sense of their own racial identity development (Amos, 2011; Bennett et al., 2017; Feagin, 2013; Jupp et al., 2016; Picower, 2009; Vaught & Castagno, 2008). Addressing and learning about racial history and theory issues must go hand in hand with changes in classroom practice and pedagogy. Furthermore, inequities persist because schools, districts, and educators pursue technical solutions that ignore the pervasive role racism plays in creating disparate outcomes (Castagno, 2014; Ladson-Billings, 2006; Milner, 2012). Finally, white people are the primary beneficiaries and guardians of racial privilege and therefore bear significant responsibility in either dismantling or perpetuating racial inequality, both in education and society at large (DiAngelo, 2017; Feagin, 2013; Jones & Okun, 2001; Leonardo, 2004; Singleton, 2015).

Frankenberg and Siegel-Hawley (2008) found that white educators, especially those in predominantly white districts, were least likely to report being prepared to teach students of diverse cultures. Their report for the Civil Rights Project noted that suburbs are where the most rapid racial change is occurring (Frankenberg & Siegel-Hawley, 2008). Diamond and Posey-Maddox (2020) reported that although 50% of the people of color in urban areas of the United States live in suburbs, 80% of the articles published between 2000 and 2018 in the top five journals of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) focused on urban schools; only 12% focused on suburban schools, and few studies regarding white educators of students of color in nonurban settings exist. There is a dearth of research in suburban schools. Therefore, it is of utmost importance to examine how anti-racist white educators come to exist and the role professional development plays in developing their anti-racist identity development and pedagogy, particularly in predominantly white suburban schools and districts.

Examining the impact of anti-racist professional development as perceived by white educators who identify as anti-racist and learning from their reflections provide a window through which we can address miseducation and the perpetuation of racism, oppression, and

marginalization in predominantly white schools, now and for future generations. This is essential if we intend to break the cycle of racism in our schools and country. Given the recent uptick in incidents of hate, racism, and white supremacy in the United States, there is a moral imperative to take up this work (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2020).

Problem Statement and Question

White educators account for almost 80% of the education workforce, while more than 50% of the children in their classrooms are students of color. Furthermore, their position of privilege in a racist society situates white educators to create change toward an anti-racist stance at the classroom level. The path forward lies in accelerating current and future white educators' learning in the areas of race and white racial identity, as well as anti-racist pedagogy that effectively serves and empowers students of color. Limited literature exists on effective professional development and training programs for accomplishing this work. While much of the research to date applies to the preservice setting more often than K-12 schools, the inservice literature suggests that white educators' racial identity development is a critical factor in the successful implementation of anti-racist practice (Jupp & Lensmire, 2016; Jupp et al., 2016; Matias, 2013; Matias et al., 2014; Picower, 2009; Vavrus, 2002).

This mixed methods study with an emphasis on qualitative research will examine white educators' perceptions of anti-racist professional development regarding their racial identity development and anti-racist liberatory practice in predominantly white districts in order to shine a light on professional development that can affect change in practice toward an anti-racist stance. The following research questions guide this inquiry:

1. According to white educators in predominately white (staff) districts engaging in anti-racist education, how did anti-racist professional development impact, if at all, their (a) white racial identity development, (b) understanding of racism and the white racial frame, and (c) practice toward an anti-racist stance?

2. Among white educators who self-identify as engaging in anti-racist practice, what informal and formal professional development has impacted their white racial identity development, understanding of the history of racism and the white racial frame, and anti-racist ideology and pedagogy?

An explanatory sequential mixed methods study with an emphasis on qualitative research was used to address the research questions. The study was conducted in two distinct phases. The first was a survey that collected both quantitative (closed items) and qualitative (open-ended items) data. The second was document analysis and interviews with a subset of educators who were surveyed in Phase One of the study. A comparative case study (CCS) was utilized to frame the cases, organize data, and analyze data. The survey was aligned with my conceptual framework and incorporated the following: educators' self-reported assessment of white racial identity development, history of racism in the United States, and anti-racist practice; their perceptions of professional development impact, if any, on their identity development, understanding of racism, and change in practice; and specific professional development events or experiences that impacted their racial identity development, understanding of racism, or anti-racist practice. Both phases of the study were conducted in the same two districts and in multiple schools across levels in those districts to support comparison and generalizability regarding white educators' perceptions of professional development.

The study was grounded in Critical Race Theory (Crenshaw, 2011; Delgado, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 1993; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Tate, 1997) that emphasized the importance of examining and understanding the sociocultural forces that shape how we and others perceive, experience, and respond to racism. We cannot separate the work of anti-racist professional development, white teacher racial identity development, and anti-racist practice from the theoretical and historical underpinnings of racism in the United States. If substantive change is to occur in schools, and I argue that it must, white educators must play a significant role in that change.

Definition of Terms

Anti-Racism

Anti-racism refers to the intentional "system of thoughts and practices that aim to confront and eradicate racism as well as ideologies and practices that promote equality for racial and ethnic groups" (Diem & Welton, 2021, p. 3).

Anti-Racist

Anti-racist is a descriptor for "people who have committed themselves, in thought, action, and practice to dismantling racism" (O'Brien, 2001, p. 4). The term *anti-racist* implies active engagement against racism and is distinct from not racist, which is a neutral status and does not infer being actively against racism.

Anti-Racist Education and Pedagogy

Anti-racist education (Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997) represents an active challenge to the ways racism manifests in schools and educational institutions whereby educators integrate anti-racist concepts and pedagogy in curriculum across disciplines, concurrently revealing the history, existence, and impact of racism to students. Anti-racist pedagogy is "a paradigm located within Critical Theory utilized to explain and counteract the persistence and impact of racism using praxis as its focus to promote social justice for the creation of a democratic society in every respect" (Blakeney, 2005, p. 119).

Educator

For the purpose of this study, educator is defined as any certified staff member in a school who works with students. That may include grade-level teachers, content-specific teachers, resource educators, specialists, student services staff members, instructional coaches, and administrators. (Note: In the literature, studies often refer to "teachers." In such cases, the literature review will use language consistent with the study when referring directly to the study but will use "educator" in summarizing the literature.)

Predominantly White (Staff) District

The term Predominantly white (staff) districts (PWD) is used to describe those districts where white staff account for the majority of the certified staff and are disproportionate compared to the racial demographics of the student population. Predominantly white (staff) districts continue to operate as predominantly white institutions as their student demographics become more diverse. Predominantly white institutions typically center on whiteness and marginalize the identities and perspectives of people of color (Radd & Grosland, 2019).

Professional Development

According to Little (1987), professional development refers to “any activity that is intended partly or primarily to prepare paid staff members for improved performance in present or future roles in the school district” (p. 491). Professional development may include any of the following: workshops, teacher inquiry, action research, coaching, mentoring, co-teaching, lesson study, virtual modules, simulations, conferences, summer institutes, and various combinations of these (Darling-Hammond et al., 2009).

Within the context of this study, I extend the definition of professional development to include both formal and informal activities that educators engage in independently or outside their professional roles.

Racial Identity

Racial identity is an individual’s sense of group identity based on their perception that they share “a common racial heritage with a particular racial group” (Helms, 1993, p. 3). It should be noted that race is a social construct and not reflective of genetic or biological distinctions among people.

Racism

Racism is the “set of institutional, cultural, and interpersonal patterns and practices that create advantages for people legally defined and socially constructed as 'white' and the corollary disadvantages for people defined as belonging to racial groups that were not

considered whites by the dominant power structure in the United States" (Castañeda & Zuñiga, 2013, p. 58).

Racist

A racist person is one who expresses racist ideas or supports racist policies by action or inaction (Kendi, 2019). This is much more expansive than people who make overtly racist statements and is also an adjective used to describe actions, texts, or policies that reflect prejudice against individuals or people of color.

Whiteness

Whiteness is not synonymous with white people, although white people frequently enact or perpetuate whiteness. Whiteness is "the specific dimension of racism that serves to elevate white people over people of color. . . . whiteness is dynamic, relational, and operating at all times and on myriad levels. These processes and practices include basic rights, values, beliefs, perspectives, and experiences purported to be commonly shared by all but which are actually only consistently afforded to white people" (DiAngelo, 2011, p. 56).

White Privilege

White privilege refers to the myriad ways that white people benefit from a racist society. It refers to "unearned advantages that are based solely on skin color and sometimes unnoticed by white people" (Rogers & Mosley, 2011, p. 466). Bennett et al. (2017) acknowledge that white privilege includes the "historic structural benefits resulting in psychological advantages that create different lived experiences for whites and minoritized populations" (p. 894).

White Racial Frame

Feagin (2013) conceptualized the white racial frame as "the dominant racial frame that has long legitimated, rationalized, and shaped racial oppression and inequality in this country. The white racial frame is a centuries-old worldview that has constantly involved a racial construction of societal reality by white Americans" (p. x).

White Supremacy

White supremacy is the social, cultural, economic, and political systems that collectively enable white people to attain and maintain power over people of other races (Merriam-Webster, n.d.). DiAngelo (2017) refers to white supremacy as the system that “rests on the historical and current accumulation of structural power that privileges, centralizes, and elevates white people as a group.”

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This mixed methods study with an emphasis on qualitative inquiry examines how white educators in predominantly white (staff) school districts (PWD) interpret anti-racist professional development in regard to their racial identity development and anti-racist practice. The study aims to identify professional development practices that show promise in supporting educators' anti-racist white racial identity development and practice toward an anti-racist stance. Racism in the United States and its schools is complex. Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a construct by which we can begin to understand the deeply ingrained systemic oppression and structural inequities in American society and our educational institutions. We cannot change our educational outcomes without understanding and reckoning with how we got here.

This study is grounded in CRT; therefore, rather than include it as a separate theory chapter, it is foundational to this review of the literature that aims to understand the racial dynamics of professional development, teacher identity, and pedagogy. To build a conceptual framework on the foundation provided by CRT, this study draws more specifically from critical whiteness studies and the white racial frame, including white educators and their racial identity development; anti-racist ideology and pedagogy, including anti-racist professional development; and andragogy, including professional development in general and liberatory adult learning theory.

Critical Race Theory

To frame Critical Race Theory for the purpose of this study, it is essential to understand its historical context and underpinnings since its origins do not lie in the field of education. Consequently, this literature strand begins with a synthesis of the work by the early legal scholars who introduced and developed the idea of CRT. The second subsection is a synthesis and review of the work by the scholars who first proposed the idea and developed CRT in education, including 10- and 20-year retrospective reviews of that seminal work. Finally, present-day research that utilized CRT as methodology or praxis to interpret or conceptualize

equity or anti-racist work is analyzed and summarized. Significant findings of those studies, particularly regarding the tenets of CRT, are synthesized, and shortcomings in CRT research in education are identified.

Historical Legal Context

Critical Race Theory is a theoretical framework in the social sciences that examines society and culture as they relate to race, law, and power (Brown & Jackson, 2013; Delgado, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 1993, 2013a, 2013b; McCoy & Rodricks, 2015). CRT originated in the legal field where it was born of frustration that the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s had stalled and gains were being lost. Delgado (1995) provided background for its beginnings.

Critical Race Theory sprang up in the mid-1970s with the early work of Derrick Bell (an African American) and Alan Freeman (a White), both of whom were deeply distressed over the slow pace of racial reform in the United States. They argued that the traditional approaches of filing amicus briefs, conducting protests and marches, and appealing to the moral sensibilities of decent citizens produced smaller and fewer gains than in previous times. Before long, they were being joined by other legal scholars who shared their frustration with traditional civil rights strategies (p. xiii).

Delgado and Stefancic (1993) noted that the development of CRT was an effort to establish new theories to understand and explain the complex relationship among race, racism, and American law, and to challenge the idea that the law was inherently neutral (McCoy & Rodricks, 2015; Yosso, 2005). As noted by Crenshaw and colleagues (1995), critical race theorists' primary aim was to "effect racially enlightened transformation of traditional legal doctrine" (p. 1367) and acknowledge the complicit role the law played in perpetuating oppressive structures in American society (Crenshaw, 1988). As such, CRT has both academic and activist goals, making it a particularly appropriate fit for this study.

Tenets of CRT in Education. Delgado and Stefancic (2013a, 2013b), Crenshaw (1988), Bell (1980a, 1980b), Harris (1993), and Tate (1997) identify several tenets of CRT. While

among authors there is some degree of variation regarding those tenets, there are several that are specific to CRT in education and to this study. For the purpose of this study, the focus is on the following seven tenets of CRT that frequently appear in education literature: (1) the notion that racism is endemic in U.S. society; (2) the challenge to the dominant narrative; (3) the critique of liberalism; (4) the concept of interest convergence; (5) the cognizance of race as a social construction; (6) the recognition of whiteness as property; and (7) the commitment to social justice.

Racism as Endemic. The first tenet asserts that racism has become normalized in American society. It is so commonplace, so ingrained in the very fabric of our culture that we fail to see or notice the myriad everyday racist policies and microaggressions that occur (Ladson-Billings, 1998b; McCoy & Rodricks, 2015; McIntosh, 2012; Taylor, 1998, 2009). From time to time, incidents are outrageous or disturbing enough to prompt public outcry. Still, they continue to happen over and over because they are typical recurring features of our society (Ladson-Billings, 2004b). The normalization of racism in our society can also be seen in our schools. If racism was solely the case of isolated incidents, there would be many examples of excellence and thriving success for students of color in our nation's public schools. Instead, such examples are the exception rather than the rule and highlight the endemic nature of racism in our system (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

Challenge to the Dominant Narrative. The second tenet, the challenge to the dominant narrative, is premised on the idea that culture self-perpetuates by creating its own reality, and this process can be disrupted with the introduction of narratives and stories that challenge the dominant culture. In American society, cultural self-interest protects the predominant white culture in a place of power and inherently disadvantages people of color, essentially ignoring or silencing their experiences and voices (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). The use of counter-narratives or counter-storytelling is helpful in both informing the oppressor and affirming those who have been marginalized. These challenges interrupt the dominant narrative and instead lift

the previously disadvantaged narrative (Cook, 2013; Delgado, 1995, 2013; McCoy & Rodricks, 2015; Pitre et al., 2021; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

Cook (2013), in her chapter on counter-storytelling in *Handbook of Critical Race Theory in Education*, illustrated the use of counter-storytelling as both theory and methodology in “Something Sweet,” her ethnography of Black educator experiences with post-Katrina school reform in New Orleans. The single largest displacement of Black educators since desegregation (approximately half of the Black teaching force in New Orleans) occurred due to the implementation of post-hurricane school reopenings. The voices, pedagogical expertise, and experience of Black educators were shut out of the post-hurricane reform movement. Cook focused on the experiences and voices of Black educators whose voices were being silenced and marginalized in order to provide a compelling counter-story.

Critique of Liberalism. Critique of liberalism is a refutation of the liberal faith in the system and its ability or inclination to ensure equal opportunity for all (Dixson & Rousseau Anderson, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 1999). Critical Race Theory scholars identify these three notions embraced in liberal legal ideology that are particularly problematic: color-evasiveness,⁵ the neutrality of the law, and incremental change (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). While these may appear to be desirable goals, they ignore the history and reality of race, racism, and power in the United States. The idea that either the law or people are color-evasive and do not notice race ignores the permanence and persistence of racism in the United States and is equivalent

⁵ I have chosen to use the term “color-evasiveness” in place of colorblindness that is commonly used in Critical Race Theory (Annamma, et al., 2017; Diem & Welton, 2021). According to Annamma and colleagues, “Color-evasiveness, as an expansive racial ideology, resists positioning people with disabilities as problematic as it does not partake in dis/ability as a metaphor for undesired. . . . Color-blindness, as a racial ideology, conflates lack of eyesight with lack of knowing. Said differently, the inherent ableism in this term equates blindness with ignorance. However, inability to see is not ignorance; in fact, blindness provides unique ways of understanding the world to which sighted people have no access” (pp. 153–154).

to the equity versus equality argument (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). Treating everyone the same when we know that the system is already imbalanced is a flawed principle. The idea of neutrality of the law is also dismissive of reality. Evidence that the laws in the United States are not neutral is born out in countless data. Finally, the idea of incremental change favors those in power in both the legal realm and in schools (Ladson-Billings, 1998b). Those who are oppressed and marginalized are not asking that change come slowly.

Interest Convergence. Interest convergence is the concept that white people will give up power only when necessary or when it benefits them (Bell, 1980a, 1980b, 1989; Brown & Jackson, 2013; Dudziak, 1988; Ladson-Billings, 2013; McCoy & Rodricks, 2015). As Dudziak (1988) noted, the *Brown vs. Board of Education* desegregation case decision came at a point in history when the government and white elites' interests aligned with Black civil rights leaders' interests. There is an argument in the *Brown* case that there was executive pressure on the courts in favor of desegregation because it improved America's credibility in its campaign against communism, assured Black Americans that progress was being made, and was essential in supporting economic growth in the South in the transition from an agrarian to an industrialized economy (Bell, 1980a, 1980b; Brown & Jackson, 2013; Milner et al., 2013).

Alternative implementations of desegregation such as the desegregation of funding and control of schools would have benefited Black students more (Bell, 1989). In addition, not all impacts of desegregation on students of color have been positive, such as the mass loss of Black educators and partnerships with families of Black students (Ladson-Billings, 2004a; Lightfoot, 1980). Furthermore, because other anti-racist reforms did not accompany desegregation of schools and because more recent Supreme Court decisions have not upheld desegregation efforts (Donnor, 2013; Harris, 1993; Richmond, 2012), schools in much of the United States are as segregated today as they were in the late 1960s (Richmond, 2012). Desegregation was supported when it was beneficial to the broader (white) interests of the

country but is not supported by the courts or legislation when it no longer converges with white interests.

Race as a Social Construct. The fifth tenet, race as a social construct, reflects the widely held agreement among scientists, geneticists, anthropologists, and sociologists that race is not a scientific reality (Ladson-Billings, 2013; Parker & Lynn, 2009; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). Nevertheless, the social reality of race as an arbiter of difference is very real. While critical race theorists accept the scientific understanding that there is no scientific or genetic difference among humans based on race, they also acknowledge that individuals face significant disparities resulting from perceived differences because of socially constructed beliefs regarding difference.

Whiteness as Property. The construction of whiteness as property stems from the observations that whiteness has been granted actual legal status, moving it beyond privileged identity to a vested interest. According to Harris (1993) and other scholars (Banks, 2019; Donnor, 2013; Ladson-Billings, 1998b; Pitre et al., 2021), property has historically been a right in the United States, and the law has accorded “holders of whiteness the same privileges and benefits accorded holders of other types of property” (p. 1731). Because racism is normalized and so deeply embedded in American society, whiteness carries with it exclusive benefits, material components, and privileges. In the contemporary educational setting, schools are the most segregated they have been since the Supreme Court’s desegregation ruling (Richmond, 2012); disparities in school funding, policies, and practices continue to preserve access to quality public schools as white students’ property (Donnor, 2013). When school districts or institutions implement measures to support integration, parents and the courts often counter with arguments of choice, individualism, and color-evasiveness that sound universal but actually benefit whiteness through privilege and social status.

Such is the case in *PICS (Parents Involved in Community Schools) v. Seattle School District No. 1*, when the Seattle district applied racial integration as one of a series of tiebreakers

(3rd) in their Open Choice Plan. The Court, breaking with *Brown vs. Board of Education*, ruled against the School District. Unlike *Brown*, there was no interest convergence to support an integration ruling in this case (Donnor, 2013). Harris (1993) and Donnor (2013) use the ruling as an example of protecting whiteness as a property right.

Commitment to Social Justice. At its heart, Critical Race Theory is a call to action. The goal is undoubtedly to critique and challenge, but it is also to do so in order to transform the culture and establish a socially just society and educational system (McCoy & Rodricks, 2015). A commitment to social justice and an inherent call to action underlie CRT (Chapman, 2013; Parker & Villalpando, 2007; Solórzano, 1998; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). As such, CRT conceptualizes a liberatory or transformative response to racism. Twenty years after the first publication of their work, Delgado and Stefancic (2013b) continue to make the argument that the intractable nature of racism continues to matter in the United States, and therefore white privilege also matters. While this work was grounded in legal scholarship, concerns about lack of civil rights progress, as well as issues of race and inequity, existed in other fields; however, it wasn't until the 1990s that CRT became the focus of scholarly work in education. Through empowerment and by linking theory with practice, the commitment to social justice in education focuses on the abolition of racism (Solórzano, 1998) and the elimination of all forms of subordination, be it race, gender, language, or socioeconomic status (Lynn & Parker, 2006; McCoy & Rodricks, 2015; Parker & Villalpando, 2007; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

Critical Race Theory in Education Scholarship

Race as a scholarly inquiry was relatively undeveloped and untheorized until the mid-1990s, despite its clear significance as demonstrated by decades of disparate educational outcomes and documented disparities in access and spending. Until then, many scholars examined inequality issues in education by focusing on class and gender (Lynn & Parker, 2006). Concerned that race remained a significant factor in society and particularly in education, Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) first argued for a CRT in education analogous to that

established in legal scholarship, noting the complete absence of examples of educational excellence and equity in the United States. Referring to Kozol's work (2012), they argued that disparate educational experiences were a predictable outcome of a racialized American society where discussions of race and racism were both muted and marginalized.

Ladson-Billings (1998) used the areas of curriculum, instruction, assessment, school funding, and desegregation as exemplars of the correlation that could be made between education and CRT. The Eurocentric curriculum in US schools, as noted by Swartz (1992), was designed to maintain and privilege a (primarily male) white supremacist master transcript, while simultaneously muting and erasing other narratives. According to Ladson-Billings (1998b), CRT suggests that instruction for Black students was often premised on a deficit-oriented belief that their academic skills required remediation and at-risk strategies. Padilla (2004) and other scholars (Lightfoot, 1980; Pang et al., 2004; Rodriguez et al., 2004) noted that many identifiable "standardized" assessment measures, most notably IQ tests, were normed against middle-class white children and then used as the standard against which all other student groups were compared. These measures then demonstrated an artificial inferiority that was predetermined by the design of the measures themselves. Ladson-Billings (1998b) argued that inequality in school funding was the result of both institutional and structural racism, driven in large part by state funding systems driven by property taxes. Finally, CRT scholars argued that desegregation had been promoted in ways that primarily benefited white people (Bell, 1980a, 1980b; Dudziak 1998; Ladson-Billings, 2004a) through, for example, magnet school options and is not supported when interest convergence doesn't exist as previously mentioned (Harris, 1993; Donnor, 2013). Ladson-Billings' (2009, 2021) more recent work has added discipline as a seventh exemplar, given that Black, Latinx, and American Indian students face disproportionate disciplinary consequences, including suspensions and expulsions, than their white peers, especially in suburban PWDs (Gregory et al., 2010).

Seeing the correlations between education and CRT in the legal field, early Critical Race Theorists in the field of education, particularly Ladson-Billings (1995, 1997, 1998b, 1999) and Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995, 1997), believed that CRT held promise in addressing racial oppression by transforming education policy, research, and practice. They saw the potential to move anti-racist work in schools beyond an inferiority or deficit paradigm, but they also acknowledged that the application of CRT in education would require extensive research. Their work was not put forward without concerns or cautions. The first such concern was the pattern in the education field of reducing complex theories, reforms, and praxis to simplistic and thus less effective versions of their intent. This included going so far as sacrificing the intent (e.g., justice for the oppressed) while trying to maintain the “hegemonic rule of the oppressor”; in other words, appeasing or privileging whiteness even when trying to achieve racial justice (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 62). The second concern was that operationalizing CRT as a mechanism of transformation in education would be rejected by the field because it required not only acknowledging racism in education but also committing to radical change.

In their exploration of the implications of critical pedagogy, CRT, and anti-racist education, Sleeter and Delgado Bernal (2004) addressed the expansive potential and implications of CRT in education:

One might think of CRT in education as a developing theoretical, conceptual, methodological, and pedagogical strategy that accounts for the role of race and racism in U.S. education and works toward the elimination of racism as part of a larger goal of eliminating other forms of subordination (p. 245).

Solórzano and Yosso (2002) echoed this argument in their article, advocating for Critical Race Theory to include a critical race methodology. They cited the power of CRT counter-stories as not just theoretical but also methodological and pedagogical tools that could be employed to challenge racism, sexism, and classism as sources of transformative resistance.

These conceptualizations of CRT reinforced the commitment to social justice and emphasized the unique and expansive role that CRT possesses well beyond most theoretical frameworks.

Educational Applications of CRT in Research

Critical Race Theory has seen continued, albeit slow, growth in educational scholarship (Lynn & Dixon, 2013; Lynn & Parker, 2006; McCoy & Rodricks, 2015; Solóranzo & Yosso, 2002). Much of the CRT literature that transcends theory can be broadly categorized as either CRT as methodology or CRT as praxis.

CRT as Methodology. Shortly after putting forth the argument that CRT be applied to education, Ladson-Billings sought to apply the theory in two of her own studies (1997, 1999). The first was her two-and-a-half-year qualitative study of effective pedagogical teacher practice for African American students. Focused on educators that parents and principals identified as successful, Ladson-Billings' intensive classroom observations found that the eight educators refused to employ race-neutral or color-evasive approaches, made conscious decisions to "make race problematic" (p. 136), challenged students' perceptions about race and racialized norms, and empowered students who were otherwise marginalized and helped them create strategies that supported justice. By amplifying the voices of parents of African American students to identify effective teachers, Ladson-Billings aligned both methodology and findings with the tenets of CRT. This supported further CRT scholarship in education, as well as meaningful dialogue around race and the examination of a pedagogy that made race problematic and empowered students of color (Ladson-Billings, 1997).

In the second study, Ladson-Billings (1999) conducted a synthetic review of the literature on diversity and teacher education with the failure orientation of the studies reframed through a Critical Race Theory perspective. This approach leveraged counter-story and counter-knowledge through the use of narrative as a methodological qualitative tool. The review worked to unpack teacher preparation for diverse learners and describe six examples of teacher preparation that employed a CRT perspective (four teacher educators and two preparation

programs). Ladson-Billings found that while exemplar programs were few and far between, CRT was useful in sifting out programs oriented toward anti-racist practice that challenged normative discourse and successfully prepared teachers for diverse student populations.

Other early applications of CRT methodology include studies by Solórzano and Villalpando (Solórzano, 1998; Solórzano & Villalpando, 1998), who expanded application beyond the Black-white paradigm. To understand the continued underrepresentation of students of color in higher education, Solórzano and Villalpando (1998) employed CRT through a lens of marginality to investigate the experiences of students of color in higher education. The authors' interviews revealed the degree to which higher education reflected the contradictions and racial barriers that exist throughout the broader society. The interviews unveiled students' dependence on resistant cultural capital in achieving success—the precarious balance between conforming to hegemonic norms in environments that celebrated multiculturalism while simultaneously resisting and pushing against racialized bias, structural exclusion, and low expectations. Solórzano (1998) administered 68 open-ended surveys and conducted 12 follow-up interviews with Chicana/Chicano doctoral scholars in his examination of the impact of racial and gender microaggression on participants' careers paths. By centering race in the analysis, Solórzano used CRT as a data analysis framework. He also argued for consideration of intersectionality with gender and class in CRT research. In their 2001 and 2002 works, Solórzano and Yosso posited CRT as informing a critical race methodology that could challenge the deficit approach that traditional research epistemologies posed to people of color and their experiences in the U.S. educational system. They argued that methodology characterized as objective actually perpetuated deficit and racialized conceptions of students of color, and this methodology therefore privileged majoritarian storytelling. The idea that traditional research methodologies reproduce or exacerbate inequities (Pasque et al., 2012) is consistent with CRT and will be explicated further in the research design and methods chapter.

Vass (2014) utilized CRT as a mechanism for analyzing research on the achievement

gap for Indigenous students in Australia. He also used it in conjunction with a creative analytical account of teacher perspectives as he interviewed teachers through a CRT lens about policy initiatives and educational structures relative to equity work, referencing the work of Vaught and Castagno (2008) in that approach. In this work he identified a tendency to avoid or silence engagement with or conversation about race among the educators he studied. Vass' study and findings are notable because much of the foundational scholarship on CRT in education is premised on the predictability of racial disparities in the United States, which is attributed to our racialized history. Yet this study suggests that CRT may transcend the U.S.-specific racial context and that its utility may apply across contexts of racialized oppression. Vass also encouraged further research regarding CRT in education as both a theoretical framework for study and a tool for addressing inequities by better equipping teachers. Vass posed an important question about the role, if there should be one, of white scholars in the field of CRT research. On that particular matter, Milner (2007) and Bergerson (2003) assert that there is a role for white scholars, with the stipulation that care and attention are provided to reflexivity and methods.

Application of the Tenets. More recent scholarship has focused on using the tenets of CRT as mechanisms for countering the majoritarian narrative and disrupting racism, particularly with counter-story. Three such studies include those by Amiot and colleagues (2020), Matias and colleagues (2014), and DeCuir and Dixson (2004). Amiot and colleagues (2020) utilized counter-story through CRT to study social justice leadership, including that of the two lead authors since they applied the tenets of CRT in establishing racial equity pathways in their racially diverse middle school in the mountain region of the United States. While the authors found benefits in using CRT as a tool of both analysis and strategy in equity work, the limited scope of the study (use of an equity audit in one school over one school year) and the fact that a number of the school leaders left after that first year of study would make further investigation a prerequisite to generalizability.

Matias and colleagues (2014) utilized Critical Whiteness Studies (CWS) to support CRT in their study of 16 teacher candidates at an urban Western state university with an emphasis on social justice and equity who were student teaching in urban schools with a high percentage of Black and Brown students. Premised on CRT as centralizing counter-stories (Black imagination) and decentralizing white normative discourse, the authors looked at white teachers' responses to centering Black imagination. The study found that teachers' inability to deconstruct their white identity had a negative impact on their ability to engage in anti-racist teaching in urban schools. DeCuir and Dixson (2004) chronicled in detail the experiences of two Black students at an elite, predominantly white high school and illustrated how CRT and each of its tenets could be used to examine, critique, and illustrate K-12 school practices that are both overtly and covertly racist. They noted the importance of a focus on social change in CRT research and the expansive potential of CRT and its tenets beyond the often singular focus on counter-story.

Two of the largest-scale reviews of research on CRT in education since Ladson-Billings and Tate's (1995) seminal work were conducted by Adrienne Dixson and Celia Rousseau Anderson (Dixson & Rousseau Anderson, 2005, 2018). They conducted two historical analyses and critiques of CRT in education approximately 10 and 20 years after Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) first proposed applying CRT to education. In their first retrospective analysis, they noted that while educational scholarship in education was expanding, the degree to which CRT had effected changes in educational policy and practice was unclear. Twenty-three years after the publication of their first article, Dixson and Rousseau Anderson (2018) acknowledged that significant expansion of educational scholarship on CRT, both in publications and AERA presentations, had occurred but cited concerns that it had not resulted in a well-defined body of research. Emphasizing the activist nature of CRT, they recommended more work be done to connect theory to practice. Dixson and Rousseau Anderson's analysis identified two tenets of CRT that were problematic in education research; namely, interest convergence and whiteness

as property. The former is confirmed by Milner, Pearman, and McGee (2013), the latter by Vaught and Castagno (2008).

Milner, Pearman, and McGee (2013) examined interest convergence in extant research on teacher preparation and identified four points of intersection among interest convergence, teacher preparation, and CRT-oriented policy; namely, curriculum and instruction policies, racial background of teacher educators, routes into teaching, and school-university partnership incentives. They found interest convergence effective as both a problematizing and reformatory tool and suggested it could simultaneously address the undertheorization of race in education and serve to advance critical understanding of race and racism in schools by all teachers; however, they also noted the relative dearth of research in this area. Vaught and Castagno (2008) conducted two ethnographic studies of teachers' attitudes toward race, racism, and white privilege in response to equity-focused professional development in their districts. While these studies suggested that white privilege was a crucial component of teacher training, the authors determined it must occur through the lens of whiteness as property and that individual empathy alone is insufficient in effecting change. It must be accompanied by structural change at the systems (district) level. Without that, even whiteness as property can be co-opted to reinforce racist frameworks. While the methodological use of tenets beyond counter-storytelling is limited, researchers have found the use of CRT tenets effective in educational scholarship.

Dixson and Rousseau (2005) also noted the limited application of CRT to mixed methodology research and asserted that CRT as a methodology is neither inherently qualitative nor quantitative. This sentiment was echoed by DeCuir-Gunby and Walker-DeVose (2013), who argued for the need to expand beyond traditional counter-story to critical methodology that incorporates quantitative methods and particularly a mixed methods approach. In her 2010 literature review analyzing the application of CRT to primarily adult education and discourse on race and racism, Closson (2010) noted the relatively limited critique of CRT in the research, the prevalence of qualitative research on CRT compared to a small body of quantitative research,

the limited triangulation of data in studies, and the concern that CRT researchers avoided too much focus on endemic racism and white privilege since it may be off-putting to the large number of white educators in policy and practitioner roles. This critique resonates as counter to the principles of CRT and instead reinforces the white normative, although Closson's concerns about appeal to white educators could be paired with Milner and colleagues' (2013) recommendation regarding interest convergence.

By contrast, Pasque and colleagues (2012) encourage equity-minded scholars to move beyond traditional methodology toward critical approaches that are often minimized and marginalized in traditional research. While the idea of critique resonates with CRT, the idea that it must conform to traditional, normative research methodologies does not; in fact, Pasque and her colleagues point out that it is traditional methodologies that have reproduced and exacerbated current inequities and injustices (also see Parker & Lynn, 2009; Lynn & Parker, 2006). As far back as *Sociology of Education*, Torres and Mitchell (1998) suggested the growing scholarship in education on topics of class, race, ethnicity, and gender would require emerging methodologies and epistemological approaches that departed from positivism and empiricism. As scholarship in CRT has grown, its use in countering the majoritarian narrative and expanding the boundaries of research methodology and analysis have also grown.

CRT as Praxis. Praxis refers to the practical application of a theory or branch of learning or the synthesis of theory and practice. While CRT has been used successfully as an approach to practice, it has had more limited use than in theory or methodology. Research studies by Young (2011), Maddamsetti (2020), and Lac (2017) demonstrate the application of CRT to praxis. In her action research and critical case study, Young used CRT in collaborative inquiry with educators focused on the persistence of racism in urban schools. Young's purpose was twofold: utilize professional development to raise the race consciousness of educators by engaging them in the critical discourse tenets of CRT and lean on participants' understanding of CRT to co-construct a pedagogy grounded in culturally relevant and anti-racism principles.

Maddamsetti's (2020) ethnographic case study focused on how a white language teacher's understanding of race affected her teaching practices in an urban elementary school English language program with predominantly Cape Verdean immigrant students. Maddamsetti found that the degree of effective practice was significantly limited by the teacher's understanding of race in the United States and recommended the use of a critical theory-oriented praxis to help teachers interrogate and disrupt whiteness in language classrooms. The author noted the importance of expanded research on the intersection among culturally relevant practice, teacher positioning and understanding of race and racism, and disrupting whiteness. While Young and Maddamsetti studied the practice of teachers in urban schools, Lac's research focused on her own practice.

Lac (2017) engaged in teacher action research as she implemented a critical race pedagogy curriculum, pairing the liberatory practices of critical pedagogy with CRT in her own classroom. Her focus as a teacher-researcher was on developing a high school curriculum that emphasized teaching about racial injustice and educational inequities to minoritized youth who were interested in entering the teaching profession. Lac argues that teachers must ground their anti-racist work on a larger structural analysis of race and racism. She also cited the limited examples of this type of work in the literature as problematic for practitioners; teachers need more models of CRT as praxis. Lac raised the idea of students' place in CRT work and called for more research connecting theory, research, and praxis.

In summary, Critical Race Theory is a discourse of liberation (Parker & Lynn, 2009) and a mechanism for analyzing race and racism in schools. While CRT in education has seen continued and steady growth since it was first posited by Ladson-Billings and Tate in the mid-1990s, scholars agree that it is still under-utilized and has not reached its potential as a theoretical framework, as a methodological and analytical tool, or as an asset through its application to practice (Amiot et al., 2020; Ladson-Billings, 2009; McCoy & Rodricks, 2015). This review of the literature has identified the following three opportunities for the expansion of CRT

research in education that are relevant to this study: CRT as methodology in quantitative and mixed methods studies, the application of CRT tenets beyond counter-narrative and counter-storytelling, and CRT as praxis. In particular, the call to praxis has increased in recent years given the much more limited corpus of praxis literature and CRT's potential in leveraging theory to address racial disparities in schools (Howard & Navarro, 2016; Ladson-Billings, 2006). CRT's application in the K-12 setting must be expanded if that potential is to be fully realized.

Critical Whiteness Studies

Critical to understanding race and racism is understanding the role of whiteness in producing and reproducing privilege and oppression. In this section, Critical whiteness studies and the white racial frame, white privilege, and white supremacy will be explicated. Whiteness is “the specific dimension of racism that serves to elevate white people over people of color” (DiAngelo, 2011, p. 56). This analysis will mainly address whiteness as it is related to white teachers and schools. Relevant research on white teachers, white racial identity development, and the White Racial Identity Development Model and White Racial Identity Attitude Scale will also be reviewed.

Critical whiteness studies (CWS) is a growing field of scholarship related to Critical Race Theory (Rogers & Mosley, 2011). Research in this field aims to examine the social, cultural, political, and economic structures that produce and reproduce white privilege and white supremacy (Applebaum, 2016; Engles, 2006; Levine-Rasky, 2000; Matias, 2013a), and scholars “seek to theorize and problematize the construction of whiteness as an absent racial category and dominant social norm . . . connected to institutional power and privileges that benefit white Americans” (Rogers & Mosley, 2011, p. 466). CWS examines how white privilege and supremacy are connected complicitly to racism and how they presume that white people will come to recognize and acknowledge both their privilege and white supremacy at the individual and systemic level (Applebaum, 2016). CWS is premised on the idea that racism coexists with and is cultivated by advantages for white people at the expense of racialized groups (Levine-

Rasky, 2000).

Chen (2017) notes that textual analysis, discourse analysis, and in-depth interviewing are employed as methodology most frequently in CWS, whereas storytelling, counter-stories, oral history, ethnography, and participatory action research are most common in CRT. Chen's analysis may bear out across fields, but within the realm of education research, participatory action research seems less prevalent except in studies that engage students; furthermore, her interpretation of methodology for CRT and CWS is relatively narrow. The previously cited study by Matias and colleagues (2014) provides an example of combining CRT and CWS through counter-stories as methodology. As previously stated, CRT scholars (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005; DeCuir-Gunby & Walker-DeVose, 2013) argue that CRT is neither inherently qualitative nor quantitative as a methodology.

The complicity of white people includes both action that is overt and wrongful and inaction, either intentional or unintentional. When white people fail to interrogate their personal responsibility in white privilege and white supremacy, their lack of action to disrupt racism has harmful effects on people of color (Applebaum, 2016; Cullen, 2014). Rather than reinforce the invisibility of whiteness, CWS endeavors to make whiteness visible to draw awareness to the pervasive nature of the white normative across all aspects of society and education (Applebaum, 2016; Chen, 2017) and frames whiteness as the core of educational inequity and key to addressing the systemic problem (Levine-Rasky, 2000).

The importance of critique cannot be emphasized enough with respect to CWS, especially in the work of white scholars. In making whiteness visible, care must be taken to ensure that whiteness is not centered and that the critique does not become complicit in whiteness, the very thing it seeks to disrupt (Ahmed, 2007; Applebaum, 2016; Berchini, 2017). Furthermore, it should be noted that whiteness as race is socially constructed and therefore a problematic concept (Chen, 2017; Matias, 2013a). Chen (2017), in her synthetic review of whiteness studies, acknowledges the dilemma in focusing on whiteness and researching from

the white perspective yet argues that whiteness studies make a substantial contribution in the examination of racism, racialization, and anti-racist work. Foundational to employing CWS is understanding how whiteness has been framed in a racialized and oppressive way in the United States.

The White Racial Frame

Feagin (2013) has developed the concept of the white racial frame as “the dominant racial frame that has long legitimated, rationalized, and shaped racial oppression and inequality in this country. The white racial frame is a centuries-old worldview that has constantly involved a racial construction of societal reality by white Americans” (p. x). According to Feagin, “the white racial frame includes a broad and persisting *set of racial stereotypes, prejudices, ideologies, interlinked interpretations and narratives, and visual images*. It also includes *racialized emotions and racialized reactions to language accents and imbeds inclinations to discriminate*” (p. xi).

The white racial frame is the result of centuries of racism in the United States. Feagin (2013) uses the “house” metaphor to describe white-imposed racism as part of the structural foundation of the United States and that racial oppression was built into the very foundation of our country; therefore, systemic racism exists at the micro (individual and interpersonal) and macro (institutional) levels throughout society. Because of the white racial frame, whiteness is both normative and virtuous while negative stereotypes of people of color are perpetuated. Furthermore, the white racial frame denies the magnitude, if not the existence, of racism (Feagin, 2013).

Feagin (2013) describes counter-framing, deframing, and reframing as critical in efforts to dismantle racism. People of color adopt both anti-oppression counter-frames and home-culture frames as resistance to the white racial frame. Americans of color have employed anti-oppression counter-frames as acts of survival, freedom, and, over time, resistance to and critical and strategic action against racism. Home-culture frames developed as people of color resisted pressure to conform to the dominant white Eurocentric culture. Deframing is the process of

deconstructing and critically examining elements of the white racial frame and, in the case of educators, analyzing institutionalized racism in schools. Reframing is the work of accepting and creating a new frame to replace the white racial frame. An example of reframing can be found in Hughes and colleagues' (2007) quantitative study of children's responses to learning about racism; white students who had lessons in racism demonstrated reduced racial bias.

Hughes and colleagues' (2007) study underscored the importance of understanding the white racial frame and its implications in education for educators and students and the use of counter-framing, deframing, and reframing to dismantle racism. The white racial frame is Feagin's (2013) interpretation of the centuries-old structures of systemic white dominance and oppression that still exist today, understanding that it is foundational to contextualizing white privilege and white supremacy in the United States.

White Privilege and White Supremacy

White Privilege. White privilege is the term used to describe how white people benefit from a racist society. It refers to the psychological advantages and unearned benefits that create different lived experiences for white people and people of color, based solely on skin color. These are often subtle privileges that white people may or may not notice (Bennett et al., 2017; Chen, 2017; McIntosh, 1988, 1992; Rogers & Mosley, 2011). McIntosh (1992), in her 1989 "invisible knapsack" essay, described white privilege as "an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, maps, passports, codebooks, visas, clothes, tools and blank checks" (p. 30).

McIntosh detailed 46 examples of the daily effects of white privilege in her life that her coworkers, friends, and acquaintances of color could not expect. These examples ranged from finding Band-Aids that matched her skin tone to knowing that her children would be given curriculum materials that testified to the existence of their race. McIntosh's metaphor and original article, which has been presented at various conferences and published on several sites and in many anthologies, has become the most commonly used resource in white privilege

pedagogy (Applebaum, 2016; Lensmire et al., 2013). Because of this widespread use, it is paramount that a critical lens is applied, especially to whites' role in white privilege, white supremacy, and racism.

While McIntosh's (1988, 1992) metaphor of white privilege as the invisible knapsack of unearned assets continues to draw citations in education literature in theoretical and praxis applications, it illustrates the danger of simplifying a complex concept and the crucial role of critique in anti-racist work. Three analyses of the knapsack metaphor that show multiple perspectives on white privilege and McIntosh's work are those by Levine-Rasky (2000), Collins (2018), Lensmire and colleagues (2013), and Leonardo (2004). Levine-Rasky's (2000) interpretation of white privilege is the closest to McIntosh's; however, she points out that arguments like McIntosh's ignore the historical, political, and economic context of white privilege. Both McIntosh and Levine-Rasky take a more passive approach to white culpability in white privilege. Levine-Rasky (2000) recommends treating whiteness as a constructed category, which it is, rather than as an individual or group attribute. As part of a strategy to avoid white defensiveness, this suggestion entangles the legitimate concern of the social construction of race with catering to white fragility. Levine-Rasky argues this as an issue of *how* to address white privilege instead of *who* to address; however, in prioritizing white comfort, the approach also reinforces white privilege.

Collins (2018), like Lensmire and colleagues (2013), proposed a more complex interpretation of white privilege. He advocated expanding the unearned advantage definition and that examination must incorporate who built the system of white privilege and who actively perpetuates it. Lensmire and colleagues (2013) share their in-depth study and analysis of McIntosh's text through their work at the Midwest Critical Whiteness Collective, including their work using the reading in other settings. They noted the following concerns with the original McIntosh (1992) text: the narrative implies that lessening white privilege would directly decrease the oppression of people of color; the article discusses systemic oppressions, though the

examples of privilege are all at the individual level; the text has no critique of white privilege, no discussion of responsibility on the part of white people, and no call to action; the privileges listed were a conflation of human rights and privileges; and the concepts of both white privilege and white racial identity were simplified. Lensmire and colleagues (2013), like Leonardo (2004), also cautioned against centering white privilege in anti-racist work instead of focusing on (dismantling) white supremacy.

White Supremacy. According to Merriam-Webster, white supremacy is the social, cultural, economic, and political systems that collectively enable white people to maintain power over people of other races. DiAngelo (2017) elaborates, “We use the term to refer to a sociopolitical, economic system of domination based on racial categories that benefit those defined and perceived as white. This system rests on the historical and current accumulation of structural power that privileges, centralizes, and elevates white people as a group.” DiAngelo (2017) argues that naming white supremacy is essential because it shifts the problem to white people who bear responsibility for either perpetuating or ending racism. White people control the systems and institutions from which they draw their privilege, which are inherently racist.

Leonardo (2004) also advocates for a more critical approach to white privilege, noting that privilege and hegemony don’t exist in a vacuum. He argues that domination in the form of white supremacy must occur in order for white privilege to exist. McIntosh’s backpack metaphor is less critical and relatively devoid of white responsibility, yet privilege and supremacy continue because white people recreate and perpetuate them. Scholars and practitioners risk rearticulating privilege if critical discourse does not also address white supremacy (Leonardo, 2004).

Even when people of color lead organizations or institutions, they may still promote white norms because white supremacy culture is powerful (Jones & Okun, 2001). Okun (2010) explains, “Because one of the roles of culture is to teach us, condition us, socialize us into our understanding of what’s normal, what’s valuable, what to believe and what to question, as we

act out of our conditioned understanding, we reinforce the cultural dynamics that keep white supremacy in place” (p. 7). Thus, an important distinction that Leonardo (2004) and Jones and Okun (2001) (Okun, 2010) make is that the study of white privilege alone is insufficient as an anti-racist study; it must be studied in conjunction with an interrogation of white supremacy and with the intention to engender action.

White Educators

The literature on white teachers and their understanding of whiteness, including their own, their understanding of white privilege and systemic racism and the application of these principles in their practice encompasses studies focused on both preservice and inservice teachers. Both are relevant to this study. The literature on white preservice teachers provides valuable information about the experiences, pedagogy, and beliefs of those who are entering the teaching ranks, and the literature on inservice teachers lends insight to the current state in K-12 schools and informs the focus of necessary professional development, including content and andragogy.

Preservice Teachers. Among the studies reviewed, there were few positive examples of white preservice teachers acknowledging white privilege and its role in perpetuating systemic inequities and racism. Bennett and colleagues (2017) conducted a narrative literature review to examine how researchers addressed the concept of white privilege in teacher education and identified 26 relevant studies. Half of the studies reported that preservice teachers had difficulty connecting race-based privilege to systemic inequities, and one-quarter of the studies didn't directly address the need for educators to address white privilege. Several studies interpreted whiteness as a barrier between preservice teacher acknowledgment of race-based privilege and systemic inequities, as exemplified by Amos (2011), Crowley and Smith (2015), Matias and colleagues (2014), and Picower (2009).

Amos (2011) examined 54 white teacher candidates' beliefs toward race and ethnicity during their participation in her required multicultural education course at a rural Pacific

Northwest university. She analyzed preservice teachers' reflection papers and her observation journal from class meetings and found that they held stereotypical beliefs about people of color, blamed groups of color for perpetuating racism, believed themselves to be nonbiased and able to put aside their stereotypes in the classroom, and acknowledged white privilege while wallowing in their victimization and suffering. The 27 preservice social studies teachers that Crowley and Smith (2015) studied, 20 of whom were white, resisted identifying white privilege as a form of racism and instead preferred an individual understanding of racism. They utilized their personal experiences as evidence to accept or reject particular aspects of white privilege.

Matias and her colleagues (2014) interviewed 16 preservice candidates who were student teaching in urban schools with high percentages of students of color. They identified four consistent themes in those interviews: (1) they were emotionally (dis)invested in racial justice, (2) they recognized being white but did not engage further than that, (3) they resonated in white guilt, and (4) they engaged in an endorsement of hegemonic whiteness. In summary, while preservice teachers verbalized a commitment to social justice, it was very superficial. Their inability to unpack their whiteness and thus concepts of white privilege and white power inhibited their ability to engage in substantive anti-racist dialogue and work. Similarly, Picower (2009), in her qualitative study with eight white, female preservice teachers in a multicultural education course at the end of their program, discovered that participants were often unaware they had a racial identity and were thus able to deny their place in the racial hierarchy. When their beliefs were challenged, preservice teachers responded with resistance, a white supremacist manifestation enacted to maintain dominant racial ideologies.

Countering the above-mentioned studies, Matias (2013) and Vavrus (2002) have demonstrated the effectiveness of teacher education approaches that combine white identity examination with critical race work. In her 2013 study of an urban-focused teacher education program that focused on culturally responsive teaching, Matias employed CRT, CWS, and Black imagination through counter-stories to investigate the effectiveness of white teachers who

engaged in culturally responsive teaching. She found that in order to develop cultural responsiveness, the white teacher candidates first needed to examine their whiteness and how whiteness perpetuated racial privilege and supremacy. Working with 44 predominantly white teacher candidates, Vavrus (2002) combined critical reflection on multicultural texts with autobiographical research of one's identity formation. That resulted in teacher candidates who embraced the importance of transformation and recognized that transformation was impossible without an identity shift that incorporated anti-racist and culturally responsive teacher practice.

These studies indicate that an inability to effectively understand white privilege, systemic racism, and white supremacy is a barrier to white preservice teachers learning to effectively teach students of color. Critical inquiry needs to be part of practicum work early in teacher preparation programs, and ongoing anti-racist development, especially for white preservice teachers, needs equal emphasis with content pedagogy. It is clear through Vavrus' (2002) study that extended time and a pedagogy of identity development and racial consciousness can effect positive change for white preservice teachers toward understanding whiteness and incorporating anti-racist teaching practices.

Inservice Teachers. In the literature on white inservice teachers, researchers identified common themes regarding race and whiteness. These findings include consistent patterns of teachers silencing race, minimizing, or dismissing racial connotations or comments, engaging in color-evasive behavior, reinforcing expectations of assimilation, and viewing students of color with a deficit mindset (Castagno, 2014; Cooper, 2003; Kailin, 2002; Liggett, 2008; Milner, 2012; Vaught & Castagno, 2008). Liggett (2008) provides several examples from her qualitative case study, examining how the racial identities of six white rural and urban English language teachers impacted their teaching strategies and treatment of race in classroom discussions. The teachers repeatedly minimized or ignored race in classroom conversations, even when course texts included race topics. While the teachers were aware of racial identity and its importance to their students, they consistently avoided it in discourse. Castagno's (2014) ethnographic inquiry in

two demographically different secondary schools in the same urban school district examines how educators engage racial knowledge. She documents the myriad ways that policies and practices maintain and perpetuate whiteness as well as ways that teachers silence race, either explicitly ignoring students' race talk or actively silencing students around issues of race, how teachers enact color-evasiveness, and how they encourage students to assimilate to hegemonic norms (Castagno, 2014).

Researchers also found that white teachers who acknowledged racism tended to externalize it and/or view it as an individual rather than a systemic problem (Vaught & Castagno, 2008; Young, 2011). Vaught and Castagno (2008), in two separate ethnographic studies in urban school districts, found that teachers in one of the districts either had no conceptual understanding of white privilege or were in denial of white privilege. Although teachers at the second school demonstrated awareness, in the absence of a concomitant depth of learning, this awareness did not result in empathy or a change in practice, and thus racist frameworks were allowed to continue. These findings were consistent with those by Vass (2014), whose interviews with Australian teachers confirmed examples of color-evasiveness, efforts to protect whiteness, and the preservation of racial hierarchies.

This shows that even within interviews explicitly engaging with race talk in relation to education policy, the teachers tended to deploy discursive practices that illustrate the 'pedagogies of politeness' (Leonardo 2009, p. 179) that result in race talk often being truncated or deflected to alternative topics (p. 389).

In light of these findings, Vaught and Castagno (2008) recommended approaching white privilege through the lens of whiteness as property, consistent with CRT, to shift the focus from the individual to a systemic or structural level. Their suggestion is worth noting for its pairing of a structural problem—racism—with a solution focused on the individual level, the professional development focused on altering teacher identity and practice. This study suggests that school districts should approach professional development at the school or systems level.

While most research on inservice teachers is focused on ineffective white teachers of students of color, Cooper's (2003) qualitative case study of three white elementary teachers of Black children is one exception. The teachers in this study were identified by their Black administrators and Black parents as effective teachers of Black children. Cooper investigated the beliefs and practices of the effective white teachers of Black children and compared them to the beliefs and practices of effective Black teachers of Black children. Cooper found the following three characteristics in common across the three teachers and consistent with the literature on effective Black teachers of Black children: (1) an authoritative approach to discipline, (2) a view of their teaching selves as second mothers to their students, and (3) a mastery focus on literacy education. However, while the white teachers had developed a racial consciousness, they did not discuss race or racism with their students. They named color-evasiveness as a rationale for not engaging in race-focused discourse (Cooper, 2003). Even among white teachers identified as effective teachers of Black children, color-evasive ideology and resistance to anti-racist pedagogy prevailed.

Like Vavrus' (2002) study with preservice teachers, Schniedewind's (2005) examination of the impact of racial consciousness on exemplary teachers' practice suggests that professional development, when comprehensive and long-term, can have a positive effect. Schniedewind's case study of five teachers in a diversity education program their district had been supporting for ten years explored the teachers' reflections on developing their consciousness of race, racism, and whiteness and its implications on their work. She found that teachers' increased consciousness resulted in three outcomes: (1) they supported students of color; (2) they displayed intentionality in enabling white students to see and talk about race, to face their stereotypes about people of color, and to challenge white privilege; and (3) they challenged institutionalized racism in their system (Schniedewind, 2005).

One subtopic of study in the literature is the role of white female teachers. Leonardo and Boas (2013) focused specifically on the urgent need to focus CRT research on the work of white

women who account for the majority of the teaching workforce (80% in 2011) and argue that the relationship between white women teachers and students of color is undertheorized, particularly from a CRT perspective. They argue that white female teachers, as members of both the privileged race and the oppressed gender, hold a unique role in the reproduction of whiteness and racism. These teachers are essentially committing ventriloquist acts on behalf of white supremacy embedded within the educational system and the curriculum.

This argument for focusing research on white teachers is also a rationale for employing a CRT approach to engaging white female teachers in the radical change that needs to occur. Their status of power and privilege as white combined with their potential to grasp and understand oppression as female may more effectively position them to engage in anti-racist activism but also make them susceptible to becoming “benevolent saviors of children in need” (Leonardo & Boas, 2013, p. 322). This argument suggests that the role of the racial identity of white teachers may be of paramount importance in anti-racist work and bears further careful study.

The combined literature on white teachers demonstrates similar findings across studies with preservice and inservice teachers. Many white teachers do not have a sense of racial identity development or whiteness and have difficulty connecting white privilege to systemic inequities and racism. There is a tendency toward maintaining and enacting the dominant racist ideology, and race is often silenced in the classroom. Teachers’ limited understanding of racial identity, white privilege, and white supremacy is a barrier to their ability to implement anti-racist pedagogy; however, a few studies on in-depth professional development experiences show promise in effecting positive change in teachers’ awareness and understanding in a manner that transforms practice.

White Teacher Racial Identity Development

White racial identity development is often the first crucial step in positive change in teachers’ awareness and understanding that informs anti-racist practice (View et al., 2020). For

white teachers, this involves becoming more aware of having a racial identity of whiteness (Lawrence & Tatum, 1998). The goal is to develop a deep understanding of their racial identity and a positive view of white racial identity that is not based on a sense of superiority (Lawrence & Tatum, 1998; View et al., 2020).

Second-Wave White Teacher Racial Identity Studies. Many of the aforementioned studies documented how white teachers denied the salience of race on educational outcomes and the significance of white privilege, and this denial was often tied to the evasion of race by white people (Jupp & Lensmire, 2016). Jupp and Lensmire (2016) argued that the emerging “second-wave” studies had two central themes. The studies either focused on examining the racial identity development of white teachers who acknowledged, at least to some degree, their complicity in a white supremacist system and engaged in action toward positive change, or focused on professional development that addressed white teacher racial identity development.

Jupp and colleagues (2016) conducted a synoptic text review of white teacher racial identity studies with a particular emphasis on studies from 2004 to 2014. Through their meta-ethnographic approach to comparing studies, they reviewed 1,602 abstracts and from them chose 65 studies that met these three additional criteria: the work appeared in a peer-reviewed journal, the central focus was on white preservice or inservice teacher identities, and the study utilized qualitative and/or narrative research methodologies. Jupp and colleagues (2016) analyzed methodology, historical accounting of the studies, and findings or pedagogical implications. They categorized the professional development data by model, content focus, and additional features. These two broad themes emerged from their early analysis: (1) race-evasive studies with new emphases and race-visible studies; and (2) subthemes of white identity complexities and programmatic pedagogy/curriculum, which comprised more than two-thirds of the studies (Jupp et al., 2016).

Race-visible white teacher identity studies, building off previous race-evasive studies, focused on whiteness and white privilege. An example of white identity complexities is the

previously mentioned and evolving critique of McIntosh's (1992) knapsack metaphor for white privilege. As the conscientization of white privilege and white identity became more nuanced, the use of McIntosh's simplistic explanation of privilege became more problematic, and critiques of the work increased. Jupp and colleagues (2016) found that white teacher silence and resistance were still barriers to racial identity development and to effectively addressing race and racism in schools.

Among their findings, Jupp and colleagues (2016) noted that there were more differences than similarities among the professional development programs in the various studies and that while most employed theoretical frameworks related to multicultural education, culturally responsive pedagogy, or cultural competence, many lacked the critical stance inherent in authentic multicultural education or truly culturally relevant pedagogy. They also found significant variation in the duration of the professional development programs studied, ranging from one day to five years. Jupp and colleagues (2016) concluded by noting that white teacher racial identity studies were still a nascent area of study and that much more research was needed to determine the forms and features of professional development that most effectively contributes to teacher growth. They pointed out that the research should have a focus on greater translatability as well as triangulation with student data.

Utt and Tochluk (2020) contend that white teachers in urban schools need to shift their focus from a perceived "achievement gap" or deficits of students of color toward the impact their white racial identities have on their pedagogy. They posit that positive anti-racist white racial identities support white teachers in implementing more effective anti-racist pedagogy. Combining Leonardo's work on navigating whiteness and Helms' white racial identity development model, they interviewed white teachers striving to develop their anti-racist practice through a series of three-hour weekend workshops. Utt and Tochluk provided suggestions for developing anti-racist pedagogy and these three additional recommendations: while white teachers must focus on improving their practice, they must also take action to transform the

educational system; reflection on the identified (pedagogical) focus areas is not the end but rather the beginning of the integration of a new self, which supports transformational change in practice; and educators must endeavor to find a balance between reflection and action. The exclusive focus on urban schools is, again, an unnecessary limitation in this study. The same concerns, needs, and benefits exist in suburban and rural districts where predominantly white teaching staff serve increasingly diverse student populations.

Racial Identity Models and Scales. Measures of racial identity constructs came out of the counseling psychology field in the early 1970s with Jackson and Kirshner's work (Helms, 2007). Helms and Parham in 1981 and then Helms and Carter in 1990 added complexity to the concept of racial identity scales with these enhancements: developed measures based on racial identity theorized frameworks; used multiple items to assess constructs linked to those theories; and asked participants to use continua (i.e., a 5-point Likert scale) rather than categories.

Process-oriented models can be used to help situate teachers' behaviors, attitudes, and interactions with students of color (McAllister & Irvine, 2000). This approach is premised on the idea that educators' racial identity influences how they perceive and interact with students of color (Carter & Goodwin, 1994; McAllister & Irvine, 2000). Identity development models may also assist in sequencing effective coursework and professional development, ensuring congruence between the structure of topics and learning experiences with teachers' racial identity development (McAllister & Irvine, 2000).

Helms' White Racial Identity Development Model. The most widely referenced white racial identity development model is Janet Helms' White Racial Identity Development (WRID) model (deFreitas & McAuley, 2008; Howard, 2016; McAllister & Irvine, 2000). In her groundbreaking work, Helms (1993) defined racial identity as "a sense of group or collective identity based on one's perception that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular group" (p. 3). Theories of racial identity development focus on the social, psychological, and political characteristics of our perceptions, beliefs, and behaviors regarding

racial categories (Howard, 2016). It is worth noting that white racial identity development theory grew out of earlier research on Black identity theory; as such, the early work on white racial identity development was centered on racism (Howard, 2016).

In his text on white teachers, multiracial schools, and racial justice that bridges theory and practice, Howard (2016) established three criteria for any comprehensive theory of white racial identity development: (1) acknowledge white racism at the individual, institutional, and cultural levels; (2) actively resist racism in its myriad forms; and (3) develop a positive, anti-racist white racial identity. Based on these criteria and extensive empirical research by Helms, Howard chose Helms' white racial identity development model as the foundation of his work.

Helms' WRID is a white racial identity development model that identifies the following two phases through which a positive white identity develops: Internalizing Racism and Evolving Non-Racist Identity. Each phase is comprised of three schemas. The three schemas in Phase One are Contact, Disintegration, and Reintegration. The three schemas in Phase Two are Pseudo-Independence, Immersion/Emersion, and Autonomy. The racial schemas are the filters through which a person interprets racial cues (Helms, 1984). Helms (2019) also describes a schema as a pair of eyeglasses or contact lenses through which a person views and perceives themselves and their experiences. Table 1 summarizes the phases and schemas of Helms' White Racial Identity Development model.

Table 1

Helms' White Racial Identity Development Model

White Racial Identity Schema	Predominant Features
Phase One: Internalizing Racism*	
Contact	Ignorant of own white racial identity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● "Contact" may be initiated by an encounter with a person of color ● Professional obliviousness to issues of race ● May state they are "color-evasive" Information Processing Strategy: Obliviousness
Disintegration	First acknowledgment of white racial identity

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Increased discomfort as a person becomes aware of societal racism and personal benefits of unearned privilege ● Cognitive dissonance between beliefs, values, and behaviors learned early in life and information and contradictory experiences they presently encounter ● May experience anxiety, guilt, or fear around race issues <p>Information Processing Strategy: Suppression and Ambivalence</p>
Reintegration	<p>Idealizes white people and denigrates people of color</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Emotions of disintegration may transform into anger toward people of color ● Explicit belief in white superiority ● Retreats into white culture ● Disengages from cross-racial contacts ● Dichotomized thinking in which the white group is idealized and other groups are devalued <p>Information Processing Strategy: Perception and Negative Outgroup Distortion</p>
Phase Two: Evolving Non-Racist Identity*	
Pseudo-Independence	<p>Intellectualized acceptance of own and others' race</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Strongly held intellectualized view about racism ● Wants to help people of color better themselves ● May attempt to understand other cultures or interact with people of color, but often within a white framework ● Begins to redefine their racial identity in more positive ways <p>Information Processing Strategy: Resharing Reality and Selective Perception</p>
Immersion-Emersion	<p>Honest appraisal of racism and significance of white identity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Growing awareness of positive aspects of whiteness ● Seeks out other whites attempting to forge a non-racist identity ● Shifts focus from paternalism to helping other whites change <p>Information Processing Strategy: Hyper-Vigilance and Reshaping</p>
Autonomy	<p>Internalizes a multi-cultural identity with a non-racist white identity at its core</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Seeks out and values diversity, actively pursues racial justice ● Believes they have something to offer and something to learn ● Pluralistic, flexible interpreting of racial stimuli ● Embraces discomfort as ongoing emotional labor to confront one's own privilege <p>Information Processing Strategy: Flexibility and Complexity</p>

Helms, 1993; 2007; 2020; Howard, 2016; de Freitas & McAuley, 2008; McAllister & Irvine, 2000;

Parker & Willsea, 2019; Sue, 2006

*Note: Previous versions of Helms' work, including other references, titled the phases Abandonment of Racist Identity and Establishment of Non-Racist White Identity.

Contact. Contact represents the point at which white people begin the process of racial identity development through an experience of racial difference, typically through meeting a

person of color or exposure in the media. Stereotypical and racist attitudes and beliefs, and color-evasive behavior are typical with this schema. For example, white people exhibiting characteristics of the Contact schema might subscribe to racist stereotypes about people of color but view a new friend or colleague of color as an exception. They may also exhibit color-evasiveness, professing not to see color or race when they meet people (Helms, 1993, 2020; Howard, 2016; Parker & Willsea, 2019).

Disintegration. White people experiencing the Disintegration schema recognize their whiteness and begin to question what they believe about race, resulting in a great deal of dissonance as well as anxiety, guilt, and shame. The emotional response in the Disintegration stage can result in a range of reaction, from confronting other white people about their stereotypes and beliefs to avoiding people of color or seeking reassurance or evidence from others that racism isn't as problematic as it seems (Helms, 1993, 2020; Howard, 2016; Parker & Willsea, 2019).

Reintegration. The dissonance of Disintegration may manifest itself as Reintegration when white people double down on their commitment to white superiority, intensifying their anger toward and avoidance of people of color (Helms, 1993, 2020; Howard, 2016; Parker & Willsea, 2019). Some people may become entrenched in more radical white supremacist organizations or movements as we saw after President Barack Obama's election; others may take a more intellectual approach to white supremacy similar to Herrnstein and Murray, authors of *The Bell Curve* (Howard, 2016).

Pseudo-Independence. Pseudo-Independence is the first schema of redefining a positive non-racist white identity, the point at which white people begin to question stereotypes and ideas of inferiority about people of color and acknowledge the responsibility of white people for racism (Helms, 1993; Howard, 2016; Parker & Willsea, 2019). White people experiencing the pseudo-independence schema might try to engage with people of color more, but that engagement may focus on "helping" people of color better themselves or from a white racial

frame. This is commonly referred to as white saviorism (Helms, 1993; Howard, 2016; Parker & Willsea, 2019).

Immersion/Emersion. A primary characteristic of the Immersion/Emersion schema is moving away from a paternalistic attitude toward people of color (Howard, 2016). At this stage, white people turn the critical lens away from people of color and instead toward whiteness; it's also a stage of self-discovery and inward focus (Helms, 2020). White people in Immersion/Emersion might seek out other race-conscious white people as they work to develop a network of anti-racist allies (Howard, 2016).

Autonomy. Autonomy is the last schema of white racial identity development and represents the point at which white people have a positive anti-racist white racial identity, truly value diversity, and no longer rely on people of color to learn or understand whiteness or racism (or validate them for their anti-racist activism or identity work). However, the Autonomy schema does not mean that white people have resolved all issues of identity and race and no longer experience discomfort (de Freitas & McAuley, 2008; Helms, 2020). A white person with an Autonomy schema may apply their understanding of racism and white supremacy to other forms of inequality and oppression or actively seek out opportunities to authentically engage across boundaries and in activism efforts (Howard, 2016).

Not all white people will move through each of the schemas or start with the Contact schema, nor are the schemas mutually exclusive (de Freitas & McAuley, 2008; Helms, 1993, 2007, 2020; Howard, 2016). Finally, racial identity development research, particularly white racial identity studies, is still a relatively new and evolving field of study (Howard, 2016; Jupp et al., 2016; Jupp & Lensmire, 2016). For example, de Freitas and McAuley (2008) have proposed an important distinction regarding the Autonomy schema. While Howard (2016) emphasizes that the purpose of the Autonomy schema is action and not an endpoint, de Freitas and McAuley (2008) argue that "plateaus of comfort and self-awareness must always be problematized and critiqued" (p. 433). They posit an alternative interpretation that Autonomy represents the point at

which white people embrace discomfort rather than transcend it and recognize that discomfort is the reality and ongoing emotional labor of confronting privilege and committing to anti-racist work.

The retitled phases in Helms' (2019) most recent work, and particularly Phase Two, make more explicit that development of an anti-racist identity is ever-evolving. This is consistent with de Freitas and McAuley's (2008) "pedagogy of discomfort," the idea that anti-racist educators sustain a state of discomfort as they continue to interrogate privilege and confront racism rather than achieve a plateau of developing an anti-racist white identity. Another distinction in Helms' recent work is the use of the term *schema*. Previous versions of the WRID model referred to six stages of development, which were often interpreted as a linear, sequential process. Helms notes that individuals may employ more than one schema in perceiving and reacting to racial cues, although most of us do have a preferred schema. In fact, Helms (2019) states, "I intend the phases of identity to reflect fluid changeable constructs rather than discrete, linear, stepwise mutually exclusive stages" (p. 29).

Helms' White Racial Identity Attitude Scale. Helms also developed the White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (WRIAS), a Likert-scale questionnaire intended to measure the extent to which a person uses each of the race-related schemas of information processing strategies in the phases of the WRID (Helms, 1999). According to Helms (2007), racial categories are sociopolitical constructions that society uses to aggregate people based on biological characteristics; therefore, they can describe or define samples or issues but should not be used to a conceptual focus such as independent variables.

McAllister and Irvine (2000), in their review of three process-oriented racial identity models and their application for education and implications for teacher professional development, found a correlation between educators at the higher attitude stages on the WRIAS, Pseudo-Independence and Autonomy, and a stronger assessment of multicultural competency. Their review of studies also indicated a correlation between participation in some

professional development experiences and an increase in identity stage on the WRIAS (McAllister & Irvine, 2000). In the context of this study that is focused on the work on white teachers' anti-racist effort to address schools' failure to successfully serve students of color, the research on whiteness and teachers' understanding of whiteness is inextricably linked to scholarship on anti-racist ideology and pedagogy, as well as effective anti-racist professional development.

White teachers account for approximately 80% of the educators across our nation. The research clearly documents the frequency with which they lack white racial identity development and/or resist acknowledging the role of white privilege and white supremacy in schools and society. Helms' White Racial Identity Development model provides a conceptual framework by which we can contextualize that development. A small but growing corpus of literature suggests that white racial identity development and an understanding of the white racial frame can serve as an effective foundation for teachers' anti-racist work.

Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy

Defining Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy

According to Blakeney (2005), anti-racist pedagogy is "a paradigm located within Critical Theory utilized to explain and counteract the persistence and impact of racism using praxis as its focus to promote social justice for the creation of a democratic society in every respect" (p. 119). At its foundation, anti-racist ideology and pedagogy take an activist stand against racial injustice and oppression (Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997; Rebollo-Gil & Moras, 2006; Spikes, 2018). With roots in critical theory, anti-racist ideology and pedagogy provide scholars and practitioners a method for studying and addressing race, ethnicity, power, and class with a goal toward dismantling institutional racism (Blakeney, 2005; Kishimoto, 2018; Lopez, 2008) and promoting equality (Blakeney, 2005). While the focus is on teaching philosophies, practices, thought, and action, the scope of institutional and social change is much broader than the classroom (Kishimoto, 2018; Lopez, 2008). The concept of anti-racist education (Grant et al.,

1997) is not new. When Grant and his co-authors included it in their 1997 *Dictionary of Multicultural Education*, they drew on a small body of literature from the 1980s and 1990s that was pushing the boundaries of multicultural education to incorporate a more substantial commitment to activism (Grant et al., 1997; Nieto, 1992; Kailin, 2002). Although the concept is not new, most theoretical writing and empirical studies on anti-racist ideology and pedagogy have been written since 2000.

Components of Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy

In synthesizing the literature focused on anti-racist ideology and pedagogy, I organized my findings around three primary components: relationships with students, curriculum/course foundation and content, and pedagogical strategies. I identified multiple characteristics within each of the components. Those characteristics are summarized in Table 2 and cross-referenced by authors and studies.

Table 2

Components of Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy

Component	Characteristics	Authors, Studies
Relationships with Students	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Reciprocal relationship with, authentic connection with, and commitment to all students 	Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006; Blakeney, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 1994; López, 2008; Love, 2015; Nieto, 1992; Okun, 2010; Skerrett, 2011
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● High academic expectations 	Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006; Blakeney, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 1994; López, 2008; Samuels et al., 2019
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Asset-based (funds of knowledge) 	Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006; López, 2008; Samuels et al., 2019
Curriculum and Course Content	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Critical theory approach; in particular, examination and critique of race, racism, and power 	Blakeney, 2005; DeLeon, 2006; Kishimoto, 2018; Kumashiro, 2002; Okun, 2010; Raby, 2004; Samuels et al., 2019; Skerrett, 2011; Welton et al., 2015
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Incorporate race and inequities into course content through both individual and institutional/systemic lens 	Blakeney, 2005; DeLeon, 2006; Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997; Kishimoto, 2018; Okun, 2010; Raby, 2004; Samuels et al., 2019; Skerrett, 2011; Welton et al., 2015

- Students' identity is examined and reflected in the curriculum Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006; Love, 2014, 2015; Nieto, 1992; Okun, 2010; Raby, 2004; Skerrett, 2011; Welton et al. 2015
- Challenge Eurocentrism, deconstruction of myths and stereotypes (specifically challenging master script) Banks, 2019; Sefa Dei, 2001; DeLeon, 2006; Kishimoto, 2018; López, 2008; Raby, 2004; Skerrett, 2011; Swartz*, 1992; Welton et al., 2015
- Integrated or cross-disciplinary curriculum (not additive approach, w/o reconceptualization of content) Banks, 2019; Bradley, 2007; Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997; Kishimoto, 2018; Love, 2014, 2015; Rampal, 2015; Skerrett, 2011; Swartz, 1992

Pedagogical Strategies

Primary Strategies

- Develop critical thinking and analytical skills through a practice of interrogation:
 - All types of texts
 - Stereotypes
 - Historical representation
 - Omission of voices, experiences, and perspectives of oppressed peoples
- Decenter authority in the classroom* Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006; Kishimoto, 2018

Supporting Strategies

- Create a sense of community through collaborative learning Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006; López, 2008; Love, 2015; Okun, 2010
- Empowering physical space (language, cultural, and racial representation) López, 2008; Nieto, 1992
- Develop students' awareness of their social positions Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006; Kishimoto, 2018; Milner, 2007; Okun, 2010; Samuels et al., 2019; Welton et al., 2015
- Problem-solving praxis oriented toward institutional, community, and social change Blakeney, 2005; DeLeon, 2006; Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997; Ladson-Billings, 2014; Kishimoto, 2018; Rodriguez, 2013, cited in Kishimoto 2018; Welton et al., 2015
- Explicit instruction on confronting racism
- Engaging in systemic change, activism

*Note: Particular care and attention must be paid to white teachers' role in regard to decentering authority in the classroom.

Relationships with Students. The first of the components identified in the literature on anti-racist ideology and pedagogy is relationships with students. Within that component were the following three primary characteristics of teachers' relationships with students that were critical in anti-racist practice:

- Reciprocal relationships and authentic connections with and commitment to all students (Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006; Blakeney, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 1994; López, 2008; Love, 2015; Nieto, 1992; Okun, 2010; Skerrett, 2011)
- High academic expectations for all students (Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006; Blakeney, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 1994; López, 2008; Samuels et al., 2019)
- An asset-based approach (Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006; López, 2008; Samuels et al., 2019).

Relationships with students are the foundation on which anti-racist work is built in classrooms and schools, and they are critical to ensure that students feel safe when they engage in dialogue about racism and power. This is particularly important for students of color and other students who have experienced oppression or marginalization in schools (Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 1995).

Antrop-González and De Jesús (2006) and López (2008) identified consistent findings regarding teachers' relationships with students in their qualitative investigations of anti-racist pedagogy. In their ethnographic study of two Latino community-based high schools, Antrop-González and De Jesús conducted in-depth interviews, participant observations, and a review of historical and curricular documents to examine the structures and pedagogies of caring created in both schools. The authors found that critical caring cultures focused on high academic expectations, high-quality interpersonal relationships between students and teachers, and privileging students' funds of knowledge. Their findings were consistent with those of López (2008) who reported on the anti-racist pedagogy and empowerment work of a ninth grade bilingual teacher in the Southwest as part of her more extensive qualitative study on the

achievement gap. López spent five months engaged in participant observation in five ninth grade classrooms. During that time, she focused on how teachers and administrators improve the educational environment and implement anti-racist pedagogy for Latinx students and other stigmatized youth. Samuels and Samuels (2019), whose qualitative study explored how civic education in a southern U.S. suburban middle school could promote racial justice, also identified high expectations for all students as a priority for teachers who self-identified as challenging racial inequities.

In addition to the characteristics identified by Antrop-González and De Jesús (2006) and Samuels and Samuels (2019), López (2008) noted that the teacher demonstrated mutual respect for and solidarity with her students and families, regardless of their immigration status, through her anti-racist discourse and actions. Her relationships supported students' authentic empowerment and activism in the curriculum, one of the two cornerstones of anti-racist pedagogy.

Curriculum and Course Content. Across 17 literature reviews and empirical studies were the following five recurring characteristics of curriculum and course content:

- A critical theory approach, particularly an examination and critique of race, racism, and power (Blakeney, 2005; DeLeon, 2006; Kishimoto, 2018; Kumashiro, 2002; López, 2008; Okun, 2010; Raby, 2004; Samuels et al., 2019; Skerrett, 2011; Welton et al., 2015)
- A discourse that incorporates inequities at both the individual and institutional/systemic lens (Blakeney, 2005; DeLeon, 2006; Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997; López, 2008; Kishimoto, 2018; Okun, 2010; Raby, 2004; Samuels et al., 2019; Skerrett, 2011; Welton et al., 2015)
- A challenge to Eurocentrism, including the deconstruction of myths and stereotypes (Banks, 2019; Sefa Dei, 2001; DeLeon, 2006; Kishimoto, 2018; López, 2008; Milner,

- 2007; Raby, 2004; Samuels et al., 2019; Skerrett, 2011; Swartz, 1992; Welton et al., 2015)
- An examination of students' identity and its reflection in the curriculum (Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006; López, 2008; Love, 2014, 2015; Nieto, 1992; Okun, 2010; Raby, 2004; Skerrett, 2011; Welton et al. 2015)
 - An integrated or cross-disciplinary implementation of the curriculum rather than an additive approach (Banks, 2019; Bradley, 2007; Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997; Kishimoto, 2018; Love, 2014, 2015; Skerrett, 2011; Swartz, 1992)

Consonant with critical theory, an anti-racist curriculum is designed to examine and critique race, racism, and power (Blakeney, 2005; DeLeon, 2006; Kishimoto, 2018; Kumashiro, 2002; López, 2008; Okun, 2010; Raby, 2004; Samuels et al., 2019; Skerrett, 2011; Welton et al., 2015). Course content should incorporate a discourse on inequities through both the individual and institutional/systemic lens (Blakeney, 2005; DeLeon, 2006; Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997; López, 2008; Kishimoto, 2018; Okun, 2010; Raby, 2004; Samuels et al., 2019; Skerrett, 2011; Welton et al., 2015). As Kishimoto (2018) notes in her synthetic review of her own work and critical reading of key literature on anti-racist pedagogy, critical discourse regarding race and power can take place through the political, historical, and economical context of the discipline itself as opposed to approaching the discipline or knowledge as apolitical, ahistorical, or neutral.

How was the discipline developed and what was the political, social, economic, and racial context in the U.S. and the world in which certain theories, research methods, and paradigms became legitimized? What was the role of the discipline within the dominant ideologies of U.S. society? Who was involved in the creation and perpetuation of the discipline, who had access to the disciplines and its knowledge, and who benefited from it? Also important to discuss is who were excluded from the discipline, why they lack access to it, and why they are not benefitting from it.

The analysis will reveal the significance of race and racism in the U.S. and their impact on knowledge production (Kishimoto, 2018, p. 545).

Kishimoto's questions serve as an example of the critical inquiry and interrogation that could be part of anti-racist course content. Students might analyze race as a social construct (Kishimoto, 2018), interrogate other tenets of Critical Race Theory, or investigate the root causes of racism and its impact on present-day schooling, economics, or voting.

The third characteristic of an anti-racist curriculum and course content across the literature was to challenge Eurocentrism. Swartz (1992), in her analysis of the master script in the U.S. curriculum, proposed a liberatory antidote to the hegemonic curriculum and instructional materials that are grounded in Eurocentric, white supremacy ideology. Put forth as the standard, the curriculum and materials are premised almost exclusively on a white, upper-class, male perspective, experience, and voice. Swartz encourages the use of texts and materials that challenge the master script and provide a reconceptualization of white-centric history; for example, empowering stories of Black Americans who played central roles in the suffragette or abolitionist movements (rather than victim-oriented foci) and incorporating counter-narratives that focus on the agency of people of color in the history of the United States (Kishimoto, 2018; Milner, 2007). The challenge to Eurocentrism and the deconstruction of myths and stereotypes, such as the "American Dream," provide opportunities for students to examine the impact of inequality and shine a light on the persistence of racism and white privilege (Kishimoto, 2018; Milner, 2007). Closely connected to deconstructing the Eurocentric or master scriptedness of the curriculum is the imperative work of incorporating students' identity into the curriculum.

Anti-racist curriculum and course content are twofold; they must reflect students' identities and provide opportunities to examine identity. In the previously mentioned ethnographic study by Antrop-González and De Jesús (2006), the authors described the ninth and 10th grade curriculum focused on the essential questions "Who am I?" and "Who are we?"

respectively. In their 2015 qualitative case study that examined the pedagogy and classroom dynamics of race, power, and privilege in a high school social justice education course, Welton and her colleagues (2015) noted both the importance and the complexity of discourse with students around racial identity. They cited lessons in which students explored the CRT tenet of race as a social construction and then determined that the U.S. Census disregarded the hybridity of individuals' identities. Students' identities provided a context from which to unpack the paradox between arbitrary categories and sociopolitical complexity (Welton et al., 2015).

Finally, the anti-racist curriculum and course content must be integrated, cross-disciplinary, and reconceptualized rather than additive (Banks, 2019; Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997; Kishimoto, 2018; Skerrett, 2011; Swartz, 1992). Returning to Antrop-González and De Jesús' (2006) study at El Puente High School, the ninth and 10th grade Sankofa curriculum is integrated across English, global studies, and fine arts. Anti-racist work is not the sole responsibility of the social studies curriculum; it is incumbent upon educators across grade levels and content areas to incorporate the characteristics of an anti-racist curriculum into their disciplines or grade levels (Bradley, 2007; Love, 2015; Rampal, 2015). For instance, Bradley's (2007) analytical and conceptual paper on the racialization of music education argued that race could no longer be ignored in music education from the standpoint of participation or pedagogy. Rampal (2015) synthesized literature in education sociology and music education to develop anti-racist competencies for music educators. Love (2014, 2015), Mosley (2010), and Rogers and Mosley (2011) all documented examples of engaging in anti-racist pedagogy with elementary students.

Furthermore, it is paramount that anti-racist curriculum and course content are not addressed in an additive manner (Banks, 2019; Kishimoto, 2018; Swartz, 1992) but through reconceptualizing the content itself. An additive approach would be to add to an existing unit a few historical figures of color to a timeline or a brief, individualistic, biographical reference to scientists of color. Designing an in-depth investigation of how the innovations and scientific

advancements by women of color were often muted or attributed to white men, and how that systemic oppression has educational and economic impact yet today is an example of a reconceptualized anti-racist unit.

In closing, the literature on anti-racist curriculum and course content encompasses the following five characteristics:

- A critical theory approach that incorporates an examination and critique of race, racism, and power
- A focus on inequities at the individual and institutional/systemic level
- A challenge of Eurocentrism, including the deconstruction of non-heteronormative myths and stereotypes
- A reflection and examination of students' identity
- An integrated or cross-disciplinary design that reconceptualizes content rather than address it from an additive approach

While teachers' relationships with students form the foundation of anti-racist pedagogy and the characteristics of the anti-racist curriculum provide the vehicle by which students can access and build their understanding of race, racism, and power in schools and society, it is the pedagogical strategies that require the most significant shift in practice for white teachers. That is where the greatest challenge of praxis may lie.

Pedagogical Strategies. Among anti-racist pedagogical strategies reviewed in the literature, there were two predominant common characteristics: (1) the skills development of critical thinking and analysis through a practice of interrogation (DeLeon, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 2014; Love, 2014; Milner, 2007; Okun, 2010; Raby, 2004; Samuels et al., 2019; Sleeter & Delgado Bernal, 2004; Swartz, 1992; Welton et al., 2015) and (2) a problem-solving praxis oriented toward institutional, community, and social change, explicit instruction on confronting racism, and engaging students in activism (Blakeney, 2005; DeLeon, 2006; Grant & Ladson-

Billings, 1997; Ladson-Billings, 2014; Kishimoto, 2018; Rodriguez, 2013; Welton et al. 2015). A smaller number of studies identified characteristics that I refer to as supporting strategies; they are not the primary purpose of anti-racist pedagogy but facilitate anti-racist practice nonetheless. They include the following pedagogical supporting strategies:

- Creating a sense of community through collaborative learning (Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006; López, 2008; Love, 2015; Okun, 2010)
- Empowering physical space (López, 2008; Nieto, 1992)
- Developing students' awareness of their social positions (Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006; Kishimoto, 2018; Milner, 2007; Okun, 2010; Samuels et al., 2019; Welton et al., 2015)
- Decentering authority in the classroom (Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006; Kishimoto, 2018).

The latter create the classroom environment and conditions by which the former can be accomplished.

Supporting Strategies. Creating a sense of community reinforces an environment of safety and trust in the anti-racist classroom. Antrop-González and De Jesús (2006) studied two Latino community-based schools that were designed around a theory of critical care. Staff had infused a sense of community and collaborative approach throughout all aspects of the schools' operations. Love (2015) describes the collective identity and community she built within her third and fourth grade classrooms. López (2008) identified a sense of community and collaborative learning in the ninth grade bilingual classroom she observed. She described the teacher's efforts to create an empowering classroom physical space with English and Spanish, inspirational quotes by historical figures of color, artifacts representative of students' cultures, and posters of world leaders of color. The earlier cited lessons on the census categories for

race (Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006) are examples of developing students' awareness of their social positions in order to illustrate the complexity of identity.

Contextualizing social position and aiding students in understanding that we are all racialized are essential and go hand in hand with examining oppression, privilege, racism, and power (Kishimoto, 2018; Milner, 2007). Awareness of social position can also be beneficial to students in their efforts to effect social change. The last supporting strategy is to decenter authority in the classroom where the teacher engages in self-reflexivity to minimize or dismantle the power differential in the classroom (Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006; Kishimoto, 2018). Of particular importance is that white teachers can challenge their own assumptions and acknowledge their privilege rather than avoid discussing their privilege or complicity with oppression (Kishimoto, 2018). A sense of community, collaborative learning, an empowering classroom space, students' awareness of their social position, and the decentering of authority are pedagogical strategies that support the two primary pedagogy approaches of critical thinking and analytical skills development and praxis oriented toward problem-solving and systemic change.

Primary Strategies. Regardless of discipline or level, a key focus of anti-racist pedagogy is to teach students critical thinking and analytical skills through a practice of interrogation (DeLeon, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 2014; Love, 2014; Milner, 2007; Raby, 2004; Samuels et al., 2019; Sleeter & Delgado Bernal, 2004; Swartz, 1992; Welton et al., 2015). Students of any age can learn to critique texts, be they print media, picture books, textbooks, or advertisements. DeLeon (2006) provides a model of critical discourse analysis as anti-racist pedagogy through the use of a newspaper headline and accompanying picture. While the example applies to a social studies classroom, the protocol could be applied to any subject or content area to analyze and critique any of the following: implicit and explicit word choice, the historical relationship between words, the use of language as a tool to perpetuate domination and oppression, the application of mental models and visual or pictorial representations, the

presence of stereotypical representations in media, and the inclusion or exclusion of voices or perspectives (DeLeon, 2006).

As students learn to approach texts with a critical eye, they will bring that lens to their school environment and the local community and be able to explore issues of race and racism as well as activism in their own settings. That same examination can be applied to the school environment by analyzing and critiquing course materials, the curriculum, school policies, and the school environment: Whose perspective is represented? Whose is not? Who is visible? Who is not? Are all voices and people presented positively? Who benefits from the course or policy? Who doesn't and why or why not? Critical thinking and analytical skills will ensure that students can identify inequities in their local community, which is an essential precursor to engaging in problem-solving and activism toward systemic change.

The ultimate goal of anti-racist pedagogy is a problem-solving praxis oriented toward institutional, community, and social change (Blakeney, 2005; DeLeon, 2006; Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997; Ladson-Billings, 2014; Kishimoto, 2018; Rodriguez, 2013, cited in Kishimoto, 2018; Welton et al. 2015). Sociopolitical engagement, empowering students to confront racism (Blakeney, 2005) and to be activists for social justice and dismantling institutional racism is the authentic application of students' learning. Welton and colleagues (2015) provide an example of this in their qualitative case study of a high school social studies course focused on social justice. Students in the course engaged in a youth participatory action research (YPAR) process that positioned them as civic problem-solvers.

In summary, anti-racist ideology and pedagogy is a paradigm grounded in critical theory that provides scholars and practitioners a method to examine and critique race, racism, and power with a goal toward engaging students in dismantling institutional racism (Blakeney, 2005; Grant & Ladson-Billings, 1997; Kishimoto, 2018; López, 2008). A review of the theoretical and empirical literature on anti-racist ideology and pedagogy was broadly categorized across three components: relationships with students, curriculum and course content, and pedagogical

strategies. Several common characteristics were identified within each component, and examples were provided for each; however, approximately three-quarters of the studies of anti-racist pedagogy reflected the work of teachers of color. For the purpose of this study, understanding the state of anti-racist practice among white teachers is paramount. Therefore, the implementation of anti-racist pedagogy by white teachers needs to be examined in greater detail.

Implementation of Anti-Racist Pedagogy

Empirical studies on white teachers engaging in anti-racist practice are more limited than those on teachers of color engaging in anti-racist practice. Among them are both glimmers of hope and reminders of how much work needs to be done. Two studies that demonstrate the promise of anti-racist pedagogy in critical literacy practice across levels are those by Rogers and Mosley (2011) and Mosley (2010). Rogers and Mosley (2011) employed ethnographic methods in their participant observation study in second grade. They rotated roles as teacher and researcher, utilizing CRT and critical whiteness to study white students' talk about race, racism, and anti-racism in the literacy classroom context.

Through critical discourse analysis, Rogers and Mosley demonstrated that young children could become racially literate, develop sociocognitive problem-solving, and reconstruct whiteness in relation to social justice. However, without supported discourse and teacher diligence, students can easily engage in white talk that reproduces white privilege, ignores racism, or perpetuates color-evasive ideology, and teachers may fail to interrupt the racist dialogue. Mosley's (2010) interpretive case study followed one white preservice teacher over four semesters of work as a secondary literacy teacher. Mosley examined both the teacher's practice with students and her engagement in a teacher education book club where she reflected on her practice as an anti-racist teacher. Mosley found that the teacher's ability to process and respond in the book study, a controlled setting, allowed deeper anti-racist discourse than she could produce in the moment in the classroom; however, her pedagogy

improved over the course of the study. Other studies have generated more mixed results, particularly for preservice or novice teachers.

Davila's (2011) qualitative study of two preservice teachers in senior English classrooms at the same predominantly white Midwest high school focused on the teachers' attempts to serve as critical guides to mediate discussions about racism in response to President Obama's "A More Perfect Union" campaign speech. Davila found that the preservice teachers perpetuated stereotypes and were unable to consistently connect undergraduate theories to application in the field, despite their objective to teach social justice.

In her qualitative study of predominantly white English teachers in two racially diverse high schools, one in Massachusetts and one in Ontario, Skerrett (2011) employed purposive sampling and semi-structured interviews to examine how 17 teachers described their knowledge of and practice for teaching about race and racism. Across the two schools and levels of experience, Skerrett found a wide range of skill and approach to racial literacy knowledge and practice. Teachers varied from those who could select texts but were hesitant to engage in dialogue about race and racism to those who had sophisticated and strategic year-long comprehensive plans that were anchored in an anti-racist stance. Welton et al. (2015) provided insights into the promise, complexities, and potential problems of a high school social justice course, with a particular focus on classroom pedagogy and dialogue regarding race, power, and privilege, as well as how the dynamics of race, power, and privilege played out in the diverse class of students.

While the social justice course created a venue through which students could examine and confront race and power issues and students did develop their ability to identify examples of oppression and injustice, the classroom was not free of resistance to acknowledging racism, especially by white students in the class. Finally, the study illustrated both the attention white teachers must pay to their own white racial frame and positionality when they engage in anti-racist pedagogy, lest they unintentionally privilege white students and marginalize students of

color, and the limitations of individual teachers engaging in isolated anti-racist work in schools rather than approaching anti-racist work from a systemic perspective.

The following three components of anti-racist ideology and pedagogy can be identified across 24 theoretical and empirical studies: relationships with students, curriculum and course content, and pedagogical strategies. Relationships with students are characterized by authentic connections with and commitment to all students, high academic expectations, and an asset-based approach to students. Curriculum and course content has a critical theory foundation premised on a critique of race, racism, and power, addressing inequities from both individual and systemic perspectives. Curriculum and course content should also decenter the white dominant narrative, deconstruct myths and stereotypes, and reflect students' identities. Most importantly, pedagogy must develop critical thinking and analytical skills through a practice of interrogation that prepares students for a problem-solving praxis to take action toward systemic change. Pedagogical strategies such as collaborative learning, an empowering physical space, developing students' awareness of their social positions, and decentering authority in the classroom support the development of students' critical skills and activist engagement.

While the anti-racist practice corpus is growing, there is significantly less research on successful anti-racist practice by white teachers and in the K-12 setting, and even less on anti-racist work in elementary classrooms, although a small number of studies demonstrate that young children can engage in conversations about race, including racist and anti-racist attitudes and actions. The literature review defines anti-racist practice and provides clear trends regarding the components of anti-racist pedagogy. Because this study endeavors to understand white teachers' perceptions of anti-racist professional development regarding their racial identity development and anti-racist praxis, it is imperative to review anti-racist-focused professional development literature.

Anti-Racist-Focused Professional Development

While there exists a larger body of research on professional development for multicultural education and culturally relevant pedagogy, including the previously mentioned studies that intersect with white teacher racial identity development, a relatively small body of research focuses specifically on anti-racist professional development. This literature review includes eight articles and two books, including theoretical studies, synthetical or systematic literature reviews, and empirical studies, all focused on anti-racist professional development for preservice or K-12 teachers.

Components of Anti-Racist Professional Development. The literature around anti-racist professional development focuses on content more than on the delivery or methodology; for that reason, effective professional development and liberatory adult learning theory will also be addressed in the literature review. The aim of anti-racist professional development for educators is multifold, particularly professional development for white teachers. Among the studies I have identified, there are the following five components of anti-racist professional development:

- Understanding and investigation of racism (Acosta et al., 2017; Blakeney; 2005; Brown, 2004; Howard, 2007; Kailin, 2002; Kishimoto, 2018; Spikes, 2018; View et al., 2020)
- Cognitive dissonance (Acosta et al., 2017; Kailin, 2002; McManimon & Casey, 2018)
- Anti-racist pedagogy (Acosta et al. 2017; Howard, 2007; Skerrett, 2011; Spikes, 2018; View et al., 2020)
- Focus on critical practice (Brown, 2004; Kishimoto, 2018; Kumashiro, 2002; Spikes, 2018; View et al., 2020)
- Collaboration (McManimon & Casey, 2018; Skerrett, 2011; View et al., 2020)

Understanding and Investigating Racism. Foundational to anti-racist professional development, especially for white teachers, is developing knowledge of and investigating racism (Acosta et al., 2017; Blakeney, 2005; Brown, 2004; Howard, 2007; Kailin, 2002; Kishimoto, 2018; Spikes, 2018; View et al., 2020). Consonant with anti-racist curriculum, this requires a historical and cultural perspective, including understanding individual and institutional racism and examining systemic oppression (Acosta et al., 2017; Blakeney, 2005; Howard, 2007). Equally important is the aforementioned white racial identity development that must precede professional development and implementation of praxis (Blakeney, 2005). Acosta and colleagues (2017) reported that white preservice teacher participants in their Critical Studyin' course, an anti-racist pedagogy course focused on race, ideology, and education at a university in the Southeastern United States, found that the historical foundation on race and racism supported their efforts to recognize and respond to racism and oppression in their school contexts. Over the course of their two-year study, McManimon and Casey (2018) found that this is also the continuous cycle work, which they described as "the ongoing, always unfinished work of anti-oppressive, anti-racist education" (p. 404).

Cognitive Dissonance. The semi-structured interviews conducted by Acosta and colleagues (2017) also identified cognitive dissonance as a key outcome of the Critical Studyin' course, as did Kailin's (2002) ethnographic accounting of anti-racist professional development work in schools. McManimon and Casey (2018) combined Critical Whiteness Studies, critical pedagogy, and anti-oppressive education as the foundation of a professional development course for urban Midwest teachers focused on anti-racist consciousness at the levels of self, classroom, and society. Throughout the two-year experience, both the researcher-facilitators and the white elementary and secondary teacher participants shared their vulnerabilities and wrestled with finding answers in applying theory to praxis. They learned that the tension space between discomfort and safety produced the optimal condition for developing students' racial consciousness.

Anti-Racist Pedagogy. The third component of anti-racist professional development is anti-racist pedagogy (Acosta et al., 2017; Brown, 2004; Howard, 2007; Spikes, 2018; View et al., 2020). While anti-racist pedagogy includes the characteristics discussed earlier in this section, the aspects explicitly mentioned in the professional development research were racial literacy instruction (Skerrett, 2011) and sociopolitical action or activism as praxis (Acosta et al., 2017; Blakeney, 2005).

Critical Practice. A practice of critical reflection lies at the heart of anti-racist practice and, therefore, is a crucial component of anti-racist professional development (Brown, 2004; Kishimoto, 2018; Kumashiro, 2002; Spikes, 2018; View et al., 2020). Drawing on his experience as a college professor, Kumashiro (2002) described how students' preconceived ideas of and preferences for a particular teaching style or type of assignment prevented them from learning how culturally relevant and anti-racist practice could change classroom outcomes. Learning to critique the content and identify how the content-specific pedagogy has been historically oppressive is as essential as learning to teach the disciplines (Kumashiro, 2002).

Critical reflection is central to the anti-racist professional development model that View and colleagues (2020) have developed over 20 years as part of a transformative graduate teaching program. The critical theory and pedagogy that undergird teachers' practice in the program support their efforts to identify both their complicity in racism and the ways that institutional racism pervades schools and school districts. These frameworks also support teachers' anti-racist pedagogy to engage and empower students as active anti-racist citizens (View et al., 2020).

Collaboration. Collaboration and group accountability are critical aspects of anti-racist professional development (McManimon & Casey, 2018; Skerrett, 2011; View et al., 2020). Skerrett's (2011) study identified a wide range of knowledge and practices among teachers in both schools. This study emphasizes the importance of collaborative professional development and shared discourse in racial literacy instruction, as well as context-specific practice. In

particular, teachers reported a need for structural support from their schools in curriculum, curricular materials, and an anti-racist school environment. They also articulated the need to develop the knowledge and skills to identify and interrogate with students instances of racism in their schools, communities, and society and to devise effective means to address injustices. Teachers in McManimon and Casey's study (2018) identified the importance of collaboration, and the group accountability formed over the two years provided inspiration and a source of motivation to sustain anti-racist work through struggles.

Large-Scale Literature Reviews. Due to the limited corpus of anti-racist professional development research, there were no large-scale reviews from which to draw. While not explicitly focused on anti-racist professional development, Parkhouse and colleagues (2019) conducted a systematic literature review of 40 peer-reviewed empirical studies focused on multicultural education (ME) professional development in an endeavor to answer two questions: (1) among the various forms of ME professional development studies empirically, what patterns are evident in terms of activities, aims, content, duration, and other features? and (2) what are the impacts of these various forms of professional development on teachers and students? Gorski (2010) identified 29% of ME teacher courses as having a critical approach, teaching in a sociopolitical context of teaching as resistance and hegemonic practice. This subset of ME pedagogy aligns with anti-racist ideology and pedagogy and therefore provides some foundational comparison.

The first observation from the meta-analysis was that ME professional development research is a nascent field that currently has too much variation in the relatively small literature base to draw conclusions about which factors contribute to effectiveness; there were more differences among studies than similarities across studies. According to Parkhouse and colleagues (2019), a more explicit focus on the variables studied or consistent characteristics across studies, such as theoretical approach, PD design, or data collection method(s), would need to occur in order to draw more definitive conclusions. The authors' second observation

was that the extant literature points to several important questions and considerations regarding professional development. Among these considerations are how professional development providers can most effectively navigate the tensions and challenges that result from resistance to discussions of diversity and equity and how to help teachers find the appropriate balance between providing specific cultural information about students' cultures and avoiding the reinforcement of stereotypes. Finally, Parkhouse and colleagues (2019) cautioned practitioners and researchers to pay close attention to the underlying theories related to both ME and teacher learning. For this study's purpose, that focus includes anti-racist pedagogy in the context of professional development and professional development in general.

The limited studies on anti-racist professional development identified common characteristics in the content and focus of the professional development. They include a foundational knowledge and examination of racism, cognitive dissonance, anti-racist pedagogy, critical practice, and collaboration. Understanding and investigating race and racism include oppression at both the individual and institutional level and racial identity development work for white teachers. This work must precede any professional development focused on praxis and is ongoing work. Consonant with Parkhouse and colleagues' recommendation, the relevant literature on andragogy, including professional development in general and liberatory adult learning theory, will be reviewed to contextualize teachers' perceptions of professional development in this study.

While there were common characteristics across studies and examples of professional development experiences that supported the development of anti-racist ideology and pedagogy among preservice and practicing teachers, there needs to be far more research on anti-racist professional development. There is not enough research in general, and there is even less on professional development for in-service K-12 teachers than on training and learning for preservice teachers. Finally, little of the research on anti-racist professional development or

even on broader types of professional development such as that focused on multicultural education is generalizable.

There is insufficient anti-racist education and pedagogy in preservice programs. The mismatch between student demographics and the predominantly white teaching force and the documented inequitable outcomes in our school systems highlight an urgent need for this education research. Insufficient anti-racist training in preservice programs has resulted in a large-scale need for K-12 schools and districts to provide effective anti-racist professional development for white teachers. Not enough is known about the professional development that will lead to the type of transformation required to support white teachers' anti-racist racial identity development and effectively shift pedagogy and ideology toward an anti-racist stance. However, we can bridge the research on anti-racist ideology, pedagogy, and professional development with a well-established corpus on effective professional development in general and literature on liberatory adult learning theory.

Andragogy

Andragogy is the method and practice of teaching adult learners. Given the limited research on anti-racist-focused professional development, it is essential to ground the literature review of anti-racist pedagogy and professional development within andragogy. This grounding is focused on effective professional development in general and liberatory adult learning theory specifically. This learning theory paradigm takes a liberatory approach to adult learning and includes perspective transformation and situated cognition. Both can be utilized to address previously identified white teachers' resistance to deep racial identity work and to catalyze shifts in practices toward an anti-racist stance.

Effective Professional Development. The extant research provides consensus that effective professional development is job-embedded, focused on instruction, data-driven, collaborative, and ongoing (Blank & de las Alas, 2009; Brown & Militello, 2016; Easton, 2008;

Hunzicker, 2010; Spikes, 2018; U.S. Department of Education, 2014; Darling-Hammond et al., 2009; Yoon et al., 2007).

Job-embedded professional development supports the transfer of learning and is relevant and authentic with the direct connection between professional development, educators' work, and students' success (Brown & Militello, 2016; Easton, 2008; Hunzicker, 2010; Darling-Hammond et al., 2009). Examples of job-embedded professional learning include peer observation, mentoring, and coaching.

Effective professional development is focused on instruction and may incorporate content-specific pedagogical strategies (Blank & de las Alas, 2009; Brown & Militello, 2016; Marek & Methven, 1991; U.S. Department of Education, 2014; Darling-Hammond et al., 2009). Content specificity and an instructional focus increase authenticity and relevancy for educators (Hunzicker, 2010) and should be related to student outcomes.

Data-driven professional development can take multiple forms, depending on the type of data and the professional development process in which that data is used (Darling-Hammond et al., 2017; Easton, 2008; U.S. Department of Education, 2014; Darling-Hammond et al., 2009). Student data or teacher survey data might inform the initial focus of professional development or differentiate which educators need particular professional learning. As part of an implementation process, data might also determine when a building or team of educators is ready to move on to the next stage of professional learning. Finally, data could be used by a team of teachers as they work through the inquiry process (Darling-Hammond et al., 2017).

Consonant with the characteristics of anti-racist professional development, high-quality professional learning in general is also collaborative (Brown & Militello, 2016; Darling-Hammond et al., 2017; Hunzicker, 2010; McManimon & Casey, 2018; Darling-Hammond et al., 2009). As Darling-Hammond and colleagues (2009) found in their literature review, educators' learnings grow as they recontextualize their practice as a group. Collaborative strategies for professional learning include peer observation, team problem-solving, and critical friends groups.

Finally, effective professional development is ongoing (Blank & de las Alas, 2009; Brown & Militello, 2016; Darling-Hammond, 2017; Easton, 2008; Marek & Methven, 1991; McCutchen et al., 2002; U.S. Department of Education, 2014; Yoon et al., 2009). Rather than move from topic to topic, professional learning is intentional and sustained over time. Continuous learning is reinforced, and multiple learning activities are employed over time (Blank & de las Alas, 2009).

There is considerable research on the characteristics of effective professional development—job-embedded, focused on instruction, data-driven, collaborative, and ongoing. Because of the documented resistance of white educators to racial justice work and previously mentioned findings on the importance of racial identity development work as a component of anti-racist professional development, liberatory adult learning theory also bears review for this study.

Liberatory Adult Learning Theory. Liberatory learning is one of the following four paradigms for categorizing adult learning theory: behaviorist, humanist, cognitivist, and liberatory (Amstutz, 1999). While the first three are mainstream, ahistorical, and acontextual, liberatory learning theory considers the history and context of adult learners, encouraging them to critically examine the values, beliefs, and assumptions they may have uncritically or unknowingly assimilated from the dominant culture (Amstutz, 1999). Rather than view knowledge as objective or prescriptive, liberatory learning theory positions knowledge as emancipatory. There are two categories of adult learning theory that Amstutz (1999) describes that are also particularly relevant to this study: perspective transformation and situated cognition.

Perspective Transformation and Situated Cognition. Perspective transformation is learning through which a person's assumptions and beliefs are examined and changed (Amstutz, 1999). This transformation occurs at the individual level and is the first step toward social change (Amstutz, 1999; Mezirow, 1995). Perspective transformation occurs as the result

of critical reflection; the purpose is to examine power relationships and hegemonic norms (Brown, 2006). Brookfield (1995, as cited in Brown, 2006) identifies three processes of critical reflection: (1) questioning and then replacing or reframing what was previously accepted as truth or common sense without critique; (2) taking alternative perspectives on commonly held ideas, beliefs, or actions; and (3) recognizing the hegemonic nature of dominant cultural norms.

Situated cognition, however, considers the context of learning as central to meaning-making, suggesting that knowing is inseparable from doing in that all knowledge is situated in social, cultural, or physical contexts (Amstutz, 1999; Mezirow, 1995). Mezirow (1995) saw situated cognition as becoming critically aware and as the social evolution of the individual awareness that resulted from perspective transformation. Mezirow (1997) developed the concept of frames of reference in his work on transformative learning theory. He defined these frames of reference as “structures of assumptions through which we understand our experiences. They selectively shape and delimit expectations, perceptions, cognition, and feelings” (p. 5). Transformative learning, then, is the process of effecting change in learners toward a frame of reference that is more inclusive and self-reflective, and incorporates multiple points of view (Mezirow, 1997).

Methods that have been found effective in transformative learning focus on critical reflection and discourse include the use of critical incidents, metaphor analysis, concept mapping, consciousness-raising, life histories, repertory grids, and participation in social action (Mezirow, 1997). Transformative learning changes how people see themselves and their world. Brown’s (2006) qualitative study of 40 educational administration graduate students found that transformative learning application of critical reflection, rational discourse, and policy praxis increased participants’ perceived growth in awareness, acknowledgment, and action toward social justice.

Effective professional development is job-embedded, focused on instruction, data-driven, collaborative, and ongoing (Blank & de las Alas, 2009; Brown & Militello, 2016; Easton,

2008; Hunzicker, 2010; Spikes, 2018; U.S. Department of Education, 2014; Darling-Hammond et al., 2009; Yoon et al., 2007). Anti-racist professional development also benefits from collaboration (Skerrett, 2011; View et al., 2020). Additional components of anti-racist-focused professional development include an understanding and investigation of racism, including racial identity development, cognitive dissonance, anti-racist pedagogy, and critical practice (Acosta et al., 2017; Blakeney, 2005; Brown, 2004; Howard, 2007; Kailin, 2002; Kishimoto, 2018; McManimon & Casey, 2018; Skerrett, 2011; Spikes, 2018; View et al., 2020). Furthermore, the constructs of perspective transformation and situated cognition, which fall within liberatory adult learning theory, support professional learning focused on recognizing historical marginalization, expanding or shifting individuals' perspectives, and connecting learning to social change (Amstutz, 1999; Brown, 2006; Mezirow, 1995, 1997). Therefore, liberatory adult learning theory, perspective transformation, and situation cognition could play a more prominent role in anti-racist professional development, especially for white teachers, and pair well with the idea of counter-framing the dominant white narrative employing a Critical Race Theory approach to anti-racist work.

Conceptual Framework

Critical Race Theory

First and foremost, my conceptual framework centers on race and, more specifically, Critical Race Theory. Each aspect of the framework, from white racial identity development and the white racial frame to anti-racist ideology and pedagogy is race-centered by nature of its anti-racist purpose. Critical Race Theory acknowledges the endemic nature of racism and provides a theoretical foundation from which to disrupt the dominant narrative and envision an alternate (K-12) reality. Therefore, the overarching umbrella is Critical Race Theory, and the previously identified tenets of CRT permeate the foundation and conceptualization of the framework.

Overview of Conceptual Framework

This study focuses on white teachers' perceptions of anti-racist professional development regarding racial identity development and anti-racist practice in order to shine a light on professional development that can effect change in practice toward an anti-racist stance. The conceptual framework I've designed is a white anti-racist educator identity and practice development model, aligned to the literature review. It is premised on Critical Race Theory and organized between Critical Whiteness Studies and anti-racist ideology and pedagogy. Critical Whiteness Studies are necessary to understand the complexity of why and how we continue to perpetuate systems of oppression and racism in schools.

The Critical Whiteness Studies section incorporates the phases and schemas of white racial identity development and the history of racism and the white racial frame, the two critical understandings identified in the literature in order for white teachers to effectively engage in anti-racist practice. The anti-racist ideology and pedagogy section includes relationships with students, curriculum and course content, and pedagogical strategies. The framework is structured as a continuum; each of the three columns represents a phase of change and moves developmentally left to right. Qualitative data regarding impactful professional development will be gathered in both phases of the study, and the data analysis will be contextualized in the conceptual framework. Figure 4 is a visual representation of the conceptual framework.

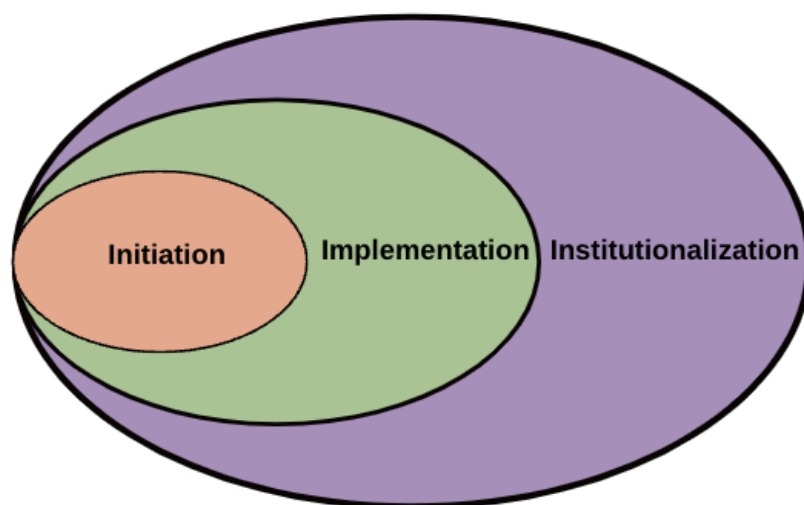
Phases of Change

The organizational structure of the conceptual framework is drawn from Fullan's (2001) three-phase change process, which he applied to the classroom, school, and district levels. Within the ideology and pedagogy portion of this conceptual framework, I've applied the three-tier change process to the teacher, or classroom, level to delineate the continuum of components, relationships with students, curriculum and course content, and pedagogical strategies, drawn from the literature. Fullan (2001) conceptualizes the change process as three overlapping phases: Initiation, Implementation, and Institutionalization, as illustrated by Figure 3.

Fullan (2001) is careful to note that the research findings on the change process are less a prescription for application and more a manner of making sense of the change process. Finally, the time required to move through any change process, as well as the individual phases, will vary depending on the context and complexity of the change (Fullan, 2001).

Figure 3

Fullan's Three-Tier Change Process



Initiation. The Initiation phase is the beginning of the change process, focused on developing a commitment to the innovation or process; in this case, white racial identity development and anti-racist ideology and pedagogy (Fogarty & Pete, 2006; Fullan, 2001; Hopkins et al., 1994). During the Initiation phases, teachers are building background knowledge and learning, engaging in professional development, and moving their work from theory to practice (Fogarty & Pete, 2006; Hopkins et al., 1994). They may also be examining data, studying relevant research, or seeking out information on their own. Educators may be talking about racial identity, racism, and/or anti-racist pedagogy, but their practice has not yet shifted.

Implementation. Implementation is the phase where pedagogy shifts and commitment continues to develop or sustain. Progress may be inconsistent since implementation of a new practice can be challenging (Fullan, 2001; Hopkins et al., 1994). Given the dominance of white

privilege, it would not be unexpected to find contradictory practices during the Implementation phase. For example, a teacher might be engaging in anti-racist pedagogy in some ways yet still demonstrate an unconscious bias or reinforce stereotypes. During the Implementation phase, educators experience philosophical shifts, deepen their learning, and expand their anti-racist pedagogical repertoire.

Institutionalization. Institutionalization is the phase when the change has become the regular way of doing things rather than something new (Fullan, 2001; Hopkins et al., 1994). At the Institutionalization phase, the frequency of competing or contradictory practices should decrease significantly (Hopkins et al., 1994). Educators in the Institutionalization phase of the conceptual framework possess a deep understanding of both historical and contemporary issues of racism and are committed to continuous learning about issues of white privilege and supremacy, race, and power, and have reconceptualized their pedagogical practice.

Figure 4

White Anti-Racist Educator Identity and Practice Development Model

Critical Race Theory in Education						
Racism as Endemic Challenge to the Dominant Narrative Critique of Liberalism Interest Convergence Whiteness as Property Race as a Social Construct Commitment to Social Justice						
Critical Whiteness Studies						
White Racial Identity Development (Helms, 2020; Howard, 2019)	Phase One: Internalizing Racism			Phase Two: Evolving Non-Racist Identity		
	Contact	Disintegration	Reintegration	Pseudo-Independence	Immersion/Emersion	Autonomy
Schemas						
History of Racism White Racial Frame (Feagin, 2013)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Acknowledge historical racism View present-day racism as individual incidents of racism Color-evasive 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Acknowledge connection between white privilege and systemic inequities Verbal commitment to racial justice 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Continue to learn about historical and present-day racism and oppression Recognize and critique institutional and systemic racism Speak out against and disrupt oppression and racism 	

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work to engage and inform other white people, seek allies 	
Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy				
	I. Initiation	II. Implementation	III. Institutionalization	
Relationships with Students (Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006; Blakeney, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 1994; López, 2008; Samuels & Samuels 2019)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Care and concern for all students • Want to help students of color 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Asset-based approach • Authentic connection with and commitment to all students 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reciprocal relationships with students • Funds of knowledge approach • High academic expectations for all students 	
Curriculum and Course Content (DeLeon, 2006; Kishimoto, 2018; López, 2008; Raby, 2004; Rampal, 2015; Samuels & Samuels, 2019; Skerrett, 2011; Welton et al., 2015)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incorporate texts and materials that represent people or authors of color • Add contributions of figures and leaders of color to curriculum 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognize Eurocentrism in curriculum, expand perspectives and voices, incorporate counter-narratives • Course discourse includes inequities at individual and institutional/systemic level • Students' identities examined and reflected in the curriculum 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social action • Reconceptualize curriculum • Critical theory approach to curriculum • Examine and critique race, racism, and power • Critical discourse extends to the political, historical, and economical context of discipline 	
Pedagogical Strategies	Primary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase critical thinking work, incorporate more representative materials • Incorporate social issues, but historical more often than contemporary 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Critique and analysis includes stereotypes, historical representation • Learn about formal and informal leaders who have advocated for change, engaged in activism • Examine contemporary social issues; students drive topics or focus 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interrogate texts; focus on omission of voices, experiences, and perspectives of oppressed people • Explicit instruction on confronting racism • Problem-solving praxis oriented toward institutional and/or social change
	Supporting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visual representation in classroom • Culturally diverse texts and materials are added 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perspectives of historically marginalized people are included in curriculum • Create a sense of community through collaborative learning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decenter authority in the classroom • Develop students' awareness of their social positions
(Blakeney, 2005; DeLeon, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 2014; Kishimoto, 2018; Milner, 2007; Samuels & Samuels, 2019; Welton et al., 2015)				

The descriptors provided for each component of Critical Whiteness Studies or anti-racist ideology and pedagogy across the three phases are not exhaustive and are provided as examples supported by the literature review. Furthermore, individual teachers may exhibit characteristics in overlapping phases of change; Fullan (2001) notes this (Hopkins et al., 1994). The framework is neither intended nor designed as a parallel development model; educators are not expected to demonstrate development across all strands in a parallel manner, nor is the framework designed as a vertical or sequential model. Research has indicated that white educators' development of their own racial identity and an understanding of the history of racism in the United States, including the white racial frame, was a determining factor in their willingness and ability to effectively implement anti-racist practice. All components of the framework are critical in the development and practice of anti-racist white educators, but there is no inferred development path for individual educators. The purpose is to frame the comprehensive development of white anti-racist teachers in order to examine, from their perspective, the impact of professional development on the transformation of their perspective and practice and to understand the professional development that has impacted their development relative to the conceptual framework.

Conclusion

In summary, I examined more than 160 texts of educational scholarship to frame my study. They included theoretical work and empirical studies across four domains: Critical Race Theory; Critical Whiteness Studies and white teacher racial identity development; anti-racist ideology, pedagogy, and professional development; and effective professional development and liberatory adult learning.

There has been a significant increase in the body of CRT research in education since Ladson-Billings and Tate first posited the idea in the mid-1990s. However, CRT in education is still under-theorized and under-studied. Research that connects theory to practice is needed if we are to fully realize CRT's potential as a theory, methodological strategy, and tool of activism

in assessing and framing anti-racist work in education. Critical Whiteness Studies have emerged from Critical Race Theory as a mechanism for examining the social, political, and economic structures that produce and reproduce white privilege and white supremacy. Because the very foundation of the United States is built on racism, understanding the white racial frame and the institutional nature of racism is essential to addressing systemic inequities in schools. White racial identity development was often a critical determiner of whether white teachers were able and willing to engage in equity or anti-racist work effectively; therefore, it is a vital component of efforts to address educational disparities for students of color in PWD. Helms' White Racial Identity Development model (1990, 2019) and companion White Racial Identity Attitude Scale provide a framework for conceptualizing the development of a white anti-racist racial identity that can be applied to the education setting. However, there are limited studies that investigate professional development aimed at white teachers' racial identity development and even fewer that focus on white teachers in non-urban settings. Moreover, there is a dearth of research on suburban schools and districts in general. That is particularly concerning given that suburbs have been experiencing the most significant demographic change over the past 20 years and that teachers in those districts report feeling least prepared to teach students of color.

Anti-racist ideology and pedagogy leverage teaching practices to examine and critique race, power, and oppression with a goal of engaging students in developmentally appropriate problem-solving. The three following components of anti-racist ideology and pedagogy can be identified across the literature: relationships with students, curriculum and course content, and pedagogical strategies. While research on anti-racist practice is growing, the limited studies on anti-racist professional development provide school districts very little specific direction on content or andragogy that effectively supports expanding teachers' anti-racist ideology or increasing their anti-racist pedagogy.

To date, academic interventions, multicultural education, and anti-racist education alone have had limited success in meliorating inequitable outcomes for students of color in U.S.

schools. Our educational system is built on the same foundation of racism—the white racial frame—as are all other American institutions. Delivering on the education debt will require that white teachers become highly effective in empowering, affirming, and educating students of color. The literature is clear on what that will require; namely, racially conscious anti-racist white educators. This study seeks to diminish the gap in the literature around anti-racist white teachers and their perception of the professional development that supports their anti-racist white racial identity development and practice toward an anti-racist stance with an eye toward liberatory adult learning theory, specifically perspective transformation and situated cognition.

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methodology

This mixed methods study with a qualitative emphasis examined the white educators' perceptions of the impact of anti-racist professional development regarding their racial identity development, understanding of racism and the white racial frame, and anti-racist practice in PWDs to shine a light on professional development that can effect change in practice toward an anti-racist stance. The following research questions guided this inquiry:

1. According to white educators in predominately white (staff) suburban districts who self-identify as engaging in anti-racist education, how did anti-racist professional development impact, if at all, their (a) white racial identity development, (b) understanding of racism and the white racial frame, and (c) practice toward an anti-racist stance?
2. Among white educators who self-identify as engaging in anti-racist practice, what informal and formal professional development has impacted their white racial identity development, understanding of the history of racism and the white racial frame, and anti-racist ideology and pedagogy?

Rationale for Mixed Methods Study with an Emphasis on Qualitative Inquiry

Because of the endemic nature of racism in the United States, successful anti-racist initiatives require ongoing systems-level change and staff professional development over several years. This study focused on how educators interpreted anti-racist professional development in relation to how they made meaning of their own white racial identity development, developed an understanding of racism and the white racial frame, and their change in practice toward an anti-racist stance. Such work entailed multiple professional development events and experiences over multiple years. Interviews were required to allow educators to reflect on their professional development experiences, their racial identity development, their understanding of racism and whiteness, and their practice changes.

Previous studies found that the implementation success of culturally responsive (CRP) and anti-racist pedagogy in PWDs was often dependent on educators' white racial identity development (Matias et al., 2014; Vaught & Castagno, 2008; Vass, 2014). If white educators hadn't adequately unpacked their own racial identities or didn't understand and acknowledge racism, white privilege, and white supremacy, they were unlikely to effectively address racism in the school or classroom or engage in ME or CRP in meaningful ways. Among the limited body of studies on anti-racist professional development, what did exist was more often focused on preservice educators than inservice educators.

Another shortcoming in the current literature was the narrow scope, either in the duration of professional development, the number of educators studied, or the extent of similar studies (Parkhouse et al., 2019). The literature reviewed to date suggested a wide range of professional development experiences among educators and a lack of comparability across studies and often within studies. Focusing on educators whose white racial identity development reflected an anti-racist identity and who reported that they engaged in anti-racist practice, this study sought to expand on previous studies to learn from educators' perceptions of anti-racist professional development in their respective districts. The Phase One survey identified educators with anti-racist racial identities and gathered self-reported attitudes, beliefs, and feelings about identity, racism, whiteness, practice, and professional development. Phase Two educator interviews were cross-referenced with and compared to documents, texts, videos, and other materials related to specific professional development events, workshops, and courses to expand analysis and comparability across events and experiences. The interviews were also cross-referenced with and compared to classroom and planning documents to verify the anti-racist practices that were referenced.

While a quantitative approach would have allowed educators to rate types of professional development activities and their impact, a quantitative measure alone wouldn't have accounted for the full range of variability in content and type of professional development

offered to educators, how individual educators experienced the professional development, how it changed specific practice, or how educators interpreted professional development focused on their anti-racist white racial identity development (Fowler, 2014). Qualitative inquiry supports research focused on discovering, understanding, and gaining insight from the perspective of those studied (Pasque et al., 2012; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), on interpreting how their understanding influenced their behavior, and on understanding the particular context in which they acted and the influence that context had on their actions (Maxwell, 2012). In this study, qualitative inquiry supported the following: understanding educators' interpretation of professional development and its impact on their development; unpacking and tracing their racial identity development over time and context; discovering how they came to understand racism, whiteness, and the white racial frame; and gaining insight from their reflection on their implementation of anti-racist practice.

Finally, qualitative inquiry allowed for the discovery and exploration of other factors beyond formal professional development that educators perceived as impactful on their racial identity development, understanding of racism and white racial frame, and change toward anti-racist ideology and pedagogy. Critical qualitative research is positioned to seek and promote justice (Denzin et al., 2017) and thus aligned with the critical theoretical orientation of this study.

Research Design

This explanatory sequential mixed methods study (Creswell, 2013), with an emphasis on qualitative research, was conducted in two suburban PWDs that had engaged in a minimum of five years of anti-racist work and professional development. Fullan's (2001) research on educational change determined that moderately complex change requires three to five years and that larger-scale change can take five to 10 years. Based on Fullan's work and the complexity of racial identity development and anti-racist ideology and pedagogy, I established a minimum of five years to align with the literature on time required to implement moderately complex change. An explanatory sequential mixed methods design with an emphasis on

qualitative inquiry was utilized for the study, with two distinct phases of data collection (Ivankova et al., 2006; Merriam & Tisdell, 2016), first a survey and then qualitative interviews and document analysis. The qualitative inquiry was conducted through two interviews, each with a subset of survey participants. Comparative case study (CCS) was utilized to frame the cases, organize the data, and analyze the data (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017b). DeCuir-Gunby and Walker-DeVose (2013) have advocated for the use of critical race mixed methods as a more theory-centric approach to expanding quantitative and mixed methods research beyond positivism and post-positivism, as well as developing the methodological application of CRT beyond qualitative study. Consonant with DeCuir-Gunby and Walker-DeVose's suggestions, this mixed methods study was qualitative-dominant.

The first phase was designed to identify white teachers who self-identified as anti-racist (employing Helms' Evolving Non-Racist Identity schemas) and reported engaging in anti-racist pedagogy in the classroom in order to discern their interpretation of the impact of professional development on their anti-racist white racial identity development, their understanding of racism and the white racial frame, and their anti-racist practice, and to inform the Phase Two qualitative interviews. A quantitative and qualitative online survey, including closed-ended and open-ended questions, was administered to white educators in two suburban PWDs engaged in anti-racist work and professional development for at least five years.

The second phase of the study centered on individual interviews conducted with a subset of teachers who participated in Phase One of the study. Phase Two also included documents that those participants shared as exemplars of their anti-racist practice and equity-related and anti-racist-related professional development documents that the districts or individual teachers provided.

Comparative case study was selected for framing cases, organizing data, and analyzing data because it allowed and encouraged comparison across social contexts to consider data related to more significant societal issues; in this case, racism (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017b). The

CCS methodology addressed the lack of comparability across previous studies identified by Parkhouse and colleagues (2019) and is informed by a critical theoretical stance, guided by critical theory and its focus on inquiry related to power and inequality (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017a). Furthermore, CCS is a process-oriented approach to case study research, with a focus on the process connection between people, situations, and events, and centered on the belief that understanding social issues today requires historical context and analysis (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017b). This central assumption aligns with a critical epistemology and, more specifically, with Critical Race Theory.

Inherent in that process approach was an emerging and evolving research design. As I engaged in the research process and collected data, especially the interviews, my initial ideas of case bounds shifted, and I made adjustments to my interview protocol. Comparative case study lent itself to examining the processes of making sense of concepts that developed over time (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017b); in this case, how racial identity, understanding of racism and whiteness, and anti-racist practice developed in relation to professional development. The “actors,” however, were not necessarily the participants in the study; they may have included important social or policy actors such as language, texts, protests, or institutions.

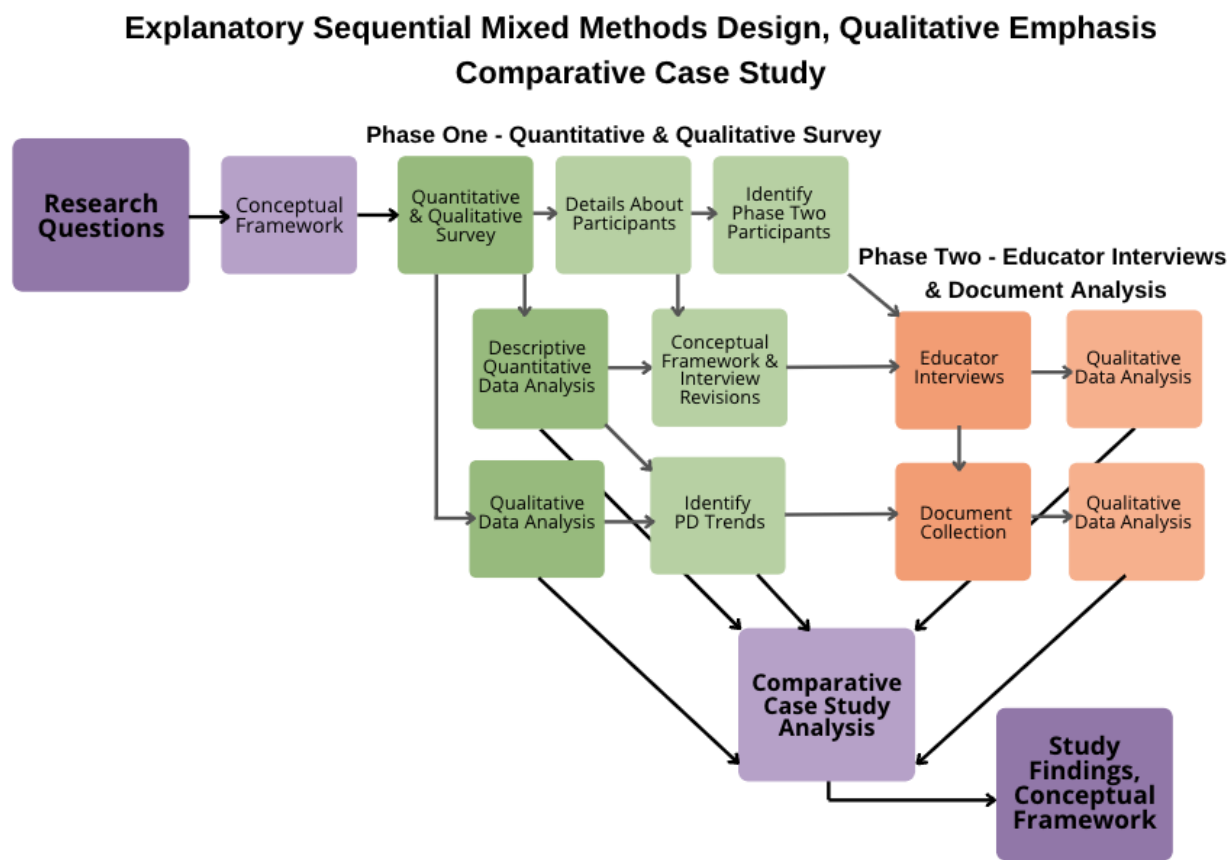
Parkhouse and colleagues (2019) noted that one shortcoming of previous studies on multicultural education professional development was too much variation across types of professional development programs studied to draw conclusions. The unbounded approach of CCS allowed for comparison across a much wider range of units of analysis, which facilitated comparison across various professional development opportunities and experiences across schools, districts, and time.

A parallel example of the explanatory sequential mixed methods design methodology was cited in Tisdell, Taylor, and Forté’s (2013) study of teachers’ beliefs about financial literacy education, how those beliefs were implemented in educational practice, and the extent to which financial educators attempted to implement culturally relevant practice. The authors

administered a quantitative online survey to 245 educators that gathered data on teacher demographics, beliefs, curriculum, program objectives, classroom practice, and culturally responsive pedagogy. The qualitative phase of their study was interviews with the 15 teachers they deemed most culturally responsive in the first phase of the study. The data from the quantitative and qualitative phases were integrated during analysis and in the development of the findings. Of note was that while this was an example of the explanatory sequential mixed methods design, it did not utilize a CCS approach; it was a bounded case study inquiry. Figure 5 depicts the research design process.

Figure 5

Explanatory Sequential Mixed Methods Research Design Model



Phase One: Quantitative and Qualitative Survey

I utilized an online survey to assess white educators' (self-reported) racial identity development, understanding of racism and the white racial frame, and anti-racist practice as well as their perceptions of the impact of professional development on their identity development, understanding of racism and the white racial frame, and change in practice. I selected a survey for multiple reasons. First, social science surveys lend themselves to describing participants in a certain way; in this case, regarding their racial identity development and anti-racist ideology and pedagogy. Second, surveys are effective measurement tools for self-reported information, particularly attitudes, beliefs, and feelings about topics. Finally, a self-administered survey can be more effective than a face-to-face interview when a researcher is collecting sensitive information such as information and beliefs about race, white privilege, and racial identity (Fowler, 2014). The Phase One survey allowed participants to complete it anonymously, and only those who volunteered for the second phase of the study were required to share their names and contact information.

The quantitative and qualitative survey included both closed-ended and open-ended questions aligned to the conceptual framework outlined in the previous chapter. The survey was divided into three sections: general and demographic information; racial identity development, understanding of racism and the white racial frame; and anti-racist ideology and pedagogy. General demographic information included district, school, teaching role, grade level(s), total years of experience, years of experience in the district, years of AR PD, and race and ethnicity data. The second and third sections aligned to the strands of the conceptual framework. The closed-ended questions utilized a rubric by which teachers self-assessed their racial identity development, understanding of racism and the white racial frame, and anti-racist practice. Each set of rubric questions was accompanied by a parallel Likert-scale question about the degree of impact professional development had on that aspect of the conceptual framework and three

open-ended questions. The closed-ended questions were followed by three open-ended questions.

I selected a Likert-scale option to establish educators' perception of the degree to which professional development impacted their racial identity development, understanding of racism and the white racial frame, and anti-racist practice. These questions asked participants to interpret the degree to which they perceived professional development had impacted their white racial identity development, affected their understanding of racism and the white racial frame, or effected change in their practice toward an anti-racist stance. The pattern of questions was consistent throughout the survey: rubric questions, Likert-scale questions, and an open-ended question for each strand of the conceptual framework.

The first open-ended question asked participants to name professional development experiences that impacted their racial identity development and practice toward an anti-racist stance. The second and third open-ended questions asked them to describe the specific professional development events or experiences that were impactful in their racial identity development and change in practice toward an anti-racist stance (see examples in Tables 3 and 4). The open-ended questions were only asked if participants indicated that professional development had at least a slight impact on one of the previous Likert-scale questions.

Tables 3 and 4 show examples of survey questions. Table 3 shows the types of items with labels to support the explanation of the survey; Table 4 shows items without labels.

Table 3*Survey Type and Item Examples*

Rubric Item – Racism/White Racial Frame

Select the statements that best reflect your beliefs about racism.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most racism ended after the Civil Rights era. • There is less racism today than decades ago. What happens today is the result of racist individuals. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racism creates challenges for many people of color but not all people of color. • White privilege is connected to and creates systemic inequities for people (and students) of color. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Racism in the United States is deep-seated and systemic, built upon centuries-old, institutionalized systems of oppression. • White privilege is the result of white supremacy.
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Likert-Scale Item – Racism

From your perspective, to what degree has professional development impacted your thinking about racism?

1 - No Impact	2 - Slight Impact	3 - Moderate Impact	4 - Significant Impact	5 - Very Significant Impact
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Table 4*Survey Item Examples without Labels*

Anti-Racist Practice: Curriculum and Course Content

Select the description that best reflects your practice.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I have some books or materials that represent people or authors of color. • I have added the contributions of leaders and figures of color to my course or curriculum. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I have decreased the Euro-centric focus in my course or curriculum; we examine issues from multiple perspectives. • I try to incorporate students' interests and identities in course content. • We regularly discuss racism and inequities at the individual and institutional levels. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I have reconceptualized my curriculum with a critical focus on race, racism, power, and oppression. • I incorporate students' identities in class, and we examine them through the curriculum. • We discuss students' roles in social action and institutional and systemic change.
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From your perspective, to what degree has professional development impacted a change in your practice toward anti-racist curriculum and course content?

1 - No Impact 2 - Slight Impact 3 - Moderate Impact 4 - Significant Impact 5 - Very Significant Impact

Describe the specific professional development events and/or experiences that you perceive as impactful in changing your **relationships with students** and/or **classroom practice toward an anti-racist stance**. What was it that impacted you? Were there particular activities, discussions, and more that were especially powerful?

The white racial identity development rubric items were written based on Helms' White Racial Identity Development model and White Racial Identity Attitude Scale (1990, 2019). The racism in the United States, white racial frame, and anti-racist practice items were aligned with my conceptual framework. Consistent with the literature review, the anti-racist practice items focused on relationships with students, curriculum and course content, and pedagogical strategies.

I performed a descriptive analysis of the quantitative survey data (closed-ended questions) to summarize participants' perceptions of the impact of professional development on each strand of my conceptual framework and to compare those summary perceptions across roles, years of experience, years of AR professional development, schools, levels, and districts, as well as to identify trends in racial identity development, understanding of racism and the white racial frame, and anti-racist ideology and pedagogy. I used the quantitative data to identify educators who self-identified as possessing anti-racist white racial identities and engaging in anti-racist practice. I defined anti-racist white racial identity as aligning with Helms' (1990, 2019) Evolving Non-Racist Identity, those participants who selected items aligned with the Pseudo-Independence, Immersion/Emersion, or Autonomy schemas on her White Racial Identity

Development model, and reported engaging in anti-racist practice. A representative sampling of those educators was invited to participate in Phase Two of the study.

I analyzed qualitative data to identify trends in professional development experiences that were impactful according to the teachers surveyed and performed comparisons across schools, districts, and levels. I also used the qualitative data to inform the development of the Phase Two interviews and identify trends that warranted further exploration in my literature review.

Phase Two: Qualitative Inquiry, Educator Interviews, and Document Analysis

Phase Two of the study was a qualitative inquiry conducted through educator interviews and some document analysis. Unlike a typical case study, a CCS is unbounded; thus, “case” was not applied to the individual educator level for interviews and organization. Instead, I continued to consider the participants and their perspectives as social actors in the study (especially in Phase Two), data, and trends I was identifying through both phases of the study as I considered the interrelationship between situations and events as an important part of the research process. Therefore, the organization and analysis of “cases” will be addressed in greater detail in the subsequent section of this chapter that details CCS.

I conducted interviews with selected white educators who self-identified as having an anti-racist identity (employing the Immersion/Emersion or Autonomy schemas on Janet Helms’ White Racial Identity Model) and engaging in anti-racist practice at the Implementation or Institutionalization levels on the conceptual framework. The interviews focused on how professional development impacted, if at all, their racial identity development and changed their practice toward an anti-racist stance. I asked participants to describe in detail the impactful professional development experiences; to elaborate and reflect on the change in their white racial identity development and how changes occurred; to share their (critical) reflections on race, racism, and white privilege and supremacy; and to detail changes in their practice and their thinking and reflection about those changes (see Appendix B).

Phase Two of the study also included document analysis. I collected documents from professional development events that educators identified as impactful on their racial identity development and anti-racist practice. There were two general types of documents that I collected and analyzed: classroom exemplars and professional development document. Classroom exemplars were lesson or unit plans, student activities, planning materials, slide decks from lessons or units, student handouts, and other materials that case study participants identified as examples of their anti-racist practice. Professional development documents included the following: descriptions of and flyers for courses, workshops, and book studies; handouts, videos, slide decks, and other presentation materials; facilitator plans and guides; discussion questions; exit slips and surveys; and educator tools from professional development events. Documents were acquired through the teacher participants, professional development facilitators or presenters, and district office personnel.

Epistemology: Critical Approach

Critical theory is both political and epistemological in nature and therefore lent itself well to this study. In critical research, the critical theoretical framework (CRT for this study) informs the research and analysis of power relations (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). It is critical of a social organization that privileges some and marginalizes or oppresses others (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). Critical theorists view research as a political act; therefore, critical researchers who conduct qualitative research frequently focus on issues of race, gender, and class (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). It is necessary for data analysis to incorporate a critical eye toward racial power dynamics, particularly concerning both the dominant white narrative and power structure and historical and present-day racial oppression and marginalization in schools. Critical research aims to critique and challenge, to transform, hoping that people will take action; critical theory takes a critical view of education (Capper, 2019). In this regard, the role of the researcher is more activist than in other epistemological approaches by the very nature of the subject matter of the inquiry. The very act of asking questions about anti-racist identity development, white

privilege, white supremacy, the history of marginalization, oppression, and social action in the classroom changes participants' consciousness and invited change.

Critical research incorporates a connection between historical and contemporary times (Cannella et al., 2013), which tethered it well to CRT, the focus of this study, and the use of CCS. The aim of critical inquiry is “the critique and transformation of the social, political, cultural, economic, and gender structures that constrain and exploit humankind” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 66). This goal aligned with both the enduring, historically grounded tenets of Critical Race Theory and the anti-racist praxis toward social change.

Research intentionally designed to create social change toward justice and equity also affects the role of the researcher (Pasque et al., 2012). The researcher must deliberately expand consciousness and critique through their inquiry to facilitate change (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). I did not reserve the critical inquiry lens solely for the research participants; I focused it on myself too. I needed to remain cognizant and vigilant regarding how my presence and relationship affected participants and the data (collection) and reflective regarding how my own identity impacted participants and my perceptions of participants, as well as how my identity and positionality impacted my interpretation and analysis of data. Because of the activist bent of critical qualitative methodologies, I also considered when and how I, the researcher, might encourage change or social action through the case study interview process.

Research Sites and Participants

Districts

For at least five years, I sought out two to three suburban PWDs engaged in anti-racist work and professional development as sites for my study, and at least two schools, one elementary and one secondary, in each of those districts. Given that the most significant demographic shift is occurring in the suburbs or urban areas (Diamond & Posey-Maddox, 2020), educators in PWDs were least likely to report being prepared to teach diverse students (Frankenberg & Siegel-Hawley, 2008), and the dearth of research on suburban school districts

(Diamond & Posey-Maddox, 2020), predominantly white (staff) suburban school districts, seemed the most urgent site criteria. The purpose of identifying at least two schools and at multiple levels in each district was for the purpose of comparison both within and across districts and levels. These criteria addressed a gap in the literature and a lack of comparison across studies, and supported the CCS methodology.

I reached out to personal and professional contacts in school districts, at universities, and at national professional development centers throughout the country. They included colleagues at work, in professional organizations, and post-secondary institutions, speakers or consultants our district has worked with, and institutions we have partnered with in our district's equity and anti-racist work. I shared a brief summary of my study, the criteria I had established for sites/districts, and offered to share more information upon request. I asked if there were any districts they recommended I consider and contact, as well as if they were able to help me by providing a contact person or introduction.

I tracked site recommendations in a spreadsheet with fields for district, state, contact person's name, title, and email (if provided), the person who recommended the district, district racial and socioeconomic demographics, general academic data, and notes. As I received recommendations, I researched the district's demographics (student racial, English Learner, and socioeconomic demographics, graduation rate, general achievement data relative to state averages, and staff racial demographics), equity or anti-racist policies, equity or anti-racist web pages or other website content, equity and anti-racist professional development materials if they were available online, curricular materials, and environmental audit aspects such as visual representation of students relative to demographics. From a student demographic standpoint, I was trying to find school districts in which at least 15% of students were Black or Hispanic/Latinx and 80% or fewer of students were white. That ensured the student population was more racially diverse than the staff and included representation of students for whom schools in the United States are not producing equitable outcomes.

In reviewing graduation and achievement data, I compared each district's graduation rate to the state's graduation rate and reviewed disaggregated graduation data in the same light. I reviewed state accountability assessment data relative to each district (that was recommended) relative to the state average data. While there are certainly drawbacks to the use of large-scale accountability data, it can be useful as a tool for general effectiveness evaluation (Brookhart, 2015) or as large-grain satellite data that illuminates patterns of achievement and equity (Safir & Dugan, 2021). My goal was to ensure that I wasn't selecting schools or districts that were exacerbating inequitable outcomes for students of color and that the sites I selected were engaged in multi-year, anti-racist professional development work and producing positive achievement outcomes for students.

Once I determined that a district met my criteria, I looked for their research policy on their website. If it wasn't posted online, I contacted the district to request the policy and any application materials that were required. If I needed more information in order to decide, I reached out to colleagues and contacts for more information and searched district publications and other online news media. As I identified potential sites, I completed and prepared application materials. Some districts had a form I needed to complete and submit, others had a form and additional materials, and others required anything from letters of support from administrators at schools in the district to a 10-page proposal summary. I tracked all correspondence with district personnel in my spreadsheet and used a color-coded system to track my recruitment efforts. Once I determined that a district met my criteria, I coded it light yellow; once I submitted my application to conduct research, I changed it to light green. If I received notice that my request was denied or if I determined it didn't meet my criteria, I coded it pink.

This entire process was laborious and slow. Because each district had its own process, the requirements for forms or written documents were all different, and some application materials took me two weeks to write. This was happening during late summer and fall of 2021

when school districts across the country were still navigating the challenges of the COVID-19 pandemic. Understandably, response times to inquiries and applications varied and were often delayed. For example, the timeline in one district was as follows: I sent my initial inquiry email and request for the research policy on August 22, 2021; I sent a follow-up email on September 7, 2021; I received a response, policy, and link to the district application form on September 8, 2021; I submitted the application form, proposal, survey, and interview protocol on September 8, 2021; I received notification that my application was received on September 15, 2021; I sent a check-in email on October 14, 2021; and I received notification that my application was approved on November 3, 2021.

Not only did the pandemic impact response and turnaround times on the part of administrators, but it also impacted study approvals. More than one district, after a lengthy review process that determined my study was compelling and aligned with their district strategic plan, decided to restrict research requests that involved teachers due to the ongoing challenges of the pandemic. As the process wore on, delays in application responses continued, and districts notified me that they had decided not to approve requests due to the pandemic. I started to consider how I could modify my study, criteria, and recruitment so as not to require district approval (e.g., working through external professional development providers or contacting educators through professional organizations, conference attendance lists, or district websites).

In mid-October 2021, less than a month after I had applied, I received notification from the Bakerville School District that my Application to Perform Research was approved without modifications. In early November 2021, the Terrell School District notified me that my research request was approved. It had taken approximately three months to secure two school districts with which to conduct my study. At that point, I determined, in consultation with my advisor, that two districts were sufficient and I would not pursue a third district.

Bakerville School District. The Bakerville School District (BSD) is a first-ring suburban, predominantly white staff and student PK-12 school district in the Midwest. The urban center to which it is contiguous is of moderate size with a population of approximately 300,000. BSD has just over 6,000 students in its eight schools—five K-5 elementary schools, two 6–8 middle schools, and one comprehensive high school. Twenty-two percent of BSD’s enrollment are students of color, although individual schools range between 32% and 16% of students of color. Approximately 11% of BSD students qualify for free or reduced lunch.

Upon approval, I was introduced by email to the Executive Director of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion as my district contact. It took a few weeks to arrange a meeting with her to discuss my study, focus, and criteria. The Executive Director used that information to determine which schools were at least as racially diverse as the district at large, including students who were Black and Hispanic and who had been deeply engaged in anti-racist work for at least five years. The Executive Director asked that I provide a Study Overview that could be shared with the principals at three potential schools—two elementary schools and one middle school—so she could meet with them about the study and gauge their willingness to participate (their school sites) in the study.

Upon principal agreement, the Executive Director of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion provided contact information for the principals at the two schools that accepted the study in order to facilitate study administration planning. Two schools in the Bakerville School District—Bethune Elementary School and Chisholm Middle School—were identified for participation in the study. Bethune had an enrollment of 573 during the 2021–2022 school year; Chisholm Middle School enrolled 686 students. Student demographics are summarized in Table 5.

Table 5*Bakerville District and School Demographics*

	Grades	Stud. Enroll.	Free/ Red.	Black	Hisp./ Lat.	Asian	Amer. Indian	Pacific Isl.	Two or More Races	White
District	PK-12	6,089	11%	11%	4%	2%	0%	0%	5%	78%
Bethune Elem.	K-5	573	11%	10%	3%	2%	0%	0%	4%	81%
Chisholm Middle	6-8	686	12%	13%	3%	1%	0%	0%	4%	79%

At the December meeting with the two building principals, I found out that they hadn't received the Study Overview or any information about the study. I shared that information with them and provided an overview of the study and methodology. We agreed on a timeline and process for survey recruitment and administration. Both principals offered to introduce the study and survey in their weekly staff newsletters just before I sent out the recruitment (email) letter, Phase One consent form, and survey link. The survey window was established as December 6 through December 17, 2021. The principals asked that I provide updates on the number of completed surveys every few days so they could provide reminders to their respective staffs and team time during which staff members could complete the survey if needed. They set a goal of 30 completed surveys per school and offered to talk to some teachers about doing case study interviews if I didn't get enough volunteers.

Terrell School District. The Terrell School District (TSD) is also a first-ring suburban PK-12 school district with a predominantly white (staff) PK-12 school district. Terrell is located in another Midwestern state but is contiguous to a much larger urban center with a population of more than 3 million. TSD enrolled approximately 7,700 students during the 2021–2022 school year in its 11 schools—seven K-6 elementary schools, one PK-8 school, one 7–8 middle school, one alternative high school, and one comprehensive high school. Fifty-six percent of Bakerville's

enrollment are students of color, although individual schools range between 81% and 33% students of color. Approximately 41% of Terrell students qualify for free or reduced lunches.

Upon approval, I met with the Director of Teaching and Learning, who was also my contact in the district, and the Human Resources Director to discuss site selection for my study. TSD had been engaged in several years of coordinated district anti-racist and equity professional development, so any of the schools would meet that criteria. They offered to include two elementary schools, the middle school, and the high school, which would provide a site at each level. The Director of Teaching and Learning asked that I provide a brief summary of the study that could be shared with principals in advance of the staff contact and recruitment. The Human Resources Director would provide staff names and email addresses for participant schools and send them to me prior to the survey window. We established a timeline and process for survey administration with a survey window of December 1–17, 2021.

Four schools in TSD were identified for participation in the study in an effort to increase the chance of higher survey participation: Clark Elementary School, Edelman Elementary School, Hamer Middle School, and Height Area High School. However, only one staff member from Edelman participated in the Phase One survey, so I did not keep Edelman Elementary School in the study. Clark Elementary School had an enrollment of 420 students, Hamer Middle School had 968 seventh and eighth grade students, and Height Area High School had 2,337 students. Student demographics are summarized in Table 6.

Table 6*Terrell District and School Demographics*

	Grades	Student Enroll.	Free/ Red.	Black	Hisp./ Lat.	Asian	Amer. Indian	Pacific Isl.	Two or More Races	White
District	PK-12	7684	41%	17%	14%	21%	0%	0%	5%	44%
Clark Elem.	K-6	420	71%	26%	14%	32%	0%	0%	11%	18%
Hamer Middle	7-8	968	47%	16%	18%	19%	0.2%	0%	7%	40%
Height HS	9-12	2,337	41%	17%	14%	21%	0.4%	0%	5%	44%

In late November 2021, the Director of Teaching and Learning for TSD contacted me to let me know that they were experiencing a COVID-19 case surge and had to close their schools to in-person learning and move to virtual instruction. As a result and in an effort to ensure a higher survey participation rate, they were delaying the survey administration to January 2022. We met in December and at that time established a new survey window of January 10–24, 2022. When that delay occurred, seven months after my proposal had been approved, my advisor and I discussed whether I needed to modify my study and eliminate the mixed methods due to the narrowing timeline. While concerned about the timeline, I was reluctant to make significant changes to the study. We agreed that if I could get the surveys completed by the end of January 2022, I could restructure my timeline and stagger the case study interviews between the two districts in order to maintain my December 2022 completion date.

Participants

Participants in Phase One of the study included 92 white K-12 educators in the two PWDs who agreed to participate in the study—the BSD and TSD, both located in first-ring suburbs of urban areas of two Midwestern states. There were two schools, one elementary and one middle school, in BSD; and three schools, one elementary, one middle school, and one

high school in TSD that participated in the study. I utilized non-probability (uncontrolled) sampling, consistent with most academic and nonprofit surveys (Fowler, 2014).

The survey sample frame included all staff members in the participant schools of the two districts who met the criteria to be studied—educators defined as certified staff members in order to ensure they had engaged in anti-racist professional development and self-identified as white. Both the recruitment email and Phase One consent form I sent to educators in the five schools described the study as focused on white educators' perceptions of anti-racist professional development; however, the emails were sent to all certified staff in the respective schools so individual staff members could determine whether or not “white educator” applied to them. When respondents completed the demographic section of the survey, if their selection for racial identity wasn't white, the survey skipped to the end; these surveys were not included in the data set. Consistent with comparative case study, there was no other bounding for “educator.” Participants served in various roles: grade-level teacher, content-specific teacher, resource teacher, specialist or interventionist, student services staff members, instructional coaches, and administrators.

The principals in BSD and Director of Teaching and Learning in TSD were helpful and supportive of efforts to recruit survey participants and in allowing me to send reminders, extend the survey window by a few days, and, in some cases, send reminders or encouragement. While my initial goal had been to have approximately 150 completed surveys, in light of the very real challenges of the pandemic and the growing pushback against and politicization around Critical Race Theory in K-12 schools, I considered myself fortunate to have 95 completed surveys. There were 27 educators from BSD and 68 educators from the TSD who participated in the survey.

Those 95 surveys included participants who worked in the district for at least three years or, if they were new to the BSD or TSD, had engaged in AR PD in a previous district or their preservice program over a three-year period. The rationale for selecting a minimum of three

years was to obtain data based on teachers' reflections on their change in identity development and practice over a longer period of time, not just in a matter of months. This aligned with Fullan's (2001) research, which suggests that even moderately complex change requires a minimum of three to five years.

I plotted each of the 95 participants using anonymized school and district codes (e.g., TCE1 – Terrell Clark Elementary Respondent 1), on my conceptual framework, first by district. That is to say I plotted all 27 Bakerville educators across each strand of my conceptual framework, color-coded by school, and then did the same for the TSD. I repeated that process for each school, and each school plotted separately across my conceptual framework. Once anonymized respondents were plotted, I set those conceptual framework charts aside until I was ready to begin data analysis.

Participants' placement on the conceptual framework was also used to identify eligibility among those who volunteered for participation in Phase Two case study interviews. I returned to the survey data, included the interview participation questions, and filtered for those respondents who had volunteered for case study interviews. I replotted those respondents on a potential case study participant version of the conceptual framework. There were approximately 20 K-12 teachers to interview who volunteered through the survey and self-identified as possessing an anti-racist white racial identity (employing the Immersion/Emersion or Autonomy schema in Helms' White Racial Identity Development Model; Helms, 2020) and as engaging in anti-racist practice. The teachers represented a reasonably even distribution across the two school districts, eight to 10 per district, to account for the variance in professional development offerings and experiences from district to district. I selected teachers to represent multiple schools and levels; this cross-district and cross-level (within and across districts) participation allowed for horizontal and vertical case comparison.

Research Procedures

Phase One: Quantitative and Qualitative Survey

Data Collection and Survey Design. The Phase One self-administered online survey was managed through Qualtrics. I sent potential participants a recruitment email that included a brief description of the study and first phase survey, a hyperlink to the consent form, a hyperlink to the Qualtrics survey, and a QR code for the survey. Teachers could complete the survey on any device (e.g., computer, iPad, phone) independent of the platform. I sent a reminder to educators in the site schools midway through the survey windows and again toward the end when the window was extended by a few days to garner additional survey responses.

The introductory questions (i.e., school, teaching role, grade-level, years of experience, years in district, and years participating in equity or anti-racist professional development) utilized multiple choice options for nominal items and a graphic slider for interval items. The schools were prepopulated and specific to the district; the survey links and QR codes were district-specific for the two districts as were the surveys, although only the names of the schools were different between the two surveys. All the data fed into one dashboard. The White Racial Identity Development (WRID) and anti-racist practice items were multiple choice and continuum- or rubric-based. The parallel (to each multiple-choice rubric item) professional development items offered 5-point Likert-scale responses. The open-ended questions were short answers, allowing participants to answer in their own words.

Respondents' ability to perform the task and researchers' interpretation are more reliable for closed survey items (Fowler, 2014). Therefore, the racial identity, anti-racist practice, and perception of professional development impact items were closed. Open-ended questions allow for unanticipated answers and more closely reflect the actual views of respondents, and respondents like to answer some questions in their own words (Fowler, 2014). For these reasons, I chose open-ended items for the questions that required participants to identify specific professional development in which they had participated. Furthermore, unbounded

answers allowed for an expansive range of possible professional development experiences (and responses).

Reliability. Reliability refers to the extent to which people in comparable situations will answer survey items in similar ways. I utilized four strategies to address reliability: standard presentation, easy navigation, primarily closed items, and clear wording (Fowler, 2014). Each strand of the conceptual framework was presented consistently with three parallel types of survey items. The survey directions were self-explanatory, and navigation (on any device) was simple. Surveys are more reliable when composed of mostly closed items and worded clearly (Fowler, 2014). Approximately 80% of the Phase One survey items were closed, and I reviewed language clarity during pre-survey evaluation.

Validity. Validity refers to the extent to which the answer given is a true measure and means what the researcher wants or expects it to mean (Fowler, 2014). I used four strategies to address and increase the validity of the Phase One survey for this study: direct rating categories, standard item formats and patterns, cognitive laboratory interviews, and field pre-tests. The first two strategies refer to the design of the survey. The survey used 5-point direct rating (e.g., named) categories for the rubric and Likert-scale items instead of agree and disagree options since agree and disagree options tend to decrease validity (Fowler, 2014). As previously mentioned, the same three types of survey items corresponded to each strand of my conceptual framework; these parallel items formed a parallel and predictable pattern through the racial identity and anti-racist practice portions of the survey. A successful survey design is essential; however, I did the most crucial validity work during pre-survey evaluation with modified cognitive interviews and field pre-tests.

Modified Cognitive Interviews and Field Pre-Tests. Given the time and COVID-19-related limitations of my survey and timeline, as well as the challenges potential pre-test participants were facing, I reached out to two teachers in the districts where I work to dialogue about reasonable requests for feedback and field testing of my survey. I used their feedback to

design a modified cognitive interview and survey field pre-test process for the Phase One survey. I sent a request that included background information about my study to 22 educators who met the criteria for the study in the district where I work. I sent the request from my personal email address since I wanted to make it clear that this was not a formal request from an administrator, and to educators with whom I had a professional connection. Those I contacted were asked if they would participate in the field testing and interviews; if they participated, I would send them a \$20 Chamber of Commerce gift certificate in appreciation of their time. Participation included completing the survey, taking notes on the survey while they took it, and attending a small group Zoom meeting to discuss the survey and provide feedback. Specific things I asked them to take notes on and give feedback about included the following: any directions that were not clear, any questions or items/answers that were not clear, information that would have been helpful or supported completing the survey, how long it took to complete the survey, and anything else they wondered about or wanted to mention.

There were nine educators—two middle school educators and seven elementary educators—who agreed to serve in the survey’s field test. Those who participated served in a variety of roles: grade-level teacher, specialist, instructional coach, and content teacher. Each of them signed up for one of five small group interview times and then used a QR code or hyperlink to access the survey. They took the survey at their convenience but before the small group interviews. Cognitive laboratory interviews are typically a “think aloud” administration of the survey (Fowler, 2014). During the virtual (Zoom) small group interviews, I led a discussion about the survey and gathered feedback from the following questions: (1) Was the survey clear enough to follow? (2) Were items clear? (3) Did you have any problems providing answers? (4) Approximately how long did the survey take you to complete it? and (5) Is there anything else I need to address? I followed up with more specific questions about refinements to language or format to improve validity as participants shared their feedback.

Prior to the first field test interview, I had reviewed the test group survey responses to date and noticed that respondents were not providing discreet answers for the five open-ended questions. By the fourth and fifth questions, sometimes sooner, they would write something like “see above” or copy verbatim their responses from previous open-ended questions. Therefore, I drafted an alternative with three open-ended questions and asked participants to provide feedback on the reformatted open-ended questions. As a result of the modified cognitive interviews and pre-survey field tests, there were some minor edits made to language; a progress bar was added to the survey, the three reconfigured open-ended questions replaced the original five questions, and a note was added to the recruitment email and instruction that participants might find it helpful to have a list of the equity and anti-racist professional development they had attended when they completed the survey. Common feedback from the field testing established that the instructions were clear, the survey was easy to follow, the survey flowed well from one topic to another, the parallel formatting was helpful, and participants understood the language, items, and responses in the survey.

Finally, I ran an internal analysis through Qualtrics once I finished the survey and again after the post-field test interview edits were made. While Qualtrics employs AI software for the analysis, it does review accessibility and display logic, timing, predicted length of survey completion, mobile device optimization, readability, and number of open-ended or text entry items. They recommend no more than three text entry items; this was the only criterion that was flagged in the Qualtrics analysis because in addition to the open-ended questions, participants who volunteered for case study interviews needed to share their names, email addresses, and phone numbers.

Data Analysis. I used and compared survey data in multiple ways. Teachers’ self-assessments of their white racial identity development and practice toward an anti-racist stance were used to identify participants for Phase Two of the study, as detailed in the Phase Two Participant Recruitment section. Teachers’ Likert-scale responses regarding their perceptions of

the impact of professional development on their white racial identity development and change in practice toward an anti-racist stance were used to inform Phase Two interviews and further develop the conceptual framework. The open-ended responses about professional development impact on racial identity development and anti-racist practice informed Phase Two interview questions and further development of the conceptual framework, provided background information about participants, informed the additional literature review topics, and identified specific professional development events for which documents needed to be collected and analyzed in Phase Two.

While quantitative data was the primary focus of Phase One of this study, both quantitative and qualitative data were collected through the survey. I used Qualtrics to filter, classify, merge, clean, and analyze the survey data. Once the surveys closed, a dashboard was built that combined the data from both districts for the purpose of filtering and analyzing survey results. Descriptive data analysis, performed directly in Qualtrics with the Data Analysis and Stats iQ tools, included variable analysis and descriptive statistics—distribution of data, visualization, summary data, and comparison across and within districts. Comparison included analysis within a single school, across schools at a particular level, by district or across districts, as well as by other demographic factors such as role, years of experience in the district, total years of experience, or years of equity or anti-racist professional development.

Qualitative data analysis was conducted in multiple stages, first by hand, then in Qualtrics, and finally by coding in MAXQDA, a software program designed for computer-assisted qualitative and mixed-methods data analysis. The first inductive analysis of the qualitative survey data I performed was open coding by hand. I downloaded the survey data by district into Excel spreadsheets and grouped all open-ended answers by question. This was the second time I read through all the answers, and I hand-coded by using short phrases from participants' references to professional development. Once I recorded all the professional development references, I looked for patterns and trends in the notes I had recorded. As a

check against and comparison of my initial inductive coding, I used some of the Qualtrics Text iQ data analysis tools, including an automated tagging and grouping, which I reviewed and edited. I also used Text iQ to run lemmatization, which identified various forms of words as single entries (e.g., race, racism, racist). For example, the constellation chart took sorts/weighted words or tags by frequency of response.

Upon completion of the preliminary quantitative and qualitative analysis in Qualtrics, as well as written up initial summary notes, I uploaded the qualitative survey data for both districts into MAXQDA as separate files and continued inductive data analysis. Qualitative questions were completed by 66 of the 95 survey participants, 41 from TSD and 25 from BSD. Because participants were allowed to skip questions, they were not required to answer open-ended questions. The open-ended nature of the three survey questions allowed participants to identify and describe those professional development experiences they perceived as impactful to their racial identity development or anti-racist practice. As a result, some responses were very specific, and some were very general. All responses were coded and included in the data set.

I started with the qualitative data for TSD and identified two-to-five-word phrases or “codes” that would be assigned to each chunk of information that participants had shared. After approximately one-third of the responses were coded, I began to analyze the codes to compile categories. Initial categories included the following: type of professional development, district activity, professional experience, internal event (with building or district), personal experience, external event (local, state, or national), and examples of anti-racist practice. Those categories were assigned colors and labeled so codes could be grouped into themes. Answers ranged in length from two words to multiple paragraphs and generated approximately 700 coded data segments.

As the number of codes categorized to “type of PD” grew, codes were regrouped into subthemes: district, internal facilitator; district, external facilitator; external, self-directed; and external, district supported. Two additional subthemes were added later in the analysis process:

strategies/conditions of PD and informal PD, used for experiences that participants equated with PD and identified as impactful but that might not have been intentional or planned PD. The 66 educators who did respond identified 351 PD experiences, both formal and informal. Data were analyzed by perceived impact relative to strands of my conceptual framework and by characteristics of or type of professional development experience.

I read each answer and reviewed each code a second time to see if participants had specified whether a particular PD experience was impactful on racial identity development, understanding racism or the white racial frame, or a change in their practice; 154 were identified as impactful on their development or change relative to specific strands of the conceptual framework. Among responses that were attributed to a change in practice, responses were categorized as “Ideology and Pedagogy in General” unless a participant specifically identified it as impactful on building relationships with students, curriculum and course content, and/or pedagogical strategies.

Finally, I grouped similar or repeated responses together. For example, if three survey participants identified “book study” as impactful on their understanding of racism, those three codes were linked as a digital folder. “Book study” showed up as the label, with a frequency of three, and I was able to open that code to see which participants (anonymized) provided that answer. The individual code was linked to the interview transcript.

Once all qualitative survey data was coded, I charted the impactful AR PD codes according to the strand that my conceptual framework participants identified them as impacting. I grouped those codes that were identified by multiple survey participants separately from those that were only mentioned once across all the surveys. Finally, I grouped the AR PD events and experiences by formal PD, professional activity or experience, and personal activity or experience.

I did a third reading of the qualitative survey answers and added codes after I finished the inductive coding, sorting, and organizing. I added labels and a specific color tag to any

existing codes for examples or aspects of whiteness, white privilege, or white supremacy and another for examples of the tenets of Critical Race Theory in Education. Throughout this process, I coded one participant's comments at a time and then moved those comments to category themes and subthemes. I repeated the same process with the Bakerville survey data and then reviewed all the codes, themes, and labels to make sure all codes were properly categorized. Finally, I linked like codes together; the theme or subtheme label would appear once but with an icon and number to indicate the frequency with which that code was identified by various participants.

Data Validation. I compared the closed (rubric and Likert-scale self-assessment items) and open-ended items of the survey. The use of both closed and open-ended questions, and multiple questions regarding both identity and practice, allowed me to verify participants' responses. I compared and verified data in each phase of the study and across the two phases of the study. I also compared machine (Qualtrics) analysis, initial hand open coding, and computer-assisted inductive and deductive analysis of the survey data to ensure data validation. For example, when I first read the survey data, I looked at each set of responses in total. If the respondent referenced an example of anti-racist practice, did it align with the answers they provided in the closed-ended questions about anti-racist ideology and pedagogy? Finally, I compared the trends and findings from quantitative data to those I found in the qualitative data.

Phase Two: Qualitative Inquiry, Interviews, and Document Analysis

Data Collection. To construct a deeper understanding of individual educators' racial identity development, understanding of racism and the white racial frame, and anti-racist practice relative to their perception of the impact of professional development, I utilized two forms of data collection: interviews and documents.

Interviews. I conducted two semi-structured interviews on Zoom with each of the 14 Phase Two participants. The interviews were scheduled at a time of each participant's choosing from a list of potential interview times and occurred over the course of three months. Each

interview lasted between 35 and 70 minutes. As Merriam and Tisdell (2016) indicated, person-to-person interviews enable us to find out things we can't directly observe, such as feelings, thoughts, or others' interpretations and previous behavior. Interviews gave a window into how people made meaning and an opportunity to enter another person's perspective. A list of questions (see Appendix A) guided the interviews, but the critical approach of the study allowed for inquiry and critique between the participants and me as we proceeded through the interview. The questions I designed fell into three groups: introductory questions, white racial identity development and the white racial frame, and anti-racist ideology and pedagogy. The first interview with each case study participant began with relatively neutral introductory information; these questions provided descriptive information about participants and an opportunity for me to build an intentional connection with them. The second and third groups of questions were aligned with the research question and conceptual framework.

The order and use of the questions varied depending on the topics and experiences that participants shared, and I was prepared with question stems that could be used when I wanted participants to elaborate on a particular topic. Consistent with a critical approach, my goal was to learn and construct understanding, make meaning, and understand the interplay among critical issues of race and power, professional development, and each teacher's racial ID development and anti-racist practice.

I asked participants to provide general information about how they came to be teachers and about their teaching experience, and to share what drove their practice. I asked a series of questions about their anti-racist white racial identity development, focusing on the schemas they employed over time; the white racial frame, specifically white privilege and white supremacy and their intersection with schools, education, and anti-racist work; and their perceptions of the impact of PD on their identity development. I used the second group of questions to ask teachers to reflect on the development of their anti-racist ideology and pedagogy, contextualized within and reflecting upon their professional development experiences.

Interviews were video- and audio-recorded in Zoom. I noted specific professional development experiences that participants mentioned and requested documents or artifacts related to those professional development events from participants themselves or from district-level leaders in the districts. I downloaded the audio and video recordings after each interview, labeled them by anonymized participant code, and uploaded them to my password-protected secure Box file on the University of Wisconsin-Madison server. I used Descript, an AI transcription software, to transcribe audio files. I still needed to listen to each of them and clean up the transcripts, but the use of the software expedited the process significantly. I also used a human transcription service, rev.com, for 11 of the interviews as a time-saving mechanism. I needed to review those transcripts as well, but edits were minimal.

Documents. Two general types of documents were collected: those that participants identified as representative or exemplars of their anti-racist practice and documents from professional development events that participants identified. Anti-racist practice exemplars included curriculum planning tools, student handouts, assignments, study guides, lesson plans, curriculum units, teacher guides, and slide presentations. Professional development documents included course descriptions, facilitator guides, study/discussion guides, book study questions, presenter slide decks, workshop handouts, district videos, emails, district web pages, slide presentations, and district planning documents. Documents were obtained either from participants, district-level staff members, presenters/facilitators of professional development events, district websites, or external partners' websites.

It is worth noting that while I was able to gather some information and district-level documents from BSD, I was unsuccessful in getting any response or information from the Director of Professional Development in BSD, although I reached out numerous times over a period of seven months. The administrator who handled research requests and approvals was responsive and provided any information available, as did building-level participants in the study, but they did not have PD planning documents and could not answer some of my

questions. The district website housed a large number of resources for staff, families, and the community at large, including recordings of virtual PD sessions that were held during the pandemic. However, I could not verify AR PD objectives, content, dates, or timelines for a number of specific AR PD events and activities. Because of that limitation, the focus of the interview data in chapters 5 and 6 was from interviews with TSD educators.

Professional development documents I collected were logged into a spreadsheet modeled after document summary forms (Whitt, 1992, citing Huberman & Miles, 1994). I used the summary spreadsheet to track the following data for each document: file code, source, title, author(s), purpose, intended audience, use, key information contained in the document, themes and patterns identified, the significance of the document to the study, further questions the document generated, and how the document was consistent or inconsistent with other sources of information in the study (Whitt, 1992). Documents were stored in separate (virtual) folders by district and between anti-racist practice exemplars and professional development documents.

Data Analysis. Analysis of data collected through interviews and documents included both inductive and deductive analytical approaches (Huberman & Miles, 1994). Initial analysis of interviews and documents was done separately, and analysis of exemplar documents was done separately from professional development documents. However, the data from those analyses were combined to develop the bounds of cases for the three axes of CCS, which will be addressed separately.

Interviews. I conducted an informal interim analysis as I completed interviews. Consistent with a critical approach, I took notes on participants' responses during interviews; journal entries for each interview also included my reflections about participants' responses to questions, thoughts, and reflections about my own white racial identity development and biases, and connections I noticed between interviews. The journal also served as a place where I played with metaphors, analogies, and concepts (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016; Huberman & Miles, 1994) and tracked further literature review inquiry topics.

I started inductive analysis after the first interviews, using the aforementioned journal notation, transcript margin notes, and a brief summary of each interview. Before coding, I read through a set of interview transcripts for initial impressions as a second inductive analysis. Interviews were organized and reviewed by district into sets by teachers' levels within a district for the initial analysis; impressions, trends, and wonderings were kept track of as I completed these second readings, both about the data and reflections about my own experiences and practice. I also jotted down notes about any follow-up questions I needed to address in second interviews by email after the second interview, document requests, or information I might need to gather from a district-level leader.

Once I completed the inductive analysis of the first few interviews, I began deductive analysis through low-level in vivo coding. The code process and categories for the interviews paralleled those of the survey, although on a larger and more complex scale because the interviews encompassed more questions. I uploaded transcribed interviews into the same district-specific files in MAXQDA in which qualitative survey data was stored and analyzed. I assigned each sentence or chunk of data in the first interview a two-to-five-word code but did not assign colors or categories to the codes. Approximately one-third of the way through the first interview, I began to compile codes into categories and categories into themes, looking for recurring regularities in the data (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I continued to regroup into higher levels of data connected to the purpose of my study until the categories met the following criteria: they were exhaustive, meaning they encompassed all relevant data; they were mutually exclusive, that relevant units of data fit into just one category in a single system of analysis; they were sensitive to the data; and they were conceptually congruent, that all categories were the same level of abstraction (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016).

In other words, I met data saturation when trends produced no new information regarding professional development, be it topic, presenter, strategy, or content, or about teachers' white racial identity development, understanding of racism, the white racial frame, or

anti-racist practice. At that point, the ongoing analysis produced themes and categories robust enough to address any remaining data I collected. It should be noted that while units of data fit into just one category, there were comments about specific professional development experiences that produced multiple units of data or codes. For example, a comment about a specific PD workshop might include a code about the presenter or topic, about an aspect of the PD that made it particularly meaningful, and a reference to the component of the conceptual framework on which it was impactful. Furthermore, there were codes that identified the same or similar impactful AR PD in multiple interviews or between surveys and interviews. Consistent with the organization of qualitative survey data, similar or duplicate codes were linked together. All codes that came from multiple participants' interviews were subgrouped separately from those that were identified by only one participant.

Document Analysis. I performed two rounds of analysis on the anti-racist practice exemplars. The first review served as a comparison of what the participant shared in their interviews and how they had reported their practice in the Phase One survey. The second was an analysis of the documents as representative (or not) of anti-racist practice and ideology relative to my conceptual framework and with a lens of critical whiteness and the tenets of critical race theory in education.

I analyzed professional development documents for themes and patterns relevant to my research question and for ways in which they were consistent or inconsistent with other sources of information from the study collected in Phases One and Phase Two (Whitt, 1992). I conducted the first review using inductive analysis and the second with deductive analysis. I performed a hand-coding process on the documents and compared it with the coding from the interviews. In particular, documents from TSD provided a temporal context for various formal PD experiences that participants had referenced in interviews and survey responses.

Data Validation. To support descriptive validity, I did a second check of both AI and professionally transcribed interviews to ensure accuracy (Maxwell, 1992, 2012). Two strategies I

employed to address interpretive validity were triangulation and member checks. I utilized triangulation in both phases of the study by incorporating multiple data sources: surveys, interviews, and documents (Denzin, 2001). In Phase Two, I used CCS and document analysis to collect data; I used document analysis to verify professional development content referenced in interviews (Johnson, 1997). Because I elected to do a CCS, I engaged in multiple coding and analysis (horizontal, vertical, and transversal), which required that I triangulate data samples across the horizontal and vertical axes.

I conducted member checks and shared interview transcripts with participants. In doing so, I invited them to use the “comments” feature in Google Docs to note any transcription errors, provide clarification, or add elaboration. I did not, however, have them review my analysis. As I reviewed transcripts, coded data, or analyzed documents, I reached out to participants if I had questions about meaning, details, sources of information, or professional development content.

Comparative Case Study – Bringing It All Together

As previously mentioned, comparative case study (CCS) was selected for framing cases, organizing data, and analyzing data because its process-oriented approach encouraged comparison across and among social contexts and time to consider data related to more complex (social) issues (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017a, 2017b) situated around the endemic nature of racism in U.S. schools: educator racial identity development, educators’ understanding of the history of racism and the white racial frame, and anti-racist ideology and pedagogy. The evolving research design of this processual approach meant that I continued to consider the bounding of cases well into the Phase Two stage of data collection.

Bounding applies frames to manage contextual variables of the case(s) such as time, activity, definition, or context (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017b, citing Yin, 2011; Creswell, 2013; Stake, 1995; Huberman & Miles, 1994). Comparative case study is “unbounded” and allows comparison across variables; therefore, it lends itself to a broader range of qualitative data and deeper consideration of how some situations and events influence others (Bartlett & Vavrus,

2017a). In the case of this study, it allowed a comparison of educators' perceptions of professional development and its impact (if there was one) across schools, districts, and professional development experiences. The unbounded nature and deeper consideration of the interconnectedness of situations and events supported by CCS were well-suited to Critical Race Theory and the activist bent of anti-racist education, as this approach allowed both the participants and me, the researcher, to consider the interplay among anti-racist professional development, racial identity development, the historical context of Critical Race Theory, and anti-racist practice. The educator interviews focused on professional development and its relationship to their racial identity development and change in practice, but their reflections incorporated both contemporary and historical events, personal and professional experiences, and contexts that spanned various periods of their respective lives.

An essential distinction in the “comparison” of the comparative case study (CCS) is the three axes along which the researcher makes comparisons: horizontal, vertical, and transversal. These were the axes around which relationships among variables in larger cases were compared. It is worth noting that in a CCS, the “case” may shift from one axis to another (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017b). Bartlett (personal communication, February 24, 2022) suggests thinking of the axes of CCS as using a kaleidoscope; you turn it one way and see one thing and then turn it again and see another. In that analogy, each turn of the kaleidoscope is a different axis with the researcher potentially viewing the study or data through different “cases.” I considered data from both phases of the study individually and collectively. Consistent with process-oriented approaches, I approached “discovering” cases across the axes an integral part of the analysis process and took time to thoughtfully consider the framing of the cases for the systematic comparison across the three axes: horizontal, vertical, and transversal.

Horizontal Axis of Comparison – District as Case

Horizontal comparison in a comparative case study seeks to compare and contrast how historical and contemporary factors have impacted, similarly or differently, multiple “cases”

(Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017b). Those cases may be homologous, meaning of similar scale, position, or structure, or heterologous, meaning categorically distinct cases (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017b). The horizontal axis comparison of this study was homologous, meaning the units of analysis or “cases” compared had a “corresponding position or structure to one another” (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017a, p. 52). I defined the horizontal axis case as the “district” and thus focused my data analysis on the Phase One survey data from TSD, comparing and contrasting it with the results from BSD. While the two districts are located in different states, they share a number of similar characteristics and hold a similar scale and position (both are suburban districts of large urban centers in Midwestern states). Examples of similar heterologous cases could be those in a study on anti-racist professional development for staff members in a school district and an after-school community center or a school district and a public healthcare system.

The homologous comparative cases were also “nested,” meaning they incorporate a vertical element, in this study multiple schools in each of the districts and both elementary and secondary levels in each of the districts. That allowed a comparison of teachers’ perceptions of the impact of professional development within a building, across levels within a district, across districts, and within a level but across districts.

Vertical Axis of Comparison – Professional Development as Case

The vertical axis of comparison focuses on a policy, phenomenon, or process and follows it across homologous or heterologous sites. The analysis is on how the “case” impacts and engages actors across scales and sites. I defined the vertical axis case as “professional development”; professional development was the phenomenon whose impact I was studying on educators across the schools and districts in this study, considering how they responded similarly and differently to anti-racist professional development. The analysis of professional development as the vertical case comparison was organized by strand of my conceptual

framework. The analysis for the vertical axis of comparison incorporated data from both Phase One and Phase Two of my study, including interviews and documents from Phase Two.

The Phase Two data included in the vertical findings is drawn from interviews with educators from TSD. The difference in the number of Phase One survey participants between the two districts meant a smaller pool for Phase Two interviews from the Bakerville School District. Unfortunately, only one Bakerville elementary teacher participated in interviews; the others who volunteered never responded to interview requests. The smaller interview sample size was exacerbated by the challenge of gathering information and collecting PD documents at the district level. While an administrator who was not my contact provided the information and documents he was able to find, there were a number of details I could not verify or that participants could not remember, and without the cooperation of the Director of Professional Development, the data was incomplete.

Transversal Axis of Comparison – Temporal Case, Educators’ Development over Time

The third axis of comparison was the transversal axis comparison, which “connects the horizontal elements to one another and to the vertical scales to study across and through a phenomenon as a way of exploring how it has changed over time” (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017b, p. 92). The transversal axis is a comparison regarding historical forces that influence phenomena in the study, historical methodology related to answering the study question, or historical analysis that fits a component of the study (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017b). The temporal case focus of the transversal axis centered on individual TSD educators’ development over time, interwoven with the district’s professional development and external and information professional development that educators identified as impactful.

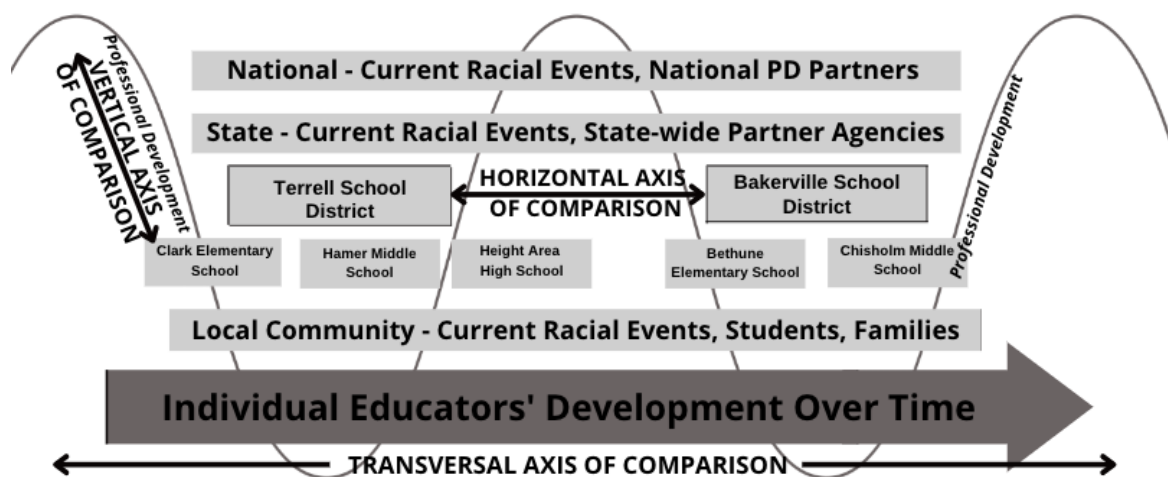
The transversal axis and temporal case incorporated the intersection of personal experiences, historical and contemporary events, professional experiences, and professional development, and how all these factors collectively impacted individual educators relative to my conceptual framework. The transversal comparison included participants’ reflections on their

racial identity development over time relative to their understanding of historical context and how it shifted. The transversal axis of comparison and its intersection with researcher reflexivity in particular was consistent with a critical epistemological approach (Pasque et al., 2012).

In summary, a CCS approach was selected to synthesize data from both phases of the study. Comparative case study was utilized to frame cases, organize data, and analyze data across three axes of comparison: horizontal (district as case), transversal (temporal case) educators' development over time, and vertical (professional development as case). Figure 6 provides a visual representation of the data, interrelationships, and social contexts considered around questions of white educators' perceptions of anti-racist professional development impact, and the conceptualization of the three axes of comparison.

Figure 6

Comparative Case Study Approach to Anti-Racist PD Impact on White Educators



Researcher Reflexivity

I came to this mixed methods, qualitative dominant study from a personal, professional, and academic perspective that has been significantly influenced by feminist and critical theories, although critical theory is foundational to this study. In critical research, it is incumbent upon the researcher to attend to positionality (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). I entered the study and research space as an upper-middle-class, well-educated, white female who held a hierarchical position of

power in my own school district. While my gender provided some insight into discrimination over my career, I served as one of three white female administrators who led the executive team in our district when I started my research. Our executive team was approximately 28% leaders of color and 64% female. I supervised a team of six directors on the instructional side of the district administrative team, half of whom were leaders of color. These were not typical leadership demographics in Wisconsin and certainly not typical in a predominantly white suburban Wisconsin school district. Yet it was something I was both cognizant and reflective of daily. Our team diversity was the result of intentional changes I made to hiring practices to address barriers and bias in hiring, and yet our system of support for leaders (and staff) of color lagged behind our hiring practices. There were times, admittedly, when I and our district at large operated in a white supremacy culture and failed to support our staff of color effectively.

By the end of my study, we had restructured our district-level leadership team, including our executive team due to two retirements and two colleagues who took external positions (one a superintendency and another the appointment to Assistant State Superintendent). Our executive team became a team of four: three female and one male administrator, one of us a leader of color.

I possessed professional insider status early in my career because I was a sixth-generation educator and third-generation administrator on my father's side. My father, my uncle (my father's only sibling), my uncle's wife, my paternal grandparents, and my paternal great-grandmothers back to my third great-grandmother were all teachers in Wisconsin. My father and grandfather also served as school principals and superintendents in their rural Wisconsin school districts. On my father's side, I am privileged from a post-secondary education standpoint as well. My father and his brother both attended college, my father had a master's degree, both of my paternal grandparents had bachelor's degrees, and my paternal grandfather had a master's degree.

Although my mother did not go to college, she was progressive and open-minded, seemingly unexpected since she grew up in rural northern Wisconsin. In fact, my mother was more progressive about race and gender issues than my father was. Although I grew up in an almost entirely white rural community (I recall one student of color enrolling for a portion of eighth grade), my mother understood white privilege. While she didn't have the current language, she pointed out sociopolitical disparities to us along both racial and gender lines throughout our childhood.

I had long identified as politically liberal and progressive and possessed an activist bent from a young age. I took my first political stand on gender inequality in kindergarten. Boys in our class had decided that girls weren't allowed to be the "conductor" of the train set during free playtime; however, the current conductor, always a boy, got to pick the next conductor. I decided there was one boy I could convince to bend the rule and choose me as conductor. I upset the balance of playtime power so much that two boys followed me home after school that day and threw rocks at me. The train incident parlayed into a long-standing interest in social justice and willingness to stand up against injustice, albeit inconsistently.

Throughout my formative and college years, I sought out new learning experiences and was willing to move outside my comfort zone. While I experienced little exposure to racial diversity growing up, there were a few experiences I reflected upon as I navigated this research study. In middle school, I saved my babysitting money to attend the Summer Youth Program at Michigan Technological University in Houghton, Michigan. It was a weeklong program on campus, that drew 12–18-year-old students from around the country. My first year, 1980, my roommate was from Chicago and of Indian descent. A good friend I made that week was originally from Iran. I remember a group of us sitting at lunch and dinner talking about the Iran hostage crisis and creating a safe but serious space to the issue after a student who saw my friend's nametag (our nametags listed our hometowns/countries) made a callous comment about Iran. Thinking back, I marvel at our ability to hold space for those genuine conversations.

A second experience that stands out is from my last semester of college when I was part of the inaugural “alternate spring break trip” at the University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire. Twenty students of color and 20 white students took a bus to Washington, D.C. We stayed at a church hostel, engaged in service work, and toured throughout the week. I worked at an after-school center as my regular service project; the handful of us from UWEC were the only white people on-site. Being in a space that wasn’t predominantly white was a new experience for us. A friend and I spent a considerable amount of our free time with 4 Hmong students we hadn’t met. Our first lunch together, they were willing to accept us not learning their names or pronouncing them correctly; we wouldn’t stop trying until we got the sounds correct. That memory, and a commitment to learning people’s names, because they’re important, has stuck with me over 30 years later. I had forgotten about these and other experiences until I was conducting, transcribing, or analyzing participants’ interviews and writing jotting in my reflection journal.

In recent years, I have focused on deeper learning and unlearning around racial justice, white privilege, and white supremacy, particularly as it relates to the educational system. As the Deputy Superintendent in a suburban PWD focused on anti-racist work, my own experience impacted my interest in this study. As a district and leadership team, we experienced a combination of successes, inconsistencies, and challenges in our efforts toward racial justice and equitable outcomes for all students. Earlier in my career in the district, I served as the principal at our two most economically and racially diverse schools. That experience showed me firsthand the barriers and biases our students and families faced, as well as the myriad ways in which white privilege perpetuates inequities.

As a practitioner, I have dedicated a significant amount of time in recent years to learning, studying, leading, and planning professional development focused on equity and anti-racist work. Several years ago, I attended both the on-site intensive Leading for Equity Institute and the Coaching for Equity workshop through the National Equity Project. In addition, our district worked directly with a consultant from the National Equity Project on our equity strategic

plan. I have co-facilitated our district Equity Institute for staff, families, and alumni and participated in a wide range of professional development opportunities in our district and elsewhere. Through podcasts, professional books, articles, and online learning platforms, I continue to learn with a specific focus on anti-racism work in education and broader contexts. Even so, I recognize that my learning and work across strands of my conceptual framework is ongoing and something I will never finish.

One aspect of reflexivity I needed to address was insider versus outsider status and how that affected participants, the interviews, and the information and stories that teachers were willing to share with me. Lincoln (2010, citing Fine, 1994) referred to this as “working the hyphen,” studying the conjunction between self and others and how one affected the other in the research process. In the case of critical research, particular attention must be given to the researcher’s status as insider or outsider, how positional power interplayed with that status, and how those factors combined with positionality to impact and play out in the study. When I contacted participants, I did so from my university email; I didn’t introduce myself with my work title, in an effort not to position myself from a hierarchical leadership role. If participants asked if I was a practitioner or what my district role was, I shared it.

My reflection journal served as a vehicle for interrogating my own whiteness and role in the research process. Guided by McCoy and Rodricks’ (2015) work, I attended to the following three questions as part of that process: (1) How might I embody whiteness in my scholarship and practice? (2) Where and how do I perform oppression? and (3) What is my role in perpetuating norm(s)? While these were questions I attended to specifically in my study, they are also the work I need to do daily as both a scholar and educator.

I paid close attention to researcher reflexivity (Creswell & Miller, 2010) relative to employing critical theory and studying white racial identity development in my study. As previously stated, the role of the researcher should be oriented toward creating social change (Pasque et al., 2012), and the critical lens should be turned to the researcher as well as the

participants. While there were times when I grew and learned from what participants shared, there were also times when I used questions to extend participants', or my own, thinking. Helms (1993) emphasized how crucial it is that white researchers consider their own resolved and unresolved issues of race, identity, and privilege, lest "they risk contributing to the racially oppressive body of literature rather than offering illuminating scholarship" (Helms, 1993, p. 242).

It was important that I brought self-conscious critical reflection to my inquiry and was cognizant of how my own identity, biases, and privilege impacted my interpretation of interactions with participants and data analysis. As participants shared about times when they thought they might have engaged in stereotyping or bias in their practice, I reflected upon the same; times when I was defensive instead of fully listening for understanding, when I viewed students or families from a deficit lens, and when I didn't speak up or out strongly enough. Humility is important in this work, especially as a researcher and leader. There are times when it's tempting to think I've "learned" something, but I must continue to look hard at myself first and reflect on my own thinking and actions. It's often a matter of, "the more you learn, the more you realize how much you don't know." Anti-racist work for white educators is a journey; I don't believe it's a destination at which we can arrive.

Even with a conscious effort to turn a critical eye toward my own work, I acknowledged Davis and Linder's (2016) discourse around problematizing whiteness when white researchers study race, particularly using CRT. Linder noted that the times when she failed to understand racism outnumbered those when she fully did. Yet her whiteness also demanded that she take responsibility and work against racism through her research. I've encountered tension with this myself; in fact, I struggled with how much to include regarding my identity and reflexivity here, concerned about the balance between critical research and reflexivity and centering whiteness. In the end, I believe that as a white practitioner and researcher, I do have a responsibility for anti-racist work. If my transparency can forward practice and research, that matters.

Limitations

There were three primary limitations to my study. The first was inherent in the methodological design I selected for the study. Because my focus was on white teachers' perceptions of professional development and I used a survey and case study interviews for data collection, I did not observe teachers' actual practice to verify that their descriptions of their practice and implementation of practice aligned. To address this potential limitation, I utilized interview questions that required deep reflection and description to substantiate teachers' perceptions and self-assessment of their practice. I also asked participants to share a copy of a lesson, unit, instructional material, or student work that best exemplified their anti-racist practice.

The second limitation was the generalizability of professional development experiences across schools, districts, and time; however, I selected the CCS because I identified comparability as a gap in the literature. I focused specifically on white teachers who had already developed an anti-racist white racial identity to learn what, from their perspective, had facilitated and supported their racial identity development and anti-racist ideology and pedagogy. That sample intentionally excluded teachers whose racial identity, understanding of race, racism, power, and anti-racist ideology and pedagogy are less developed.

Finally, the pandemic was a limitation on my study. Because of the challenges and stress the pandemic created in schools and districts, among them staffing shortages, my sites and participants were more limited than I had originally hoped. Maxwell (2012) reminds qualitative researchers that they may need to reconsider or modify design decisions in response to new developments or changes that occur amid the study. The pandemic impacted the number of districts and participants I recruited, as well as my timeline; furthermore, districts across the nation, including those in which I conducted my study, needed to adjust their calendars, instructional models, and professional developmental plans in response to the pandemic. While I was eventually pleased to secure two districts, five schools, and 95 survey participants, it is fewer than the three districts and 150 survey participants I was originally

hoping to recruit. This study was conducted at a time when educators were offered fewer PD opportunities than typical and when a significant number of those PD experiences were offered virtually.

There are limitations to any research study, some that are predictable and some that are unanticipated (Maxwell, 2012). This study was no exception, as illustrated by the three primary limitations. The intentional decisions to select a particular methodology are also a decision not to select another. In designing this explanatory sequential mixed methods study with an emphasis on critical qualitative inquiry using educator interviews and document analysis, I chose not to incorporate classroom observation. This was a limitation I acknowledged at the outset of the study. The second limitation, generalizability, I endeavored to address with comparative case study analysis. The third limitation was posed by the pandemic and was both harder to predict and the most challenging. However, I was able to navigate these challenges and conduct both phases of the study in two districts and with staff members across six schools.

Chapter 4: Horizontal Axis Findings – District as Case

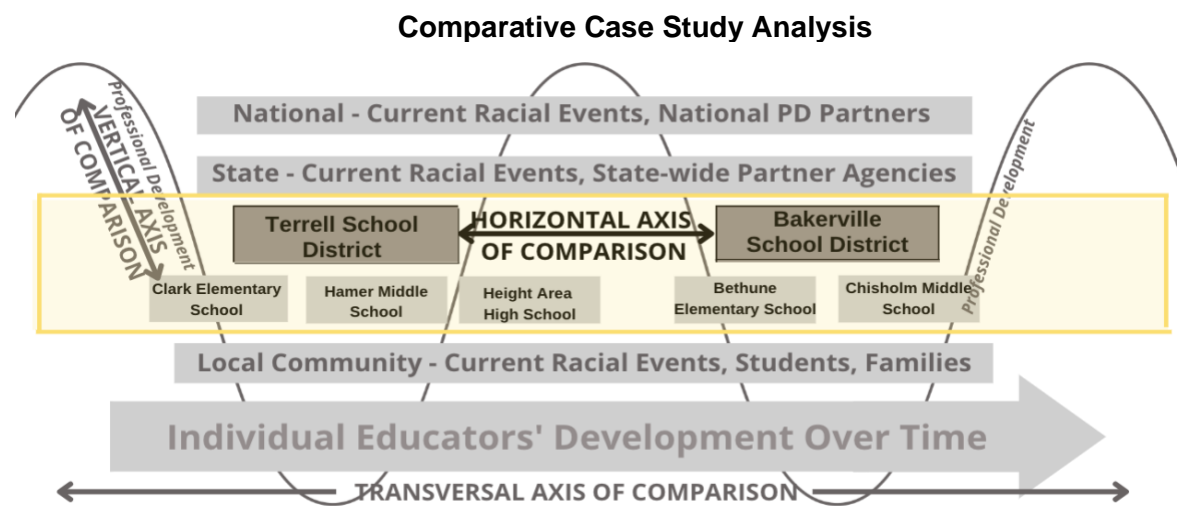
For racism to disappear in the United States, White people must take the responsibility for ending it.

—Janet Helms (2020, p. xiii)

In this explanatory sequential mixed methods study, I explored the impact of anti-racist professional development on white educators in suburban, predominantly white (staff) school districts (PWDs). Through the horizontal axis of comparative case study (CCS), I sought to compare and contrast how educators perceived the impact of anti-racist professional development relative to my conceptual framework, either similarly or differently, across the two districts in my study. The horizontal axis of comparison focused on the first of this study's two research questions:

According to white educators in predominately white (staff) suburban districts who self-identify as engaging in anti-racist education, how did anti-racist professional development impact, if at all, their (a) white racial identity development, (b) understanding of racism and the white racial frame, and (c) practice toward an anti-racist stance?

The purpose of this chapter, which focuses on the horizontal axis, is to present the quantitative data of this study drawn from the BSD and TSD Phase One surveys. Educators' perceptions of anti-racist PD (AR PD) impact were studied relative to my conceptual framework. Figure 7 highlights the focus of the horizontal axis of comparison with the districts as the cases of study. The comparison occurs between the districts and among the schools within those districts, with the districts as the unit of comparison, or "case."

Figure 7*Horizontal Axis of Comparison – District as Case*

As previously mentioned, the horizontal cases in this study—the Terrell School District (TSD) and the Bakerville School District (BSD)—were homologous, meaning of similar scale, position, or structure. Both were suburban PWDs in large urban centers of Midwestern states. The multiple schools within each district were “nested” and therefore incorporated a vertical element and another mechanism for comparison within and across the cases.

The focus of the horizontal case study comparison was the quantitative Phase One survey data from which most of the district-level data was drawn. The horizontal data analysis focused on two general areas: (1) participants’ placement on my conceptual framework and (2) participants’ perception of anti-racist or equity professional development impact on their development relative to the conceptual framework. Figure 8 is a simplified form of the conceptual framework. A summary of participant demographic data precedes the conceptual framework and AR PD impact analysis and findings.

Figure 8

Simplified Version of Conceptual Framework

White Racial Identity Development					
Contact	Disintegration	Reintegration	Pseudo-Independence	Immersion/Emersion	Autonomy
I. Initiation		II. Implementation		III. Institutionalization	
Understanding History of Racism and White Racial Frame					
Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy					
			Relationships with Students		
			Curriculum and Course Content		
			Pedagogical Strategies		

Descriptive quantitative survey data informed this analysis. Findings and comparisons are organized by strand of the conceptual framework: white racial identity development (*racial identity*), understanding of the history of racism and the white racial frame (*understanding racism*), and anti-racist ideology and pedagogy (*anti-racist practice*). The white *racial identity* strand reflects the six schemas of Helms' White Racial Identity Development model. Anti-racist ideology and pedagogy is comprised of the three components identified in the literature review: *relationships with students*, *curriculum and course content*, and *pedagogical strategies*.

District Participant Demographic Data

Of the 95 participants whose surveys met the criteria for the study, 68 were from TSD, and 27 were from BSD. Figures 9, 10, and 11 represent basic demographic information about survey participants, including the number of participants by school and district and the percentage of participants by role across each district.

Figure 9

Number of Participants by School

Terrell School District		Bakerville School District	
Clark Elementary	12	Bethune Elementary	10
Edelman Elementary	1		
Hamer Middle	21	Chisholm Middle	17
Height Area High	34		

Figure 10

Terrell District, Survey Participants' Roles

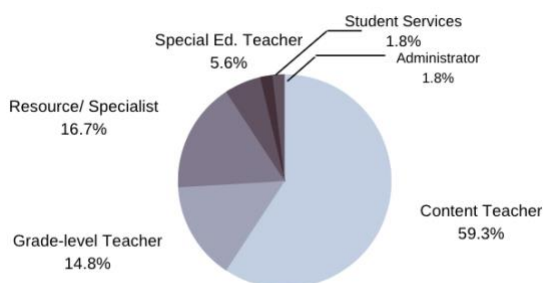
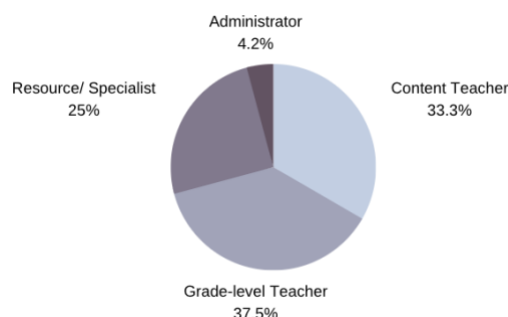


Figure 11

Bakerville District, Survey Participants' Roles



The number of participants in TSD was markedly higher. Student enrollment in TSD was approximately 1,600 students more than in BSD, and the inclusion of four schools from TSD, among them the high school, meant there was a larger pool of potential participants from TSD. The number of secondary school participants from TSD accounted for the number and a higher percentage of content teachers who took the Phase One survey.

Figures 12, 13, and 14 provide summary information about TSD and BSD Phase One participants' experiences. The percentage of participants in each district by years of experience in education, years in the district, and years of AR PD are indicated in multi-year ranges.

Figure 12

Years of Experience in Education

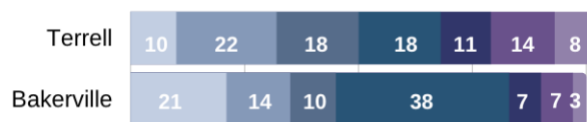


Figure 13

Years of Experience in the District

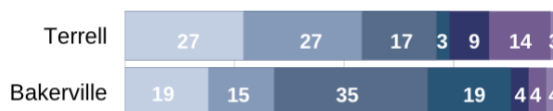
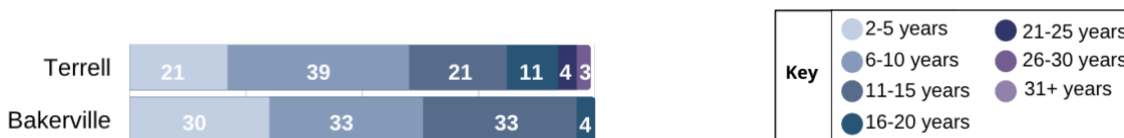


Figure 14

Years of Anti-Racist or Equity PD



There were a few experience-related differences among the participants from the two districts. The average years of experience for TSD participants was 16.8, and for BSD it was 14.6. Proportionately, TSD had half as many educators as BSD who had 2–5 years experience, but when combined with educators with 6–10 years experience, the difference was negligible. The percentage of beginning educators (2–10 years experience in education) was comparable between the two districts. Almost half of the participants from BSD were mid-career educators (11–20 years experience), and only 17% had 21 years or more experience. Approximately one-third of the participants from TSD were early, mid-, and late career (21 or more years experience). While notably more survey participants from TSD had worked in the district for 2–10 years, 26% had also worked in the district for 21 or more years, compared to 34% and 12% of survey participants, respectively, in BSD. This data indicates that TSD tended to hire experienced educators; the discrepancy between years in education and years in the district was significant when compared to BSD. For example, only 10% of TSD survey participants had 2–5 years experience in education, and 27% had 2–5 years experience in the district. By contrast, 21% of BSD participants had 2–5 years experience in education, and 19% had 2–5 years in the district.

The most notable experience differences among survey participants were in the number of years of anti-racist PD they reported. The difference in average years of AR PD between the districts was 2.6. The average years of AR PD among TSD participants was 10.7, and for BSD participants it was 8.1. Only 4% of BSD participants reported engaging in 16 or more years of AR PD, and none reported 21 or more years, whereas 18% of TSD participants reported engaging in 16 or more years of AR PD, and 7% reported 21 or more years. This could mean that TSD has been engaged in AR PD over a longer period of time than BSD. Given the differences in years of experience in education and in respective districts, the difference in years of AR PD could also mean that TSD hires more educators who have already had AR PD or who have had more AR PD.

Conceptual Framework Placement

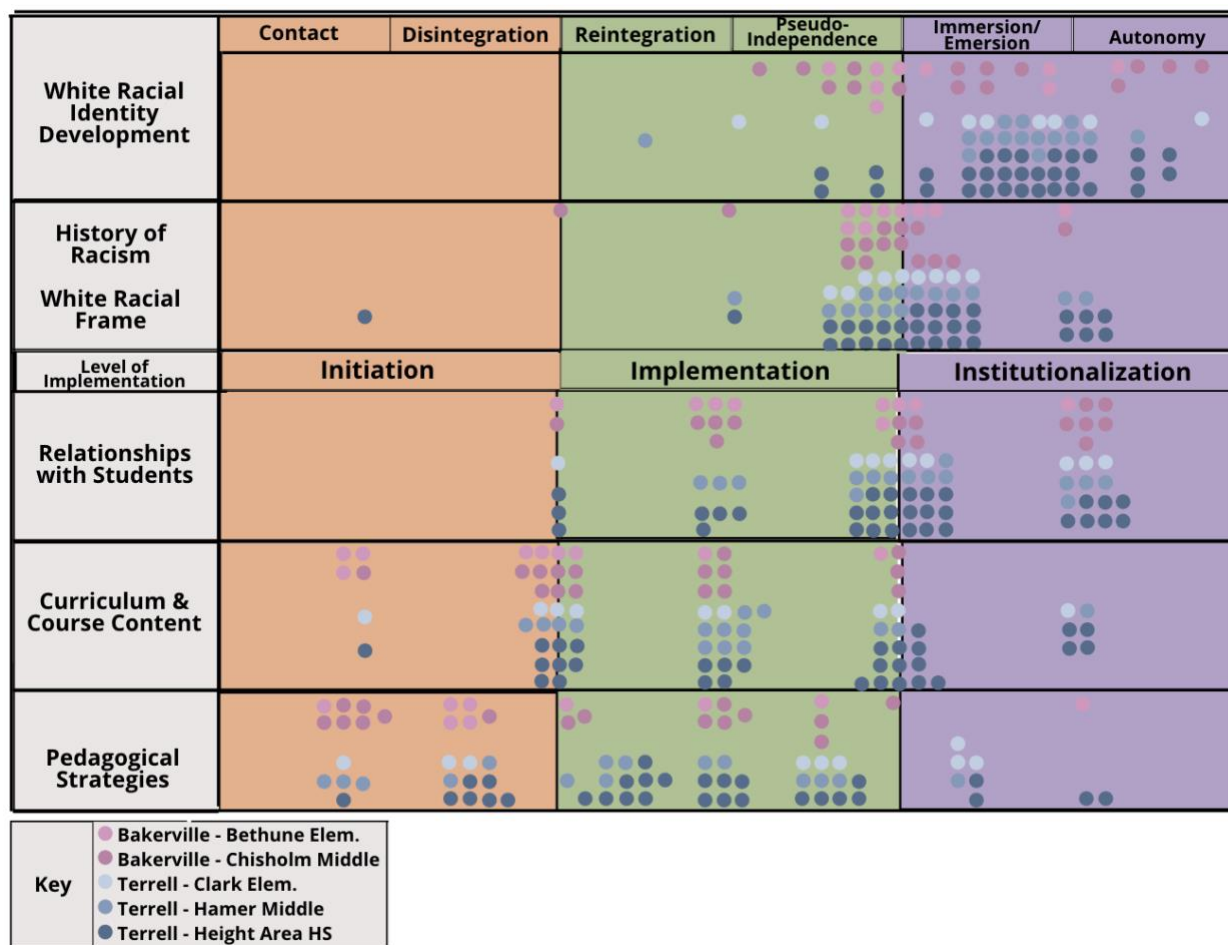
My conceptual framework is a white anti-racist educator identity and practice development model aligned with the findings and synthesis of my literature review. It is premised on Critical Race Theory and organized between critical whiteness studies and anti-racist ideology and pedagogy. As previously explained in the research methods, each Phase One survey participant was placed on each strand of the conceptual framework based on their responses to the survey in Phase One of the study.

Participants whose answers crossed multiple schemas or phases of a strand were represented at the line or clustered around the line if the incidence of those participants was large. If their answers were evenly distributed between the phases, they were placed between them. If they leaned more toward one phase or schema than the other, they were placed closer to the middle of that phase or schema. It bears repeating that the conceptual framework as an anti-racist educator identity and practice development model is not intended or designed as a parallel model. Educators are not expected to demonstrate development across strands in a parallel manner, nor is the framework designed as a vertical or sequential model. While the research has indicated that white educators' racial identity and understanding of the history of

racism in the United States, including the white racial frame, impacted their willingness and ability to effectively implement anti-racist practice, development may be intermittent and disparate across strands of the model. Figure 15 is a visual representation of the participants in the study and their placement on the conceptual framework. Each circle represents one survey participant on each of the strands of the framework. The circles are color-coded to represent participants' districts and schools.

Figure 15

Participants' Placement by School and District on the Conceptual Framework



While this visual provides a one-to-one representation of participants' placement on the conceptual framework, it may not show 95 participants in each of the five strands. Because participants were allowed to skip questions, there were some strands that may not have had

answers. While in some comparisons the participant from Edelman Elementary was included in the aggregate data for TSD, one participant for a school was not included in this data set because that participant could potentially be identifiable.

There were four trends in the data with regard to the conceptual framework: (1) participants placed higher on the *racial identity* and *understanding racism* strands than on the *anti-racist practice* strands; (2) among the three *anti-racist practice* strands, participants reported a higher level of *anti-racist practice* around *relationships with students*; (3) educators who reported the highest levels of *anti-racist practice* identified as employing the Immersion/Emersion or Autonomy Evolving Non-Racist Identity schemas; and (4) in general, participants from TSD placed higher across the conceptual framework than participants from BSD. The differences between the two districts were more striking in some strands of the framework than in others.

Racial Identity Development and History of Racism Placement

Figure 15 provides a visual representation of each participant by conceptual framework strand and supports a general trend analysis of participant, school, and district data as it relates to the conceptual framework. For example, it stands out that there is a large cluster of TSD educators who selected survey answers consistent with Helms' Immersion/Emersion schema and clusters of educators from both districts whose *understanding racism* falls between the implementation and institutionalization phases. The visual representation was also used to quantify participants' conceptual framework placement. The resulting data for the *racial identity* and *understanding racism* strands follows.

As both Figure 15 and Table 7 show, survey participants from both districts placed higher on the *racial identity* and *understanding racism* strands than on the *anti-racist practice* strands, and participants from TSD placed higher across both of those strands than participants from BSD. However, the difference between the districts for the *understanding racism* and *racial identity* strands was minimal.

Table 7

Conceptual Framework Data by School and District, Racial Identity, and History of Racism

Conceptual Framework - Participants								
		Bakerville School District			Terrell School District			
Strand	Stage/Schema	Bethune Elementary School	Chisholm Middle School	District Combined	Clark Elementary School	Hamer Middle School	Height Area High School	District Combined
White Racial Identity Development	Contact	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Disintegration	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Reintegration	0%	0%	0%	0%	7%	0%	2%
	Pseudo-Independence	56%	40%	46%	22%	0%	13%	11%
	Immersion/Emersion	33%	33%	33%	56%	80%	66%	68%
	Autonomy	11%	27%	21%	22%	13%	22%	20%
	Pseudo-Ind, Immer./Emer., Auton.			100%	Pseudo-Ind, Immer./Emer., Auton.			98%
		Immer.Emer. & Auton.		54%		Immer.Emer. & Auton.		88%
History of Racism	Initiation	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	2%
		0%	7%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Implementation	0%	7%	4%	0%	7%	3%	4%
White Racial Frame	betw. Impl./Inst.	89%	80%	83%	100%	80%	73%	80%
	Institutionalization	11%	7%	8%	0%	13%	20%	15%
	At or approaching Institutionalization			91%	At or approaching Institutionalization			95%

TSD educators' survey responses suggest they have developed stronger anti-racist schemas than educators in BSD, although the data also suggests some similarities between the districts.

Approximately one-fifth of participants from both districts responded consistently by employing the Autonomy schema from Helms' WRID. Autonomy is the last of the six schemas (Helms, 2020), which indicates educators with a positive anti-racist white identity who are not reliant on people of color to learn or understand whiteness or racism and are actively engaged in anti-racist or activism efforts (Howard, 2016).

The difference between the districts' data is most pronounced at the Immersion/Emersion phase, a time when white educators shift their focus from people of color toward whiteness as well as inward and may work to build a network of anti-racist allies. Sixty-eight percent of TSD educators responded consistently with employing an Immersion/Emersion schema compared to 33% of BSD educators. Eighty-eight percent of TSD educators and 54%

of BSD educators were accounted for when the Immersion/Emersion and Autonomy schemas were combined. These are the two most reflective of interpreting racial cues through an anti-racist lens (Helms, 2020). To provide context, the *racial identity* and *understanding racism* strands of the conceptual framework are shown in Figure 16.

Figure 16

Racial Identity and History of Racism Strands of Conceptual Framework

White Racial Identity Development Schemas Helms, 2020; Howard, 2019					
Phase 1: Internalizing Racism			Phase 2: Evolving Non-Racist Identity		
Contact	Disintegration	Reintegration	Pseudo-Independence	Immersion/Emersion	Autonomy
History of Racism and the White Racial Frame					
I. Initiation		II. Implementation		III. Institutionalization	
Acknowledge historical racism View present-day racism as individual incidents of racism Color-evasive		Acknowledge connection between white privilege and systemic inequities Verbal commitment to racial justice		Continue to learn about historical and present-day racism and oppression Recognize and critique institutional and systemic racism Speak out against and disrupt oppression and racism Work to engage and inform other white people; seek allies	

In BSD, more educators selected answers consistent with a Pseudo-Independence schema than either Immersion-Emersion or Autonomy. For elementary educators in BSD, it was more than those who selected Immersion/Emersion or Autonomy combined. As an example, a Bethune Elementary (BSD) grade-level teacher whose responses reflected the Pseudo-Independence schema responded as follows to the third open-ended question about PD that was impactful on *relationships with students* or *anti-racist practice*:

I wish that Bakerville would look at more than just racism . . . sexism, gender bias, etc. We have only looked at the black/white issue. This is important, but so many other groups of people are being left behind.

The BSD teacher acknowledges the importance of addressing racism but complains that challenges for other groups of students aren't being addressed. It's an off-topic response to a question that is specifically about anti-racist PD and practice, and demonstrates dissonance yet

with a non-racist identity. Furthermore, this comment is reflective of white fragility and privilege and an example of interest convergence, a willingness to address racism only if other forms of oppression that intersect with white identities are also addressed, resulting in resentment if they aren't.

Related to that, 39% of elementary educators across the two districts were consistent with the Pseudo-Independence schema compared to 20% and 13% of middle and high school educators, respectively. Only 11% of educators in TSD selected answers consistent with a Pseudo-Independence schema. Finally, when all three Evolving Non-Racist Identity schemas—the two previously mentioned and Pseudo-Independence—are combined, that accounted for 98% of TSD participants and 100% of BSD participants.

We know that white educators' racial identity development matters. Previous studies (Matias et al., 2014; Vaught & Castagno, 2008; Vass, 2014) found that success with anti-racist and culturally responsive practice was often contingent on white educators' racial identity development. If white educators didn't understand their own racial identities, they were less likely to effectively address race and racism in the classroom or engage effectively in anti-racist practice. Therefore, this is a notable finding: the majority of survey participants from both districts selected responses consistent with employing Evolving Non-Racist Identity (Helms, 2020).

Participants from the two districts placed most similarly in the area of *understanding racism*: 95% of TSD participants and 91% of BSD participants placed at least partially in the institutionalization range. Fifteen percent and 18%, respectively, placed entirely in the institutionalization range, and 80% of TSD educators and 83% of BSD educators placed between the institutionalization and implementation ranges. Four percent of educators in both districts placed in the implementation range, while 4% of BSD educators placed between implementation and initiation; 2% of BSD educators placed in the initiation range for the history of racism and white racial frame strand. There were no significant differences between

participants' placement by level (elementary and secondary). Variation became more significant when participants responded to questions about their *anti-racist practice*, specifically in the areas of *relationships with students*, *curriculum and course content*, and *pedagogical strategies*.

Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy Placement

As the visual representation of participants' placement on the conceptual framework shows, educators did not place as well overall on the *anti-racist practice* portion of the framework as they did on the *racial development* or *understanding racism* strands of the framework. However, the scale for the White Racist Identity Development (WRID) model and *understanding racism* strands reflect a full spectrum of understanding, whereas the *anti-racist practice* strands all reflect some degree of *anti-racist practice*. Therefore, anti-racist development is inherent in those strands of the framework.

Those educators who reported the deepest-level anti-racist ideology and practice also tended to employ the Immersion/Emersion and Autonomy schemas of white racial identity development. Among those who placed in the Institutionalization range of the *curriculum and course content* and *pedagogical strategies* strands, all employed the Immersion/Emersion or Autonomy white racial identity schemas. For context, Figure 17 shows the Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy strands of the conceptual framework.

Figure 17

Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy Strands of Conceptual Framework

Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy		
Relationships with Students		
I. Initiation	II. Implementation	III. Institutionalization
Care and concern for all students Want to help students of color	Asset-based approach Authentic connection with and commitment to all students	Reciprocal relationships with students Funds of knowledge approach High academic expectations for all students
Curriculum & Course Content		
Incorporate texts and materials that represent people or authors of color Add contributions of figures and leaders of color to curriculum	Recognize Eurocentrism in curriculum, expand perspectives and voices, incorporate counter narratives Course discourse includes inequities at individual and institutional/systemic level Students' identities examined and reflected in the curriculum	Social action Reconceptualize curriculum Critical theory approach to curriculum Examine and critique race, racism, and power Critical discourse extends to the political, historical, and economical context of discipline
Pedagogical Strategies – Primary and Secondary		
Increase critical thinking work, incorporate more representative materials Incorporate social issues but historical more often than contemporary	Critique and analysis include stereotypes, historical representation Learn about formal and informal leaders who have advocated for change and engaged in activism Examine contemporary social issues; students drive topics or focus	Interrogate texts; focus on omission of voices, experiences, and perspectives of oppressed people Explicit instruction on confronting racism Problem-solving praxis oriented toward institutional and/or social change
Visual representation in classroom Culturally diverse texts and materials are added	Perspectives of historically marginalized people are included in curriculum Create a sense of community through collaborative learning	Decenter authority in the classroom Develop students' awareness of their social positions

Within the *anti-racist practice* strand, educators reported the strongest collective practice in *relationships with students* and reported the least development in *pedagogical strategies*. The disparities between districts were more pronounced in the *anti-racist practice* than in the previous two strands of the conceptual framework. This was evidenced in the visual representation. For example, no BSD educators placed in the Institutionalization range of the *curriculum and course content* strand, and only 1 BSD educator placed in the Institutionalization range in *pedagogical strategies*, compared to 6 and 8 TSD educators, respectively. The

quantitative calculations of the *anti-racist practice* data (represented visually in Figure 15) can be found in Table 8.

Table 8

Conceptual Framework Data by School and District, Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy

Conceptual Framework - Participants								
		Bakerville School District			Terrell School District			
Strand	Stage/ Schema	Bethune Elementary School	Chisholm Middle School	District Combined	Clark Elementary School	Hamer Middle School	Height Area High School	District Combined
Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy								
Relationships with Students	Initiation	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Between Initiation & Implementation	11%	7%	8%	11%	0%	10%	7%
	Implementation	33%	27%	29%	0%	20%	13%	13%
	Between Implementation & Institutionalization	44%	27%	33%	56%	53%	55%	55%
	Institutionalization	11%	40%	29%	33%	27%	23%	25%
At or approaching Institutionalization				62%	At or approaching Institutionalization			80%
Curriculum & Course Content	Initiation	33%	6%	16%	11%	0%	3%	4%
	Between Initiation & Implementation	44%	44%	44%	33%	0%	27%	20%
	Implementation	11%	31%	24%	22%	20%	17%	19%
	Between Implementation & Institutionalization	11%	19%	16%	22%	53%	40%	41%
	Institutionalization	0%	0%	0%	11%	27%	13%	17%
At or approaching Institutionalization				16%	At or approaching Institutionalization			58%
Pedagogical Strategies	Initiation	56%	44%	46%	33%	33%	23%	28%
	Between Initiation & Implementation	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Implementation	33%	56%	46%	33%	60%	63%	57%
	Between Implementation & Institutionalization	0%	6%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%
	Institutionalization	11%	0%	4%	33%	7%	13%	15%
At or approaching Institutionalization				8%	At or approaching Institutionalization			15%

Educators from TSD placed higher than educators from BSD in *relationships with students*, with 25% in the institutionalized range, 55% between the institutionalization and implementation ranges, and 80% combined; that compares to 29%, 33%, and 62%, respectively, for educators from BSD. There were some differences across districts by level as

well. A higher percentage of middle-level educators placed in the institutionalization and implementation ranges than elementary or high school educators, whereas higher percentages of elementary and high school educators placed between institutionalization and implementation and between implementation and initiation.

The difference between educators' reported practice in the two districts was starker for anti-racist *curriculum and course content*: 17% of TSD educators placed in the institutionalization range and 41% between the institutionalization and implementation ranges (58% combined), whereas those were 0% and 16% (16% combined) for BSD where 16% of educators placed in the initiation range and 44% between initiation and implementation. In fact, the placement of TSD educators was almost the inverse of those from BSD in *curriculum and course content*.

Similar phenomena existed between elementary and high school educators: 13% of high school educators placed in the institutionalization range, 40% between institutionalization and implementation, 17% at implementation, 27% between implementation and initiation, and 3% at initiation. By comparison, 6% of elementary educators placed in the institutionalization range, 17% between institutionalization and implementation, 17% at implementation, 39% between implementation and initiation, and 22% at initiation. Middle-level educators fell between high school level and elementary level: 33% of middle-level educators placed in the institutionalization range, 37% between institutionalization and implementation, 27% at implementation, 23% between implementation and initiation, and 3% at initiation. However, there was not a BSD high school in the survey sample; therefore, it is difficult to ascertain whether this is an actual difference between levels or the result of the difference between districts.

Educators' anti-racist *pedagogical strategies* placed lowest overall: 15% of TSD educators reported practice consistent within the institutionalization range, 57% in implementation, and 28% in initiation, compared to 4% of BSD educators in the

institutionalization range, 4% between institutionalization and implementation ranges, 46% in the implementation range, and 46% in the initiation range. Data across districts by level didn't vary as widely in the pedagogical strategies strand, although there were some differences among educators by level: 22% of elementary educators reported practice that fell within the institutionalization range, 33% in implementation, and 44% in initiation; 3% of middle-level educators reported practice that fell within the institutionalization range, 3% between institutionalization and implementation, 60% in implementation, and 40% in initiation; and 13% of high school educators reported practice that fell within the institutionalization range, 63% in implementation, and 23% in initiation.

The specific examples of AR PD identified as impactful on *curriculum and course content* or *pedagogical strategies* provided by BSD educators were more limited than those provided by TSD. Documentation and district-level information from BSD was limited, as previously mentioned. BSD did not require as much AR PD. For example, BSD provided a series of five workshops with Dr. Sharroky Hollie over a three-year period. Educators could attend the workshops in person or virtually but were only required to attend one of the workshops in the three-year time frame. By comparison, TSD has four district PD days each year, and most of that time is dedicated to AR PD, which is relatively consistent across buildings.

These data speak to the challenge and complexity of ideological and pedagogical change. That is not to say that racial identity development or understanding systemic racism and the white racial frame are not complex. But translating the intellectual understanding to reconceptualizing curriculum and pedagogy requires additional time, knowledge, and skill-building. Finding resources and instructional materials that support culturally responsive and anti-racist education can be challenging, as Jen, a TSD elementary music teacher shared:

And most of my anti-racist lessons that are specific to music, I have to do all the grunt work of finding every little detail and it's very time-consuming. And since that's a priority of mine, I'm

willing to do it, but it's also, it's not in my job description and it's not, I'm not necessarily getting paid for all the work that I'm doing for that. And it makes sense to me that, I don't like it, but I understand why a lot of music educators don't do that.

When considered collectively, participants from both districts indicated a general understanding of the history of racism in the United States, including systemic racism, white privilege, and the white racial frame. Almost all Phase One survey participants from both districts employ schemas representative of an evolving non-racist identity through the racial identity development answers they selected. These data suggested that the majority of educators from TSD who participated in Phase One of the study had developed non-racist white racial identities with a disposition toward anti-racist allyship and/or activism. The conceptual framework survey data suggests that white educators' *racial identity* development and *understanding racism* precede the development and implementation of *anti-racist practice* at the institutional level, or that educators develop an anti-racist *racial identity* and *understanding of racism* before they fully implement *anti-racist practice*. Furthermore, the data indicate that a greater percentage of educators in TSD had more highly developed anti-racist white racial identities than in BSD; however, the majority of participants from both districts employed schemas consistent with Evolving Non-Racist Identities (Helms, 2020).

Perception of Anti-Racist Professional Development Impact

Educators' perception of the AR PD impact was assessed separately for each strand of the conceptual framework. There were five parallel questions that asked educators specifically about the impact of professional development relative to each of the strands:

1. From your perspective, what degree of impact has professional development had on your racial identity development?
2. From your perspective, what degree of impact has professional development had on your thinking about racism?

3. From your perspective, what degree of impact has professional development had on any change in your practice toward building relationships with students?
4. From your perspective, what degree of impact has professional development had on your practice toward anti-racist curriculum and course content?
5. From your perspective, what degree of impact has professional development had on your practice toward anti-racist pedagogy?

The Likert-scale response options were consistent for each of the PD impact questions: No Impact, Slight Impact, Moderate Impact, Significant Impact, and Very Significant Impact. Each of the questions was clustered with and followed the other survey items linked to the same strand of the conceptual framework, which helped contextualize the questions and strands. For example, the question about the impact of PD on educators' understanding of racism followed survey items and responses that included references to the history of racism, present-day racism, systemic racism, institutionalized systems of oppression, white privilege, and white supremacy.

The data for each of these items was analyzed in multiple ways. First, the distribution of answers by district, school, or role was identified, reviewed, and compared. Second, statistical analysis was performed with a focus on the relational comparison between participants' perception of PD impact and a number of demographic variables, including district, school, role, years in education, years in the district, and years of AR PD. Educators' perceptions of PD impact was also compared statistically to other variables such as responses to items within the strands and then by the district. For the purpose of analysis and comparison, the data for each PD impact question will be examined separately, and then conclusions will be summarized.

Professional Development Impact on Racial Identity Development

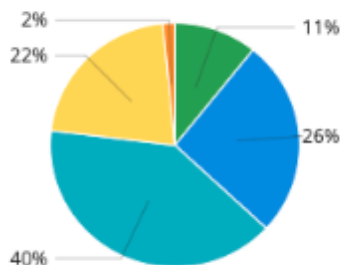
The majority of participants from both districts identified professional development as impactful on their *racial identity*, as shown in Figure 18. Eighty-eight percent of TSD educators and 87% of BSD educators reported a moderate to very significant PD impact on their *racial*

identity. The districts' data diverged at the significant and very significant impact levels, which included 62% of TSD educators and 37% of BSD educators.

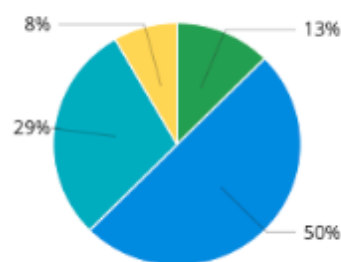
Figure 18

Educators' Perception of PD Impact on Racial Identity Development

Terrell School District



Bakerville School District



■ No Impact
 ■ Slight Impact
 ■ Moderate Impact
 ■ Significant Impact
 ■ Very Significant Impact

There was a strong statistically significant relationship between AR PD impact and two of the *racial identity* questions. The relationships were analyzed using a chi-squared test, producing a P-value of <math><0.00001</math> and effect size (Cramér's V) of 0.456. The White Racial Identity Scale schema and correlated degree of PD impact with strong statistical relationships are shown in Figure 19. For example, there was a strong statistically significant relationship between participants who selected answers representative of the Contact schema on the WRID and No PD Impact, and between participants who selected answers representative of the Immersion/Emersion schema and Moderate, Significant, and Very Significant PD Impact.

Figure 19

Relationship between White Racial Identity Development Schema and PD Impact

White Racial Identity Development Schemas						Helms, 2020; Howard, 2019
Phase 1: Internalizing Racism			Phase 2: Evolving Non-Racist Identity			
Contact	Disintegration	Reintegration	Pseudo-Independence	Immersion/ Emersion	Autonomy	
No Impact	Slight Impact Moderate Impact Significant Impact	Moderate Impact Significant Impact	No Impact Slight Impact Moderate Impact Significant Impact	Moderate Impact Significant Impact Very Significant Impact	Moderate Impact Significant Impact	

This suggests that educators who perceive a higher degree of PD impact on their *racial identity* employ schemas of non-racist white identities. All educators who selected descriptors reflective of employing the Immersion/Emersion or Autonomy schemas perceived PD to have had an impact on their *racial identity*. It's worth noting that there was not a statistically significant relationship between Very Significant Impact and Autonomy. In interviews, TSD educators who employed the Autonomy schema often referenced seeking out more intensive learning outside or beyond the district PD. In some cases, they were constantly reading, learning, and engaging in anti-racist work but hadn't always considered it PD.

The relationship between TSD educators' PD impact on their *racial identity* and the number of years of AR PD they had experienced was statistically significant. That data is represented previously in Figure 16. The higher the degree of PD impact educators reported, the higher the average number of years of AR PD those educators had experienced. In BSD, there was not a statistically significant relationship between PD impact on *racial identity* and the years of AR PD. The BSD data required the use of a ranked ANOVA test because small sample sizes and outliers existed in the data and could not be used to establish a statistically significant relationship. However, as Table 9 shows, the data for BSD educators did follow a similar pattern. In general, as the years of AR PD increased for BSD educators, the degree of PD impact also increased.

Table 9

Statistical Relationship between PD Impact and Years of AR PD, Racial Identity Development

ANOVA	Count		Average Years AR PD	
	Terrell	Bakerville	Terrell	Bakerville
P-Value	0.0378	0.611		
Effect Size (Cohen's f)	0.332	0.317		
No Impact	1	0	5.00	NA
Slight Impact	7	3	7.57	6.67
Moderate Impact	17	12	9.88	6.75
Significant Impact	26	7	11.23	8.57
Very Significant Impact	14	2	13.93	11.50

This finding has important implications for practice. Even without controlling for the content, delivery method, or other characteristics of AR PD, two things held true across both districts. First, there was a statistically significant relationship between AR PD impact and years of AR PD experience. The more AR PD educators experienced, the more likely a higher degree of PD impact. Second, there was a statistically significant relationship between AR PD impact and the *racial identity* schema; higher AR PD impact was related to higher levels of *racial identity*. Thus, more AR PD sustained over a period of time has a more significant impact than less PD and results in higher *racial identity*.

Because the literature has been clear that white educators' racial identity development is critical in their ability to successfully implement effective anti-racist practice, the findings relative to this strand are both significant and promising.

Professional Development Impact on Understanding Racism

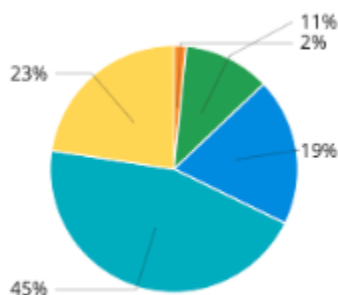
The percentages of participants for whom the AR PD impact on *understanding racism* was moderate, significant, or very significant were very similar for the two districts: 87% of TSD educators and 89% of BSD educators. As with the previous strand, the difference expands

when the focus narrows to significant and very significant impact: 69% of TSD educators and 51% of BSD educators. The distribution of participant answers is represented in Figure 20.

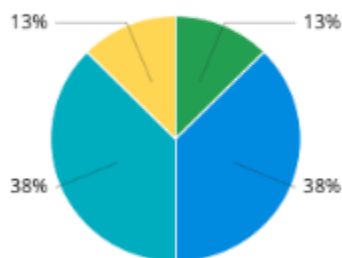
Figure 20

Educators' Perception of PD Impact on Understanding Racism

Terrell School District



Bakerville School District



■ No Impact
 ■ Slight Impact
 ■ Moderate Impact
 ■ Significant Impact
 ■ Very Significant Impact

There were strong statistically significant relationships between both of the survey items relating to *understanding racism* and AR PD impact. In fact, 73% of participants who selected “White privilege is connected to and creates systemic inequities for people (& students) of color” perceived the impact of PD on their thinking about racism as significant or very significant. Fifty percent of the 10 participants who selected “White privilege is the result of white supremacy” perceived the impact of PD on their thinking about racism as significant, although 1 selected no impact and 2 selected slight impact. While qualitative data will be discussed separately, it is worth noting that a large number of the identified impactful AR PD experiences related to *understanding racism* were informal learning experiences or non-PD events. That was not the case for AR PD identified as impactful on *racial identity*.

There was a statistically significant relationship between AR PD impact and years of AR PD for TSD educators but not for BSD. While the BSD data followed a similar pattern, both the sample size and statistical outliers affected the BSD data. For example, the average years of AR PD in BSD among Moderate Impact was slightly higher than for Significant Impact. The

ANOVA test data is shown in Table 10. There were no statistically significant relationships between PD impact and understanding *racism* and any other participants' demographic variables.

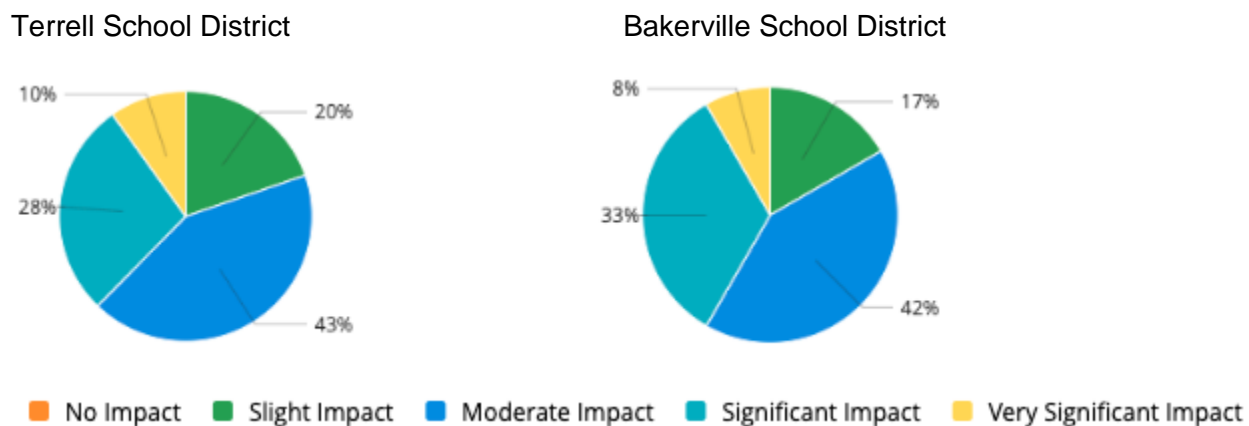
Table 10

Statistical Relationship between PD Impact and Years of AR PD, Understanding Racism

ANOVA	Response		Average Years AR PD	
	Terrell	Bakerville	Terrell	Bakerville
P-Value	0.0833	0.649		
Effect Size (Cohen's f)	0.328	0.374		
No Impact	1	0	5.00	NA
Slight Impact	7	3	7.57	4.00
Moderate Impact	12	9	9.25	8.11
Significant Impact	28	9	12.18	8.00
Very Significant Impact	14	3	13.00	9.00

Professional Development Impact on Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy

Relationships with Students. Consonant with the more developed practice in building *relationships with students* (when compared to other components of *anti-racist practice*), educators reported that PD had a higher degree of impact on a change in their practice toward *building relationships with students*. The data for both districts was quite similar: 81% of TSD educators and 83% of BSD educators reported a moderate, significant, or very significant impact of PD; 38% of TSD educators and 41% of BSD educators reported a significant or very significant impact. These data are represented in Figure 21.

Figure 21*Educators' Perception of PD Impact on Relationships with Students*

For TSD there was a statistically significant relationship between years of AR PD and PD impact on *building relationships with students* but not for BSD. As Table 11 shows, educators from TSD who reported a moderate, significant, or very significant impact had experienced an average of 12–13 years of AR PD. The years of experience and degree of PD impact varied for educators in BSD and followed no meaningful pattern. The effect sizes for TSD and BSD were 0.368 and 0.430, respectively. There were no statistically significant relationships between PD impact on *relationships with students* and any other variables or survey items.

Table 11

Statistical Relationship between PD Impact and Years of AR PD, Relationships with Students

ANOVA	Terrell	Bakerville
P-Value	0.0133	0.411
Effect Size (Cohen's f)	0.368	0.430

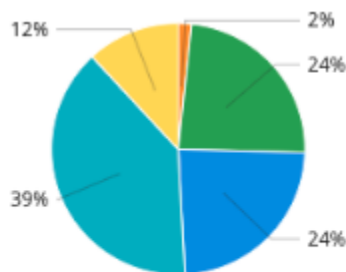
Response	Count		Average Years AR PD	
	Terrell	Bakerville	Terrell	Bakerville
No Impact	0	0	NA	NA
Slight Impact	12	4	6.92	8.25
Moderate Impact	26	10	12.46	6.00
Significant Impact	17	8	12.18	8.50
Very Significant Impact	6	2	12.83	11.50

Curriculum and Course Content. Fewer participants from both districts reported a moderate, significant, or very significant PD impact on *curriculum and course content*. Seventy-five percent of TSD educators and 71% of BSD educators reported these impacts, but only 51% from TSD and 38% from BSD reported a significant impact, as shown in Figure 22. No BSD educators reported a very significant impact compared to 12% of TSD educators. Half of Clark Elementary and Hamer Middle educators, both in TSD, reported that PD had a significant impact on changing their *curriculum and course content* to be more anti-racist.

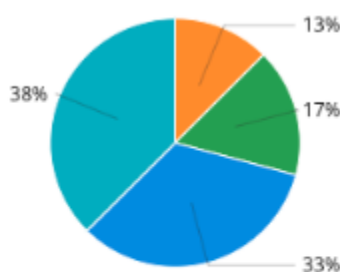
Figure 22

Educators' Perception of PD Impact on Curriculum and Course Content

Terrell School District



Bakerville School District



■ No Impact
 ■ Slight Impact
 ■ Moderate Impact
 ■ Significant Impact
 ■ Very Significant Impact

Unlike previous PD impact questions, there were no statistically significant relationships between PD impact and years of PD in TSD and no statistically significant relationships between PD impact and any other variable. However, as shown in Table 12, the effect size for years of AR PD and impact on *curriculum and course content* was 0.307 for TSD educators and 0.295 for BSD educators. While those aren't large effect sizes, they are medium and still statistically meaningful.

Table 12

Statistical Relationship between PD Impact and Years of AR PD, Curriculum and Course Content

ANOVA	Terrell	Bakerville
P-Value	0.275	0.688
Effect Size (Cohen's f)	0.307	0.295

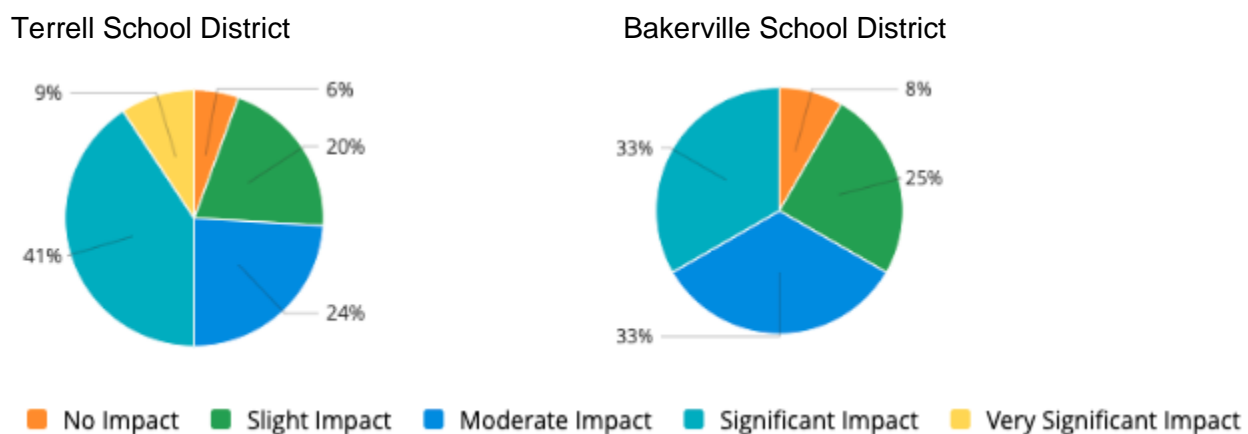
Response	Count		Average Years AR PD	
	Terrell	Bakerville	Terrell	Bakerville
No Impact	1	3	4.00	7.33
Slight Impact	14	4	8.50	6.50
Moderate Impact	14	8	11.93	6.88
Significant Impact	23	9	12.00	9.00
Very Significant Impact	7	0	12.14	NA

Anti-Racist Pedagogy. Among the five strands of the conceptual framework, educators reported the least PD impact on their *pedagogical strategies*. This was also the strand in which educators placed the lowest on the conceptual framework for *anti-racist practice*. Seventy-four percent 74% of TSD educators and 66% of BSD educators reported a moderate, significant, or very significant degree of PD impact toward *pedagogical strategies*. When that was narrowed down to significant or very significant impact, it included 50% of TSD educators and 33% of BSD educators, although no BSD participants selected very significant. The percentage of educators who reported that PD had no impact or a slight impact was the highest for anti-racist pedagogy among the five strands of the conceptual framework. Six percent of TSD educators

reported PD had no impact, and 20% reported a slight impact; it was 8% and 25%, respectively, for BSD educators. These data are shown in Figure 23.

Figure 23

Educators' Perception of PD Impact on Anti-Racist Pedagogy



There was a strong statistically significant relationship between the degree of PD impact and years of AR PD for educators from TSD; however, the average years of PD was relatively similar among TSD educators who reported a moderate, significant, or very significant PD impact. As shown in Table 13, the contrast against average years of experience for educators who reported a slight or no PD impact was starker: 8.09 years of experience among those who reported PD had a slight impact on a shift toward *pedagogical strategies* and 4.56 years of experience on average among those who reported PD had no impact on a shift toward *pedagogical strategies*.

Table 13

Statistical Relationship between PD Impact and Years of AR PD, Anti-Racist Pedagogy

ANOVA	Terrell		Bakerville	
	P-Value	Effect Size (Cohen's f)	Terrell	Bakerville
	0.000443	0.162		
	0.404	0.596		

Response	Count		Average Years AR PD	
	Terrell	Bakerville	Terrell	Bakerville
No Impact	3	2	4.67	8.00
Slight Impact	11	6	8.09	6.83
Moderate Impact	13	8	12.85	5.38
Significant Impact	22	8	11.73	10.50
Very Significant Impact	5	0	11.60	NA

Summary

The focus of the horizontal axis was the districts and included a comparison of the Phase One quantitative survey data from each of the two districts in the study. In particular, the analysis focused on educators' placement on the five strands of the conceptual framework and the impact PD had on their development within each of the five strands of the conceptual framework. A number of findings emerged from the horizontal analysis:

1. Participants placed higher on the *racial identity* and *understanding racism* strands than on the *anti-racist practice* strands of the conceptual framework. Almost all participants identified as employing Evolving Non-Racist racial identities (Helms, 2020), which is key to the effective implementation of anti-racist practice (Matias et al., 2014; Vaught & Castagno, 2008; Vass, 2014).
2. Among the three pedagogy and ideology strands, participants reported a higher level of *anti-racist practice* around *relationships with students* than *curriculum and course content* or *anti-racist pedagogy*.

3. Educators who reported the highest levels of *anti-racist practice* identified as employing the Immersion/Emersion or Autonomy Evolving Non-Racist Identity (Helms, 2020) schemas.
4. In general, participants from TSD placed higher across the conceptual framework than participants from BSD and reported a higher degree of PD impact on their development relative to the strands of the conceptual framework.
5. There was a statistically significant relationship between TSD educators' perceptions of AR PD impact and years of AR PD experience, which means that TSD educators who had more PD reported a higher degree of PD impact as well as a correlation between AR PD impact and *racial identity* schema, suggesting that those educators who participated in more AR PD had better developed non-racist white racial identities.

The findings regarding the relationship between AR PD impact and years of AR PD did not bear out as statistically significant for BSD. While the effect size was sometimes greater, the much smaller sample size, combined with the existence of outliers, meant that the statistical significance of the relationship was not strong and resulted in a higher P-value. The effect sizes suggest that there are still meaningful relationships between years of PD and various strands of the conceptual framework. Likewise, the fact that none of the BSD educators reported a very significant degree of PD impact for *curriculum and course content* or *anti-racist practice* is also meaningful and a notable difference between TSD and BSD. The next findings chapter, which focuses on the vertical axis, will delve into qualitative data from both Phase One and Phase Two of the study. The case for the vertical axis has been defined as “professional development.” Analysis will include factors that may have contributed to the differences in AR PD impact.

Chapter 5: Vertical Axis Findings – Professional Development as Case

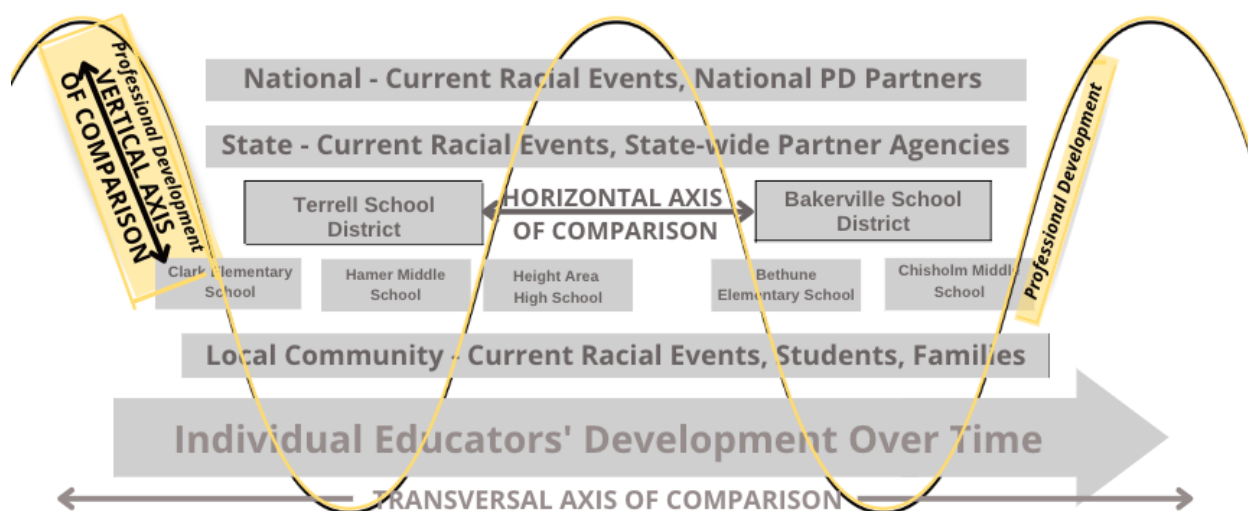
In a racist society, it is not enough to be non-racist. We must be anti-racist.

—Angela Davis

The vertical axis of comparison case study (CCS) focuses on a policy, phenomenon, or process and follows it across homologous or heterologous sites. In this study, the sites were homologous—two school districts of similar scale, position, and structure. The analysis is on how the case impacts and engages actors across scales and sites (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017b). I defined the vertical axis case as professional development (PD), the phenomenon I studied, analyzing its impact on educators across the districts and schools in this study. I considered how they responded similarly and differently to anti-racist professional development (AR PD). Figure 24 highlights the vertical axis of this CCS to provide a frame of reference for this chapter. The vertical axis runs up and down across the study, encompassing all the formal and informal AR PD events and activities that participants identified as impactful on their *racial identity*, *understanding of racism*, and *anti-racist practice*.

Figure 24

Vertical Axis of Comparison – Professional Development as Case



The purpose of this chapter, which focuses on the vertical axis of comparison, is to examine impactful AR PDs by presenting the qualitative data from professional development

documents from the Bakerville School District (BSD) and the Terrell School District (TSD), as well as Phase One surveys, and interviews with educators from TSD. The analysis of AR PDs as a vertical case comparison was organized primarily by strand of my conceptual framework and secondarily by characteristics of the AR PDs. For the purpose of this study, the definition of PD was expanded beyond formal district PDs to include both formal and informal activities educators engaged in independently or outside their professional roles.

Professional Development

Examination of the vertical axis of comparison and analysis of AR PD impact requires some context regarding AR PDs in both districts. A summary of the history of AR PDs as well as background information on major AR PD initiatives in each of the districts will be addressed. Some participants provided rich, descriptive responses that provided detailed information about AR PDs. In cases where limited information was available in survey responses, additional information was drawn from district websites, external partner websites, AR PD documents, information from follow-up emails with district leaders, and Phase Two interviews.

Terrell School District

Equity is central to TSD's guiding statement, vision, and strategic plan. District-wide PD in TSD has focused on equity and anti-racism dating back to before 2005. There has been an annual or multi-year focus of AR PD throughout the course of those 17 years, and all educators are required to participate in AR PD on district PD days. There were years when TSD relied primarily on partnerships with external agencies, organizations, or facilitators for AR PD and other years when PD was planned and led by district and building equity leaders. The Director of Instruction provided several documents that summarized and detailed AR PD, especially pertaining to more recent years.

Professional development documents provided detailed annual plans for the four district PD days each year (there are four additional building PD days each year) dating back to 2015. Plans included the following: content/area of focus, learning outcomes, content progression, and

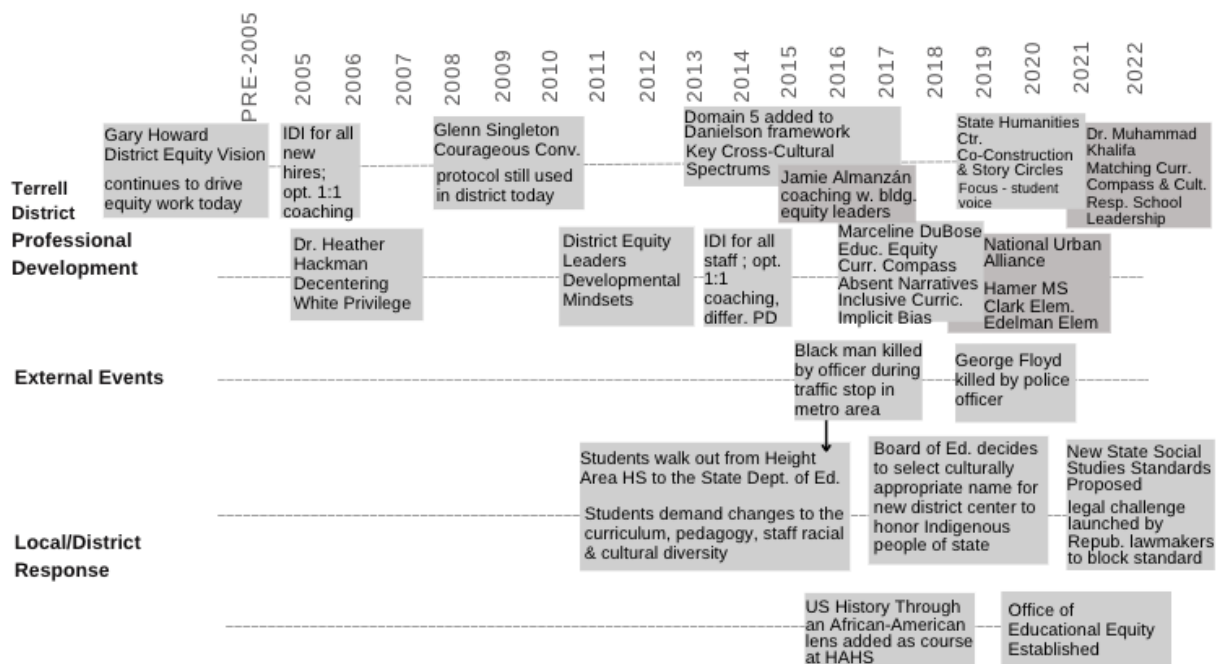
link(s) to Domain 5, an equity-focused domain the district uses with the framework for effective educator practice. When AR PD was facilitated by district or building equity leaders, the detailed plans were accompanied by consistent slide decks for facilitators. Everyone received a balance of universal PDs and PD time that allowed for differentiation. Differentiated time included choice workshops, customized PDs based on educators' needs (e.g., inventory-driven), and team- or department-specific AR PDs. District-wide AR PD was also supplemented with AR PD through partner agencies and organizations incentivized by the district. For example, staff members who attended external AR PDs through the National SEED Project or State Humanities Center received board credit that could be used toward salary lane changes. While the specific focus of the district AR PD shifted over the years, the commitment to equity and anti-racist work did not.

At the beginning of the 2021–2022 school year, the district launched its PD plan with a retrospective review of the previous 16 years' equity and anti-racist PD and work. The district cited current AR PD as building on past years' AR PD and gave specific examples of how work from 16 or more years ago is still part of the practice today. These examples are cited in the descriptions of individual AR PD initiatives.

Finally, district communications and documents demonstrated responsiveness to students and their feedback, which was reflected in AR PD planning. The district AR PD timeline references a student walkout and students' demands, as well as the district's response to students' demands. Figure 25 provides a visual summary in timeline format of TSD's AR PD, including external events and district or local response to those events.

Figure 25

Terrell School District Anti-Racist PD and Event-Response Timeline



Summary information regarding the AR PD, events, and responses on the TSD timeline is organized in these two categories: District Anti-Racist Professional Development and District Incentivized Anti-Racist Professional Development. The external events and local and district response are incorporated in the district AR PD narrative. It should be noted that some AR PD dates back far enough that detailed information was limited. The names of external facilitators or AR PD foci that are referenced on the timeline are italicized the first time they appear in the narrative text.

District Professional Development. TSD's equity and anti-racist work began before 2005 in partnership with *Gary Howard*. Howard's work focused on white educators in racially diverse schools; his time in TSD focused on creating a district equity vision that is still used today. From the equity vision, the district contracted *Dr. Heather Hackman* who facilitated PD on decentering white privilege. In the mid-2000s at about the same time the district was working

with Dr. Hackman on district-wide AR PD, the district used the *Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI)* with all educators who were new to the district.

The IDI assesses intercultural competence—“the capability to shift cultural perspective and appropriately adapt behavior to cultural differences and commonalities” (IDI Products & Pricing, n.d.), with a 50-item questionnaire designed to assess cross-cultural intercultural competence (it has since become available online). This differs, then, from Helms’ White Racial Identity Assessment Scale (WRIAS). The IDI is designed and validated as a tool that can be used with individuals across cultures and races, unlike Helms’ WRIAS or other scales that are race- or culture-specific.

Individuals’ IDI results place them on the Intercultural Development Continuum, a cross-cultural mindset continuum that ranges from monocultural to multicultural in these five stages: Denial, Polarization, Minimization, Acceptance, and Adaptation. The IDI was administered to educators who were new to the district in 2005. New hires were offered a one-on-one coaching session with a trained IDI facilitator-coach to review their results.

Upon conclusion of the work with Dr. Hackman, the district contracted with *Glenn Singleton* and Pacific Education Group for two years. Singleton’s work focused on his *Courageous Conversation* protocol, including the Courageous Conversation Compass, that included four agreements and six conditions to use in conversations about race, all of which were still referenced and used in the district 10–15 years later. That positioned the district to continue AR PD internally for several years.

District equity leaders, who are often lead teachers or instructional coaches, have played an integral role in AR PD since 2010. They worked in a train-the-trainers model and met with district-level leaders to plan and coordinate the four district AR PD days. They often worked from consistent slide decks. Initially, the district-led AR PD focused on *developmental mindsets* and then began to incorporate *culturally responsive teaching*. In later years, *Jamie Almanzán* did equity coaching with the building equity leaders.

TSD approached culturally responsive teaching through the use of *Domain 5* and PD, which incorporated the *key cross-cultural spectrums*. Domain 5 refers to a fifth and companion domain for Charlotte Danielson’s *Framework for Teaching* that is focused explicitly on cultural competence. The domain was developed by a school district that used the Danielson framework for educator evaluation but wanted to explicitly incorporate culturally responsive practice. Other districts have since used Domain 5 with permission.

TSD’s key cross-cultural spectrums PD, facilitated by internal and external facilitators including *Marceline DuBose* of Due East Educational Equity Collaborative, focused on unpacking and viewing cultural differences not as an either-or but as habits, preferences, and leanings on a continuum. The key cross-cultural spectrum learning was part of required PD sessions that all TSD staff participated in and that was incorporated into district PD over multiple years. Table 14 summarizes the Key Cross-Cultural Spectrums (TSD PD Documents 1 and 12).

Table 14

Key Cross-Cultural Spectrums, Terrell School District PD

Affect	Restrained ↔ Expressive
Communication	Direct ↔ Indirect
Communication Tempo	Pausing — Pacing — Overlap
Community	Collectivist ↔ Individualist
Focus	Task ↔ Relational
Time	Clock ↔ Cyclical

For example, the Communication spectrum spans from Direct—“telling it like it is” and “getting to the point” is expected and valued—to Indirect that prioritizes being polite or softening hard messages over being honest. Learning about these different cultural orientations leads to understanding rather than judgment regarding differences.

The IDI was administered district-wide eight years after it was used with all new hires. Optional coaching sessions were offered again, and differentiated professional development was planned to support educators based on their IDI results. District equity leaders helped facilitate some of the AR PD, and educators were grouped across buildings according to the mindset continuum. Initially, staff was grouped for PD across buildings according to their IDI results. The goal was to provide more customized and differentiated AR PD based on educators' mindsets. The IDI states that training and development efforts are more effective when they are guided by individuals' or groups' developmental orientation (IDI Products & Pricing, n.d.). However, leaders and facilitators encountered some challenges in this approach; in particular, discussions and engagement in the AR PD groups comprised of educators with Denial or Polarization proved to be more challenging. The external facilitator and internal equity leaders reconvened, made adjustments, and planned modified versions of the same work.

In 2016, a Black man was shot and killed by a police officer during a traffic stop in a metropolitan area. That incident, like others around the country, set off local protests. Students at Height Area High School staged a *walkout*. As part of the walkout, they presented a formal mission statement and a list of 10 demands to TSD. The *students' demands* were a call to the district and community for more welcoming classroom environments for students of color, a more diverse and representative curriculum across content areas, increased staff diversity, safe spaces in the school for students of color, and accountability and zero tolerance for acts of hate and racism.

TSD responded by shifting its work toward *absent narratives* and *inclusive curriculum* and adding "US History through an African American Lens" as a third option for students' 11th grade US history requirement. Absent narratives refers to PD or processes that focus on diverse voices, especially those that have been left out, marginalized, or otherwise absent. In the district, *Marceline DuBose* facilitated PD that focused on absent narratives, inclusive curriculum, and implicit bias. DuBose's work was framed in the *Educational Equity Curriculum and*

Instruction Compass, which is visually represented with its four competencies and areas of curriculum focus in Figure 26.

Figure 26

Educational Equity Curriculum and Instruction Compass



Due East Educational Equity Collaborative® dueeast.org

The *State Humanities Center* also facilitated AR PD on absent narratives, but its work focused on hearing students and *co-constructing narratives* and curriculum. Some schools in the district also partnered with the Humanities Center to provide customized PD for their staff. During that time, the *National Urban Alliance* (NUA) worked directly with three of the TSD schools. NUA, founded at Columbia University's Teachers College and the College Board, is focused on educator equity practice that is centered on high-level intellectual performance and amplified student voice (National Urban Alliance for Effective Education, n.d.). During the multi-year program, each content or grade-level team participated in one year of monthly, full-release training days focused on specific pedagogical strategies that they practiced as part of the training. The NUA program started at Hamer Middle School and expanded to two elementary schools, including Clark Elementary School. However, implementation was delayed and rescheduled due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The NUA training centers on work with Yvette

Jackson and *The Pedagogy of Confidence: Inspiring High Intellectual Performance in Urban Schools*.

District-Incentivized Professional Development. The State Humanities Center offers multiple workshops specifically for educators that range in focus from place-based learning about American Indian history and African American history to Black struggle, absent narratives, and *story circles*. It offers virtual and in-person single-day workshops as well as weeklong institutes. The district awards credit that can be applied to salary lane changes for educators who attend training at the Humanities Center or the *National SEED Project*. The National SEED (Seeking Educational Equity and Diversity) project, founded by Peggy McIntosh in 1987, partners with schools and communities to develop social justice leaders. SEED offers weeklong New Leaders training as well as yearlong seminars that utilize a once-a-month, three-hour seminar model.

Bakerville School District

The Bakerville School District had Equity Task Force plans and work on its website dating back to 1990. The Task Force convened in 2003 and reconvened in 2015 and 2021. The original Task Force convened to address achievement gaps for Black students. In 2015 the Task Force noted that some goals of the 1990 Task Force had been achieved, including expanded after-school and summer school programming, behavior plan reform, and the establishment of a district-wide Bakerville Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (BDEI) initiative. However, Task Forces that convened since 1990 also noted the lack of progress in academic achievement progress for students of color and particularly Black students. In 2008, the BSD high school started BDEI as an initiative to unite students in learning about Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion. Over time, BDEI expanded to serve Bakerville High School staff and eventually became the umbrella for anti-racist work in the district. Between the convening of the 2003 and 2015 Task Forces, BSD began dedicating one PD day per year, typically in February, to focus

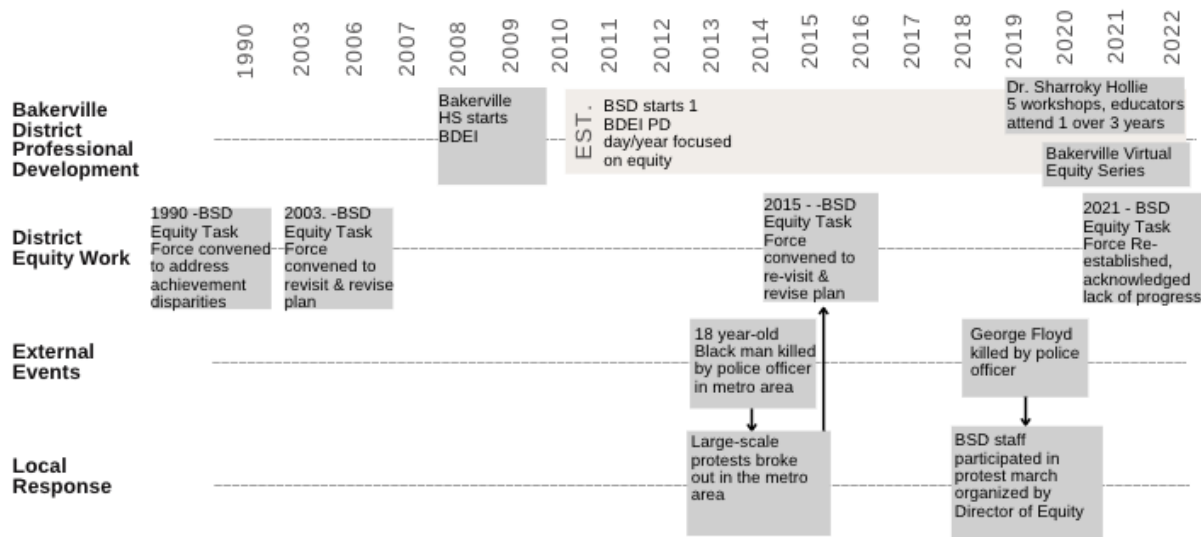
exclusively on AR PD. The Task Force website referenced a commitment to and a focus on training and conversations about bias, privilege, and race for that AR PD time.

Task Force agendas and minutes reflected community engagement and commitment to address systemic failings and historical marginalization. There was debate over the use of language such as “achievement gap” that centered the problem on students and a decision to use “opportunity gap.” The Task Force acknowledged that the increased wealth gap between predominantly affluent and poor neighborhoods was a factor but was resolute that systemic racism was the more pervasive issue and that meaningful change and progress could not occur without having courageous conversations about race and privilege.

In 2014, an 18-year-old Black man was killed by a police officer in a metropolitan area. That occurred at a time when national attention on police shootings of Black men was high (Thompson, 2021; Washington Post, 2022). Large-scale protests broke out and served as a call to action in the district. They were a contributing factor to the reconvening of the Equity Task Force in 2015. Figure 27 provides a visual summary of the district-wide AR PD, Task Force work, and external events I was able to document.

Figure 27

Bakerville School District Anti-Racist PD and Event-Response Timeline



Prior to the COVID-19 pandemic, BSD had *Dr. Sharroky Hollie* facilitate AR PD workshops over a three-year period. Dr. Hollie, whose work focuses on culturally and linguistically responsive practice, facilitated the following five workshops: Focus on Culture – Foundation, Responsive Classroom Management, Responsive Academic Literacy, Responsive Academic Vocabulary, and Responsive Academic Language. All BSD staff members were required to attend at least one in-person workshop or webinar over the three years. The district-wide AR PD day schedule from 2021 started with a keynote *panel of educators* of color who discussed culturally responsive teaching. The keynote was followed by two rounds of several virtual workshops from which educators could choose. The afternoon was a planned agenda for grade-level teams and PLCs that focused on courageous conversations on race.

In recent years, BSD offered two voluntary AR PD opportunities. The first was a *book study* of Ibram Kendi's *How to Be an Antiracist*. The second was a virtual series of equity and anti-racist speakers and panels offered throughout the pandemic. The *BSD Equity Series* was offered from July 2020 through March 2022. There were 13 sessions open to staff, students, and the community. The goal of the series was to create a safe space for courageous conversations around systemic racism that affects Black students, Indigenous students, and students of color. The series ran live, but each session was recorded and posted on the district's website on the equity resources page. Topics ranged from "What does BIPOC mean?" to Critical Race Theory, the cultural violence of white supremacy, and the trauma of racism.

Individual schools in BSD provided additional AR PD either on PD days or through other formats. Recent Task Force reports referenced the inconsistent AR PD provided among and across buildings in the district and the need to provide more consistent PD for leaders and educators in the district. Individual participants mentioned specific AR PD experiences and book studies that were not part of district-wide PD. The previously mentioned lack of AR PD documents and information provided by the BSD Director of Professional Development limited both document analysis and further comparison.

Both TSD and BSD have been engaged in equity and anti-racist work over a sustained period of time. They have been public about their commitments to equity work and to students and families of color. That work has included required AR PD for all staff for more than 10 years in BSD and more than 15 years in TSD. While the timelines, website information, and district documents provided summary information regarding AR PD in each of the districts, the Phase One survey provided qualitative data about specific AR PD that participants identified as impactful on their *racial identity, understanding racism, and anti-racist practice*.

Vertical Axis Findings

The Phase One survey provided qualitative data in response to the following three open-ended items:

1. Name the specific professional development events and/or experiences (formal or informal) that you perceive to have impacted your racial identity development and/or change in practice toward an anti-racist stance.
2. Describe the specific professional development events and/or experiences that you perceive as impactful in your *racial identity development*. What was it that impacted you? Were there particular activities, discussions, etc. that were especially powerful?
3. Describe the specific professional development events and/or experiences that you perceive as impactful in changing your *relationships with students and/or classroom practice toward an anti-racist stance*. What was it that impacted you? Were there particular activities, discussions, etc. that were especially powerful?

Qualitative questions were completed by 66 of the 95 survey participants—41 from TSD and 25 from BSD. They identified a total of 351 AR PDs, both formal and informal, and identified 154 of them as impactful to their development or change relative to specific strands of the conceptual framework. The TSD Phase Two interviews—2 each with 9 participants—generated 54 additional AR PD events or activities identified as impactful on a specific strand of the

conceptual framework. Anti-racist professional development is analyzed by strand of the conceptual framework it impacted and by characteristics that contributed to its impact.

Impactful Professional Development Relative to the Conceptual Framework

The second open-ended question asked participants to describe AR PD that they perceived as impactful on their *racial identity*. However, many participants also included information about AR PDs that they perceived as impactful on *understanding racism*. That likely occurred because of the preceding survey items on racism and the white racial frame. Therefore, I was able to distinguish between PD that was impactful on the two specific strands. The most striking initial finding relative to the qualitative survey data was how little overlap there was among individual participants' responses.

White Racial Identity Development. Between the two districts, participants identified 47 PDs as impactful on their white *racial identity*—among them 29 distinct PDs. Of those identified by multiple participants, 5 were named by 3 or more survey participants. There were 20 AR PDs that were each identified by single participants. When TSD interview data was incorporated, an additional 2 AR PDs were identified; furthermore, the count for some increased. Table 15 summarizes the impactful AR PDs identified by multiple participants; the number of participants who identified each is indicated in parentheses.

Table 15

Multiple Participant Response AR PD Events and Experiences, White Racial Identity Development

Multiple Response PD Events and Experiences	
Reading books or articles (11) Key cross-cultural spectrums PD (6) The National SEED Project workshops (6) State Humanities Center workshops (4) Dr. Sharroky Hollie (4) Book studies (4)	Murder of George Floyd (4) (Terrell) District-facilitated white privilege PD (3) Intercultural Development Inventory and 1:1 Coaching (3) Dr. Heather Hackman (3) Colleagues' stories and experiences (3)

The most common response was reading books or articles, with a count of 11 (2 surveys, 9 interviews); these were all responses from TSD participants and reflected independent reading or external, non-district AR PD such as graduate classes or personal book clubs. The identified specific books or articles varied, including McIntosh's "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack" article (1992), the only one mentioned twice; Okun's "White Supremacy Culture" (2000); Shin's (Ed.) *A Good Time for the Truth: Race in Minnesota* (2016); Kendi's *How to Be an Antiracist* (2019); Tatum's "Why Are All the Black Kids Still Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?" (2017); Alexander's "The New Jim Crow" (2011); Anderson's *White Rage* (2016); and books by Tim Hannold on math standards and pedagogy. Four BSD educators identified book clubs as impactful. Two named a building-based book study of Singleton's *Courageous Conversations about Race* (2015), and 1 identified the impactful text as DiAngelo's *White Fragility* (2011). The number of TSD educators who identified reading outside of their professional responsibilities as impactful AR PD is notable and suggests a commitment beyond professional obligation.

Among the remaining 9 AR PD experiences or events that multiple participants identified as impactful, 5 were facilitated or hosted by the following external partners: sessions facilitated by Dr. Sharroky Hollie, identified by 4 BSD educators; key cross-cultural spectrum PD facilitated by Marceline DuBose and others, identified by 6 (2 surveys, 4 interviews) TSD educators; and workshops facilitated by Dr. Heather Hackman (3 surveys) or through the National SEED Project, identified by 6 (2 surveys, 4 interviews) TSD educators, and State Humanities Center, identified by 4 (1 survey, 3 interviews) TSD educators who attended and that the district hosted, supported, or incentivized.

While 2 survey respondents named Dr. Sharroky Hollie without identifying particular workshops, 2 identified these specific components of Dr. Hollie's workshops that they found impactful: personal culture and Rings of Culture, which refers to a portion of the Focus on Culture session that Dr. Hollie facilitated. Two points related to Rings of Culture were that (1) race is not synonymous with culture, and (2) we can conceptualize our culture as a series of

concentric rings that surround us. Those rings collectively form our individual culture—ethnic culture, orientation culture, national culture, socioeconomic culture, religious culture, gender culture, and age culture. A teacher from Bethune Elementary School reflected on their experience learning with Dr. Hollie: “Learning about the rings of culture was really beneficial because I got to view myself as an outsider. I had to reflect on who I was from multiple facets, and it also led me to wonder how my racial identity affects me.”

Multiple participants mentioned how eye-opening it was to realize that different cultures viewed time and communication differently. Sue, a grade-level teacher at Clark Elementary School, stated:

[T]hese spectrums are timebound versus non-timebound and collectivists versus individual. The terms are escaping me right now, but just all these continuums of lifestyles that again for a long time, I just thought, well, this is just how everyone lived. Well, no, it's not. So once I learned about that and started seeing that in my students and families and how that worked, again, that was something. But it took a lot of people bringing in information in different ways to even make it dawn on me that, hey, there's all these different ways of doing things.

Understanding the key cross-cultural spectrums led educators to acknowledge their own culture and *racial identity* and accept students and families instead of judging them. This framework provided an example of challenging the dominant narrative or counter-storytelling. It informed white educators and affirmed those whose cultural norms had previously been invisible, ignored, or marginalized.

A Hamer Middle School content teacher described in their survey how they approached a SEED course with a color-evasive mindset and the impact the experience had.

When I started teaching in Terrell I had the mentality that "I don't see color, I don't care if you're green with purple polka-dots, I have high expectations for you and you need to follow the rules." Participating in SEED courses helped shape my racial identity along with the racial identity and

anti-racist professional development training we had in my first year of teaching. . . . And from year one to now, I look back, I'm like, "Oh my god." Like, what was I doing?

This teacher acknowledged a color-evasive mindset when they started teaching. Color-evasiveness is one of the notions embraced in liberal ideology and criticized in CRT (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004). Color-evasive ideology is consistent with the Contact schema in Helms' White Racial Identity Development; however, this educator's answers on the survey eight years later were consistent with employing the Immersion/Emersion schema. Figure 28 shows Helms' White Racial Identity Development schemas with notes indicating how this educator self-reported from Year 1 to Year 9, after eight years of AR PD.

Figure 28

Helms' White Racial Identity Development Model, Reflective of Educator Self-Reporting

White Racial Identity Development Schemas					
Phase 1: Internalizing Racism			Phase 2: Evolving Non-Racist Identity		
Contact	Disintegration	Reintegration	Pseudo-Independence	Immersion/Emersion	Autonomy
Year 1				Year 9	

This content teacher responded that AR PD impact was very significant on their *racial identity*, which is consistent with the answer to the open-ended question and the shift in schemas over the eight years.

Other external partners who AR PD TSD participants identified as impactful were those provided by the State Humanities Center. That included AR PD that was part of the universal district PD that all TSD educators attended as well as workshops for educators hosted by the State Humanities Center that were district-supported or incentivized. A Clark Elementary School specialist described the impact of their first Humanities Center experience as follows:

One specific experience I had was over lunch at the Humanities Center during the week-long educator's institute on absent narratives. They had guests there for the day from other cultures,

and the person at my table was Hmong. We went around the table discussing comfort foods, foods we eat on holidays, foods we eat when we are sick, things we do when we are sick, ways our parents instilled and passed on their values, etc. It was the first time that I realized I had a culture and a racial identity.

Similar to comments about the key cross-cultural spectrums, this survey comment also describes an initial experience that helped illuminate or uncover white racial identity. Once educators recognized or acknowledged having a racial identity and were open to or interested in learning more, they accessed other PD opportunities. Consonant with the key cross-cultural spectrums, focusing on and raising up absent narratives also provided an alternative to the dominant narrative.

The remaining 4 AR PD experiences or events that multiple TSD educators perceived as impactful on their *racial identity* were the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI), district-facilitated white privilege PD sessions, colleagues' personal stories and experiences, and the murder of George Floyd. As explained in this chapter, the IDI was administered to educators who were new to the district in 2005; it was administered district-wide eight years later. Both times, optional one-on-one coaching sessions were offered to educators to discuss results, and the district used the collective results to plan differentiated AR PD for staff across buildings.

The white privilege PD was developed and facilitated by district equity leaders. A TSD high school administrator described their experience learning about white privilege.

One discussion we had on white privilege was particularly impactful. In circle, we talked about someone in our family who overcame something or was successful in our eyes. And then we had to reflect and talk about what role being white played into that. The idea was not to detract from the hard work and success of your family but acknowledge that at least part of it was possible due to being white.

The acknowledgment of white privilege and providing space for white educators to identify personal experiences with white privilege illustrates an initial exploration of whiteness as

property, the idea that whiteness, as racialized privilege, is the source of societal benefit (Harris, 1993).

Some educators experienced an urgency in their learning and action. Sue, the previously mentioned Clark Elementary grade-level teacher, explained her thoughts on responding to the recent killings of Black men by police in the country, as well as their district's response.

[We've] had a lot of really high profile police shootings, and it's been the first time that not it's been mandated, but we've had information from the administrators in our district. "And we want you to address it with your class. These are some things that you could say." And it's like unofficially mandatory. You'd want to anyway, but there's some guidance on how to talk to kids about this. And there's email blasts going out from these things that are addressed formally to all families from the Superintendent . . . and because we have a lot of African American families and the boys and how are we going to process this with the kids?

As Sue explained, she wanted to address racial justice issues and felt a moral obligation to respond to and support her students, especially her Black male students. While the district had been clear about its commitment to equity and anti-racist work before then, the push to discuss racial justice directly with students hadn't been as direct. When the district and administration were clear about supporting racial justice work and scaffolded the work with talking points and family communication, Sue could continue to take action toward justice. This clear messaging came from the district at a high when the emotions and politics around anti-racism in schools were increasing. The district's message encouraged educators to continue to move the work forward rather than step backward and reinforced the district's commitment to social justice.

Sue acknowledged characteristics of both the Autonomy and Pseudo-Independence schemas of Helms' White Racial Identity Development model in her reflection. She mentioned comfort in an intellectualized approach to addressing racism (Pseudo-Independence) yet acknowledged that she had something to learn, had a pluralistic perspective, and was willing to

acknowledge her privilege and accept some discomfort (Autonomy). The district's ongoing support materials through national incidents also served as informal PD while concurrently supporting teachers in their anti-racist work and reinforcing the anti-racist practice they expected in support of students.

The AR PDs identified by single participants could be clustered into the following categories: specific PD activities, general PD, professional activity, and personal activity. Those activities are reflected in Table 16 below.

Table 16

Single Participant Response AR PD Events and Experiences, White Racial Identity

Development

Specific PD Activities	General PD	Professional Activities	Personal Activities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Step Forward activity ● BDEI days (high school–initiated events to promote service learning and equity) ● Be About It - anti-racist teaching (summer PD) ● “I am from…” activity ● Privilege Walk ● District whiteness and white supremacy PD (post-George Floyd) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● District PD ● Learning from people of color ● Talking about ourselves and our experiences ● Equity leader trainings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Co-taught college class on identity and intersectionality ● Conversations in PhD program ● Delivering course materials to students ● Home visits and listening to families ● Conversations with colleagues 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Talking with others ● Personal journals ● Conversations with friends ● Conversations with family members ● Personal experience
Key	Black Text – Bakerville PD	Purple Text – Terrell PD	

This table demonstrates the number (20) of impactful AR PDs identified by single participants. There were more than twice as many impactful AR PD examples identified by single participants as those identified by multiple participants (11). The number of distinct responses indicated a high degree of variance in the AR PD that was impactful on individual educators' white racial identity development.

History of Racism and the White Racial Frame. As previously mentioned, there were no separate open-ended questions regarding *understanding racism*. However, some survey and interview participants differentiated between AR PD impactful on their *racial identity* and AR PD impactful on *understanding racism*. There were fewer survey responses but more interview responses for the latter. Participants identified 32 impactful AR PDs on the survey, 13 by BSD educators and 17 by TSD educators, and 28 of those were identified by single participants. An additional 21 impactful AR PDs were identified by the 9 TSD interview participants, but 7 of them were identified by multiple participants. There was also some overlap with survey responses.

The most frequent response was reading books or articles, either independently, in external book clubs, or in graduate courses, as mentioned by 9 TSD interview participants; the books were among those on the previously mentioned list. Texts included an article that equated a color-evasive mindset with saying “I don’t see you” to students. Color-evasiveness is one of three notions that exemplify the critique of liberalism. Three survey participants identified book clubs as impactful on *understanding racism*; the only book named was Banaji and Greenwald’s *Blindspot: Hidden Biases of Good People* (2013). *Blindspot* was referenced as very impactful by a TSD Hamer Middle School educator who shared that “using the online assessments unearthed things I didn’t acknowledge and then to read about the science behind it and how to dismantle it was also very helpful.”

The second most frequent responses, which were each identified by 7 participants (6 from TSD, 1 from BSD; and 6 from BSD, 1 from TSD), were hearing students’ perspectives and conversations with or hearing from staff of color. The mention of hearing different perspectives in these responses speaks to the powerful impact of students’ voices and the voices of staff of color. However, there is a fine line between empowering staff of color as examples of challenging the dominant narrative and expecting them to do the work of teaching white

educators about the history of racism. A Clark Elementary kindergarten teacher expanded on the impact of student perspectives and her learning over time:

I don't know if there is one thing, it has been a journey. Student impact statements are always what speaks to me the most. It made me aware of my "whiteness." I did not realize the privilege that came with my skin color because although I have been through more life experiences than anyone I work with knows about, I still know that I was blissfully ignorant to what was happening outside of my peaceful, Pennsylvania town I grew up in. My father is a jazz musician that traveled into Pittsburgh, Erie, and parts of New York with his band to make extra money. He was the only white man in the band, and we spent many evenings and weekends with his bandmates and their families. I never thought anything of it. They were my dad's best friends. Their kids were my friends.

It wasn't until I moved to the Midwest and became friends with one of the women in my daughter's classes. She is from Nigeria. We went to the mall, and her son had a meltdown. Three different white women stopped and looked her in the face and told her ways to parent her child better. Three! I was livid. She said not to worry about it, she was used to it, and I said that is not something you should have to get used to. That was eye-opening. It created a range of emotions and was a tipping point in me choosing the college I went to for my degree. I chose the state university's urban teacher program. I knew I had to do better and needed to learn a lot more. With my degree from the urban teacher program and with my PD through my district, I have taken a long, hard look at myself and past practices and made many changes I am proud of, but also realize I still have a lot to learn about myself and others.

This teacher's survey response transitioned from student impact statements to her own personal experiences growing up in a racially diverse environment and then seeing firsthand the microaggressions a friend of color experienced in the Midwest. The following 4 impactful AR PD experiences that multiple interview participants identified were also connected to these personal experiences: race-related incidents experienced by a relative or relatives of color, identified by 4 interview participants; personal experiences in a racially diverse environment; acknowledging or

addressing white privilege or racism with family members; and doing home visits with students or families. Each of these were named twice.

Three interview participants and 1 survey respondent identified the absent narratives PD facilitated in TSD, and 2 identified a State Humanities Center workshop on decentering whiteness as impactful on *understanding racism*. A TSD high school special education teacher shared this reflection in their survey:

I have benefited greatly from white privilege. I have always known that. I thought that since I wasn't making things worse for people of color, and that since I wanted to help, that I was doing enough. I was comfortable maintaining the institutional racism because I was "doing less harm" than other people. I think I avoided it, one because I didn't want to face my own shortcomings and how they've harmed (even passively) other people, and two because I didn't know what I could do about it.

The acknowledgment that not making it worse still equated to maintaining institutional racism is consonant with the Critical Whiteness Studies premise that racism co-exists with white privilege and white supremacy (Levine-Rasky, 2000) and that a lack of action to disrupt racism does, in fact, harm people of color (Applebaum, 2016; Cullen, 2014).

The murder of George Floyd came up in 3 interviews in regard to the impact on *understanding racism*. George Floyd was murdered by a police officer in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in May 2020 during an arrest after a store clerk reported that Floyd may have used a counterfeit \$20 bill. The video of the officer kneeling on Floyd's neck for 9½ minutes while three other officers looked on resulted in protests across the country. For educators, it generated a renewed focus on racial injustice and resulted in a recommitment to social justice.

The impact of the murder of George Floyd and other Black men, as well as educators' AR PDs on *understanding racism*, resulted in a large number of participants who identified white privilege and white supremacy as a focus of their learning and work. A TSD high school specialist shared this summary on their survey:

I've been doing this work for a looong time. I still have work to do. A huge part of this work is understanding your own biases and understanding that we work within a system built on white supremacy. This work never ends. This is why we need to continuously discuss, review, revamp, confront our own biases and racism.

This sentiment simultaneously reflects the educator's acknowledgment of the deep-seated nature of racism and their Evolving Non-Racist Identity schema in which white people understand that confronting privilege is ongoing work (Helms, 2020).

The 11 AR PDs named by multiple participants and the 29 impactful AR PDs identified by single participants are summarized in Table 17. Those identified by multiple participants indicate the number of educators who named them in parentheses. The 29 AR PDs identified by single participants are grouped into the same four categories as those for racial identity development: specific district AR PD, general AR PD, professional activities, and personal non-school activities.

Table 17

Multiple and Single Participant Response AR PD Events and Experiences, Understanding Racism

Multiple Response PD Events and Experiences			
Reading books or articles (9) Hearing students' perspectives (7) Conversations with/hearing staff of color (7) Racism experienced by relative of color (4) Absent narratives PD (4) Murder of George Floyd (3) Book clubs (2)		State Humanities Center – decentering whiteness (2) Personal experience in racially diverse environment (2) Acknowledging or addressing white privilege/ racism in family (2) Student or family home visit (2)	
Single Response PD Events and Experiences			
Specific District PD Activities	General PD	Professional Activities	Personal, Non-School Events or Activities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Privilege shopping list activity • Zoom panels with people of color • White privilege 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Student walkout after George Floyd with list of demands 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teaching and Leading for Social Justice cohort • Analyzing our grading by race • Classroom discussions – 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grew up in a racially diverse setting • Friends' stories/ testimonies • Firsthand experience

sessions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family and staff circles • Video – marshmallow and doll experience* • Mary Bussman PD • SCARF model • SEED Project workshops • Equity Literacy Network PD events • Paul Gorski • Pacific Education Group 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Connection to whiteness • Privilege awareness • Whiteness, privilege, and oppression PD 	understanding my role in systemic racism through student feedback <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Listening to colleague's experience, translating that to work with students • Student demonstrated example of inequitable standards and consequences with SRO • Equity Literacy Network workshops • Referred 5 students for Sp.Ed. and only one qualified 	with inequity and barriers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Witnessed overt and subtle racism • Witnessed racism against friend • Daunte Wright's killing • Counter Stories podcast
Key	Black Text – Bakerville PD	Purple Text – Terrell PD	

*Note. Doll experiments likely refer to a series of 1940s experiments conducted by Clark and Clark to study the psychological effects of segregation on Black children (McNeill, 2017).

While there were more AR PDs that were perceived as impactful on educators' *understanding racism*, fewer of those events and experiences were specific formal PDs. A higher number and proportion of the impactful AR PDs were either independent learning opportunities or informal AR PD experiences, and many of those were the personal experiences of the educators or of a close friend or relative. Seeing or experiencing racism or hearing directly from students, families, or staff members of color made racism and the white racial frame more real and more concrete for educators.

Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy. Whereas *racial identity* and *understanding racism* were impacted by district AR PDs, other professional activities or external learning, as well as personal experiences and *anti-racist practice*, were impacted primarily by formal AR PDs and professional experiences. However, educators named an incredibly wide range of AR PDs as impactful on changing their *anti-racist practice* (in general), *relationships with students*, *curriculum and course content*, and *pedagogical strategies*. Participants produced 89 responses that identified AR PDs that were impactful on *anti-racist practice*—23 were in BSD surveys, 38

were in TSD surveys, and 28 were in TSD interviews. Fourteen AR PDs were identified by multiple participants, and 43 were identified by single participants. The open-ended nature of the survey meant that survey responses varied in specificity. Some referred to the impact on relationships with students and anti-racist practice collectively, and others referred to individual components of anti-racist practice. Table 18 summarizes the AR PDs that multiple participants identified.

Table 18

Multiple Participant Response AR PD Events and Experiences, Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy

PD Event or Experience	Freq.	Baker.	Terr.	Anti-Rac. Ideo./Prac.	Rela. w. Stud.	Curr. & Cont.	Ped. Strat.
Student Feedback	8	●	●	☑	☑	☑	☑
Dr. Sharoky Hollie expectations, assets v. deficits, culture	4	●		☑			☑
Book study	3	●		☑			
Key cross-cultural spectrums spec. Reacting ← → Responding	3		●		☑		☑
National Urban Alliance	3		●				☑
Educational Equity Curriculum & Instruction Compass (Due East Educational Equity Collaborative)	3		●				☑
AVID Training - Strategies	2		●				☑
The National SEED Project	2		●			☑	☑
Responsive Classroom/Development Designs	2		●		☑	☑	☑
Circle training	2		●		☑		
Keynote speakers of color	2	●		☑			
Race-based scenarios	2	●	●	☑			
Reviewing social studies curriculum across district - representation	2		●			☑	
State university urban teacher program	2		●	☑	☑		

The columns to the right of the PD event or description indicate the number of participants who identified that PD was impactful on their *anti-racist practice*, whether those who identified it were from BSD or TSD and whether it was identified as impactful on *anti-racist practice* in general, *relationships with students*, *curriculum and course content*, or *pedagogical strategies*.

The experience that the most participants identified as impactful on their *anti-racist practice* was student feedback; it is also the only AR PD that participants linked to *anti-racist*

practice in general as well as all three strands of *anti-racist practice*. Student feedback was identified as impactful by 4 TSD educators and 4 BSD educators. A Clark Elementary School grade-level teacher shared this observation on their survey:

One of the speakers I chose was listening to the stories and experiences of high school students in my district. That was extremely powerful. They shared their experiences growing up in our district and how some experiences were positive, but a lot of experiences made them feel unseen and unheard. That was powerful and made a significant change in my practices.

Educators cited student feedback that provided a wide range of information, including insight into experiences of oppression and barriers in the school; specific incidents of racism; actions that had a positive impact; input into course content; and collaborative, co-constructed learning. An example of the teacher learning with the students because of their feedback was provided by a Height Area High School English teacher:

The PEG (Pacific Education Group) training, the work with internalized oppression, and the discussions I have led with students working through *Invisible Man*, *Fences*, *Othello*, *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide when the Rainbow Is Enuf*, and *Giovanni's Room* have helped me see my own role in systemic racism and the part I need to play in dismantling it. Students' honest willingness to talk to each other and their passion to work towards change has helped me seek out opportunities to address the topics that they are interested in and passionate about.

While this survey excerpt expanded on the PD impact of student feedback, it also served as an example of *anti-racist practice*, specific *curriculum and course content*, and *pedagogical strategies*. This teacher acknowledged white privilege and their own role in systemic racism.

They made a commitment to social justice by working to dismantle systemic racism.

Furthermore, they provided two concrete examples of their anti-racist work: (1) challenging the dominant narrative as evidenced in the texts they cited, and (2) the reciprocal relationship they established in incorporating students' interests and feedback and viewing students' feedback as an opportunity for adult learning.

Four formal, external programs were identified as impactful on *anti-racist practice*: the National Urban Alliance (NUA) training, AVID training, the National SEED Project, and Responsive Classroom/Developmental Designs. As previously mentioned, Hamer Middle School in TSD worked with the National Urban Alliance (NUA) several years ago. The NUA in particular seems noteworthy for two reasons: (1) it was only provided to staff at Hamer Middle School, and 3 of the 10 Hamer educators who provided qualitative data included NUA among the impactful PDs they identified; and (2) it is one of the few examples of AR PDs provided by an external facilitator that was also job-embedded. Research demonstrates the effectiveness of job-embedded PDs because it supports the transfer of learning (Brown & Militello, 2016; Easton, 2008; Hunzicker, 2010; Wei et al., 2009).

The Educational Equity Curriculum and Instruction Compass was developed, and training for it was provided by Marceline DuBose and Due East Educational Equity Collaborative. It's a framework of these four educator competencies and curricular areas of focus: equity pedagogy, culturally relevant content, collective knowledge creation, and social justice orientation. The culturally relevant content competency explicitly addresses the importance of decentering dominant narratives and expanding the curriculum to include traditionally absent narratives. A TSD Height Area High School teacher shared this observation about AR PDs from Due East Educational Equity Collaborative and the Equity Literacy Network:

Relationships are #1. We can build anything after that. Students need to be seen, heard, and feel comfortable in our spaces. They need to see themselves in the curriculum, and they need to understand the "why." We can remake our educational system, but we need to break it apart first.

The remaining PDs identified by multiple participants were previously mentioned or were more general in nature such as circle training, keynote speakers of color, race-based scenarios, and reviewing social studies curriculum. A grade-level teacher from Chisholm Middle School in BSD shared these comments on their survey about specific PDs from external facilitators:

Autonomy, Belonging, and Competence: The ABCs of Cultural Competency – Had me thinking about providing opportunities for kids to have autonomy, a sense of belonging, and a feeling of competence in my classroom.

We are not bad! Perceptions, Stereotypes and Adultification of Black Girls in Schools – Lots of reflection on how my personal biases may determine how I view my black female students and making sure I work against any bias I may have.

The Culturally Responsive Teaching and Learning – VABB Academy – with Sharroky Hollie – Had me thinking about not applying the deficit model to students who may have a different culture.

This teacher's comments not only referred to the most commonly identified PDs among BSD educators, the PD provided by Dr. Sharroky Hollie, but also identified two AR PD programs distinct from other survey responses. All three of these are also examples of AR PDs that impacted multiple strands of the conceptual framework. The ABCs of Cultural Competency was identified as impactful on *anti-racist practice* in general, *relationships with students*, and *pedagogical strategies*; WE ARE NOT BAD! was identified as impactful on *anti-racist practice* in general, *relationships with students*, and *pedagogical strategies*; and Dr. Sharroky Hollie's PD was identified as impactful on *racial identity*, *anti-racist practice* in general, and *pedagogical strategies*.

The 44 AR PDs identified by single participants across all the surveys and TSD interviews are reflected in Tables 19 and 20. The organization of the tables reflects the groupings assigned to the data that was described in the methods chapter.

Table 19*Single Participant Response AR PDs, Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy – Formal PD*

PD Event or Experience	Baker.	Terr.	Anti-Rac. Ideo./Prac.	Rela. w. Stud.	Curr. & Cont.	Ped. Strat.
Formal PD						
ABCs of Cultural Competency: Autonomy, Belonging, Competence	●		☑	☑		☑
Abolitionist Teaching Network		●	☑			
Be About It - anti-racist teaching practices	●					☑
Case studies (source: Gorski, Pothini)		●	☑			
<i>Courageous Conversations</i> book study	●		☑			
District equity leader training		●			☑	☑
District equity series (virtual speakers/ panels)	●		☑			
District white privilege PD sessions		●	☑	☑	☑	
Eddie Moore, Jr. session		●			☑	
Equity Literacy Network seminars		●			☑	☑
Hearing from people of color	●		☑			
Jamie Almanzán		●				☑
Mindset - assets v. deficits		●				☑
PLC training		●	☑			
SCARF (Status, Certainty, Autonomy, Relatedness, Fairness)		●	☑			
State Humanities Center workshop - de-centering whiteness		●				☑
Story circle with families of color (sharing their experiences in our district)		●	☑			
Teacher-led PD on anti-racist and co-conspirator work		●	☑			
We Are Not Bad! Perceptions, Stereotypes, & Adulthoodification of Black Girls in Schools	●		☑	☑		☑

Three of those responses were related and about realizing that curriculum, practice, or a specific text excluded perspectives. A TSD high school teacher elaborated on that in their survey response:

I think as an English teacher, just realizing that *To Kill a Mockingbird* is a text that does not represent multiple perspectives. It might have a moral message, but it isn't what students need.

Seeing the English department remove that "beloved" book from the standardized curriculum was a big "aha" moment.

In this example, some type of feedback provided a challenge to the dominant narrative and led English teachers to reconsider *curriculum and course content* decisions. Fortunately, the department members heard and accepted the feedback and made a decision to expand representation and perspectives in their curriculum and content rather than respond defensively

and in a way that reinforced white privilege. Another example of recognizing excluded perspectives came from a grade-level teacher at Chisholm Middle School in BSD. They wrote the following about the virtual summer AR PD Be About It, which focused on anti-racist teaching practices:

For anti-racism in my classroom, I've learned to show multiple perspectives and not whitewash history. I've learned to ask students whose voice is not represented in the content we analyze. I feel like I'm not doing enough though and want to learn more.

Table 20

Single Participant Response AR PDs, Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy – Informal PD

PD Event or Experience	Baker.	Terr.	Anti-Rac. Ideo./Prac.	Rela. w. Stud.	Curr. & Cont.	Ped. Strat.
Professional Activity or Experience						
Administrative message - thinking about race, relationships, & schools		●		☑		
Analysis of racial discrepancy data		●	☑			
Co-constructing curriculum with students		●			☑	
Conversations with administration & colleagues		●		☑		
Conversations with and feedback from alumni		●			☑	
Conversations with mentors		●				☑
Co-teaching with teacher of color		●				☑
Discussions I've led with students (related to course texts)		●				☑
Discussions with students about belonging & dignity	●		☑	☑		
Eddie Moore, Jr. did a call with my class		●			☑	
Learn from other teachers		●		☑		☑
Masters program		●				☑
Masters program in de-centering whiteness		●			☑	
PLC work centered on: -curriculum & content -absent narratives -data analysis		●			☑	
Realizing my curriculum has excluded students		●			☑	
Realizing my practice has excluded perspectives		●		☑		
Realizing <i>To Kill a Mockingbird</i> doesn't represent multiple perspectives		●			☑	
Staff discussion re: supporting students	●		☑			
Student discussion after George Floyd's murder		●	☑			
Student walkout post-George Floyd murder		●				☑
Team meetings (colleagues' anti-racist planning)	●		☑			
Volunteering in the behavior intervention room		●		☑		
Personal Experience or Activity						
Counter Stories podcast		●			☑	
Work around white supremacy		●		☑		

The number of responses identified by single participants (58) emphasized the varied impact of distinct AR PDs on educators' *anti-racist practice*. More than providing information about the individual PD events, these data illustrated a general trend regarding PD impact on *anti-racist practice*. AR PD impact varied widely from educator to educator; therefore, it is important that a wide range of AR PD opportunities be provided to ensure impact for the maximum number of staff members.

Of the 58 impactful AR PDs identified by single participants, 14 were identified by BSD participants and 46 by TSD participants. While there were more TSD survey and interview respondents (50) than BSD respondents (25) who provided the qualitative data, the number of impactful PD events is still disproportionate. That suggests that TSD may have provided more AR PDs and a wider range of AR PDs. The TSD and BSD AR PD timelines appear to confirm that TSD has provided more AR PDs and more AR PDs that focused on anti-racist practice. However, I acknowledge that the BSD AR PD timeline may not reflect all district AR PDs due to the previously mentioned limitations in information. The differences in impactful AR PDs between TSD and BSD relative to anti-racist practice may contribute to and account for the differences in educator placement on the conceptual framework for the anti-racist practice strand.

The analysis of AR PD impact relative to the conceptual framework focused on PD content. There were 22 AR PDs that multiple participants identified as impactful on their development or change relative to at least one strand of the conceptual framework. That data is summarized below in Table 21. The AR PDs are clustered into the following four categories, differentiated between white and gray shading: professional activity or impact, district PDs with an internal facilitator, district PDs with an external facilitator, and personal experiences. Like the previous tables, the columns to the right of the AR PD title or description indicate whether those who identified it were from BSD or TSD and whether it was identified as impactful on *racial*

identity, understanding racism, anti-racist practice in general, relationships with students, curriculum and course content, and/or pedagogical strategies.

Table 21

Summary of AR PDs Identified by Multiple Participants – All Strands of Conceptual Framework

PD Event or Experience Identified by Multiple Participants	BSD	TSD	Rac. Iden. Dev.	Hist. Rac. Wh. Rac. Frame	Ideol. & Ped. in Gen.	Rela. w. Stud.	Curr. & Course	Ped. Strat.
Hearing students' perspectives, student feedback	●	●		☑	☑	☑	☑	☑
Conversations with/hearing staff of color	●	●	☑	☑				
Student or family home visit	●			☑				
Murder of George Floyd		●	☑	☑				
Reading books or articles	●	●	☑	☑				
Absent narratives PD				☑				
Book study	●		☑	☑	☑			
Circle training		●			☑			
District-facilitated white privilege PD		●	☑					
Keynote speakers of color	●				☑			
Race-based scenarios	●	●			☑	☑		
AVID training - strategies		●						☑
Dr. Heather Hackman		●	☑					
Dr. Sharroky Hollie	●		☑		☑			☑
Educational Equity Curriculum & Instruction Compass (Due East)		●						☑
Intercultural Development Inventory & 1:1 Coaching		●	☑					☑
National Urban Alliance		●						☑
The National SEED Project		●	☑				☑	☑
Responsive Classroom/Developmental Designs		●				☑	☑	☑
State Humanities Center workshops		●	☑	☑				
State university urban teacher program		●			☑	☑		
personal experience in racially diverse environment		●		☑				
acknowledging or addressing white privilege/racism in family		●		☑				

The number of AR PDs that multiple TSD participants identified stands out, as does the impact of hearing students' perspectives. Not only was it 1 of only 3 AR PDs identified as impactful by multiple participants from TSD and BSD, but it was also identified as impactful on all strands of the conceptual framework except for *identity development*. There were far more AR PDs identified as impactful by single participants, as previously detailed, and that held true across every strand of the conceptual framework. While the content was an important aspect of AR PD, especially relative to the conceptual framework, it was important to understand whether there were particular characteristics of AR PDs that affected impact.

Characteristics of Impactful Professional Development

The following five categories or characteristics emerged from the analysis of participants' descriptions of impactful AR PDs and descriptions of the particular activities that were impactful: the connection to liberatory adult learning theory and perspective transformation among AR PDs identified by multiple participants; the predominance of formal PDs among AR PDs identified by multiple participants; the common characteristics of repetition, personal connection, and collaboration; the role and responsibility of white educators in anti-racist work; and examples of the tenets of Critical Race Theory in education.

Liberatory Adult Learning Theory and Perspective Transformation. Many of the impactful AR PD events and activities identified by multiple participants provide examples of the liberatory adult learning theory and perspective transformation. To briefly summarize, the liberatory adult learning theory encourages learners to critically examine the values, beliefs, and assumptions they have assimilated from the dominant culture, and perspective transformation is learning through which a person's assumptions and beliefs are examined and changed (Amstutz, 1999). This transformation occurs at the individual level and is the first step toward social change (Amstutz, 1999; Mezirow, 1995).

There were 19 AR PDs that multiple educators identified as impactful on their *racial identity* or *understanding racism*. All but two of them, the Intercultural Development Inventory and acknowledging or addressing racism with family members, incorporated elements of perspective transformation. The AR PDs that were impactful on *racial identity* that supported participants' perspective transformations were reading books or articles, the key cross-cultural spectrums PD, National SEED Project workshops, State Humanities Center workshops, Dr. Sharroky Hollie sessions, book studies, TSD-facilitated white privilege sessions, the murder of George Floyd, Dr. Heather Hackman's work, and colleagues' stories and experiences. The AR PDs that were impactful on *understanding racism* that supported participants' perspective transformation were student feedback, racism experienced by a relative, absent narratives PDs,

conversations with or hearing from the staff of color, the murder of George Floyd, book clubs, State Humanities Center PD (including PD on decentering whiteness), personal experience in a racially diverse environment, acknowledging or addressing white privilege or racism in their family, and student or family home visits.

Participants' survey and interview responses indicated that as a result of these specific AR PDs, they reframed what they had previously accepted as truth, considered alternate perspectives, or recognized the white-centeredness of cultural norms. The key cross-cultural spectrums are a good example of this. In Sue's interview, she mentioned previously thinking her lifestyle was just how everyone lived. However, once she learned about the spectrums, she started seeing her students and families and could recognize the different cultural ways of doing things. A smaller number of the AR PDs identified by multiple participants as impactful on anti-racist practice incorporated elements of perspective transformation. Of the 14 AR PDs identified, the following 7 were clearly reflective of adult liberatory learning theory and perspective transformation: student feedback, Dr. Sharroky Hollie's PD sessions, book studies, key cross-cultural spectrums PD, National SEED Project PD, circle training, and keynote speakers of color. Reading books or participating in book studies did not inherently lead to perspective transformation; however, participants referenced specific texts that led to a shift in their perspectives. Examples include *Blindspot*, McIntosh's "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack," *Me and White Supremacy*, and *The New Jim Crow*. Adult liberatory learning theory and perspective transformation may be key to understanding impactful AR PDs, especially as they relate to racial identity development and understanding racism.

Predominance of Formal Professional Development. The summary data regarding impactful AR PD was reviewed in these two ways: (1) AR PDs identified by multiple participants and (2) all AR PDs identified as impactful by multiple or single participants, grouped first by district and then as a whole. The majority of the impactful AR PDs identified as impactful by multiple participants across all strands of the conceptual framework, listed with the frequency

indicated in parentheses, are formal AR PDs (16) facilitated by internal staff (6) or external facilitators (10), followed closely by professional experience or impact (4) and personal experiences (2). Formal AR PDs identified by multiple participants account for more than twice the impactful AR PDs identified and compared to informal AR PDs and personal experiences combined. That did not include AR PDs identified as impactful by single participants.

Survey participants at BSD identified impactful AR PDs that fell primarily into two general categories, listed here with the frequency indicated parenthetically: district PD with an internal facilitator (26) and district PD with an external facilitator (21). Informal, non-PD experiences (12) and external, self-directed PD experiences (5) were also identified by BSD educators. Survey participants in TSD reported impactful AR PDs primarily as district PDs with an internal facilitator (74), external PDs that were self-directed (39), and district PDs with an external facilitator (36). The incidence was notably smaller for informal, non-PD experiences and external PDs that were supported or encouraged by the district. The combined data is summarized in Table 22 below.

Table 22

Summary of Combined District Data – AR PD by Type

Format/Type of AR PD	Bakerville School District	Terrell School District	Total
Dist. PD, Internal Facil.	26	74	100
Dist. PD, External Facil.	21	36	57
Informal, non-PD Exper.	12	4	16
External, Self-Dir. PD	5	39	44
Exter., Dist.-Supported PD	NA	3	3

In summary, there was a wide range of AR PD events and experiences that participants identified as impactful, many of them identified by single participants. Educators' *racial identity*, *understanding racism*, and *anti-racist practice* were impacted by myriad PD events and

experiences, both formal and informal. However, far more of the impactful AR PDs were formal PDs.

Repetition, Personal Connection, and Collaboration. There were the following three conditions or characteristics of impactful PDs that came up repeatedly in surveys and interviews: repetition, personal connection, and collaboration. When interview participants described repetition, they referenced the importance of revisiting major concepts or repeated exposure to similar experiences and stressed the importance of a multi-year or cyclical design to AR PDs. The importance of repetition in AR PDs and continuing to provide PDs over a sustained period of time were identified by participants and confirmed in the TSD AR PD document analysis. A Bethune Elementary School specialist from BSD shared this observation in their survey: “The consistency of the message presented us about systemic racism made an impact for me. I found it redundant at first, but then I realized that the repetition only drives home the importance and impact of the issue.” This reinforced and paralleled one of the findings in the previous chapter, that there was a statistically significant relationship between educators’ years of AR PD and AR PD impact.

When asked to describe impactful AR PDs, survey participants from both districts identified activities and experiences that incorporated personal connection and collaboration. That ranged from small group and partner work to circles and cohort learning. Multiple TSD educators identified the use of circles and AR PDs that were done in cohorts or PLCs as being more impactful than other formats. A TSD Height Area High School teacher shared this explanation of cohort learning:

PD sessions where we used AVID strategies such as structured conversation strategies and structured discussions were helpful, *but* only if I felt safe with the person I was assigned to talk with. Working in cohorts, where we're with the same 30 staff each session helped to build a culture of openness and honesty that allowed me to verbalize my insecurities and shortcomings around race that I would have otherwise continued to avoid, probably without knowing how much

I was avoiding. Staff leaders opening up about their experiences and what they are working on allowed me to feel comfortable examining my own biases and patterns.

This speaks to the value of building a sense of community as learners and the value of feeling safe to discuss race issues openly and honestly, which supports taking learning risks. It concurrently raises the issue of white privilege since staff, students, and families of color don't have the "privilege" of opting in or out of race issues depending on whether they feel comfortable. Because white privilege and white supremacy exist, white educators can prioritize their comfort over anti-racist action or choose to take baby steps. Incremental change is one of the ideas from which the CRT tenet critique of liberalism is drawn.

Mandi, another Height Area High School educator who leads AR PD, talked in her interview about the importance of personal connection:

It's kind of to the same point of the whole like you need to "relationship" your way there and things don't really click until it feels personal, local and immediate, or until you have some kind of connection to it. I think a lot of our professional development lives at kind of an arm's length because we're talking about our job, but when you think about equity and anti-racism work, it's too personal to keep at bay like that.

As much as the personal stuff can be interwoven into professional development, I think that's been most productive.

Mandi elaborated on what came through in survey comments, that AR PD was more impactful when educators made a personal connection. In some cases, this was because the AR PD was a personal experience. But in others, the relationship with a student or colleague sharing feedback or relating to the content in a personal way elicited the personal connection. Ironically, another high school educator shared that their ongoing conversations with and led by Mandi were impactful, particularly questions in their cohort about levels of culture. They elaborated as follows:

Aha moments are difficult to pinpoint. They are when I understand that my practice has excluded perspectives, and I didn't even see that previous to the training. It's uncomfortable but important.

A TSD Height Area High School special education teacher summarized the impact of circle work as well as the change in practice that occurred because of that and other AR PD:

A story circle with parents of color from our building, speaking to their experiences in our district just in the last few years, was shatteringly eye-opening for me. It's easy to think that because you're doing something that you're doing enough.

Because the nature of my position and the students I work with is so unique (high needs special education) I approach equity pedagogy and anti-racist work from a different angle than most of my coworkers. While they are working to educate and enable the student, I am working to change how I and others approach therapy with my students, as well as changing how and how often I interact with and approach families. I have re-prioritized goal writing to be informed not just by home language but by *how* language is used in the home. Material for sessions is nearly solely from my students and their families and is minimally structured or created by me. I have actively worked to move away from listening to coworkers or staff who have worked with my families in the past, finding that their biases had been informing mine, frequently inaccurately.

Until the system is working *for* my students and their families, my job is not done.

This teacher referenced both the use of circles as a PD strategy and the impact of hearing from parents about their experiences in the building.

A Height Area High School lead teacher with 32 years of experience referenced learning as much from informal conversations and experiences as from formal PD; cited book studies, building PD, and neighborhood conversations as impactful; and identified the AR PD with Dr. Heather Hackman, offered from 2005–2008, as one of the most impactful. These examples illustrate the impact of the specific AR PD they referenced. Collectively, they demonstrate the cumulative impact of multi-faceted AR PD over time as well as how different content or aspects of AR PD impacted each educator differently.

White Responsibility for Anti-Racist Work and PD. One point that several TSD educators raised in surveys and interviews was that while hearing the perspectives and experiences of colleagues of color about specific problems or barriers in their system was

impactful, they recognized that “white educators needed to step up more” and that staff, students, and families of color shouldn’t be responsible for sharing or providing information that white educators could seek out or learn on their own.

Critical Race Theory in Praxis. There were numerous examples of the tenets of Critical Race Theory (CRT) in praxis in the districts’ AR PD plans and documents and throughout participants’ survey responses. Among them were the following examples of six of the seven tenets of CRT in education: racism as endemic, challenge to the dominant narrative, interest convergence, critique of liberalism, whiteness as property, and commitment to social justice. The only tenet not identified was race as a social construct. The tenets were identified in AR PD content and in educators’ survey responses; those responses reflected an understanding of CRT tenets and examples of practice that illustrated CRT tenets. The analysis is organized by the tenet of CRT.

Racism as Endemic. District data, summarized in the TSD and BSD AR PD timelines and the narrative summaries that accompany them, highlight AR PD planning and focus on work that represents the CRT tenets of racism as endemic, a challenge to the dominant narrative, whiteness as property, and commitment to social justice. The BSD Task Force documents, posted on the district’s website, acknowledged historical marginalization, privilege, and systemic racism, publicly addressing the endemic nature of racism in their local communities and in our country.

Challenge to the Dominant Narrative. The TSD AR PD timeline provided the following several examples of challenge to the dominant narrative: Dr. Heather Hackman’s work on decentering whiteness, the key cross-cultural perspectives PD, work with the National SEED Project (and McIntosh’s “White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack” article), the absent narratives PD, work with the State Humanities Center, and adding the “US History through an African American Lens” course. Operationalizing Vaught and Castagno’s (2008) definition of white privilege as the enactment of whiteness as property, the TSD work with Dr. Heather

Hackman, the National SEED Project, and the TSD white privilege PD are examples of AR PDs that challenge the dominant narrative by uncovering and making white privilege visible. The TSD English departments' change in texts and multiple TSD educators' use of the Educational Equity Curriculum Compass to incorporate culturally responsive pedagogy focused specifically on identities representation of those previously absent demonstrate efforts to challenge the dominant narrative in the curriculum.

Whiteness as Property. Operationalizing Vaught and Castagno's (2008) definition of white privilege as an enactment of whiteness as property provides examples of this tenet from TSD AR PD and participants' survey responses. Dating back to 2005, TSD had Dr. Heather Hackman leading AR PD that focused on white privilege and decentering white privilege. Since then, district equity leaders have led AR PD sessions focused on white privilege; these were identified by some TSD educators as impactful on racial identity. The National SEED Project workshops and some of the books and articles that educators focused on white privilege served as examples of whiteness as property when educators acknowledge white privilege and its impact on systemic oppression and inequities.

Interest Convergence. The only example of interest convergence identified in survey responses was the BSD educators' comment that they wished the district addressed more than just racism.

Critique of Liberalism. Of the three liberal ideology notions that CRT scholars identify as problematic, the following two were evident in the district AR PD or participants' responses: color-evasiveness and incremental change. There were two references to color-evasiveness, one in reference to an independent reading text and the other from a National SEED Project course. In both cases, educators admitted they previously held color-evasive mindsets but that reading or learning helped them see the harm in a color-evasive mindset. Prioritizing white comfort was an example of Incremental change cited in survey responses.

The third notion of liberal ideology in this tenet, neutrality of the law, would not likely be evident in a school setting. However, if we were to interpret “law” broadly enough to apply to educational systems and structures such as attendance policies, behavioral codes, suspension, and expulsion, we could apply “neutrality of discipline policies” or “neutrality of state statutes” (attendance). Through that interpretation, the BSD Task Force’s references to changes in behavior plan reform is an acknowledgment that the “law” is not neutral.

Commitment to Social Justice. A commitment to social justice was evident in a number of ways, first and foremost in the long-term public commitment of both districts to anti-racist work, as evidenced by their websites, BSD Task Force plans, and TSD AR PD plans. Participants from both districts referenced the long-term commitment to equity and anti-racist work and ongoing AR PD. When the TSD Board of Education chose to rename its district center through a community and tribal leader engagement process as a way to honor the Indigenous People whose lands the district stood on, that was a symbolic demonstration of commitment to social justice. Several TSD educators cited independent reading or their learning to extend their knowledge and skills related to anti-racist work. Finally, social justice orientation is one of the four competencies identified on the Educational Equity Curriculum Compass referenced by a number of TSD educators.

Summary

The vertical axis of comparison produced several findings regarding impactful AR PD. Three of them related to the conceptual framework, and five related to the characteristics of impactful AR PD. There were three general findings in the vertical axis analysis related to the conceptual framework: (1) evidence of transformative learning and situated cognition among the AR PDs identified by multiple participants as impactful relative to the conceptual framework, (2) the wide range of AR PDs that participants identified as impactful, and (3) the positive impact of student feedback. The first and most notable finding was that most of the impactful AR PDs that multiple participants identified incorporated experiences that led to perspective transformation

and situated cognition. The second finding of note was regarding how wide a distribution of data there was and how little overlap existed in the AR PDs that participants identified as impactful relative to the conceptual framework strands. However, the impactful AR PD identified by the greatest number of participants was student feedback, which was also the only type of AR PD that was impactful on four of the five strands of the conceptual framework (all but *racial identity*). Participants identified a myriad of AR PDs that impacted their *racial identity*, understanding the *understanding racism*, and *anti-racist practice*. *Anti-racist practice* includes these three strands: *relationships with students*, *curriculum and course content*, and *pedagogical strategies*. While many of them were named by only single participants, there were 22 that were identified by multiple educators as impactful on one or more of the five strands of the conceptual framework.

There were five trends that emerged from the analysis of the data regarding AR PD: (1) many of the impactful AR PDs identified by multiple participants represented adult liberatory learning theory and, more specifically, perspective transformation; (2) impactful AR PDs identified by multiple participants was predominantly formal PDs; (3) educators identified repetition, personal connection, and collaboration as important characteristics of AR PD; (4) some educators recognized and interrogated the role and responsibility of white educators in anti-racist work; and (5) there were examples of six of the seven tenets of Critical Race Theory in education. The next and last findings chapter, which focuses on the transversal axis, will examine qualitative data from Phase Two of the study. The analysis will both dial in on the experiences of seven individual educators and draw back to look more comprehensively at their development over time.

Chapter 6: Transversal Axis Findings – Temporal Case –

Seven Educators' Development over Time

The beauty of anti-racism is that you don't have to pretend to be free of racism to be an anti-racist. Anti-racism is the commitment to fight racism wherever you find it, including in yourself. And it's the only way forward.

—Ijeoma Oluo

The transversal axis of comparative case study (CCS) analysis is a comparison regarding historical forces that influence phenomena in the study, historical methodology related to answering the study question, or historical analysis that fits a component of the study (Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017b). Bartlett and Vavrus cite the following four “key premises that inform the transversal axis:

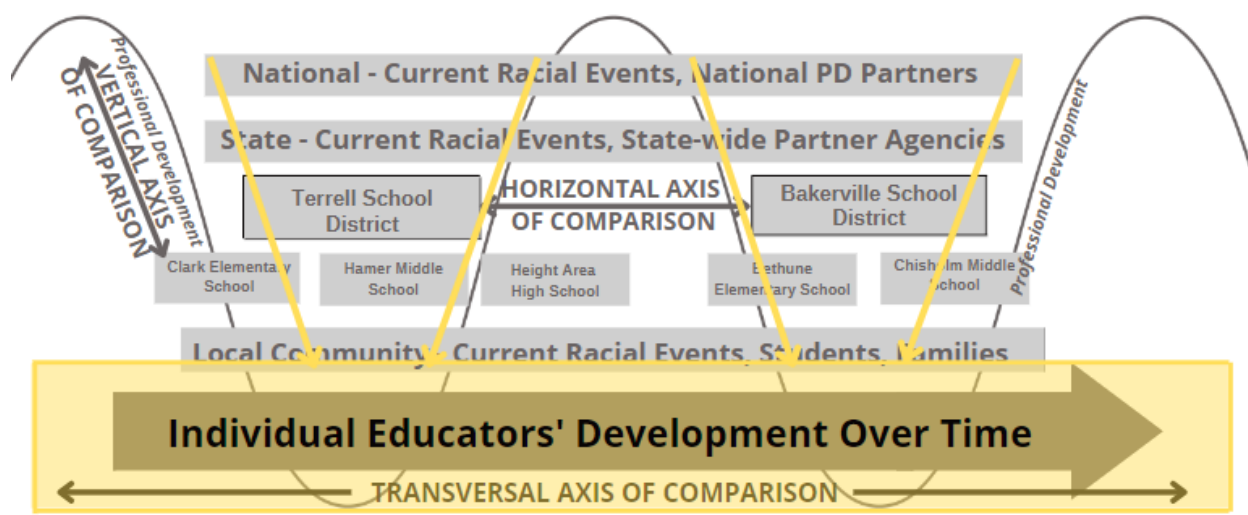
- Social phenomena of concern to us today have historical roots. . . . We believe that the study of any contemporary issue needs to go back in time to understand how it came to be in the first place.
- Historical analysis provides an essential opportunity to contrast how things have changed over time and to consider what has remained the same in one locale or across much broader scales. Such historical comparison reveals important insights about the flexible cultural, social, political, and economic systems humans have developed and sustained over time.
- Time and space are closely connected.
- The study of history allows us to assess evidence and conflicting interpretations of a phenomenon, heightening our ability to question assumptions about the shape and form it has taken in the contemporary era” (2017b, pp. 93–94).

The purpose of this chapter, which focuses on the transversal axis, is to tell the story of individual TSD educators' development over time and space, and then examine the trends across those individuals' stories. How did they interpret the contemporary issues of race and

racism over time relative to their own white racial identity development and practice and relative to the formal and informal AR PD they experienced? How did the cultural, social, and political systems, including education, that they experienced, impact their change and development? Figure 29 highlights the transversal axis of this CCS to provide a frame of reference for this chapter.

Figure 29

Transversal Axis of Comparison – Temporal Case – Teachers' Development over Time



As the figure illustrates, the focus is on individual educators' development over time relative to the conceptual framework in order to inform an understanding of the formal and informal AR PD experiences that collectively contributed to TSD white educators' anti-racist identities and practice development. All the other components of the CCS model for this study are the following forces that educators identified as impactful in that development: professional development; students and families; local, state, and national racial events; district professional experiences; and personal experiences.

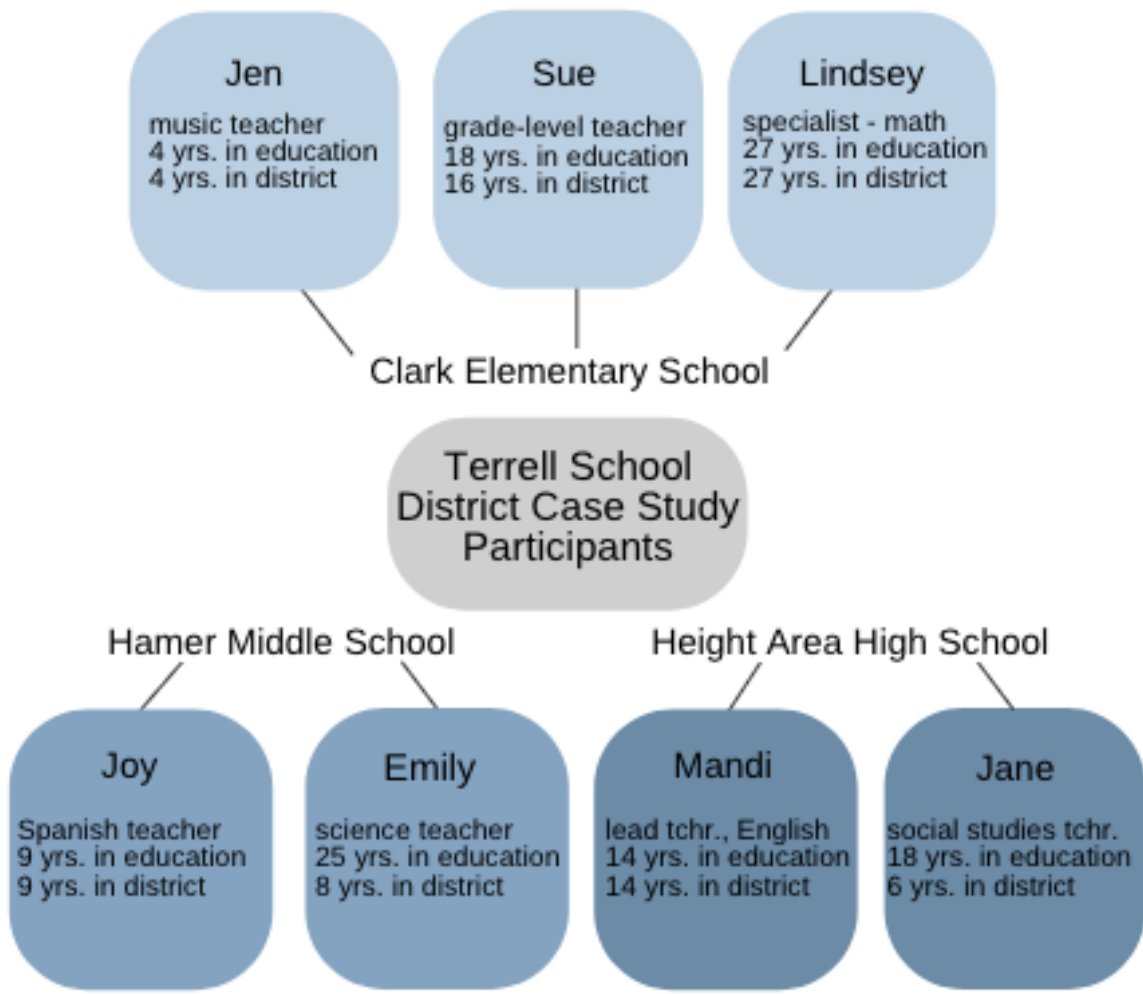
Seven Case Studies

This chapter features seven educators' professional development journeys. Each educator is an individual case study through which I examine the unique formal and informal

professional development experiences over time that impacted their *racial identity*, *understanding of racism*, and *anti-racist practice*. The seven interview participants from TSD reflect multiple schools, levels, and roles, as well as a range of experience in education and the district. Three are from Clark Elementary School, two are from Hamer Middle School, and two are from Height Area High School. The case study participants are introduced in Figure 30, which includes their pseudonyms, schools, and the years of experience they have in education and TSD.

Figure 30

Transversal Axis Case Study Participants



The cases selected for the transversal axis analysis also reflect a relatively representative placement on the conceptual framework compared to all TSD survey participants. That is to say, when you look at case study participants' placement on the conceptual framework, the general layout of the data looks similar to that of all TSD survey respondents. To provide a comparison, Figures 31 and 32 represent the transversal axis case study participants and all TSD survey participants, respectively. Figure 32 is the same as Figure 15 in Chapter 4 but includes only TSD survey participants.

Figure 31

Transversal Axis Case Study Participants' Placement on Conceptual Framework

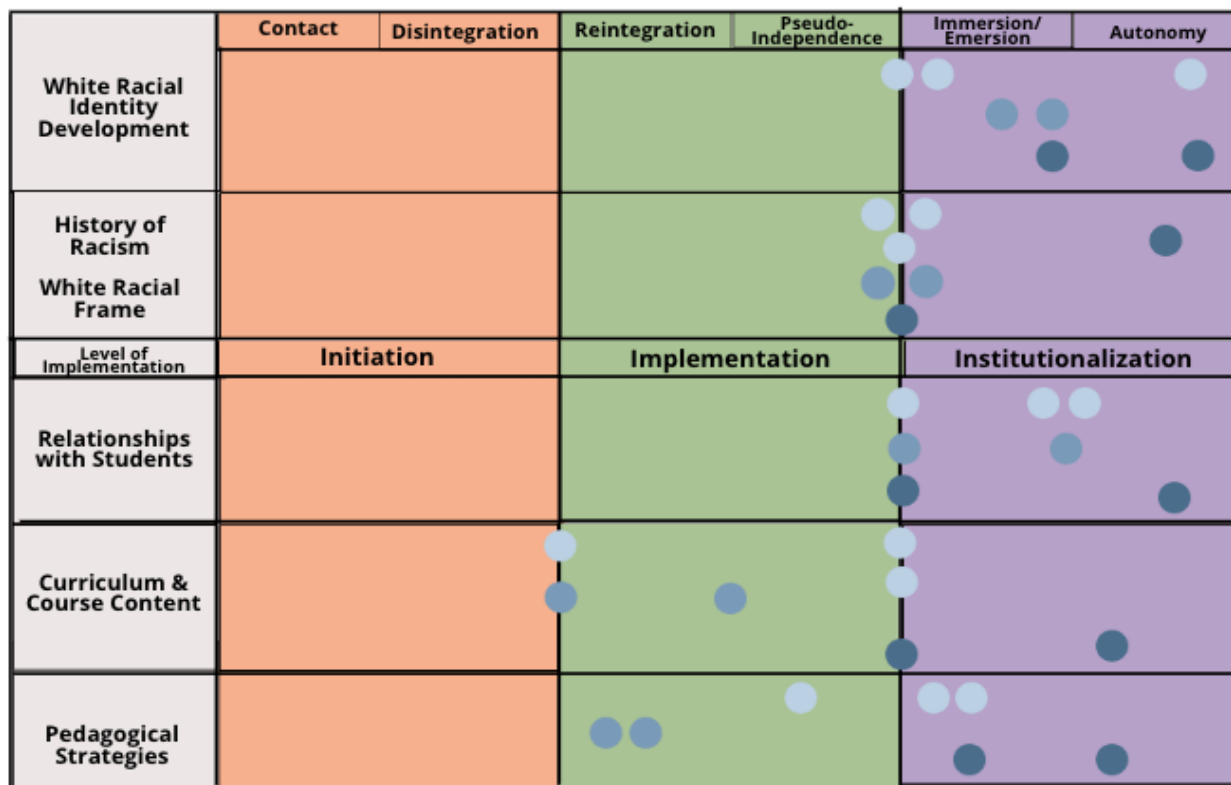
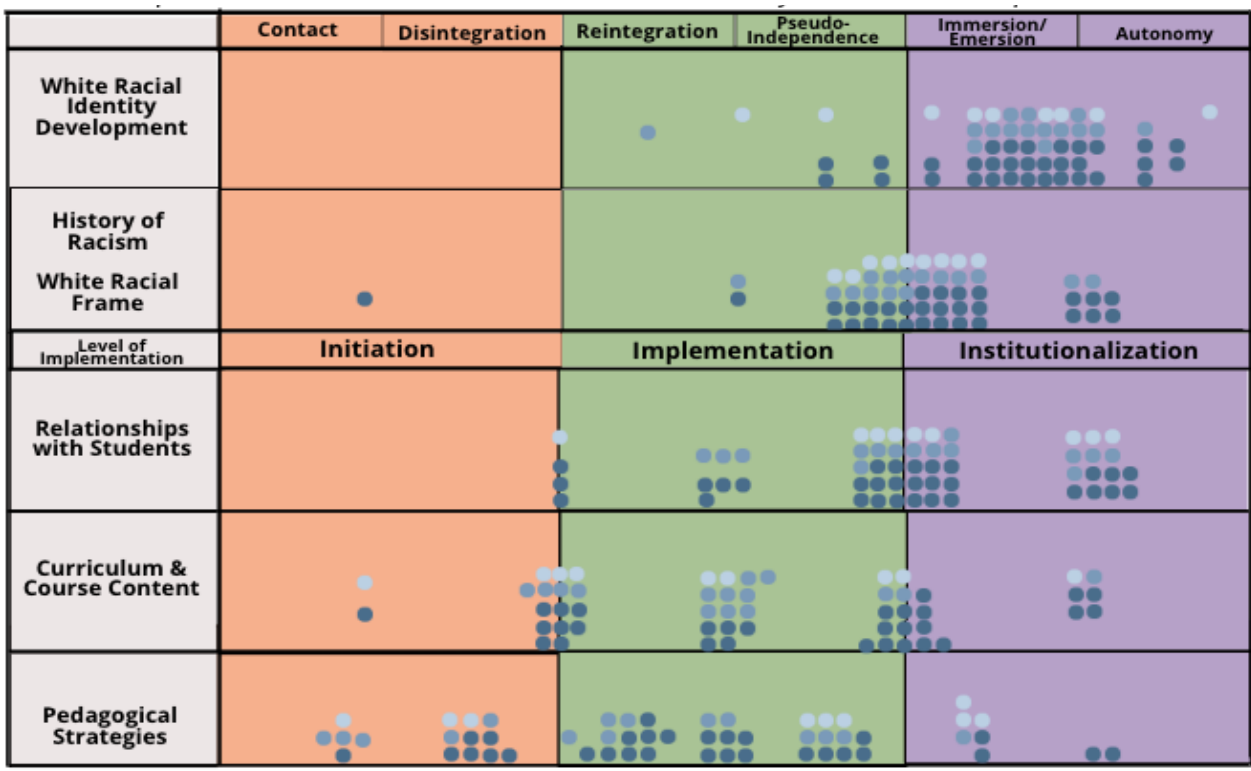


Figure 32

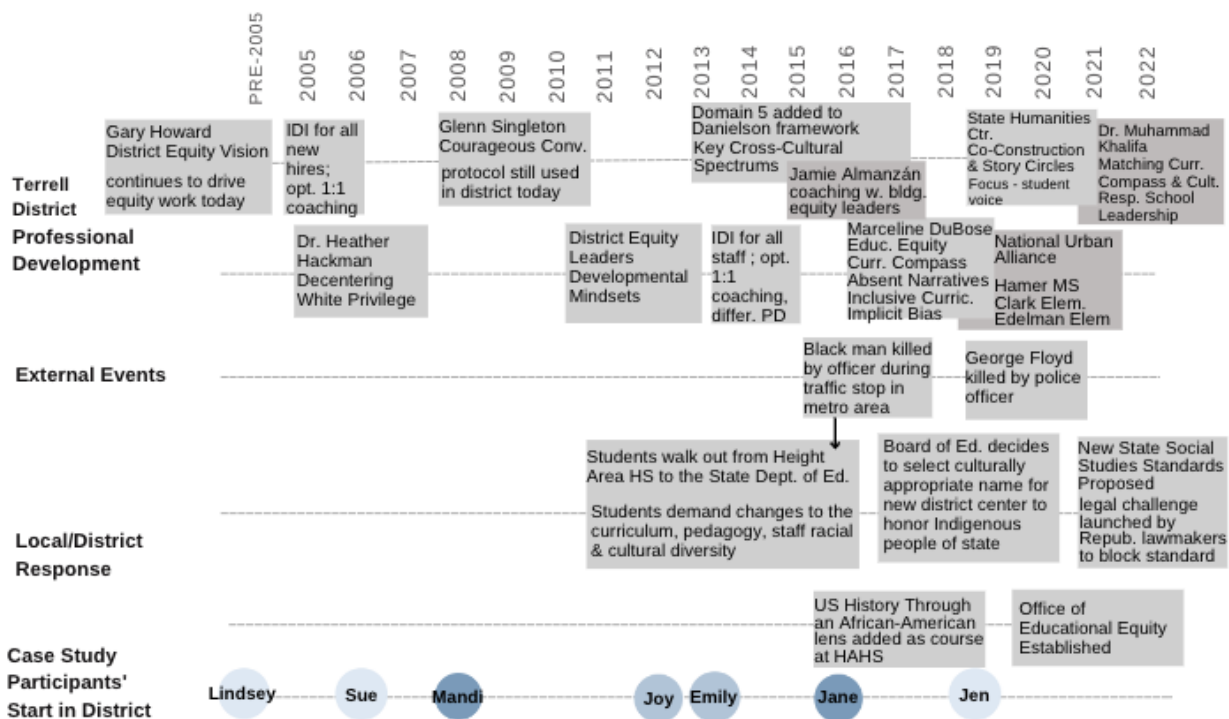
Terrell School District Survey Participants' Placement on Conceptual Framework



Each educator's individual journey is also situated within the context of the larger district's AR PD, external events, and the impact of and responses to those events within the district. Figure 33 is a duplicate of Figure 21 and provides a summary of TSD AR PD but with an additional timeline to indicate the year each of the seven case study participants started in TSD.

Figure 33

Terrell School District Timeline with Case Study Participants' District Start Dates



The TSD AR PD predates 2005, and some of the case study participants have been in the district since that time. Others joined the district more recently and therefore experienced a more limited range of district AR PD. That provides one reference point for understanding the temporal analysis of the cases. I examined the PD journey of each educator. For each case study, I share their *racial identity*, *understanding of racism*, and *anti-racist practice* over time, as well as the impact of PD on their development.

Collectively, the case studies provide a multi-faceted perspective of the complex internal and external work, both personal and PD, that educators have engaged in on this anti-racist journey. Each educator's journey is organized into the stories of their *racial identity*, *professional development*, and *anti-racist practice*.

Jen, Clark Elementary School

Jen was in the midst of her fourth year as a music teacher when we met. All her teaching experience was in TSD at Clark Elementary School. For contextual purposes, it is worth noting that the COVID-19 pandemic hit during Jen's second year of teaching. Her first year as a teacher was the only one not impacted by the pandemic. Jen is the daughter of educators, has always loved music, and believes that "music should be accessible to everyone, everywhere."

Racial Identity Development. Jen's parents emphasized social justice as they raised her in a metropolitan suburb. They intentionally enrolled her in diverse city schools that were predominantly students of color and often engaged her in conversations about racial stereotypes in movies or drew her attention to her own privilege and how she used it. Jen recalls that she became aware of her own *racial identity* between the ages of 10 and 12 when her parents told her, "You are white; this is what that means" as a means to explain the difference in her experience because of race. She was aware of this, but her parents hadn't been explicit.

By the time Jen got to high school and college, she noticed differences in how students were treated based on their race. She attended the School of Music at a state university in a metropolitan area from 2014 to 2018, but the student population was predominantly white. Jen spoke up when she witnessed instances of injustice. There were two particular examples she shared, one general and one specific. In general, Jen was frustrated by the complete absence of an equity focus in her preservice program, the disproportionate focus on Western music, and the impact of the Eurocentric focus on music education across the country. Here is what Jen said about this:

I am very passionate about the focus of music in general in our whole country when it comes to schools. To get my license, I had to do four years of classical Western training, which is not equitable and very difficult to make accessible to all students. And now I know when I meet another music teacher, anyone in my district, or anyone in any other district, that they've most

likely gone through the exact same experience as me, where we had professors and doctors of music telling us Western music is the best, it's the top music, this is the best, old white men music. And so I know when I see inequities in music programs, I know why and where it's coming from.

It also comes down to the whole lifelong learner thing, and I think that also gets kind of left out of music. Because of that Western music focus, that is all in the past and that's where the focus is. And so if we're not moving forward with our students and learning, we can't learn from our students if all we're looking for is that.

Jen spoke of advocating for change with faculty at the university, consistent with her commitment to social justice, but didn't feel she made progress. She also referenced a time when a professor showed a video of people dancing in Black face and didn't acknowledge the Black face. Jen felt that she was perceived as "rocking the boat" for speaking out in class and in the department, and believed she made enemies of faculty for questioning practices. She chose to stay at the university because of a connection to her voice teacher. Jen continues to advocate for an anti-racist curriculum in her work as a teacher.

I've had to have a lot of conversations with people who do have that belief, who will say, "Well, hip hop is never going to challenge me like classical music is." And it just gets so uncomfortable because it ends up being, "Okay, so then rap for me, like if you really want to have that discussion." It's not like that.

But it's easy to say, "Well, I can read words off a page on a sheet." But that's not all that music is and it makes me very sad. And so, I am constantly trying to give my students a voice in my classroom to keep that equity piece going. And including music . . . I mean, equitably across the board from different countries, different styles, different people performing. Every single lesson I do, it is on my mind.

Jen often seeks out instructional resources and professional learning externally because she finds it challenging to find anti-racist and social-justice-oriented, music-specific resources, especially at the elementary level.

Professional Development. When asked about AR PD that has been most impactful, Jen referenced the absent narratives PD and the family circle work the State Humanities Center did in the district. She said she learns more when colleagues share about the work they are doing in their classrooms than from formal PD but credits her parents for having the biggest impact on her *racial identity, understanding of racism, and commitment to anti-racist work*. She also mentioned the five-part podcast “Nice White Parents” about inequality in education and segregation in schools. Jen reminded me that she only had one year of teaching experience before the COVID-19 pandemic struck. The pandemic interrupted in-person instruction and district PD plans in three of her four years of teaching. She acknowledged that the pandemic and virtual PD had likely been a factor in her perceptions of AR PD impact.

Anti-Racist Practice. Jen continues to advocate for social justice at the district level. She recently found out that fifth grade students who want to play percussion in band or orchestra have to audition and pass a music theory test. Jen engaged with music department staff and then an administrator to work through the issue and advocate for a change to the process and department policy because it excluded students who didn’t have access to private music lessons before starting band. She provided an example of a student who had once come to her asking help to learn percussion.

Jen seeks to challenge the dominant narrative and provide counter-examples to classroom practice in multiple ways. Her students learn about the history of music, including Western music, but through a critical lens. Jen acknowledges that historically, classical music was designed for the wealthy and to exclude people. When she struggles to find materials that are representative, she shares that with students so they can have a critical discussion about why that is. Jen tries to center students’ voices in her curriculum whenever possible and shared this explanation and example:

[My] goals in the direction of equity and anti-racism is . . . very few lessons that are teacher-centered. It's the students. It's the idea that I have just as much to learn from the students as they do from me.

. . . and he was the first DJ ever. And the reason he wanted to be a DJ was because the only parts of songs he liked were the drum breaks where it was just beats. And so he would play those over and over and over, and that was how DJing became a thing. And the minute they hear that I get like five hands in the air, "Oh, well, that's like beatboxing, I love to beatbox." And like just, they make connections like that or "My dad, my mom does this, my mom listens to that."

Jen shared numerous examples of incorporating multiple perspectives and broad representation into the elementary music curriculum, as well as encouraging her students to view visual, audio, and written texts through a critical lens.

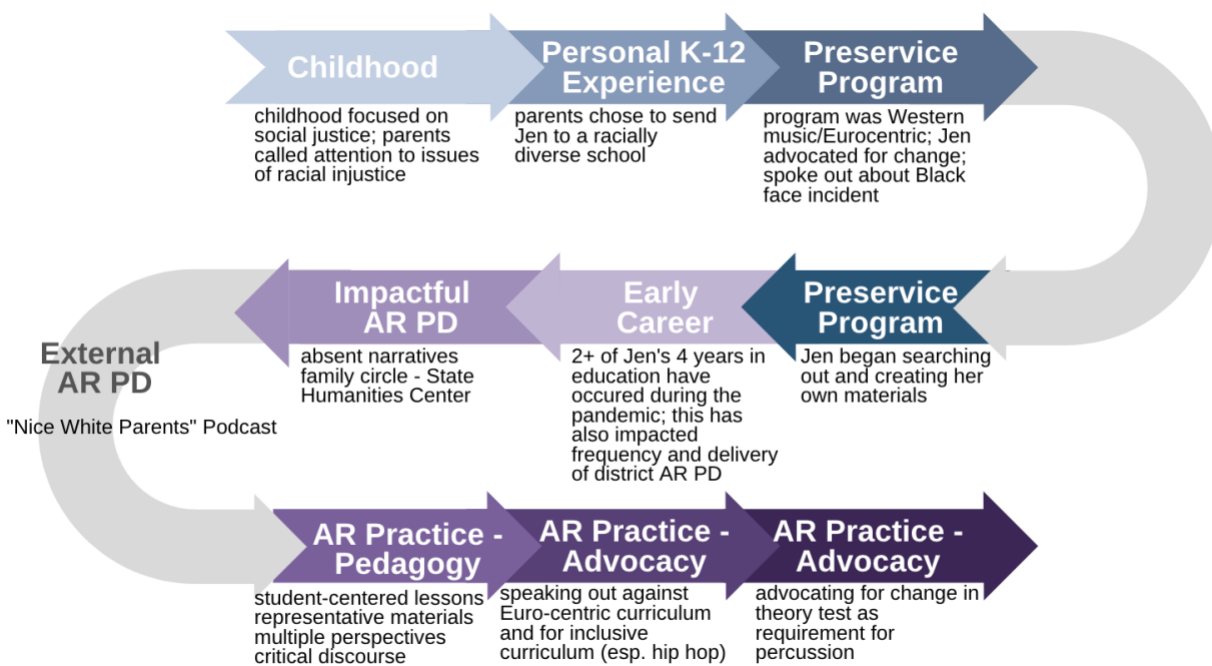
Jen's thinking and implementation around representation, critical discourse, and a reconceptualization of the standard elementary music curriculum are well-developed. Although she didn't reference building relationships with students, she did center students' voices in the curriculum. However, when asked about transforming education, Jen talked about smaller class sizes and resources to provide the food and behavioral support that students need. She mentioned that it wasn't about lesson planning. That reflected two things: (1) some level of deficit-based thinking at the surface and (2) a belief that the curriculum and pedagogy have been reconceptualized in all classrooms at Clark Elementary School. The conflation of race, food scarcity, and behavioral issues stood out, as did the idea that changing outcomes is related to resources rather than practice. It felt as if Jen had one set of expectations for herself but not for her colleagues; instead, she incorporated others' beliefs to answer the question about transforming schools.

In summary, although Jen didn't consider her district's PD as impactful as her parents' influence on her anti-racist development, she identified two of the three district PD initiatives that occurred since she was hired; namely, the absent narrative work with Marceline DuBose and

the story circle work with the State Humanities Center. Jen described a preservice music education program that was the antithesis of anti-racist orientation. She considered leaving the university because of its blatant disregard for social justice. She chose to stay because of her connection to a vocal professor, but she expressed concern for the few students of color in the predominantly white program and advocated for social justice issues in her classes and within the music department. In spite of her preservice experience, Jen has made a consistent effort to incorporate anti-racist practice into her elementary music program through multiple perspectives and representations, as well as critical discourse. A visual summary of Jen's racial identity and anti-racist practice development is shown in Figure 34.

Figure 34

Timeline of Jen's Anti-Racist Identity and Practice Development



Sue, Clark Elementary School

When Sue participated in this study, she was in her 16th year as a grade-level teacher in TSD and in her 18th year in education. Both of her parents were in education, but both left the education field for the healthcare field. After her parents divorced, Sue grew up primarily with

her mother who discouraged her from pursuing a teaching degree. Sue attended a small private college and majored in physical therapy but switched to chemistry so she could teach. She soon realized she hated the science courses, “so I switched my major to elementary education and never looked back and don’t regret it one bit.” Upon graduation, Sue worked as a substitute teacher, math and reading interventionist, and teacher’s assistant before becoming a grade-level teacher. She has since earned her Master’s in English Language Learning.

Racial Identity Development and Professional Development. Sue’s grandparents were Finnish immigrants who experienced discrimination in US schools when they couldn’t speak English. She clarified that she wasn’t equating the oppression her grandparents experienced to the experiences of enslaved people in the United States or to the racism that some of her students and families experience today. But she could see the parallel loss of culture and language that occurred, which gave her a small degree of insight and perspective. Because of her grandparents’ experience, education was highly valued in her family.

When asked about her racial identity development, Sue said she started out as a typical young, white suburban teacher until her second or third year of teaching. Because the student population at Clark Elementary was racially diverse, she decided to take a SEED (National SEED Project) class in seeking education and equity. She read Peggy McIntosh’s “White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack” as part of that class and cited it as follows as a perspective-changing experience:

And I still remember, it’s like one of those flashback moments in your life. I remember what I was wearing and where I was sitting. And I read this going, “This is what?” Like I had no idea. I had no idea that there was this completely different world under the current that was different than what I did. I had no idea. And I was just flabbergasted. And the rest of the class really opened my eyes . . . and I don’t know these things and why don’t I know these things and how do I get to know these things?

And that's kind of the part . . . that was the first "aha" moment for me. And then as our district changed, as our demographics changed, and I think that one of the biggest drivers, although not the only driver, was behaviors that started to stem when we started to get a lot of African American students, particularly our boys, and there was [sic] suspensions and like in-school suspensions, out-of-school suspensions. . . . And all of a sudden like we had this small percentage of Black students that are overrepresenting behavior things (referrals) in the districts like, whoa, this is not cool. This is not working. And I think that along with just the changing and the EL population . . .

And I think just as the student population changed, the professional development changed to meet that. And I don't want to say help teachers cope because that's not the right word, but help us to teach students in the way that they need to be taught and help us to realize that how we learned is not going to work with these students because they're coming from different experiences, they have different knowledge and we have training for white students in white schools. And now that our population isn't looking like that, what do we have to do to meet their needs? Because the ultimate goal is to meet their needs and increase their skills and progress.

Sue referenced her personal "aha" moment and connection to racial identity development as well as recognition that the district needed to provide PD that equipped educators to effectively meet students' learning needs when they identified disproportionate behavior data for Black male students.

The second most impactful experience that Sue referenced was not related to formal professional development.

I sent five kids for special ed referrals. I know at least three of them were Black and only one came back that qualified for special ed. That means I had sent four students that did the process and didn't qualify. And I remember thinking, "Why?" And then also whenever we started talking about what white privilege was and unpacking white privilege, those two things kind of working together started to connect some dots for me to say, "Oh, all these things that I viewed as normal and everyone does is not normal for everyone, doesn't work for everyone, and that these kids

that I thought had a learning problem did not have a learning problem. There's no data to support that. So the problem is me. So what can I do to change what I'm doing so I'm not sending these students down a special ed path that they don't belong on?"

Sue described two experiences of perspective transformation and situated cognition. The McIntosh article and the special education referral process led her to question her previously held beliefs, reframe her truth, take an alternate perspective, and recognize the hegemonic nature of cultural norms. Her awareness of this process and critical reflection allowed her to consider and apply her learning to her professional context.

When I asked Sue if there were strategies or learning that helped her move forward once she had these realizations, she identified these two AR PD experiences: the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) and the key cross-cultural spectrums PD. Both are provided in the district.

We did the IDI, Intercultural Development (Inventory) . . . and I found that extremely helpful because usually, professional development is like here's this blanket stuff that everyone has to learn. And that 20 minutes that was tailored to where I am and kind of explain what that information meant to me I found very powerful because it was like, yeah, that's totally true. So having that one-on-one session, but that also kind of debriefing as a staff and talking about not where people are specifically, but these different parts on the IDI and where you are and how that impacts your teaching, I thought that was very, very helpful.

Sue described the key cross-cultural spectrums of PD and its impact.

These spectrums of timebound versus non-timebound and collectivist versus, the terms are escaping me right now, but just all these continuums of lifestyles that again for a long time, I just thought, well, this is just how everyone lived. Well, no, it's not. So once I learned about that and started seeing that in my students and families and how that worked, again, that was something, but it took a lot of people bringing in information in different ways to even make it dawn on me that, hey, there's all these different ways of doing things.

Sue also mentioned that the key cross-cultural spectrum work was revisited multiple times over several years. She believed that because the spectrum work was incorporated into AR PD over multiple years and included examples of how they could show up in classrooms and pedagogy, it became internalized.

Sue mentioned a cross-district book study she participated in and several other books she has read on her own or that her husband has read and then shared with her. The last formal PD experience she mentioned was working with the National Urban Alliance (NUA). Clark Elementary School was one of three schools in the district that worked with NUA over a two-year period. Sue found the experience of that job-embedded PD, which focused specifically on engagement and pedagogical strategies, impactful, “actual activities and things that you do to really get all of your students actively engaged and involved.”

Anti-Racist Practice. Sue referenced the impact of the George Floyd murder on her anti-racist work. She found herself called to public action.

I'm still very frustrated with where I am with my racial identity development because my comfort zone is head knowledge. I like learning stuff. And I want to be an advocate, but I also don't like . . . I don't want to say I don't like ruffling feathers, but conflict with something, that can be tricky. So I'm making progress, but I feel like the steps that I'm taking are still baby steps, and I'm really annoyed with that. Yeah, I'm annoyed like, I did my first couple of peaceful demonstrations over the past year, and I'm like, “I shouldn't be over 40 doing this for the first time. I shouldn't be.” So I'm trying to accept where I'm at, but I don't like where I'm at. I have too far to go still.

Sue shared that she felt comfortable speaking about racism and her racial identity development at school and with colleagues but was more nervous with students' parents. She gave a recent example of a parent who contacted her.

[I] just had a conversation electronically with a parent who was like, “I noticed that you haven't done any Black history yet this month. When are you going to do it?” and stuff.

And I was really being very thoughtful and deliberate about my answer. And my response was, “I want to teach Black history. I want kids to know Black history, but I don't want it to be like this unit

that they do. I don't like that." And I was trying to explain that I don't want to honor Black people one time a school year. I said, "We're working really hard to find representation all year long in the content. So it's not something that you do just once a year." And even saying that I was like really nervous about how she was going to come back.

So I was just like kind of in angst over every word of what I was going to say and I want to come across as knowledgeable and someone that's on board and I want to teach her son well and I want her to be happy with the experience that I'm providing. So it's just still a long way to go.

While Sue admitted to a fear of saying the wrong thing, she didn't let it keep her from engaging in the conversation.

Sue referenced the systematic, district-facilitated work that teachers had done across the district to review, deconstruct, and revise grade-level social studies units. The work focused on expanding representation and perspectives. In recent years, Sue has taught more critical reading skills related to nonfiction in an effort to help students learn that nonfiction text isn't always quite true. She wants students to know that informational or nonfiction text is still open to interpretation and can leave out information purposefully.

Sue has focused more recently on expanding representation in classroom books that show racial diversity in present-day characters beyond "heroes" and historical figures or victims. She sees her next step from a pedagogy standpoint as anti-racist work with students.

That's where I feel like my next journey is going. And like, how do you do that? Because that seems a lot more connected to taking action rather than just reading and learning. It's going to be connected to some action things. It's an advocacy.

And I know that there's one curriculum I've been looking at. I haven't started it. It's called the Pollyanna curriculum. And it's free, and there's a third grade, and it's eight lessons.

Sue referenced the Pollyanna Racial Literacy Curriculum, a free K-12 racial literacy curriculum. Pollyanna provides a series of eight free racial literacy lessons for each grade K-12; it also provides resources and support to schools, districts, and organizations that are in need of

support for anti-racist and DEI (diversity, equity, and inclusion) work. At the time of our interviews, Sue had not yet started using the Pollyanna curriculum but felt that incorporating social action was the next logical step for her anti-racist practice and pedagogy. She referenced that the district had recently adopted the social justice standards as a companion to the social studies standards.

When I asked Sue what she thought about white privilege or white supremacy and how they played out in schools or impacted education, she shared this:

Eighty percent of the teachers are white, and not 80 percent of the students are white. And I think that's, in my opinion, probably the biggest barrier is because the staff doesn't represent the students. And having said that, I'm one of them. . . .

But I think that the biggest thing is so much of the teaching population is white. The students are not. The means of assessment, standardized testing is not. . . . I don't think it's really a good way to assess anyone's knowledge, except for if you can memorize something and regurgitate it. Assessments are a big thing. . . . And again, this is changing in Terrell, but a lot of like policies on absenteeism, truancy. I mean, food, it's just in the past few years that we quit serving pork. We're not serving pork anymore. We're having a meat option and a vegetarian option trying to make food more accessible for our kids because it's not fair that kids come to school, don't like the food, and don't eat all day. It's not a really great way to learn if you're hungry.

So it's in everything. And it's slowly changing, but you can only change so many things at one time. And it takes a long time to undo all of the things that white privilege permeates. And so how to pick what to do first and how to do it. It's teaching staff. You have people coming and going all the time. Some people retire, new people start, and then there's turnover in schools and everyone comes in on a different place. But I feel grateful that we have people in administration now that are not white that can help the process move along a lot faster than when I think back to when I started where some of this stuff might have taken 10 years to get under the radar. Now

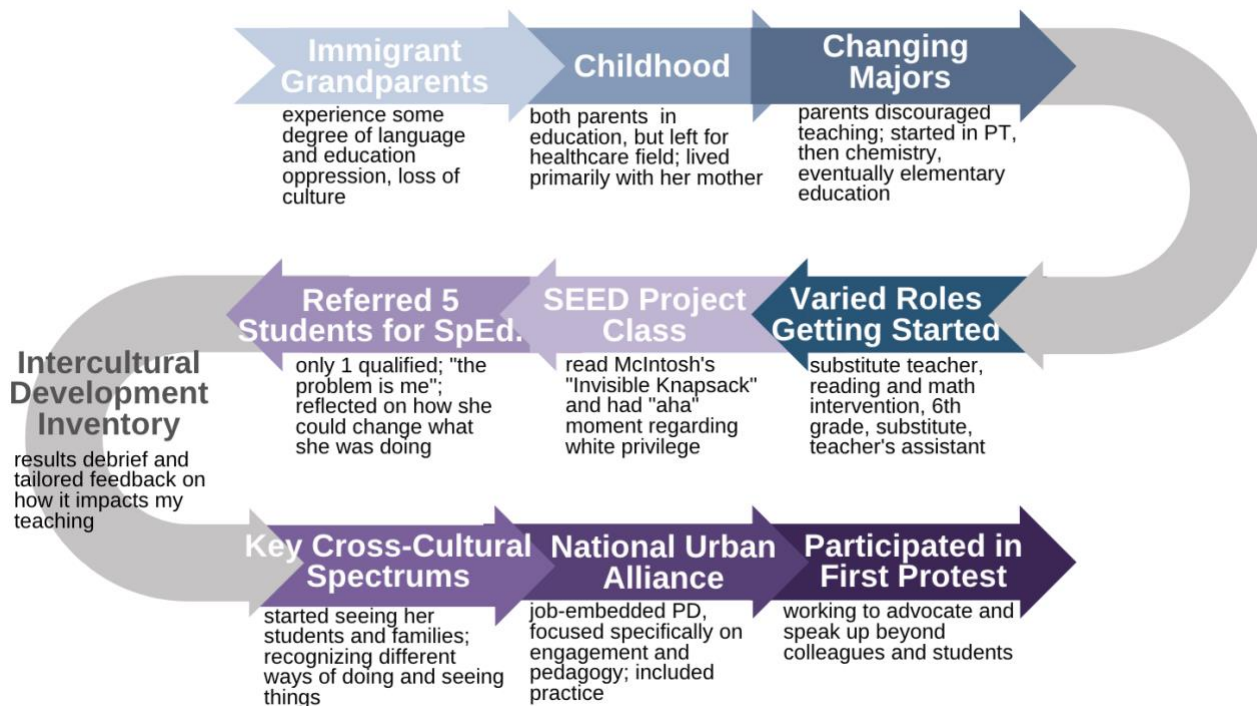
issues of racial injustices and equity are really at the forefront a lot more than they were when I started. But again, we have a long way to go. White privilege is the undercurrent of everything. Sue recognized the complexity of systemic racism and how comprehensive the change must be for schools to become anti-racist. Before we finished our interviews, Sue shared four points relative to AR PD. Those points are summarized below.

1. There are times in education when we try something and realize it doesn't work after six months. We decide that means it isn't effective when really we learned that it doesn't work in six months or it takes longer than six months to see results. We need to stick with our changes longer.
2. Our AR PD might be more effective or staff might be more engaged if we knew what the short- and long-term plan for our equity and anti-racist work was. What will it look like a year or two from now? farther down the road?
3. A lot of social justice work requires changing hearts before changing heads; that's why hearing our students speak their truths and share their experiences in our system (the good and bad) is important and effective; it's also empowering to see how students have grown and become activists themselves through the anti-racist work in the district.
4. It has also been powerful to hear from staff of color, but we shouldn't expect that all the time. When 80 percent of our teachers are white, we can't expect staff of color to represent more than their individual perspectives. We need to recognize that there are times when staff of color may need different PD options or safe spaces.

These were not comments specific to Sue's learning and professional growth, but they do reflect her growth, learning, and reflection. She reflected on her own AR PD experiences and her colleagues' AR PD experiences. A visual summary of Sue's racial identity and anti-racist practice development is shown in Figure 35.

Figure 35

Timeline of Sue's Anti-Racist Identity and Practice Development



Lindsey, Clark Elementary School

Lindsey was the most experienced of the case study participants. She was in her 27th year in education and in TSD. She had worked as a teacher's assistant, a grade-level teacher, an interventionist, and a lead teacher. The lead teacher role is similar to a hybrid specialist and instructional coach; Lindsey's focus was on supporting math and personal learning communities (PLCs). Lindsey attended college out of state and graduated with an English degree. After selling insurance for a while, she returned to college for a Master's in Education. Lindsey returned to the state and got a job in TSD where her brother was teaching.

Racial Identity Development. Lindsey grew up in a very rural part of the state in an environment where hearing derogatory and stereotypical comments about people based on nationality or race was commonplace. She acknowledged that her history is part of her journey

but sees it as the opposite of her beliefs and who she is. Lindsey's racial identity development started when she contacted diverse environments in two ways: (1) she moved to the metro area in a diverse neighborhood, and (2) her husband became the English-speaking pastor at a Korean church. The majority of the congregation spoke Korean, but some adoptive parents of Korean children spoke English and attended church there to raise their children with a connection to the Korean community and culture. Members of the congregation ate a Korean meal together after the service each Sunday.

As Lindsey became more aware of and comfortable in racially diverse settings, she encountered uncomfortable race conversations with extended family members. For example, she noticed that when her husband's parents visited, they wouldn't join the meal after church. Lindsey recalled having conversations with them about that. She also referenced more heated conversations with family members about overtly racist comments. While there were times she chose not to engage, there were times when she leaned into equity coaching, the Courageous Conversations PD, and the PD with Jamie Almanzán in TSD for conversations about race and racism with extended family members. Lindsey has also employed those strategies and conversation stems in conversations with teachers. When she sees something inequitable in a classroom, she feels compelled to have a conversation with the teacher, even if it's uncomfortable.

Another impactful PD experience Lindsey identified was an external book club that she and other educators started approximately 15 years ago. They started the book club with the intent of seeking out books with different perspectives or that have been eye-opening for them.

Anti-Racist Practice. Lindsey has three children, and when her oldest two were in high school taking AP, honors, and high-level courses, she realized that the expectations for many students at Clark Elementary weren't as rigorous as what her children were experiencing in the district. She shared the following:

It's the biggest driver for me because, equitably speaking, it's reprehensible, in my opinion, that our students aren't prepared for the same classes that my own children are in the same school district.

I don't feel that our teachers necessarily have the rigor that they need for our students to be successful in AP classes when they're in high school, or even in middle school. And so the rigor translates really to the fact, I believe, or I think, I hypothesize, that our teachers don't really believe that our students can do that.

Lindsey went on to share an example of what that looked like in practice.

A couple of weeks ago, I subbed in a classroom, a fourth-grade classroom. They were trying to make it easy for a sub, but it actually makes it much more difficult because if the students aren't engaged, if there's no rigor, the engagement isn't there. We're not stimulating brains and we're not keeping kids on task because it's boring. So I have seen that. I've seen it more than I wish I had.

And I've had conversations with teachers saying, "You might think you're making it easy, but you're really not." It's not good for the kids, and it's not good for the subs. And so when kids are, when the rigor is good, there's productive struggle, which can be hard for teachers. I think that's a really hard thing for teachers unless you name it as productive struggle and teach them through it. Like, it's okay if it's messy, it's okay. You want it to be messy. It's all right. They're learning; you're getting there. So teaching teachers about it, but the productive struggle is really an okay thing and productive struggle is equitable. We want our kids to be talking and figuring it out together, and that whole collective knowledge and working together and figuring it out and getting voices. And I don't know, it's exciting when it works.

Lindsey's focus on rigor, high expectations, and productive struggle as anti-racist work reflects a deeper level of anti-racist ideology and pedagogy related to *relationships with students*. When I asked Lindsey if there was a PD that was impactful in developing her thinking and work around rigor and productive struggle, she wasn't sure if it was PD, her experience, her frustration with the lack of rigor, or personally reading books. She did say that the PDs she has attended on

PLCs and Cognitively Guided Math (CGI) have been instrumental in her pedagogy and work supporting educators.

Professional Development. Lindsey views the State Humanities Center workshops as the most effective AR PDs she has attended. Her first experience with them was a weeklong Educator Institute. One day they visited several locations in the area that were important to Indigenous People. Lindsey described some of the workshop experiences.

We had a day where we did inner circles and outer circles. We did a lot of story circles and talking with story circles. One day they had people come in, like teenagers, and did an inner circle where they would have questions and talk. And then those of us that were there for the Educator Institute were on the outside, listening in. And then they asked what we heard and how we felt, and some of those story circle questions. That was really quite powerful.

The most powerful piece for me was learning about my own whiteness, and I think I wrote this in the survey. We had lunch every day. It was part of it. We were randomly put around a table for lunch, and we had foods from different areas. So there was like African [food] and Hmong [food], and those are the ones I remember the most. And then we took turns in story circle format, but around the table, around dinner, lunch, asking questions like, "When you were sick, what did you do? Or what did your mom do? Or what were your parents' views when you were growing up on education? What are some traditional foods on your birthday, or how do you celebrate your birthday?"

And it was really the first time that I thought about. . . . The leader at our table was Hmong. And he was talking about the chicken soup. I relate it to chicken soup, but it isn't necessarily chicken soup. Well, it is, but you know. And how his mom would make it and how they would have it for breakfast when they were sick, and just how, we talked about similarities, but also so much difference. And it was probably the first time that I realized that I had culture of my own.

This particular institute focused on racial identity development and the history of racism.

Although Lindsey had been living and working in a diverse environment for some time, this was the first time she recognized her own cultural and racial identity.

Since then, Marceline DuBose and the State Humanities Center have facilitated PDs in the district that focus on absent narratives. Lindsey also attended a weeklong institute on absent narratives. Lindsey found both Ibram Kendi's *How to Be an Antiracist*, which she read as part of a community book study, and Tema Okun's "White Supremacy Culture" impactful and eye-opening. The white supremacy reading was something that coaches, equity leaders, and administrators in the district read and discussed. Lindsey saw connections between Okun's analysis of white privilege and supremacy and the systems in their school and district.

When Lindsey reflected on her *racial identity, understanding racism*, and change in *anti-racist practice*, she recognized that she has had more PD than most educators and that having the right PD at the right time matters. She shared the following:

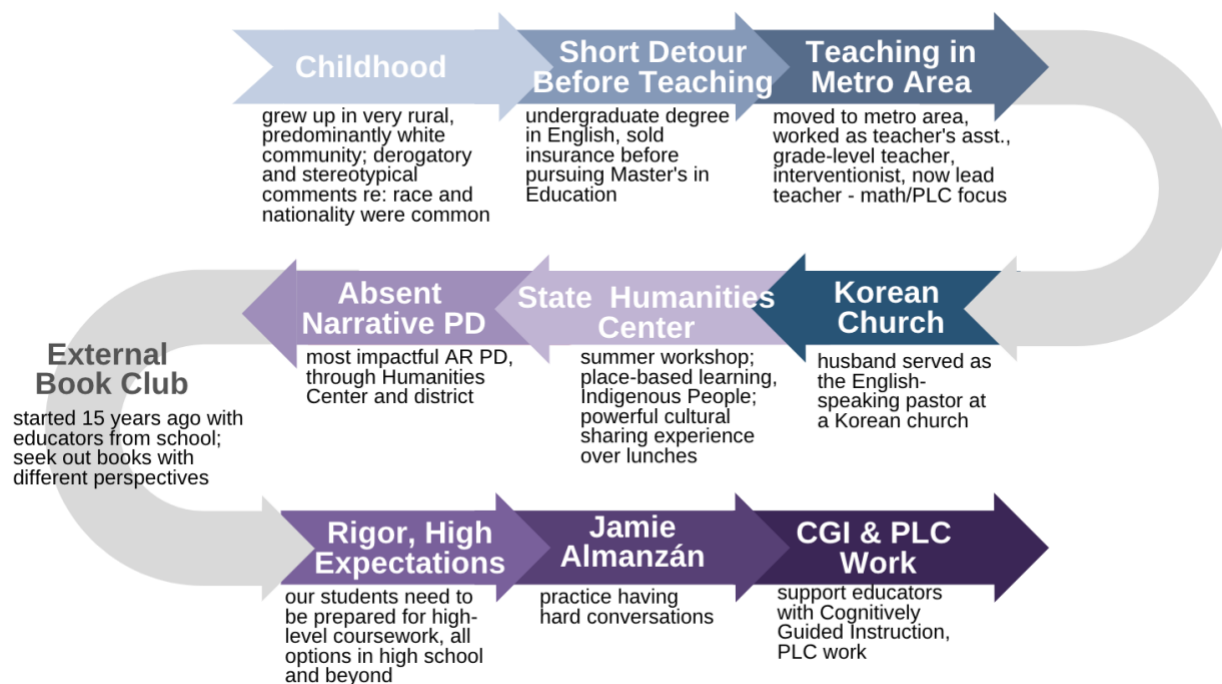
I think if it [Tema Okun's "White Supremacy Culture"] would've been the first thing that I would've ever had, I would've had walls. And I would've said, "It's a bunch of bunk." I think that my journey, you know, I live on the east side of [a metro area] in a very, very diverse area. My husband, I've told you about our Korean church experience. I've had a lot of those other experiences. I didn't grow up with any of those. I grew up in a very rural area of the state. . . .

But I think that it's all part of my journey, and all of these other experiences had to happen in order for me to read that white supremacy in institutions and be open to it and understanding. And I think if I'd have left *Podunk*, [State], and that is the first thing, or if I'd have read it at an earlier time, I would've had all those shields up too. But because I've had all these other experiences along the way, I think that it helped be really enlightening to me. . . .

I think in order for me to really be aware of anti-racist practice, I needed my own, I needed to figure out my own racial identity to know that. Yeah. Because until I did that, dove into my own journey. Like they say, the fish doesn't know it's swimming in water.

Lindsey shared a conversation she had with her principal about staff members being in different places and how some people weren't as far along in their *racial identity, understanding racism, or change in practice*. Lindsey reminded her principal that as leaders they've had more training than most educators in the building or district. Lindsey said she wouldn't have been ready to accept Tema Okun's message five years earlier. Her point was that where and when individual educators are on their journey impacts what they need and how they receive AR PD. Context, particularly in terms of the time and space continuum of educator development, matters.

In addition to a focus on rigor and CGI math, Lindsey has supported teachers to review their social studies materials and incorporate materials reflective of multiple perspectives and absent narratives. She was involved in codeveloping units inspired by the film *Hidden Figures* that focused on Black women whose stories hadn't been told; technology innovations that were developed by women and scientists of color; and a biography unit that incorporated absent narratives and was more representative of the student population at the school. When Lindsey reflected on what supported her work building anti-racist curriculum and course content, she credited the internal and external PD on absent narratives (at the State Humanities Center and with Marceline DuBose) and the equity coaching that Jamie Almanzán provided for representatives from each building. In fact, Lindsey referenced absent narratives PD at eight points during our interview. A visual summary of Lindsey's racial identity and anti-racist practice development is shown in Figure 36.

Figure 36*Timeline of Lindsey's Anti-Racist Identity and Practice Development***Emily, Hamer Middle School**

At the time of her interview, Emily was a science teacher at Hamer Middle School in her eighth year in TSD and her 25th year in education. She comes from a family of educators; her parents, all four of her siblings, and one sister-in-law were all teachers. Her adult daughter now has her Master's in Education. Emily didn't start teaching until she was about 29 years old; education was a second career for her.

Emily has a Master's in Counseling and Psychology Services and served as a drug counselor. She worked with women in transitional housing who had mental health issues and were chemically dependent. She also worked in relapse prevention at a long-term care facility. Emily realized she couldn't continue to work late nights, endure the intensity of the job, and make ends meet as a single mother. Her sister encouraged her to consider working as a substitute teacher.

Emily subbed in summer school in about 1996 and then started subbing in the fall. Her background in math and science, combined with her success as a substitute teacher, led the principal to hire her as an eighth grade math teacher for the remainder of the school year. Because it was a temporary position, she was laid off at the end of the school year. Emily was hired at a new school designed to serve students with behavioral issues or learning problems from across a metro area. She recalled that the ads for the school included language along the lines of “Behavior issues? Problems learning? ___ School is for you.” By the end of October, half of the staff had quit. Emily enrolled in a teacher certification program at a local private college.

By the time Emily got to her student teaching semester, she had been teaching four years. Her college informed her that because she was already teaching at a middle school, she needed a student teaching experience at a high school. The college did not require other students pursuing a 6–12 teaching license to student teach in both middle and high school. Financially, Emily couldn’t afford to quit her job for a semester to student teach. She shared the following as an example of how it expanded her perspective as a teacher:

Okay, I was a single parent. My daughter was, I think by that time, she might have been in second or third grade. Because I was already teaching in a middle school, they wanted me to student teach in a high school. They basically said, the college said, “You have to teach in a high school.”

And I said, “Does everybody have to teach . . . whoever is getting a 5–8 and a 9–12 license? (That was what it was back then.) Do they all have to teach in high school?”

“Well, no, they teach in one or the other.”

I said, “So how come I have to?” I went right to the very top of the college, to the top person, and said, “This is not . . .” I probably used the word fair at the time, but I said, “This is not fair.”

In other words, "It's not equitable, but you're making me do this. You're asking me to quit my job as a teacher to become a teacher. What sense does that make? I can't. If you ask me to quit my job to student teach, I'm done. I'll have to go find another career."

And so my principal went to bat for me, and she said, "No, we're going to keep you." And she said, "We're not going to tell anyone. We're going to continue to pay you to student teach."

Because that was another issue. You can't get paid to student teach. I think that's a huge barrier for a lot of people. So we did it. She kept me, and they allowed me to student teach where I was teaching. At the time I was teaching math, so I was able to switch to science. Because I teach science, I was able to switch to the science classroom and student teach there. And they must have, I don't know how they covered my math classes. I don't know what they did, but my principal did not want me to quit because that was the next step, was to quit, because I couldn't do it. There was no way I was going to be able to financially swing three months without, or however long it is, without money.

Emily's experience with her college over the student teaching requirement and their unwillingness to compromise regarding an arbitrary requirement gave her perspective on the profound impact systemic barriers can have. She recognized that while it was challenging for her, she always knew she would make it through. Emily acknowledged that white privilege played a role in that. She explained white privilege like this:

You're a white person. That's how you got to that point because you've had all of these systems to support you all the way through, up until this point. And now you have these choices. There's a lot of people in this world that will never have choices. And it's not to say that you can't overcome. But the realities are that the chances are much less.

Emily was not suggesting that there aren't white people who struggle or face adversity. She had experienced adversity, but because of white privilege, she had faced fewer barriers and had more options when she faced challenges.

Racial Identity Development. Emily grew up in a very small white community. She couldn't recall seeing a person of color, not even on TV or in the movies, until she went to college. She didn't know she had a racial identity until college.

The summer after her freshman year of college, Emily started dating a student who was Black and from Chicago. Emily took a bus to Chicago to visit him and his family over Christmas break. His father picked her up at the bus station. She realized she was white when they got to the west side of Chicago because she was the only white person in the neighborhood. Emily described herself as naive about race and societal views of interracial relationships until then.

Years later, in 2002, Emily married a man from Jamaica. Just before her father walked her down the aisle, he reminded her that she could still change her mind. Her parents didn't know her husband but didn't want her to have a hard life. They were concerned that an interracial relationship would be too challenging. Emily viewed it as a situation where the intent might have been good, but the impact was not. It's because of her experience as the parent of biracial children that she has learned the most about racism, white privilege, and the white racial frame. Emily talked about her daughter's experiences in particular.

My daughter looks more white than Black. She definitely does. When she was younger, she started to identify more with and have more friends that were African American once she got more into being a teenager. She started to really identify more. And once she started driving, that's when I started to see, "Wow, this world treats people of color very differently because when she was out and about in the community with her Black friends . . . If she was driving in the car with a couple of friends, she would literally get stopped every time she would go out. Every single time the police would ask her things like, "Are you okay?" Stuff like that.

And I'd be like, "What do you mean?" These are kids that I knew, kids I had in class, kids that . . . She went to the same school that I taught at, so a lot of these kids I knew. I had them in school. Those experiences started to open my eyes hugely to the disparities and the inequities in our community and how people are viewed completely differently based on the fact that they're different from white people.

That was huge. That was a big eye-opener for me. When she started having those experiences, I felt very helpless. There wasn't much I could do to help her get through that. That was hard.

She has her master's degree in education. She and I have fantastic conversations about this stuff because she has a lot of the experience that I didn't have because I am clearly white. Emily has had extensive experience working and living in racially diverse settings. At the time of our interview, she had had years of AR PD but was still taken aback by the overtly racist encounters her daughter and her daughter's friends experienced. The difference in her daughter's experiences when she was with white friends versus with her Black friends provided her with a new level of insight into racism and students' experiences with racism.

Professional Development and Anti-Racist Practice. The AR PD at the multi-district school where Emily first taught focused on understanding—understanding their own identities, how their upbringings and family experiences impacted their adulthood and interactions with people, and how they played out in their classrooms. The focus was on being able to explore their history in order to understand why they might have behavioral issues with one group of students but not another. Emily believed that conversations with coworkers were as impactful as the formal PD. She said the physical space for her team was important as well. They had a team office and gathered there during prep and planning time, for lunch, and before and after school. If a colleague was struggling with something in the classroom, others would share what was working for them. Emily felt that the open dialogue and collaborative problem-solving supported everyone's development.

Emily worked at the multi-district school for 15 years and taught a combination of middle and high school math and science, including high school biology. When her principal wanted to expand electives, she tapped Emily who developed and taught a forensic science class for seven or eight years. Emily credited her time at the multi-district school with learning how to

build relationships with kids as well as understanding the importance of relationships with students.

I can know everything there is to know about biology, but if I can't connect with the kids, it won't matter. So I think I'm pretty good at building relationships with kids. I learned a lot of that at the multi-district school. We were very, very, very focused on that. And as teams, that was a priority. So we helped each other and learned and trained and worked and worked and worked to develop those skills. And that's more important to me than . . . The curriculum comes, you can make a Google slide, you can teach vocabulary, and you can do a lab on natural selection, but if the kids don't connect with you, they're not going to do it. So what's the point? So yeah, that's my main focus.

When I asked Emily how that intersected with anti-racist work, she elaborated.

I think, first of all, teachers have to be authentic. And in order to do that, they have to know themselves. They have to be willing to do that work before they can be authentic with kids. Kids will sniff out an inauthentic person quicker than anybody else.

I think in order to be equitable in the classroom, you have to be able to connect with kids who are not like you, who haven't grown up the same way you did. At the same time, I learned this from somebody, a friend of mine many, many years ago. He used to tell me, "You cannot feel sorry for kids who have difficult backgrounds, you can't give them a pass because they struggle at home or because of whatever." He said, "You can't do that because you're setting them up to fail." And so I never forgot that lesson. And the kids that I have a harder time connecting with or are less trustful or are going to push back on you, I just spend more time talking to them and just really do more of that connecting in class as best I can.

Emily's emphasis on building authentic and positive relationships with students, as well as the importance of high expectations and believing that all students can succeed, drives her practice.

Emily's focus on and skill with building relationships came from the PD and work she had done with Developmental Designs. When she taught at the multi-district school, they used Developmental Designs, an advisory program and social-emotional learning curriculum that is

grounded in equitable practices. Emily believes that 21 minutes a day was “the most well-planned, thoughtful part of the day” they had and that it allowed students and teachers to explore racial issues and make connections in authentic ways.

When the multi-district school closed, educators were given a list of positions open in all the member districts. They were able to select an opening in their licensed area. Emily chose a science position at Hamer Middle School in TSD. The AR PD she has found most impactful in TSD is PD that centers on students’ voices. Emily’s perspective and insight have translated to her classroom practice. She described a situation she navigated with two girls who were talking during class and not engaging in coursework.

I’m very conscious of if I’m redirecting kids, if a couple of kids have to be redirected more than once, I will redirect two or three other kids first and then go to them so that it doesn’t feel like I’m singling them out. I do that on purpose. Well, they still were sure that I was singling them out. And it came down to, “You don’t like us, you’re doing this because we’re Black.”

And I was like, “Wow.” That hurt my feelings. It was hard for me to hear that. And it was a conversation that I could not have in the middle of a science class with 30 other kids sitting in that room.

After trying to resolve things with the girls, Emily moved them into separate sections of her science classes. When I asked her how the girls responded to and perceived that, she shared this:

Well, what I did in the moment, I said, “Here’s what I need. I need you to be able to let me teach the other kids without disrupting or interrupting.” I said, “I’m truly doing my very best not to single you out, but here’s the expectation that I have for the classroom, and you have to meet it, too, regardless.” And I said, “If I’m making you uncomfortable, I am really trying hard not to. And I’m going to keep trying, but I’m not going to let you not meet these expectations. If I don’t say something to you, I am not helping you.” That’s how I handled it. Then I had to walk away, because you know how that feeling on the inside like, “Oh my God, I’m going to have a straight heart attack right now.”

It's stressful. So I had to walk away and let them sit with that. And then I just continued to teach, but I never let them . . . I think teachers get afraid to have those conversations. And they let those kids they're struggling with go off on their own and not do what they're supposed to do. And then lo and behold, they are not doing assignments. They're getting low test grades. They're getting low grades. How come? Because you're not holding them to the expectations. That's what I think. That's just my own. So after we split them and put them in two different classes, I explained to both of them, "This is not because I don't want you to be in the same class because I know you're friends. But this is not working, and we have to try something."

Emily acknowledged her discomfort in this situation, but she genuinely believes that all her students deserve to be held to high expectations.

Regardless of how challenging a situation becomes, Emily remains committed to restoring and building relationships with her students. That's one of the things Emily has learned through her years of experience. When I asked her what she would tell her younger, beginning educator self, she shared this:

It's okay to not know everything with students and to be able to say, "I don't even know what to do right now. I don't know how to help you. I don't know why this interaction is so hard on both of us, but let's figure it out." I would tell myself that too. Because I know early on in my teaching career, it was really hard for me to have students tell me, "This is not working."

And for me to say, "You're right, it's not working. I'm doing something wrong." That was hard. Because you want to be the person that knows what . . . I want people to think, I know what I'm doing. Man. I don't know. Some days I don't even know what I'm doing. It's way easier for me now to say to kids, "I don't know what this is going to look like today, and if you're mad, okay, let's figure it out. I don't have all the answers." It's way easier for me to do it now than it was 20 years ago. It's not as intimidating or as . . . What word am I looking for? Scary, I guess, to be able to admit that I don't have all the answers.

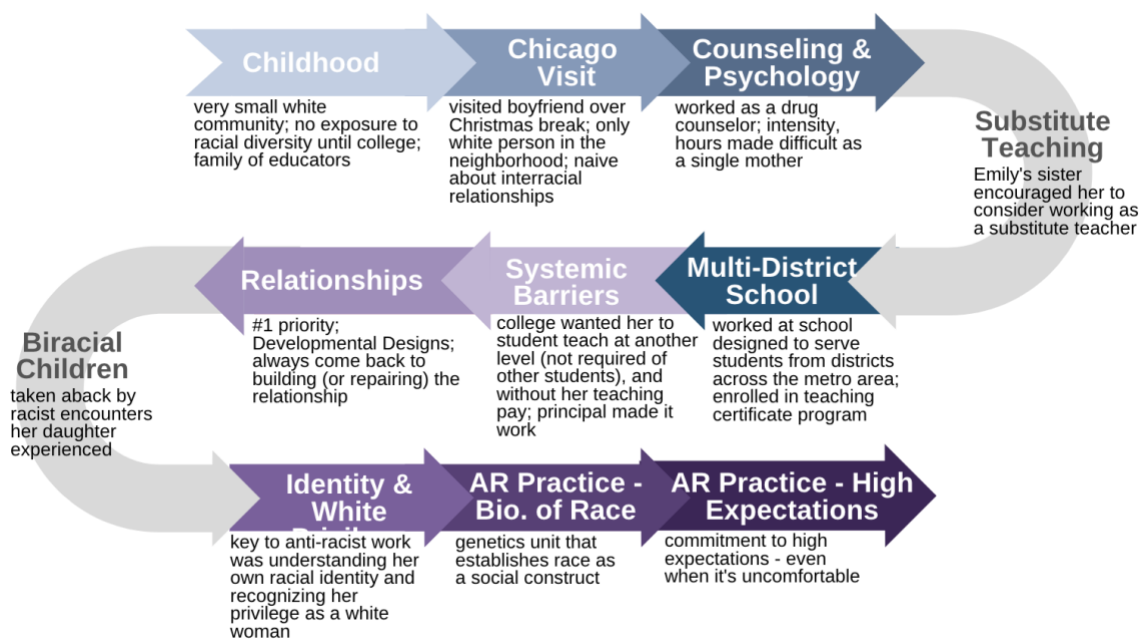
The authenticity that Emily previously referenced came out in that response.

Over time, Emily learned to be honest and vulnerable with students. She shared examples of how her anti-racist practice shows up in her curriculum. One example was a seventh grade genetics unit she taught called “The Biology of Race.” The first week of the unit focused on the fact that race is a social construct.

Finally, Emily circled back to the importance of two things in her work as an anti-racist educator. The first was understanding herself and her own racial identity, and the second was recognizing the privilege she experienced as a white woman. She was careful to state that doesn’t mean white people don’t experience challenges and struggles. But the options, supports, and opportunities that white people can access because of racial privilege are benefits that many people of color who face the same challenges and struggles don’t have. Those two things support her work to build relationships with students, the foundation of her anti-racist practice. A visual summary of Lindsey’s racial identity and anti-racist practice development is shown in Figure 37.

Figure 37

Timeline of Emily’s Anti-Racist Identity and Practice Development



Joy, Hamer Middle School

Joy was midway through her ninth year as a Spanish teacher at Hamer Middle School in TSD when we met for her interviews. In junior high, she had considered a career in psychology, but she and her mother were concerned it might be too emotionally challenging for her. Then she wanted to be a teacher. In considering all the subjects she had in school, she was most excited about studying and teaching Spanish.

Racial Identity Development. Joy grew up in a large, predominantly white town in a Midwestern state. She attended a private Christian elementary school, and public middle school was the first time there were students of color in her classes. She had an uncle from Costa Rica but only saw him once each summer. Joy recalled the following incident in middle school that stood out because of race:

My mom and I were driving through a park in my home town, and there was this group of Black boys walking around, and my mom made a comment like, "Oh, they shouldn't be there."

And I was like, "Why? They're just walking. Like, what does it matter?" And she kind of said, "Well, the . . ." and that was the end of the conversation.

Joy also remembered a time when she talked to her parents about moving near her grandparents and going to school there. Her parents reminded her that there was a Native American reservation near her grandparents, and therefore the schools would have more behavior problems and less focus on academics. Joy had a strong reaction both times and challenged her parents' assumptions, pointing out that just because someone looked different didn't mean that was bad.

Joy's high school classes weren't very diverse, but she knew some Hmong students in her school because there was a large Hmong community in her hometown. Because her faith is important to her, she attended a small private college in a large city in a nearby Midwestern state. When she started her first practicum, she was placed in a classroom that was predominantly students of color. Joy shared that her college had prepared her well in terms of

her Spanish proficiency, which confirmed that she wanted to be a teacher, but she was not prepared with respect to education methods and diversity. During her first year of teaching, some of her students pointed out these inequities:

"Miss Appel, you never call on any of the Black kids." If I had them run an errand [in the school], they were like, "You never even look over here. You never pick any of the Black kids." And I was like, "Oh, okay. I know that's a problem. I kind of have to check myself there."

Joy recalled another specific incident, which was also a wake-up call for her.

I had some students that were in kind of a school within a school at Hamer Middle School. And I was giving them some extra time on their final, not in a special-ed sense but just what I thought I was doing for differentiating.

I had one kid who, he taught me patience, but he also happened to be Black. And he was like, "Well, why are you giving them more time on their final but not me?" And he called me racist and everything.

I went up to a really good friend of mine who was also our lead restorative justice person at our school and I was like, "He can't get away with calling me racist because I'm not racist. What is this, all this stuff?"

And she just kind of sat there and was like, "Okay." And we were going through, I thought I had all the answers because I was a Spanish teacher and equated with other cultures and stuff. But we were going through some training on just different values and starting to touch on implicit bias and culturally responsive or culturally relevant teaching.

And some of the stuff just started to click.

Joy considered this a turning point for her as an educator. She decided to enroll in a master's program in culturally responsive teaching.

Joy shared an experience when she was dating her ex-husband, who is Latino and American Indian. They were at a park just hanging out and having fun. She started running around, and he made a point of saying that he was not chasing her. He was concerned about how it might look if a man of color was running behind a white woman, something Joy hadn't

even considered. Although her ex-husband was Latino, he didn't speak Spanish. Joy was taken aback by how frequently people came up to him and start speaking Spanish without knowing him or anything about him. She noted that when she was flying back from south Texas and had a Spanish surname, she was asked for her passport when she handed the gate agent her ticket and driver's license. The agent had assumed she was not a US citizen. When she and her ex-husband were returning from their honeymoon to Jamaica, he was "randomly" selected for a search at the airport when they were coming back into the United States.

Joy's perspective shifted as a result of the experiences she had and witnessed as the girlfriend or spouse of a man of color. Her students' willingness to be honest with her about how they felt in her classroom called attention to her inequitable practices. That was a catalyst for her to learn more.

Professional Development. The feedback Joy received from students during her first year of teaching led her to pursue a master's program and a culturally responsive teaching certificate. Early in her program, she had to read Peggy McIntosh's piece "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack," and it was eye-opening. Some of her graduate school instructors and professors were colleagues from TSD. At the same time, TSD was providing AR PD that focused on bringing students' cultures into the lessons and curriculum. Professional development that focused on restorative justice and circle training was impactful. In particular, Joy saw the vulnerability that came from circles. She benefitted from PD and work with the Restorative Justice Coordinator at Hamer Middle School.

There were times when the Restoration Justice (RJ) coordinator pushed back on Joy's practices or comments. Because the coordinator knew Joy cared about her students, she was willing to listen and hear what she had to say. The RJ coordinator often asked questions, which made Joy less defensive. Eventually, Joy learned to use similar approaches with students in her classroom and referenced that time in her first year of teaching when students accused her of being racist.

Every once in a while, she'd call me out specifically. The time when I was like, "They can't get away with calling me racist. I'm not racist."

She was like, "Whoa, they can call you that because that's how they feel right now. So let's look at it from their point of view."

Joy found AR PD led by internal staff and the National Urban Alliance very impactful, especially the work on specific pedagogical strategies. Her graduate program emphasized the importance of building relationships with students and paralleled her TSD PD. Recently, Joy started reading *Fire in the Heart: How White Activists Embrace Racial Justice* by Mark Warren. The focus is on being an anti-racist activist without falling into white saviorism.

Anti-Racist Practice. I asked Joy what she thought created the space for her students to share their concerns openly with her in her first year of teaching. She acknowledged that it wasn't an easy thing for middle school students to do but thought it came down to relationships.

I've always prided myself on my ability to build relationships with my students. And it was a student that I had had a pretty good relationship with that kind called me out on that. So I think it was that relationship piece and also they're middle schoolers, so they're just kind of going to say whatever they want. And one thing that I love about like the middle school generation, and the generation of middle schoolers that I started teaching with, is they have no problem calling out something if they even think it's even slightly remotely racist. And I love that about them. And as I've been teaching, I've talked with them about like, how do you respectfully call out an adult?

I've always kind of worked with them on how you respectfully call out an adult. And I start that from day one when I'm like, "I'm going to say your name, and there's a chance I'm going to say it wrong, and you have to correct me. And you correct me until I say it right." So I think it was that relationship piece, especially with the girl that was like, "You don't call on any of the black kids to run errands. Like, what is that all about?"

And then as the years went on, just being open with my students of like, "I want to do better. And like, there will be times when I have to make a decision that you won't understand." But like I have a poster in my room that's equity versus equality. And I explain to them, I want to

operate in the equity space. So I think it was that relationship piece that allowed it and continues to allow it.

Joy described her purpose of going into education to be the teacher she needed to be and that she is there to “love on her students.” Developing relationships with her students is one of the driving forces in her work as an educator.

Joy described the 2016 presidential election as another key point in her work with students. She always saw the connection between language, culture, and religion from a cultural standpoint as a language teacher. However, she viewed discussing politics as a hard line she didn't cross. Joy shared this about the morning after Donald Trump was elected President:

I walked into my first hour and my students just looked at me and they were like, "Miss Appel, who did you vote for?"

And like I knew in that moment, it was a "Can I trust her? Like, does she have my back, is she going to fight for me?"

And I broke down crying, and I told them like, "I did not vote for that man." And I told them afterwards, I was like, "I don't know if I'm technically supposed to tell you whom I voted for, but I know that it goes deeper than all of this." And a couple of months later I had a student come up to me and ask if I'd write a letter for his dad because his dad had been deported.

It's the face of the student that I see when something like this happens. I see M's face. I see E's face. I see my students in the LGBTQ+ community. For me, it's about them, and that's what drives it.

Joy's honesty, authenticity, and vulnerability stood out, much like Emily's. She sometimes found herself in uncomfortable positions or conversations with students but didn't shy away from them. Joy went on to share this:

Well, definitely when my student called me racist, that was a definite, "I don't love this. I don't love this feeling." And having to come to grips with, yeah, that was a racist move. And that was a biased move. And even though you weren't trying, that was a biased move. So definitely that

situation. There's times in class when I'm sitting there trying to explain stereotypes and trying, I also teach a seventh grade world cultures class, and the next unit we're talking about is language discrimination. We talk about stereotypes and bias and things like that. So there have been times when I'm like uncomfortable trying to describe like the words and how they work and all sorts of different things like that.

While building relationships has been foundational to Joy's work with students since the beginning of her career, holding students to high expectations took time.

If Joy could go back in time, she would learn sooner that it was okay to hold students accountable and to have high expectations for all students. She shared this example:

I had students, it was on a test day, they took my pointer. And I hate raisins to this day because of it. They took my pointer and they started playing baseball with raisins and the really long pointer in class.

And in my mind, I was like, "I can't send these kids out. I can't send these kids out because I can't." And so I wish I would've thought back and been like, "It is okay to hold these kids accountable and it is okay to hold them to high expectations." Because high expectations mean you love them. So those are the two that keep coming up in my mind all the time.

Joy provided an example related to a student who didn't have Internet access and wasn't getting work done. Rather than feel sorry for him and excuse the work, she told him she cared, supported him, and expected him to complete his work. Joy had empathy and sat down with him to work out a plan for how he could get his work done and learn. Joy shared these closing thoughts:

You have to be open-minded to talk about this. But I think you really have to have an open heart. And it sounds really touchy-feely, but to do the anti-racist work, you really have to have, yes, an open mind, but you also have to really have an open heart.

It [AR PD] needs to be relevant.

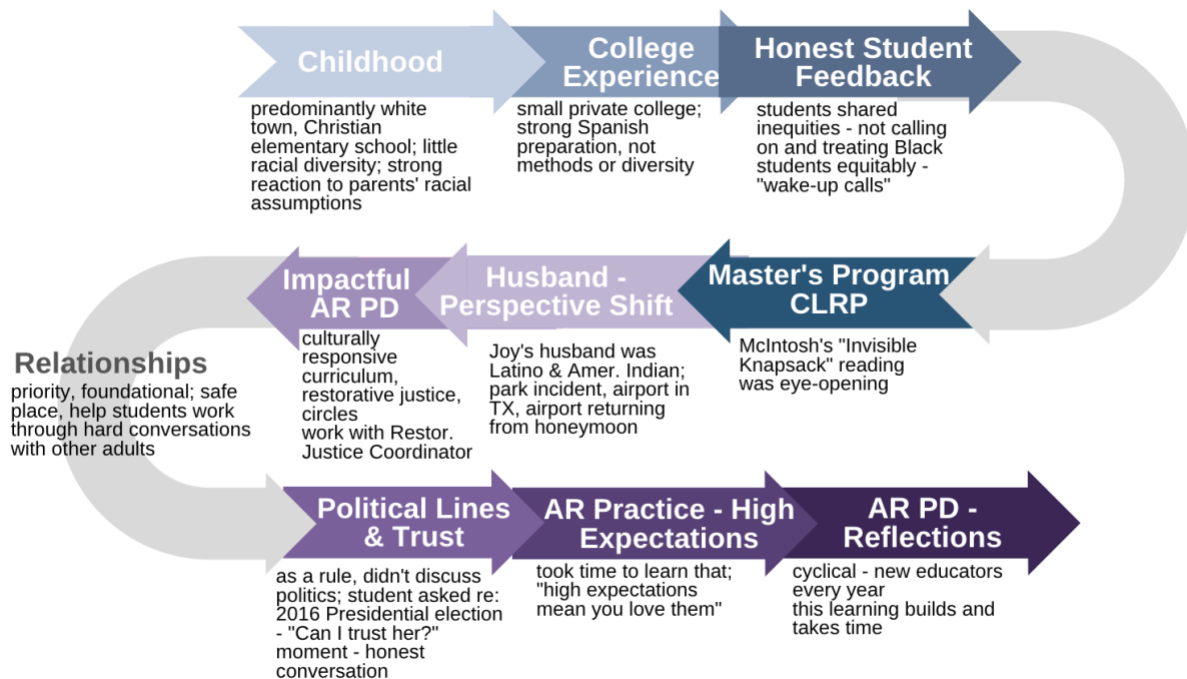
But it also needs to be cyclical. We've had a lot of new teachers in that seven years. We've had a lot of new training in that seven years. It's learn how to do two plus two, but then in a

couple years, you'll learn how to do two times two; after reviewing, two plus two again. It needs to be cyclical or at least repetitive in some way because otherwise, you're going to get people that are like, "I know I did it, I know it changed me. I don't really remember what I learned."

Joy's last point addressed two things: (1) AR PD needs to be cyclical because new educators continue to come into the district every year, and (2) this learning builds, and it takes time to take it all in and be ready to go deeper. In addition to Joy's closing thoughts about the importance of relevance and the open-mindedness in order to engage in anti-racist practice, she emphasized two anti-racist practices. She placed high value on her anti-racist ideology and pedagogy on building relationships with students and having high expectations for students. A visual summary of Joy's racial identity and anti-racist practice development is shown in Figure 38.

Figure 38

Timeline of Joy's Anti-Racist Identity and Practice Development



Jane, Height Area High School

Jane was in her sixth year as a social studies teacher in TSD and her 18th year in education when we met for her interview. Jane grew up in a large Midwestern town as the

youngest of seven children in a family with several educators. Although many encouraged her to become a teacher, she was “not doing that.” She attended the state university in a nearby Midwestern state to pursue her undergraduate degree in English. When she was a senior in college, she got a job at a K-8 alternative school. Her time in a middle school history classroom changed her trajectory. She credits the teacher, Suzanne, as “singlehandedly the reason she became a teacher.” She was a social-justice-oriented, progressive educator, and Jane had never experienced a classroom like Suzanne’s. She decided that she would be a teacher if she could create the classroom and instructional program that Suzanne modeled.

Jane returned to the same state university for her 5-12 social studies license. She worked at the same alternative school as a teacher’s aide and then as a teacher. Jane’s first job as a licensed teacher was at a K-8 private, progressive, Quaker school. After that, she taught high school social studies in a large urban district for six years before moving to Height Area High School in TSD. She and another teacher who is Black teach US History through an African American Lens, one of three 11th grade options students have to meet their US history requirement. The course was added as a result of student demands. Jane shared that some teachers in the social studies department had concerns about the course. She said, “In our Social Studies department, the discussion was, ‘Well, if they want this, then what else are they going to want?’ I’m like, ‘Yeah, and we give it to them because that’s what we do.’” That turned our conversation to Jane’s racial identity development.

Racial Identity Development. The town Jane grew up in was predominantly white. Because she was the youngest of seven children, some of her siblings were considerably older. From the time she was nine years old, she had a brother-in-law who is Black. Seeing how her brother-in-law was treated by some members of her family and how he was treated differently in public gave her a perspective that many of her peers didn’t have. Jane’s sister was a teacher who lived with her husband in a large city. Jane remembers visiting them and going to school to visit her sister’s classroom. She was one of the only white people in the room. Jane also

remembered getting to hang out with her brother-in-law, looking up to him, and recognizing she was having new experiences.

The racial diversity in Jane's family expanded beyond her brother-in-law to include sisters-in-law on her husband's side who have Black partners, as well as nieces and nephews of color. A time that stood out to her emotionally was after George Floyd was murdered. Jane found out that no one else in her immediate family had reached out to see how her sister, brother-in-law, and their kids were doing.

Jane's interest in social justice and racial justice was in large part what drew her to education. Seeing how social justice lived in the alternative school she worked at in college was what convinced her that she should pursue a teaching license, specifically in social studies, after finishing her undergraduate degree. For Jane, it was less about any particular incident or AR PD and more fundamental to what she had always believed. Her learning was focused and specific.

Prior to the addition of the US History through an African American Lens course, Jane led a Curriculum on Race Education student group at Height Area High School to discuss how race showed up in classes there. The group came about when Jane taught advanced placement US History and students raised concerns about the course curriculum and content. She elaborated on the start of the group.

It was students that wanted to talk about how race was showing up in their classes. We had about 12 students that joined, and they were our seniors. They were students that the year previous I had taught in AP US History. After I taught AP US History for one year, I'm like, "This is not my jam in any way, shape, or form. Get me the hell out of this."

The students of color that had taken that class noticed things that were absolutely wrong with that class. I was like, "All right, well, then what do you want to do about it? Let's do something about it." We were meeting after school and hearing their experiences and just listening and just being

in that space with them and being like, "Wow, there's so much that needs to change," and there's so much that I don't know and that I continue not to know, but I'm driven to learn about it.

Once Jane knew she'd be teaching the new US History through an African American Lens course, she decided to enroll in a master's degree program that focused on expanding her understanding of racism and anti-racism. Her central focus was on decentering herself and whiteness in teaching the course, which became the topic of her master's thesis.

Anti-Racist Practice. When I asked Jane how equity and anti-racist work interfaced with her practice as an educator, she replied, "It's everything." She then elaborated on her foundational practices as a teacher.

I don't know any other way to say it other than – right – it shows up in this space every single day. We talk about in this space, you get what you need. In this space, you get to bring in every single part of yourself all the time. Community is one of the key things, the founding principles, I think, of this class.

But the beginning part of class for each trimester is we establish community and who we are. I tell my story if they don't know it, so they get a chance. I'm like, "If you're questioning a white woman teaching this course, you should. I want you to. If it bothers you, yeah, it should. I want it to." I go, "And let me tell you a bit about who I am and how I got here." It's foundational.

Jane centers her practice on building relationships with students. When students decided to stage the walkout, she explained that she couldn't be part of it but told those who approached her that she wanted to hear about it. She explained that she would do what she could to support their efforts.

"You push on your end. I push on mine. I will use my knowledge of the system. I will use my whiteness and my experience, and I will push and you push, and together, we're going to make this work." That, in and of itself, the intersecting student voice and use of privilege and knowledge of the systems and, quite literally, playing on white guilt in the district, got the course. Now it's not the white that's kept the course, but a driving force that keeps it is that we have white people that want to do better and they are in positions of power to keep this class, and they will push.

Our highest level in the district is one of my strongest supporters, our strongest supporters for this course, and has been from day one. I know that is not the case in other districts. My sister teaches in another district. It is a disaster, and it's only 45 minutes away. I think on a daily basis, again, decentering whiteness, getting myself out of the center of this class, anytime we bring in black historians, copies of Kendi's work, of Blain's work, I constantly bring in other sources so it's not me. We focus on primary sources of black voices so it's not me.

That piece, I think, is essential. Then going ahead and recognizing how is whiteness showing up in our department, how is whiteness showing up in my interactions with colleagues, and just being able to pinpoint it and recognize it in ways now that I never have before, and seeing that I could be part of the problem with this if I don't speak up. And I'm speaking up more and more.

This example demonstrated a critical discourse that extended to the political and historical context of the content discipline. Jane was supporting if not developing students' problem-solving praxis oriented toward institutional and social change. This experience expanded students' understanding and experience with white privilege and of their social position and collective capacity for social action.

Beyond Jane's commitment to social justice, her description of her classroom reflected a high value for reciprocal relationships with students, decentering authority in the classroom, and having a critical discourse approach to coursework.

Also, we use the language in here. Right now, they're researching different Harlem Renaissance artists, and they choose one. The whole piece is how did this artist approach racism, and describe how they faced racism, how they approached it. We use Kendi's anti-racist assimilationist, accommodationist. We use those terms. Now, they're using them and applying them to all these other things, which is succinct and fantastic.

Another key piece with them, I tell them, I go, "Knowledge is power, but only if you use it. We're learning stuff in here. Where is it going? What are you doing with it? You can't just sit with this."

They're taking that to heart. It's really exciting to see them kick this stuff outside of this class and seeing where it's showing up for them.

Jane incorporates students' voices into course content and curriculum planning. She provided these two examples of how responsiveness to students showed up in the course:

Now, we're to the point where I got siblings and I've taught whole families. The kids are so funny because they're like, "My brother said he didn't do this." I go, "Yeah, because it changes every year. You are the ones that are creating this class." Weekly, I'm sending out surveys to be like, "Did this work for you? What do you want to know more about whatever?" It's gotten to the point where I can pivot.

Like, "I now know so much more and I know what directions to take it." I'm like, "You want that? Okay. Tomorrow we're pivoting. We can go. We got this."

"You mean we're going to learn that?"

I'm like, "Yeah, well, this percentage of you said that you wanted to take it this direction, so we're going to take it this direction." Every single year, it's different.

A second example resulted from an online workshop Jane attended with Paul Gorski through the Equity Literacy Network.

He had on Eddie Jones Jr., I think that's his name. The man that wrote the book about white teachers teaching black boys. I can't remember. Anyway, his whole thing was on Black excellence. I'm like, "Holy shit. Why aren't we building this course out of Black excellence? That's the foundation."

I'm like, "Okay, this course is on Black excellence. We build on Black excellence and then what else? We don't focus on oppression. We don't need to focus on oppression." It's Black excellence, and then they choose three other themes that are going to be woven in throughout the entire year. But the foundation is Black excellence.

While the focus of the course content changes in terms of topics relative to students' interests, the guiding principles of building strong, reciprocal relationships with students, decentering authority, and critical discourse do not.

Professional Development. While Jane was always curious and committed to her own learning about racism, that work accelerated when she started her master's program. She cited how Tema Okun's "White Supremacy Culture" was liberating in her thinking about her family and led to a "seismic shift in who I am as an educator." Jane found that taking the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) when she first started in TSD was an "excellent starting piece to figure out 'Okay where am I in this?'" She also found the TSD key cross-cultural spectrums PD and a district-support National SEED Project course impactful and said they shifted her thinking. One of the most powerful PD experiences Jane had was a course she took through the Equity Alliance called Teaching US History through an Africa American Lens. Another impactful class in her master's program was The Excavation of Race.

Jane shared her frustration that there are educators who haven't changed as much as she thinks is necessary. She saw the pandemic as an opportunity to implement comprehensive change in order to serve all students better but instead believes that the pandemic intensified inequities and resistance to change. She attributed that to whiteness and an unfortunate absence of interest convergence. When educators were stressed during the pandemic, they retreated to what was comfortable instead of accelerating change.

In the end, Jane had fewer specific district AR PD events and experiences to share for these two reasons: (1) the pandemic severely impacted the two most recent of her six years in the district; and (2) she is constantly seeking out information and collaborating with students on the design of the course, so formal AR PD is just a fraction of the PD she is doing. She is constantly reading and reflecting and has been intentional about when to remove her whiteness and privilege from her classroom and work, and when to use it to her students' benefit.

Jane reflected on how much she has learned and yet how much more she has to learn. She noted that 10 years earlier, she thought she had it all figured out. She has since realized that wasn't the case at all.

I think about the things that I said and did at Washburn when I thought I was really such a mover and a shaker and all of this stuff, and I'm like, "Oh, my God." I did good things, but you're not all that.

Jane's point was that 10 years ago she hadn't yet learned enough about her own racial identity and about racism to even know how much she didn't know. Her learning trajectory had been exponential since then, but she had also become aware of how much she didn't know.

That teaching is an art and that we continue to get better at that if we see it that way and not as a recipe. The way I got here is really organic. The way I'll continue to grow is really organic.

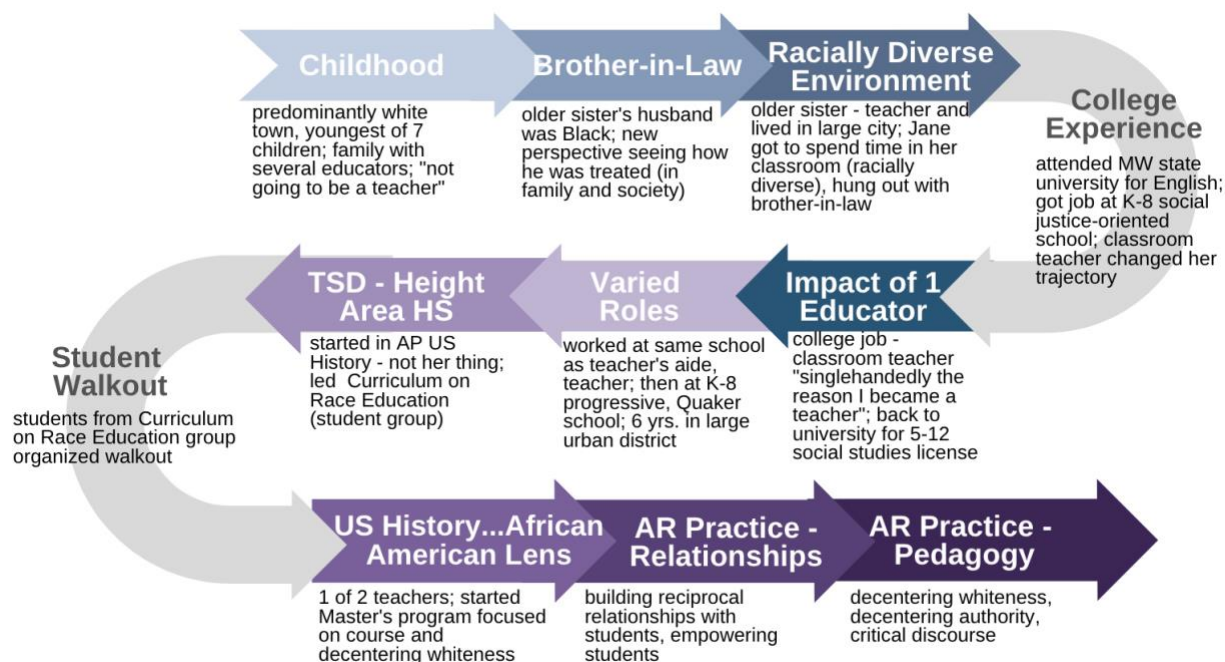
I don't know how you get people to take a harder look at themselves. I don't know, and I wish I did, but I think that's what this is going to take.

Yeah, absolutely. That takes vulnerability. But I just keep on thinking like that's what it is .

. . And that ability to be able to look and be like, "How I did that was not good."

That last point seemed key. It wasn't just about the content portion of learning that happened in PD. Jane's goal was to learn from the AR PD she experienced and take it further by continuing to reflect, synthesize, and try new practices. She wanted to create a new curriculum and pedagogy *with* students and learn from their collective successes and failures. Jane had a vision for a dynamic and innovative learning process with students and their identities at the center. A visual summary of Jane's racial identity and anti-racist practice development is shown in Figure 39.

Figure 39

Timeline of Jane's Anti-Racist Identity and Practice Development***Mandi, Height Area High School***

Mandi grew up in a teaching-rich environment. Her mother and paternal grandmother were teachers, and she loved playing school as a child. Some of her most influential mentors were teachers. Mandi referred to education as a natural choice, almost a calling. She attended a state university program, did her student teaching in TSD, and has taught there ever since, all 14 years of her career. Mandi currently serves in a lead teacher role, a position that splits time between the classroom and instructional coaching.

Mandi views the heart of her work with students as building relationships. She believes that "you can't really read and learn your way to equity and anti-racism. I think that we relationship our way to that." She knew from when she did her preservice work that she wanted to be in a district and building that valued equity and anti-racism, and had a racially and culturally diverse student population.

Racial Identity Development. The first time Mandi realized she was white was at a gathering with family friends to celebrate a birthday. One of her parents' friends was in an interracial relationship; she was a white woman, and her boyfriend was Black. It was the first time Mandi remembered having a conversation with someone who wasn't white, and she recalled noticing the differences in an observational manner.

A professional experience that stood out was in her first year as a teacher. A Latino student of hers approached her at a pep assembly, and this conversation ensued:

"Hey, Miss M, do you see all of the cheerleaders walking down?"

I said, "Yeah." I thought he was going to tell me, "Oh, I have a crush on one of them or something."

He said, "Do you see how they're all wearing bandanas?"

I said, "I do." They were wearing black and white bandanas because those are our school colors, not gang-related to my knowledge or anything like that.

This kid says, "Okay. I need you to see something."

I thought, "Okay." He pulled an identical black bandana out of his back pocket and put it on his head exactly the way that those girls were wearing it and walked by the police liaison officer who pulled him from the crowd, brought him to her office, and questioned him about being in a gang.

That kid made a point of saying, "I need to show you something. I need you to see this."

That was the very first time here at school I think where I was like, "Oh, wow. There is a huge problem, and students are aware of it, and oh my goodness. What do we do?" That was a very pivotal moment professionally for me.

Since then, Mandi has become much more aware of the subtle ways that racism plays out in schools and communities.

Mandi said she has experienced personal events that impacted her racial identity development every day. Her husband is Black, and her son is biracial. They talk about race almost daily, although she and her husband don't agree on race issues. She is more liberal, and

he is more socially conservative. Mandi finds her husband's perspective a source of counternarrative in multiple ways, both because they have experienced the world differently as a white woman and a Black man and because they view things from a more liberal and conservative lens, respectively.

When Mandi reflected on her racial identity development, she believed that PD played an integral role in her racial identity development. It was the AR PD she had over the course of her career that led to her understanding of her racial identity. Without that PD, she wouldn't have interrogated her racial identity because she wouldn't otherwise have needed to do so.

Professional Development. As a lead teacher, Mandi has been part of AR PD both as a participant and a facilitator. As previously mentioned, she chose to work in a district that prioritizes equity and anti-racist work. Mandi got involved in equity work in the district during her first year, although some experienced educators warned her away and said she should wait until she was tenured. She remembered talking about an early AR PD with Dr. Heather Hackman and a metaphor that she used.

She used a metaphor that if the house is burning, you don't sit inside of it and wonder why it's burning. You get out and you do something about it. This sense of urgency around equity and anti-racism, I remember hearing about the pushback from some of our staff.

Mandi reflected on how far back the AR PD in the district went. She was grateful for how much there had been. She had participated in the IDI and PD with Marceline DuBose and helped facilitate some of the differentiated PD that was offered after all staff took the IDI. She said the district used the IDI as a measure of where they were collectively and as a rubric for where they wanted to go.

As the district continued to develop professional development plans tailored to what groups of staff members or the district staff collectively needed, TSD used a train-the-trainers model. Marceline DuBose planned the AR PD and delivered the content to a "trainer" group that would then go back to their buildings to facilitate the PD with their respective staff. Mandi

believed the key cross-cultural spectrums PD, first facilitated by Marceline DuBose, was among the pedagogy work that was especially helpful in changing practice in the building. She explained that it helped build a shared vocabulary among staff across the district. It simultaneously helped staff acknowledge their own cultural ways of being and built an acknowledgment and understanding of other ways of being. Mandi elaborated as follows:

When you see something that doesn't match up, how do you take that in? How do you interact with that information?

If you talk about a kid being an overlapper, they understand that as opposed to "Oh, that kid blurts out" or whatever. That sort of shifted our frame of thinking around that too. What else do we use? Task and relationship orientation as a spectrum, clock time, and cyclical time as a spectrum. Things like that. It's just really nice to have those as reference points.

I think it's one that a lot of educators in the public school system don't feel like we have any control over. When I think about changing my practice, I can make more space pretty easily for overlappers or pauses in communication styles. I can make more space pretty easily for relationship-oriented kids versus task-oriented kids. I can make more space, but then we have bells. It's really challenging, I think, especially in secondary schools to make more space for cyclical kids and families.

Several years ago, Mandi became an external consultant for a firm that does equity professional development. She recently co-authored a book with the owner of that firm. Mandi said she is frequently challenged by other white people when she is doing consulting along the lines of "Why are you the one here doing this work?" When I asked her how she responded to those situations, she shared this:

My sort of short and maybe too snarky response is white people built the system that's causing harm and therefore we need to be the ones who dismantle it. That's the short answer. I tend not to get super personal.

Her most uncomfortable PD experience came in an informal setting after the murder of George Floyd. Mandi and a group of friends and colleagues decided to do a book study of Layla Saad's *Me and White Supremacy*.

Those conversations went a little sour pretty quickly actually. It was surprising to me that a bunch of other white ladies that I trusted and liked and respected were not willing to be as vulnerable as I was, and so it was uncomfortable for me in those situations trying to unpack my own stuff and not feeling like they were willing to do the same. Yeah. That was probably the most recent one that stands out to me. Some of those relationships were harmed in the process for sure.

When I asked Mandi what she thought had happened or gone wrong with the book group, she shared this:

The sense that I got was that because we were all friends, this group wanted to socialize and made the assumption that we all understood each other and understood each other's equity journeys, for lack of a better word. That's a little cheesy. And that we all could just sit happily and comfortably in the assumption that we were all nice ladies and that we wouldn't be racist together or something. Some of us felt like that was not enough and wanted to have deeper conversations and more vulnerable conversations. Then when we pushed those or asked challenging or critical questions of our friends, it got nowhere. Then there were just hard feelings on both sides.

Other participants in the book discussion group mentioned the individual and collective call to action or social justice activism that occurred after the murder of George Floyd. Mandi and some other members of the group wanted to engage in critical discourse, more reflective of anti-racist pedagogy. Others did not.

This discussion reminded Mandi of another AR PD activity she experienced multiple times. She described the activity and how she experienced it.

It's this activity where they give you a bunch of beads and they tell you each color bead represents a race of person essentially. Then they say like, "Okay. Put a bead on your string or whatever to represent your family growing up, put one on your string to represent your neighbors growing up, put one on your string to represent your doctor, your whatever." They basically draw

out your whole social circle. Inevitably mine looks a little different than a lot of the other white people in the room.

I hate that activity because then when I'm asked about it, people expect it to be like this badge of honor or something like, "Oh, your space is really diverse." I'm like, "Yeah, but that doesn't mean I'm experiencing racism. I still walk through it as a white woman, and that's different." That's what I try to avoid, or answers that make me feel that way are what I try to avoid when I'm answering the question, "Well, you're a white person. Why do you do that?"

It's not white saviorism, or at least I try to make sure it's not. It's not like I have the answers or I'm . . . I don't know. It's because this work is for all of us, right? Dismantling racism and finding educational justice is an all-hands-on-deck-project.

Mandi, a trained and experienced facilitator, still experienced discomfort when the activity related to her personal racial identity and experience, although it came from being perceived as having insight or expertise she doesn't possess. Mandi believes that making AR PD personal is the key to making it more meaningful and impactful. Here's what she said:

It's kind of to the same point of the whole "you need to relationship your way there" and things don't really click until it feels personal, local, and immediate, or until you have some kind of connection to it. I think a lot of our professional development lives at kind of an arm's length because we're talking about our job, but when you think about equity and anti-racism work, it's too personal to keep at bay like that.

As much as the personal stuff can be interwoven into professional development, I think that's been most productive, and reminding people of that, too, because people oftentimes go directly to like, "Well, just tell me what to do. Give me strategies. What's the thing I can try on Monday that's going to fix racism?"

But those things don't work unless it's internal, because the second you get tired or angry or stressed or hungry or whatever, you're going to revert to what's status quo for you. If anti-racism isn't status quo, you're back to square one, and the strategies that you were given won't work in the first place.

This point spoke to the heart of why my conceptual framework is structural with multiple strands and is reflective of what research confirms. If white educators haven't also done their own racial identity development or don't understand the history of racism and white racial frame, they won't have internalized the "why" behind anti-racist ideology and pedagogy. And when anti-racist practice becomes difficult or educators encounter challenges, they will revert to past practice, the status quo, or implicit bias because their practice change wasn't anchored to personal beliefs or a perspective shift.

Mandi talked about the complexity of the racial dynamics of leading AR PD. She acknowledged and understood the pushback against white people facilitating this work and believed that white people bear the responsibility for racism and therefore must also take responsibility for the change and solution. Mandi shared this example:

Not that I can teach in the same ways or teach from the same stance, but Dr. Cheryl Matias, I attended a session where she was a speaker and her line on this was, "Becky, get your cousin." White people have to be talking to white people about this, which leads me to my other point about this is that I don't think that our staff of color necessarily need to be sitting in the same spaces and learning the same thing.

I think that's actually harmful at this point. Not that there aren't staff of color who hold racist beliefs or beliefs about white supremacy or what have you. But I don't think that unlearning all of that with white people is beneficial for them. All of that being said, I guess I vacillate because I've also been taught that this is all-hands-on-deck work.

Mandi doesn't believe the burden or responsibility for educating white people and changing the educational system should be on Black educators, but that doesn't mean white educators don't need to hear from educators of color. Her co-facilitator in TSD is a Black man. They have talked about the benefits when they co-facilitate because they bring different perspectives. Mandi works for a Black woman as an external consultant, and through that partnership, her external employer is able to bring her work to more districts and schools.

Anti-Racist Practice. The foundation of Mandi's anti-racist practice is relationships with students. It was evidenced in the example she shared from her first year teaching when the student demonstrated police bias in how students were treated when they wore bandanas on their heads. Mandi shared how she viewed relationships with students in practice.

First, I believe students need to feel welcomed and valued and appreciated and loved in a space in order to learn and in order to be fully seen and loved for who they are. Students of color need to be able to arrive as their whole selves, and so anti-racist practice is what allows them to do that. Yeah. As I mentioned, the content and the curriculum need to be representative or at least relevant in order to find that as well.

Mandi also talked about her work in the English department and as a lead teacher in supporting anti-racist curriculum and course content. She cited one specific example that she and her English colleagues navigated after a police officer in a metro area killed a Black man during a traffic stop. The ninth grade English team decided pretty quickly that they no longer wanted to teach *To Kill a Mockingbird*, not because of the n-word, although that was also problematic, but because an innocent Black man was shot in the book. Mandi said they realized their students didn't need to read that; they lived it. They had seen it. They knew relatives of Black men killed. And they didn't need another book with a white savior.

Mandi referenced the Educational Equity Curriculum and Instruction Compass as a tool to support her and her department's efforts to shift curriculum to be more historically accurate, inclusive, and representative of multiple perspectives and their students. She has also used Compass in her work with other departments. For example, the health department has been working to shift its curriculum on self-esteem and how it teaches it to focus on becoming more student-directed and student-led, and less top-down, pull yourself up by your bootstraps.

The Special Education department has been refocusing lessons on social norms to be more inclusive, respectful, and representative of various cultural norms. Mandi observed the Special Education department as an instructional and equity coach and saw evidence of a shift

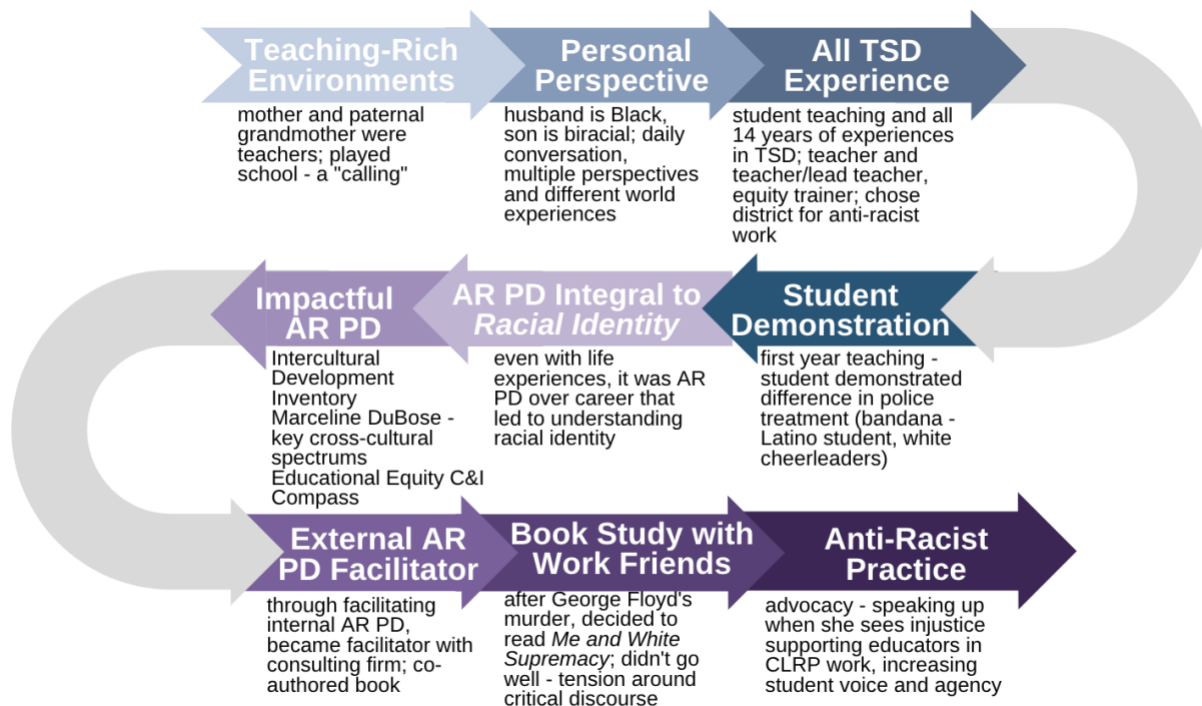
in how some IEP meetings and IEPs were structured. Rather than focusing on grades and missing work, some case managers asked families about their hopes and goals for their children and how the school could support that. That work was linked specifically to the Culturally Relevant Content and Equity Pedagogy quadrants of the Compass.

Mandi also demonstrated her anti-racist practice through advocacy and speaking up when she saw injustice or practice that wasn't culturally responsive or appropriate. She shared an example of a time when she needed to have an uncomfortable conversation with an administrator with whom she didn't have a great relationship. There was a post/announcement to the building with activity suggestions for advisory time, and the administrator was the leader responsible for the announcements and communications. One of them was to play Hangman. Another was to attend a Black History Month planning event. Mandi noticed it, knew it wasn't okay, and felt someone needed to tell the administrator. Despite their relationship, she decided to have a conversation with her to let her know why it was an inappropriate activity and ask that she follow up with the teacher who had planned to host Hangman.

Mandi recognized the importance of building relationships with students and ensuring they felt welcomed and valued. She worked through curriculum and course content changes in the English department and supported other departments in their efforts to expand perspectives and representation and increase student voice and agency. She leaned into the key cross-cultural spectrums PD and Educational Equity Curriculum Compass for that work. Although Mandi has personal experience with racial diversity, AR PD was essential in understanding and interrogating her racial identity. Mandi serves as an internal and external facilitator; she found the IDI particularly impactful. Finally, Mandi believes that AR PD needs to be personalized in order to make it meaningful and impactful. The strategies and tools don't work if the identity work and understanding of racism aren't internalized. It's too easy to fall back to old practices if the internal perspectives or beliefs haven't changed or been internalized. A visual summary of Mandi's racial identity and anti-racist practice development is shown in Figure 40.

Figure 40

Timeline of Mandi's Anti-Racist Identity and Practice Development



Analysis Across Cases

There are several important trends and findings across and among these seven case studies. Those findings can be organized like the case studies by racial identity development, professional development, and anti-racist practice. The transversal axis data was also analyzed relative to the tenets of CRT in education. While each case study was briefly summarized, the cumulative key points and findings of the case studies follow.

Racial Identity Development

Each of these educators followed unique and, in some cases, circuitous paths to arrive at their current place and time as anti-racist educators. Their racial identity development journeys varied. Jen began hers as a child, while others didn't start their journey until they were well into adulthood.

Many of the educators cited specific AR PD that were "aha" moments or catalysts in their racial identity development, those points in time and space when they encountered perspective

transformation. For Sue and Joy, those “aha” moments occurred through their professional work in student-related experiences. For Lindsey, it was in an external AR PD experience. Emily, Jane, and Mandi began their journeys through personal connections with relatives or significant others of color. While each of the educators traveled a unique path of racial identity development, all but Jen referenced events that initiated perspective transformation (Amstutz, 1999) and situated cognition, consistent with liberatory adult learning theory. The use of life histories, part of the qualitative interviews for this study, is a strategy that can be used in transformative learning (Mezirow, 1997).

One common theme among five of the seven participants was the absence of racial diversity in their own childhoods or K-12 school experiences. Because they both mentioned that their awareness grew as their environment became more diverse, that raises the question of how to expand racial identity development for white people who live or attend school in relatively homogeneous environments. Finally, the individual and varied nature of participants’ racial identity development reinforces the subsequent point that AR PD needs to be differentiated, sustained over time, and cyclical in both content topic and depth.

Professional Development

The following impactful AR PDs were identified by multiple interview participants: the Intercultural Developmental Inventory and companion one-on-one coaching; the key cross-cultural spectrums PD; the absent narratives PD with the State Humanities Center and Marceline DuBose; and PD on and use of the Educational Equity Curriculum and Instruction Compass. Two of those, key cross-cultural spectrums and the absent narratives PD, are examples of Mezirow’s (1997) concept of transformative learning, the process of effecting change in learners toward a frame of reference that is more inclusive and self-reflective and incorporates multiple points of view. Transformative learning, one of the processes that can lead to perspective transformation, changes how people see themselves and their world (Mezirow,

1995, 1997). That falls within the previously referenced adult learning paradigm of liberatory adult learning theory.

A few of the educators noted the importance of ongoing, cyclical, and varied AR PD. As the TSD PD timeline shows, individual educators joined the district at different times. As interview participants noted, the impact of AR PD builds and deepens over time. What educators needed from AR PD changed as the educators changed and evolved. Individual educators' readiness needed to align with specific AR PD, as was the case with Lindsey when she read Okun's "White Supremacy Culture," but that is not to say that staff should be grouped by Helms' White Racial Identity Development schema and scheduled into AR PD accordingly.

In this respect, the context, including TSD's intentional efforts to respond to student, staff, and community needs and feedback, was not passive. The multi-decade TSD AR PD plan was multi-faceted. The cumulative TSD plan provided professional development for staff in the district, was strategic and symbolic in communicating and reinforcing that the district prioritized anti-racist work, and in many cases clearly defined how the district expected practice to change.

A number of participants saw anti-racist work as "heart" work. They recognized that educators needed to connect personally in order for AR PD to be most effective. Multiple educators also noted the connection between understanding racism (cognitive) and personal racial identity development and connection to others, including students (heart), as essential for AR PD. There was a sense that educators needed both in order to effectively implement anti-racist practices.

Participants raised or acknowledged the challenge and careful balance of engaging staff of color in leading or co-facilitating AR PD. Most of the educators identified the responsibility for anti-racist efforts as needing to be the work of white people. They also recognized that there are times when the voices and perspectives of families, students, or staff of color provide insight that would otherwise be absent or make the AR PD stronger. The challenge is in finding the balance between that and expecting white educators to do their own work, be responsible for

their own learning, and not expect the staff of color to do what white staff could do. Sue verbalized it this way:

And it's almost like we need two trainings, one more like a support group. Like, "Hey, teachers of color, this is how you put up with our white teachers." "Hey, white teachers, this is how you open your eyes more. And this is what your colleagues are seeing." But because there's still such an imbalance, the teachers of color that I personally know aren't speaking all of their truths because they just get tired of being the only ones there that can. . . . They feel like they still have to represent their race, and they don't want to be like the only ones with a non-white perspective. You need more people with that perspective to get a really good mixture of opinions and ideas and not just the same four or five people that always have to provide that alternate experience.

Participants acknowledged that staff of color are too often expected to represent a monolith and that it's an expectation that isn't placed on white staff members. Another participant raised the fact that staff of color are disproportionately in support staff roles, which can also make it feel less safe to speak openly and honestly.

Finally, as educators developed evolving non-racist white racial identities, understood the endemic nature of and history of racism and white privilege, and began to develop their anti-racist ideology and pedagogy, they sought out their own learning opportunities. We heard this from Jen, Sue, Lindsey, Emily, Joy, and Jane. Mandi was also engaged in continuous learning and development through her work and writing with an external consultant. Each of them engaged in community learning opportunities, graduate programs focused on social or racial justice, or programs at the State Humanities Center or through the Equity Literacy Network. They made commitments to anti-racist work and positioned themselves as continuous learners and part of their commitment to social justice.

Anti-Racist Practice

Interview participants consistently verbalized a priority of building *relationships with students* as foundational to their anti-racist work. They voiced a strong commitment to social

justice and a consistent practice of incorporating multiple perspectives and representation of students' racial and cultural identities in the curriculum. Table 23 shows the following *anti-racist practice* strands of the conceptual framework: *relationships with students, curriculum and course content, and pedagogical strategies*. Characteristics that were present in the examples of practice that participants provided are highlighted in yellow.

Figure 41

Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy Strands of Conceptual Framework

Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy		
Relationships with Students		
I. Initiation	II. Implementation	III. Institutionalization
Care and concern for all students Want to help students of color	Asset-based approach Authentic connection with and commitment to all students	Reciprocal relationships with students Funds of knowledge approach High academic expectations for all students
Curriculum and Course Content		
Incorporate texts and materials that represent people or authors of color Add contributions of figures and leaders of color to curriculum	Recognize Eurocentrism in curriculum, expand perspectives, voices, incorporate counter narratives Course discourse includes inequities at individual and institutional/systemic levels Students' identities examined and reflected in the curriculum	Social action Reconceptualize curriculum Critical theory approach to curriculum Examine and critique race, racism, and power Critical discourse extends to the political, historical, and economical context of discipline
Pedagogical Strategies - Primary and Secondary		
Increase critical thinking work, incorporate more representative materials Incorporate social issues but historical more often than contemporary	Critique and analysis includes stereotypes, historical representation Learn about formal and informal leaders who have advocated for change, engaged in activism Examine contemporary social issues; students drive topics or focus	Interrogate texts, focus on omission of voices, experiences, and perspectives of oppressed people Explicit instruction on confronting racism Problem-solving praxis oriented toward institutional and/or social change
Visual representation in classroom Culturally diverse texts and materials are added	Perspectives of historically marginalized people are included in curriculum Create a sense of community through collaborative learning	Decenter authority in the classroom Develop students' awareness of their social positions

When considered with the conceptual framework, many examples represented Implementation-level *anti-racist practice*. Some descriptions of practice reflected Initiation-level practice but also incorporated elements of Implementation-level practice. Other examples of *anti-racist practice* reflected Institutionalization-level work such as Lindsey, Emily, and Joy's comments about high expectations; Jane's work with students about using their power or taking action to create change; Jen's interrogation of Western music in the elementary music classroom; and Jane's intentional work and instructional design to decenter whiteness in the US History through an African American Lens course. Collectively, these seven educators presented a broad range of *anti-racist practice*.

Critical Race Theory

In the educator interviews, there was evidence of six of the seven tenets of CRT in education, including racism as endemic, challenge to the dominant narrative, commitment to social justice, whiteness as property, critique of liberalism, and race as a social construct. The only tenet not represented was interest convergence. Four of the tenets—racism as endemic, challenge to the dominant narrative, commitment to social justice, and whiteness as property—were identified in most of the interviews.

Racism as Endemic. All seven of the educators acknowledged the pervasive nature of racism in the United States. Each of them came to recognize and understand it in their own way and on their own timeline, but personal experience was often involved. For Lindsey, Emily, Joy, Jane, and Mandi, seeing firsthand the experiences of their own children, significant others, or close relatives contextualized what they had learned from an academic perspective. Those experiences essentially situated their cognition about the pervasive nature of racism in the United States.

Challenge to the Dominant Narrative. There were many examples of educators' efforts to challenge the dominant narrative, primarily through expanding the materials and perspectives represented in the curriculum. That was exemplified in Jen's dialogue with colleagues about the

sophistication of hip hop and her efforts to decenter Western music in the elementary music curriculum. It was also evident in Jane's commitment to co-create curriculum with her students, center student voice, and decenter whiteness. Lindsey and Mandi referenced supporting educators and teams in their efforts to select curricular materials and texts that reflect multiple perspectives or, in the case of high school English, do not reinforce harmful narratives. Sue talked about the importance of ensuring that materials across content areas included racial diversity and that representation move beyond heroes and history to include diverse characters in present-day stories and examples.

Commitment to Social Justice. Each of the case study participants shared a commitment to social justice, which was cited most frequently by educators in reference to their *racial identity* development and/or *anti-racist practice*. That commitment presented itself in different ways. For example, Jen and Mandi spoke up against school policies or activities in the face of injustice. Jen, Mandi, and Lindsey shared having courageous conversations with colleagues or supervisors in the interest of justice. Joy, Emily, and Lindsey believed deeply in high expectations for all their students as a matter of principle and justice. Jane helped her students see how they could speak out and stand up for what they believed in or when they saw injustice. Sue engaged in community activism for the first time. All of them were committed to their own learning for the sake of doing better, and their learning focused specifically on racial justice.

Whiteness as Property. While previous studies found white educators resistant to acknowledging white privilege and white supremacy, that did not bear out with the interview participants. All seven educators acknowledged white privilege, which can be interpreted as an enactment of whiteness as property (Vaught & Castagno, 2008). Sue, the grade-level case study participant from Clark Elementary, summed it up with these two comments: "And it takes a long time to undo all of the things that white privilege permeates. White privilege is the undercurrent of everything."

Critique of Liberalism. One of the three notions that CRT scholars raise as problematic in liberal thought is incremental change. In the case of racism, incremental change favors those who are oppressing or in a position of privilege over those who are being oppressed. Sue self-identified this issue when she shared her frustration over her own racial identity development and understanding of racism. While she had learned a lot and was starting to speak out more, she wished she had started sooner, acknowledged she was more comfortable with the cognitive engagement, and wished she had developed toward action more quickly. Sue also mentioned that disproportionate behavior data had precipitated some of TSD's AR PDs and her referral of five students for special education services.

Operationalizing my previous suggestion that neutrality of the law be applied to school behavioral policies or expanding it to include state and federal special education laws are examples of critique of liberalism. In one case, the behavior policy was not neutral, but the district identified that and took corrective action. In the other, the referral process may have been effective in keeping four students from being mistakenly identified as having disabilities.

Race as a Social Construct. One of the more interesting examples of CRT in practice was Emily's middle school genetics unit that began with learning that race is a social construct and not rooted in biology. This was the only example of race as a social construct.

Summary

Through the transversal axis of comparison, several findings were identified across the seven case studies and relative to racial identity development, professional development, anti-racist practice, and CRT in praxis. First and foremost, each of the educators traveled a unique journey to *racial identity* development, *understanding racism*, and change toward *anti-racist practice*, although most of them grew up in communities that had little or no racial diversity. Almost all the educators experienced perspective transformation and situated cognition, components of liberatory adult learning theory, as characteristics of impactful events in their racial identity development.

Multiple interview participants identified four district AR PDs. Two of them represented examples of PD that incorporated transformative learning, which can lead to perspective transformation. The importance of ongoing, cyclical, and varied AR PD, as well as personal connection to AR PD, was identified by a few of the educators. As these women developed anti-racist identities, they became committed to their own professional growth, and each became an independent, continuous learner.

A few of the educators had synthesized and internalized AR PD and were reflective enough to interrogate the burden on staff of color in AR PD compared to the responsibility that should be borne by white educators for the work. The foundation of interview participants' anti-racist practice was building *relationships with students*, and that was often built on high expectations for students. Participants' practice reflected the descriptors of anti-racist ideology and pedagogy in the conceptual framework.

Finally, the data from the Phase Two educator interviews included evidence of six of the seven tenets of CRT in education—racism as endemic, challenge to the dominant narrative, commitment to social justice, whiteness as property, critique of liberalism, and race as a social construct. These findings, compared and considered with those from the horizontal and vertical axes, combine to provide a more complete answer to my research questions.

Chapter 7: Conclusions, Implications, and Expanding Future Study

At the heart of this long-running battle is a simple question: Do we care to match the reality of America to its ideals? If so, do we really believe that our notions of self-government and individual freedom, equality of opportunity, and equality before the law apply to everybody or are we instead committed in practice, if not in statute, to preserving those things for a privileged few?

—Barack Obama, *A Promised Land* (2020, p. xv)

I read former President Barack Obama’s book *A Promised Land* (2020) while I was in the process of collecting research for this study, and I was struck by the above quote. While it is not in reference to education specifically, it applies just as well. Do we care to match the reality of education to its ideals? Do we really believe that equality of opportunity applies to all students, to every student? Are white educators who both account for the majority of the workforce in suburban districts and also hold privilege in countless ways willing, as Carter Woodson suggests, “to revolutionize the social order for the good of the community?” As Woodson finishes, “Indeed we must expect this very thing” (Strong-Leek, 2008).

This study explored how anti-racist professional development (AR PD) impacted white educators in predominantly white (staff) districts (PWDs). The focus of professional development impact was aligned to the strands of my conceptual framework, which was grounded in Critical Race Theory (CRT) and my literature review: white racial identity development; understanding the history of racism and white racial frame; and anti-racist ideology and pedagogy. I sought to understand how participants in the study were impacted by AR PD and now recognize the specific AR PD that impacted them relative to each strand of my conceptual framework. In this chapter, I synthesize the findings from each of the three axes of comparative case study (CCS)—horizontal, vertical, and transversal. The summary of findings lays the groundwork for the implications of this study for both research and practice, my recommendations for future research, the limitations of this study, the significance of the study, and my concluding reflections.

Summary of Findings

When considered comprehensively, the findings from this study are notable in three ways: relative to Critical Race Theory, relative to the conceptual framework, and in regard to the impact of anti-racist professional development. Each of these will be summarized briefly, drawing on the findings from the three axes of CCS and both phases of the study.

Critical Race Theory and Theoretical Analysis

The qualitative survey and interview responses from both districts, as well as document analysis, provided numerous examples of CRT. It was clearest in educators' recognition that racism is endemic in the United States and thus permeates the education system. Recognition of racism went hand-in-hand with the acknowledgment of white privilege and its impact in schools and the education system. In previous studies, researchers (Applebaum, 2016; Chen, 2017; Cullen, 2014; Matias et al., 2014) found that white teachers were often unable to interrogate their personal responsibility in white privilege. However, educators in this study, especially those from TSD, recognized their own privilege. They were willing to interrogate whiteness and its impact on education and other sociopolitical systems. The comments and examples cited in Chapters 5 and 6 represent examples of all seven tenets of CRT in education: racism as endemic, challenge to the dominant narrative, interest convergence, critique of liberalism, race as a social construct, whiteness as property, and commitment to social justice.

Two of the three notions of liberal thought commonly criticized by CRT scholars were clearly identified; namely, incremental change and color-evasiveness. The third, neutrality of the law, would be identified if the interpretation of neutrality of the law that I've posited were applied. If we extend the idea of law to include state statutes, which are legal requirements, we could view behavior codes, suspension, expulsion, and attendance as legal functions in schools. Such an interpretation would mean that there are examples of all three notions. Emily's example of teaching students that race is a social construct through a middle school genetics unit was the only identifiable example of that tenet in praxis.

All this is not to suggest that all the examples were positive. Vaught and Castagno (2008) posited that white privilege be approached through the lens of whiteness as property. While the predominance of white privilege in society and school systems is not positive, study participants recognized and problematized it. Interest convergence also appears in one educator's survey response.

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework performed effectively to organize data about individual survey and interview participants. It also served as a mechanism to analyze the collective data about participants across and between schools and districts. Study data confirmed that the conceptual framework is not a sequential model of development. Educators do not develop commensurately across all strands at once. Generally speaking, educators demonstrated higher placement on the model in *racial identity* and *understanding racism* than in *anti-racist practice*.

Educators' descriptions of their *anti-racist practice* aligned with the conceptual framework. Because the conceptual framework is aligned with the literature review, it suggests that the conceptual framework and survey can be used to assess individual or collective anti-racist educator development. Furthermore, the document analysis confirmed that what case study participants reported on their surveys aligned with what they shared in their interviews and aligned with placement on the conceptual framework and its descriptors.

Racial Identity Development. Almost all the survey participants selected responses that indicated they employed one of the Evolving Non-Racist Identity schemas, either Pseudo-Independence, Immersion/Emersion, or Autonomy. Survey and interview data suggested that this was a change over time since some participants referenced prior beliefs or actions that represented characteristics of Internalizing Racism schemas. Participants' development was consistently highest across this strand of the conceptual framework, which suggests that the AR PDs both districts invested in concerning *racial identity* were effective. That is critically important relative to extant research on white educators' *racial identity* as a precursor to effective *anti-*

racist practice. Matias (2013) and Vavrus (2002) identified combining white identity examination with critical race work as key to implementing effective anti-racist practice or culturally responsive pedagogy. Mandi, the last of the seven case study participants highlighted in Chapter 6, had seen this play out in her work with staff.

[P]eople oftentimes go directly to, "Well, just tell me what to do. Give me strategies. What's the thing I can try on Monday that's going to fix racism?" But those things don't work unless it's internal, because the second you get tired or angry or stressed or hungry or whatever, you're going to revert to what's status quo for you. If anti-racism isn't status quo, you're back to square one, and the strategies that you were given won't work in the first place.

Mandi wasn't citing any of the aforementioned research but was referencing her own experience as an equity leader in the district.

The number and percentage of survey participants who placed consistently with employing one of the three Evolving Non-Racist Identity schemas is compelling. Because previous studies found that the implementation of anti-racist or culturally responsive practice in PWDs was often contingent on white educators' *racial identity* (Matias et al., 2014; Vaught & Castagno, 2008; Vass, 2014), the successful work BSD and TSD have done to effectively impact white educators' *racial identity* has important implications for practice. The district AR PD information is supplemented by the full story that interview participants provided about their individual journeys of *racial identity* and *anti-racist practice* development.

Understanding the History of Racism and White Racial Frame. Several research studies have documented white educators' lack of awareness or denial of the deep-seated nature of racism in the United States (Amos, 2011; Bennett et al., 2017; Feagin, 2013; Jupp et al., 2016; Picower, 2009; Vaught & Castagno, 2008). In the ethnographic study that Vaught and Castagno (2008) conducted, they found that white teachers viewed white privilege as an individual problem rather than a systemic one. Yet educators in this study by and large identified white privilege as a systemic issue.

While a couple of educators referenced McIntosh's (1992) "knapsack" text as impactful or an "aha" moment, in their understanding of white privilege, all of them saw it as the beginning of their learning. A few of the educators provided examples of interrogating white privilege and their intentional efforts to decenter whiteness in their work and in the classroom. Participants' willingness to interrogate white educators' responsibility in anti-racist work, as well as their consideration of and sensitivity to the challenges for staff of color in AR PD with predominantly white staff, reflected a critical approach to *understanding racism*.

Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy. Among the three substrands of anti-racist ideology and pedagogy, participants placed higher on *relationships with students* than *curriculum and course content* or *pedagogical strategies*. Those educators who reported the highest levels of *anti-racist practice* identified as employing the Immersion/Emersion or Autonomy schemas. Survey responses of educators in TSD indicated that they implemented more well-developed, *anti-racist practice* than educators in BSD, as defined by the conceptual framework.

For many of the TSD interview participants, *relationships with students* were foundational and seen as a non-negotiable component of effective practice. All the interview participants identified examples of anti-racist *curriculum and course content* in their practice, and most of those examples fell between the Implementation and Institutionalization phases of *anti-racist practice*. Although educators shared examples of *anti-racist practice*, they did not claim to have reached a point where they had reconceptualized all their curriculum, content areas, or practice. Nor did they suggest they were engaging in such highly effective *anti-racist practice* all the time.

Cooper (2003) found that even effective white educators of students of color avoided discussing race and racism with students and lacked the high expectations that teachers of color had for students of color. However, there was a predominant theme of high expectations for students of color among educators in this study, as well as a willingness to discuss race and

racism with students and colleagues. There was, however, discomfort noted by at least one participant when it came to discussing race and racism with parents of color. That stemmed less from an unwillingness to discuss issues and more from a concern about saying the wrong thing and causing harm to or offending students' families.

Professional Development

Across the axes of comparison, particularly the vertical and transversal axes, there were four common trends in the findings regarding anti-racist professional development: (1) the development of a white anti-racist educator identity and practice is an individual journey and the result of many experiences; (2) student feedback was identified as impactful by more participants than other AR PDs; (3) AR PDs that incorporated perspective transformation were impactful; and (4) anti-racist professional development must be ongoing, cyclical, and differentiated. These findings will be summarized and then compared and contrasted with the literature review on anti-racist professional development.

Development Was an Individual Journey and the Result of Many Experiences. The conceptual framework establishes a common framework for a white anti-racist educator racial identity and practice development model. The model defines the developmental trajectory but not the path to get there. As the seven case studies illustrated, each educator followed a unique path to their *racial identity*, *understanding racism*, and *anti-racist practice* development, and they're still on their journeys. As Janet Helms defines, it is an "evolving" white anti-racist identity; in fact, she says, "It is important to think about the Autonomy schema as a lifelong process of discovery and recommitment" (2020, p. 73), less a destination and more an aspirational and continuous way of being and working.

The development of a white anti-racist educator identity and practice is not comprised solely of formal AR PD experiences. Although data from all three axes of comparison confirm that formal AR PD does have a significant impact on *racial identity* and *anti-racist practice*, identity and practice can also be impacted by many other events and experiences such as

personal experiences in racially diverse environments, hearing from students and families of color, or witnessing friends or relatives encounter racism. It is the sum of all these that paves the path of individual educators' journeys. This was reinforced by the vertical axis analysis that informal AR PD, including independent reading, was the event or activity most commonly identified by TSD survey participants as impactful on *racial identity*.

What is impactful for one educator is not for another. That is evidenced by the sheer number of AR PDs identified as impactful, especially the number of AR PDs identified by single participants. In fact, most of the AR PDs were identified by single participants.

Student Feedback Was More Impactful Than Other AR PDs. Student feedback was most frequently identified as impactful AR PD. It was the only AR PD identified as impactful by multiple participants in *understanding racism* and *anti-racist practice*, as well as all three strands of *anti-racist practice*. The only strand for which it wasn't identified was *racial identity*; no other AR PD was identified as impactful on four strands of the conceptual framework. Student feedback was identified as impactful on *anti-racist practice* by twice as many participants (8) as any other AR PD or experience. This is a novel finding and not something identified in previous research.

PD That Incorporated Perspective Transformation Was Impactful. Among the AR PDs identified by multiple participants, most fell within the liberatory adult learning theory paradigm (Amstutz, 1999), specifically perspective transformation. Perspective transformation is learning through which a person's assumptions and beliefs are examined and changed; it occurs at the individual level and is the first step toward social change (Amstutz, 1999; Mezirow, 1995). Consistent with this concept, AR PDs that provided experiences that offered new perspectives, highlighted absent narratives, or led to the reconsideration of previous beliefs incorporated the liberatory adult learning of perspective transformation. These AR PDs were identified by multiple participants as impactful on *racial identity*, *understanding racism*, and changing practice to incorporate multiple perspectives. This is consistent with Brown's (2006)

study, which found that transformative learning increased participants' perceived growth in awareness, acknowledgment, and action toward social justice.

Ongoing, Cyclical, and Differentiated. The vertical and transversal axes of comparison confirmed Schniedewind's (2005) findings that AR PD, when comprehensive and long-term, had a positive effect. There was a statistically significant relationship between TSD AR PD impact and years of AR PD experience. As TSD educators experienced more PDs, they reported a higher degree of PD impact. There was also a statistically significant relationship between PD impact and *racial identity* schema. The BSD survey data suggested similar relationships but was not statistically significant due to the small sample size and outliers. These findings are notable for two reasons: (1) regardless of the particular AR PD that participants engaged in, those who experienced a greater number of years of AR PD reported a more significant AR PD impact, and the AR PD impact had a significant statistical relationship to *racial identity*; and (2) as the TSD timeline in the transversal findings demonstrated, staff members were always coming into and leaving a district. Therefore, there are always educators at multiple stages of development across the conceptual framework at any given time.

There may be AR PDs that are foundational for all staff, but in order to meet individual staff members' needs, there must be varied options. As Lindsey noted, she would not have been ready for Okun's white supremacy work at the beginning of her journey. Related to differentiation, as participants became more highly developed anti-racist educators, they become more self-sufficient learners. Case study interview participants identified district AR PDs as valuable and impactful, but they also actively sought out additional opportunities to continue their learning.

Comparison to Previous Research. The following five components of anti-racist professional development were identified through the literature review:

- Understanding and investigation of racism (Acosta et al., 2017; Blakeney, 2005; Brown, 2004; Howard, 2007; Kailin, 2002; Kishimoto, 2018; Spikes, 2018; View et al., 2020)
- Cognitive dissonance (Acosta et al., 2017; Kailin, 2002; McManimon & Casey, 2018)
- Anti-racist pedagogy (Acosta et al., 2017; Howard, 2007; Skerrett, 2011; Spikes, 2018; View et al., 2020)
- Focus on critical practice (Brown, 2004; Kishimoto, 2018; Kumashiro, 2002; Spikes, 2018; View et al., 2020)
- Collaboration (McManimon & Casey, 2018; Skerrett, 2011; View et al., 2020)

These components were more content-focused than andragogical in nature. However, there was some consistency among these components and the findings regarding educators' perceptions of impactful AR PD. Understanding racism, collaboration, and anti-racist pedagogy was evident in the AR PD in TSD and BSD, and they were identified as impactful by participants in the Phase One survey and Phase Two interviews. Both quantitative and qualitative data suggested that AR PD had incorporated a focus on *understanding racism* and with it white privilege; furthermore, educators' survey responses indicated that the AR PD they had experienced was impactful on their *understanding of racism*. The vertical analysis identified collaboration as one of the impactful characteristics of AR PD, along with repetition and personal connection. Anti-racist pedagogy was also identified, and several specific AR PD examples were provided that incorporated pedagogical strategies. While cognitive dissonance and critical practice came up in individual examples, they were not identified as trends across an axis or the study.

Implications

This study holds a number of implications for both research and practice. The implications of this study for research will be reviewed in regard to research methodology,

previous studies, and suburban schools and educators. Implications for practice can be summarized according to the conceptual framework, professional development design, and other considerations.

Implications for Research

Research Methodology. This study serves as an example of expanding research boundaries in three ways: (1) through the application of CRT and CWS as both praxis and methodology in a K-12 study, (2) through the use of mixed methods in a critical research study, and (3) by incorporating CCS in a mixed methods, multi-phase study. DeCuir and Walker-DeVose (2013) advocated for the use of critical race mixed methods as a more theory-centric approach to expanding quantitative and mixed methods research beyond positivism and post-positivism. This study employed quantitative and mixed methods research in a critical theory paradigm. The unbounded CCS approach allowed for a wider range of units of analysis, comparing districts, professional development, and then individual educators' development over time. That allowed for the comparison of a broad range of AR PD experiences and a more complex analysis and understanding of AR PD.

Previous Studies. This study produced findings that both confirmed and refuted findings from previous studies. The existing research on effective or anti-racist white educators of students of color reflects more studies of preservice educators than inservice educators and is most often the result of research in urban settings. This study builds on research by Matias (2013) and Vavrus (2002) who found that preservice educators who examined their own racial identity, whiteness, racism, and white privilege were able to develop cultural responsiveness. As demonstrated by placement on the conceptual framework and case study interviews, TSD educators who had developed non-racist white *racial identities* and understood the *history of racism* and white racial frame were also implementing *anti-racist practice*.

Previous studies found that white educators silenced race, enacted color-evasiveness, and encouraged students to assimilate to hegemonic norms (Castagno, 2014) and that white

educators who did acknowledge racism tended to externalize it or view it as an individual problem rather than a systemic one (Vaught & Castagno, 2008; Young, 2011). However, almost all educators in this study acknowledged the connection between racism, white privilege, and systemic inequities. Furthermore, most educators shared examples of talking about race with students and identified no examples of current color-evasiveness.

Suburban Schools and Teachers. The focus of this research on suburban schools and teachers is perhaps one of the most important among the research implications of this study. There is a dearth of research, including research for suburban schools, and this deficiency is a problem for multiple reasons. First, the mismatch between a predominantly white educator population and changing student demographics is greatest in suburban school districts. While 50 percent of people of color in urban areas live in suburbs, only 12 percent of the research in the American Educational Research Association's (AERA's) top five journals between 2000 and 2018 was done in suburban schools (Diamond & Posey-Maddox, 2020). Second, the omission of suburban schools exacerbates the lack of research on effective white educators of students of color. Third, a research focus on urban and inner-city schools reflects a bias in education research and funding by reinforcing the idea that disparities in educational outcomes are solely an urban or inner-city problem while ignoring the need for research and reform in suburban schools. The portrayal of educational outcome disparities as an urban issue falsely conflates racism with poverty and frames it as a student issue more than a white educator practice problem.

Implications for Practice

This study contributes to the literature on white educators and, more specifically, white educators in suburban PWDs. It provides valuable information to school and district leaders about anti-racist educator *racial identity* and *anti-racist practice* development. The findings can be used to inform preservice program development, from course and program content and curriculum to characteristics of practicum and student teaching experiences and placements.

The findings also suggest the following two areas of potential need in the area of practice: curriculum and course content in predominantly white (student) districts and educator networks.

School and district leaders can use the findings to inform the planning of effective AR PD. That means understanding the impact of AR PD on white suburban educators, including both *how* AR PD impacted educators and *what* specifically in regard to AR PD impacted educators' white *racial identity*, *understanding racism*, and *anti-racist practice* development. The case studies in particular illustrate the importance of exposure to racial diversity for white educators. That must be prioritized and started in preservice programs.

The number of participants who clearly identified and problematized growing up in a predominantly (or almost entirely) white community was notable. Participants' *racial identity* journeys often started with exposure to people of color. That begs the question of how we can expand authentic racial and ethnic diversity experiences for students in our K-12 schools. Among them are the next generation of anti-racist educators. If there are ways we can accelerate *racial identity* development in the K-12 setting, which is a reflection of anti-racist practice, then beginning educators can understand anti-racist ideology and pedagogy sooner in their tenure. Emily's genetics unit where middle school students learn that race is a social construct is one example of how that could happen.

Conceptual Framework. My conceptual framework serves as a white anti-racist educator racial identity and practice development model. It could serve practitioners in multiple ways. First, pairing the survey with the conceptual framework could support individual educators in understanding their own white *racial identity*, *understanding of racism*, and *anti-racist practice*. Building or district leaders could use it to understand staff *racial identity*, *understanding of racism*, and *anti-racist practice*, either individually or collectively. The conceptual framework can also be used as a tool for planning building- or district-level AR PDs.

The conceptual framework serves as a model that defines a continuum for white anti-racist *racial identity*, *understanding racism*, and *anti-racist practice* for all educators in a building

or district. Use of the conceptual framework is not limited to inservice educators. In fact, authentic work with preservice educators could be incorporated into teacher preparation programs. If institutions of higher education were committed to ensuring that those white educators in their programs graduate as anti-racist educators, the conceptual framework could help identify appropriate candidates for practicum and student teaching placements.

Anti-Racist White Educator Professional Development Design. The findings of this study can and should inform other PWDs engaged in anti-racist efforts as they create equitable schools and systems for all students and families. Approaches like those employed by TSD were perceived as impactful by educators for multiple reasons and particularly by those who employed non-racist white racial identity schemas and were implementing anti-racist practice. The long-term, comprehensive, consistent, and cyclical AR PD plan that TSD has provided for almost 20 years communicates in words and actions that anti-racist work is a priority in the district. The statistical significance between years of AR PD, racial identity development, and anti-racist practice can inform school districts' AR PD planning.

The comprehensive and cyclical AR PD plan and offerings accounted for the regular entry of new staff members as well as the varied developmental readiness of individual staff members. Ensuring that the AR PD was required over multiple days each year allowed for repetition of important concepts over the course of a year and over multiple years. Furthermore, there are specific materials or external partners who staff identified as particularly impactful.

The findings on the variability of specific impactful AR PD among participants, as well as the very individual journeys of anti-racist identity and practice development chronicled in this study have implications for preservice preparation programs and school and district leaders. There are two other findings that should inform practice—student voice and feedback. They are incredibly impactful on educators' understanding of racism and anti-racist practice development. Care must be taken in deciding how and when to engage staff of color in AR PD for and with white educators. It is the responsibility of white educators to change the system that is built on

white privilege. In summary, there are several notable findings in this study, some of which refute previous studies on white educators.

Other Considerations. If districts are serious about equitable outcomes for all students, they might consider aligning hiring, induction, or other support practices with the conceptual framework. Phase One quantitative survey data on years of AR PD relative to years of experience in the district suggested that TSD hired staff who had already engaged in AR PD. That could be a strategy to accelerate progress toward equitable outcomes as well as an argument for initiating or expanding AR PD in preservice programs.

Finally, these findings reinforce the importance of *anti-racist pedagogical strategies* and *curriculum and course content* in all classrooms and schools, not just as a strategy to address disparate outcomes. In light of educators' comments about how late in their lives some of them began to acknowledge their racial identities, there is a call to ensure that schools don't perpetuate a sense of racial homogeneity. White students also need anti-racist *curriculum and course content*, not from an interest convergence perspective but because they need to understand the world more fully and develop an anti-racist white *racial identity* so our next generation of educators and citizens don't reinforce the current systems of racism and oppression in our schools and society. Therefore, these findings bear promise and indicate a need for further research.

Recommendations for Future Research

While conducting this study, additional ideas, questions, and gaps in the literature were identified. Future research could address the following four areas: expanded administration of this study; incorporation of observable practice or a student engagement component; a single case study analysis and/or development of an anti-racist educator network; and expanded research on suburban PWDs.

First, the scale of this study needs to be expanded and the study replicated. With larger sample sizes, researchers could determine whether expanded studies produce the same or

similar results. Such a study could be structured in multiple ways such as large-scale randomized sampling, whole-school or whole-district sampling, or expansion within BSD or TSD. A randomized sampling across multiple schools, districts, and states could focus on generalizability. Sample sizes in each district would still need to be large enough to examine AR PD impact relative to districts' respective long-term PD plans. An alternate approach would be a whole-school or whole-district administration of the survey. This approach would also expand the sample size. Such a study could continue to test the conceptual framework and provide an additional comparison to and for the findings. A whole-school or whole-district administration would ensure representative data, and a larger sample size would increase both the reliability and validity of the data. The third expansion option would be to replicate the study in BSD and/or TSD but with all-white educators in the same schools or in all schools. This last approach would increase the sample size in the existing districts, which would increase the reliability and validity of the data *and* help gauge whether the samples in this study were representative of the BSD and TSD staffs.

A study that incorporates triangulation of data focused on observable classroom practice or student voice would enhance validity and credibility. Adding student voice, which empowers students and aligns with critical research methodology, and classroom observation would verify educators' self-reported practice in quantitative and qualitative form with actual practice. Further use and testing of the survey and conceptual framework would also improve the generalizability of the findings.

Specific AR PDs and *anti-racist practices* that were identified in this study warrant further study. Two examples are Jen's work to create an anti-racist elementary music curriculum that incorporates multiple perspectives and is culturally responsive, and Jane's efforts to decenter whiteness and co-create high school social studies curriculum with students. One offshoot of that work could be a regional or national virtual repository through which anti-racist educators could network and share materials and resources. A single case study analysis of Jane's work

to co-create an anti-racist US history course with a colleague of color and with students would be an excellent extension of this study and could inform practice in meaningful ways. Student voice would add complexity to the study and could include current and former students of the African American Lens course. Alumni who were part of the walkout and early years of the class could reflect on their experiences while at Height Area High School and about the impact, if any, that the walkout, the district's response, and the US History through an African-American Lens course had on them.

The dearth of research on anti-racist professional development, anti-racist education, and white educators in suburban schools, and specifically suburban PWDs, must be addressed in two ways. First, research in suburban schools in general as well as impactful AR PDs in PWDs must be expanded. Second, the "why" of the limited research on suburban schools, white teachers of students of color, and outcome disparities in suburban schools and districts must be interrogated as a research problem. In recommending this line of inquiry, I acknowledge the caution required to ensure that such research is undertaken to understand the problem and potential solutions to the impact of racism in educational systems and that it be conducted in a way that whiteness is not centered.

Limitations

No study is without limitations; however, conducting a research study in public schools during a global pandemic may result in more limitations or challenges than is typical. In addition to the pandemic, there were structural design limitations to this study.

COVID-19 Pandemic

First and foremost, I acknowledge that this study took place during the COVID-19 pandemic, an ongoing global pandemic that created worldwide social, political, and economic disruption (Gopinath, 2020; UNESCO, n.d.). The pandemic had a profound impact on schools, educators, and the education system (UNESCO, n.d.). Neither the pandemic nor the disruption to and impact on schools and education are over as I write this.

I believe that the COVID-19 pandemic made it challenging to secure participant districts, limited the number of survey participants I recruited in both districts, and negatively affected the number of interview participants I secured in BSD. School closures due to positive test cases delayed the administration of my Phase One survey in TSD. The impact of the pandemic likely limited more than the administration of my study.

The ongoing nature of the pandemic impacted the delivery of PD in schools across the nation, including BSD and TSD. Anti-racist PDs that otherwise would have been facilitated in person were delivered virtually or through a prerecorded link. Because of the stress of the pandemic, including the preparation and precaution workload placed on educators to prepare for virtual or blended instruction and to meet health and safety protocols, many districts pared down or canceled some PD requirements for educators during the worst of the pandemic. One example was that TSD had to push back the embedded AR PD partnership work with the National Urban Alliance at some schools. The work was not canceled, but it was delayed until school was back in a full-year in-person model and visitors were coming to the schools.

This study also occurred at a time when there was a nationwide, coordinated pushback against CRT and anti-racist work at the national, state, and local levels. That occurred in my own local and state context and in the communities and states where my study took place. I believe it was a factor that made it more challenging to find district sites for my study.

Sample Size and Generalizability

While I attempted to recruit a large sample for the Phase One survey, the survey sample was not as large as I had hoped. The selected case studies were intended to be as representative of TSD survey participants as possible, yet I recognize that they may not be representative of white educators at large in either district. As an external researcher, I was not in a position to require the survey or to provide time in educators' workdays to complete the survey. The sample size may limit the generalizability of some findings.

The second structural limitation of this study is that it doesn't incorporate classroom observation, student data, or student feedback as a means of triangulating data. Any decision to select one methodological approach is also a decision not to employ another. As previously mentioned, future studies could expand this research to include classroom observation and student voice.

Significance

This research study and findings addressed multiple gaps in the literature, related both to methodology and praxis. In some cases, the findings confirmed those from previous studies. In others, they refuted them. As a researcher, there are scholarly contributions I hope to make with this study. As a K-12 practitioner and an adjunct faculty member at an institution of higher education, I believe this study, my conceptual framework, and my findings can make several contributions to the literature on and praxis regarding anti-racist professional development for white educators and white educator racial identity development and anti-racist practice.

Research Methodology and Praxis

Following are three primary contributions this study makes to research methodology: research design, CRT in research, and research on suburban schools and districts. The mixed methods and specifically explanatory sequential design of this study is underutilized in critical research. There is a small body of research that connects CRT to methodology and praxis, especially in K-12 contexts. My conceptual framework and data analysis does precisely that. The tenets of CRT were applied to both AR PD planning at the district level and to educator thinking and practice beyond counternarrative.

There is a dearth of research on suburban schools, PD focused on white educators' racial identity development, white educators of students of color in non-urban settings, and the anti-racist pedagogy of white teachers. Furthermore, research on effective or impactful anti-racist professional development accounts for a small subset of the PD research on multicultural education or culturally responsive education. Existing AR PD studies don't lend themselves to

comparison or generalizability. This study contributes to the body of research for all of these and with encouraging if not positive findings.

Findings

The conceptual framework I've designed, which is drawn from my literature review and substantiated through use in the study, serves as an effective tool in multiple aforementioned ways for researchers, practitioners, and preservice educators. The research foundation upon which the literature review is built is strong and long-standing. The connection between white educators' *racial identity* development and *understanding of racism* is integral to their ability to effectively implement *anti-racist practice*. The quantitative data demonstrates that the majority of educators in both districts have developed non-racist identities and acknowledge the connection between white privilege and systemic racism. They also suggest that the AR PDs provided by BSD and TSD were effective and impactful on participants' *racial identity* and *understanding of racism*.

The companion information on what specifically was impactful about the AR PDs is also important, as is the fact that each educator was impacted by different AR PDs. The data also speak to the importance of comprehensive, long-term AR PD planning, as well as the myriad experiences that collectively build educators' *racial identity* and *understanding racism*. Finally, incorporating both student voice and feedback and perspective transformation is impactful. These are key findings and significant contributions to literature on AR PD for white educators.

Decades of experience in schools have convinced me that equity and racial justice must be at the center of our work as white educators. This study and these findings can inform educators who are striving to more effectively serve the students in their classrooms. As a district leader and former school leader, I see possibilities for using the survey and conceptual framework to gauge educator development as it relates to each of the strands of the conceptual framework, and then planning AR PDs that are aligned to what educators need and that offer differentiation. I am reminded of the value and impact of student voice and of how important it is

to be intentional about connecting AR PD to practice so educators leave PD with a plan to practice and implement what they've learned. Finally, I think about the work I do as an adjunct profession in a graduate program for future educational leaders. That work can inform the learning that I and other faculty in higher education facilitate with future principals, directors of instruction, and superintendents.

Conclusion and Reflections

I believe that who we are and how we show up, and, in my case, how I learn and lead are shaped by where we come from. Growing up the eldest of only three grandchildren in a family of educators is one reason I knew by kindergarten that I would be a teacher. Education and school were the warp and weft of the conversational fabric of my life. I am a sixth-generation educator and third-generation administrator on my father's side, and a first-generation college graduate on my mother's side. While I am from a very small, rural Wisconsin town, I recognize the privilege I experienced in school and that I entered the education workforce as an insider—someone who experienced success in school and understood the institution and the American system of education. I entered the education profession with an inherent belief in schools and education as the door to opportunity but have come to realize that in many ways schools and education serve instead as systems that magnify inequity and oppression.

My interest in this study came from my personal and professional experiences, and specifically my principal experience at the two most diverse schools (at the time) in the district where I still serve as an administrator. Those eight years taught me a great deal about what I cared about as an educator and leader and how important it is to speak up and stand up for what I believe in and, more importantly, for those who otherwise don't have a voice. Schools and the educational system continue to harm large numbers of students. The impact of systemic racism is exacerbated by the misalignment between a predominantly white educator workforce and an increasingly diverse student population. I wholeheartedly support efforts to diversify our

teaching staff, and while we work to do that, I believe it is imperative to find ways for white educators and schools to become the educators and learning environments all our students need them to be, especially students who have been historically marginalized or disenfranchized.

As I engaged in data collection and then data analysis, I reflected on my own racial identity journey and how I sought out opportunities and experiences in places that were more diverse than my hometown. I saved my middle school babysitting money to attend a summer youth program at a college in another state three summers in a row. In college, I chose to take an alternate spring break trip to Washington, DC, that was designed for 20 white students and 20 students of color to spend a week creating community, engaging in service work, and touring historical sites. Yet it wasn't until I served as an administrator in my current school district and started my doctoral coursework that I formally studied white privilege and the history of racism in our country and began to learn how I could engage in conversations about race and racism. Since then, I have participated in several equity and anti-racist PD opportunities and facilitated some as well.

I began this research at a time when I was hopeful about the collective will of the education profession and our country in general to ambitiously address the centuries-old issue of racism in our schools and country. I believed that white people in the United States, after witnessing the murder of George Floyd, acknowledged the depth of racism in our midst and were joining together to speak out, step up, and take responsibility for the systemic change that was desperately needed.

I watched how quickly schools across our county, state, and country pivoted to a virtual instruction model, distributing Chromebooks and Wi-Fi devices, all in a matter of weeks. I genuinely believed we had arrived at a time and place where we could move our education system forward and reconceptualize schools and classrooms to be student-centered and student-empowering spaces that served, saw, and affirmed the brilliance of every child.

Unfortunately, the same principles Mandi referenced and that Matias (2013), Vaught and Castagno (2008), and others researched applied. When educators and parents felt stressed, uncertain, or frustrated, they reverted to what was familiar and comfortable.

Since then, the backlash against equity, anti-racist work, and Critical Race Theory has specifically curbed my optimism but intensified my urgency. The pendulum of white privilege and white supremacy swung back against the progress that was being made. The pandemic took its toll. However, I remain an optimist at heart. My combined roles of scholar, researcher, and practitioner convince me that we can collectively create a different, equitable school experience for the students in our care.

Another world is not only possible, she is on her way. On a quiet day, I can hear her breathing.

—Arundhati Roy

Appendix A

Educator Recruitment Email



Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis

School of Education

Good morning! I am a doctoral student at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in the Educational Leadership and Policy Analysis department, conducting a study on white teachers' perceptions of anti-racist professional development, particularly as it relates to racial identity development and anti-racist practice. I have been approved to conduct the study in the Roseville Area Schools, and your school has been selected as one of the schools in the study.

The first phase of my study is a survey. The survey includes 17 multiple-choice and 3 short-answer items and can be taken anonymously. Most participants complete it in approximately 13 minutes. The second phase of my study will involve case study interviews with a smaller number of teachers who indicate they're interested in participating in interviews.

The survey is confidential, and your participation is voluntary. When I report my findings, any personally identifiable information will be removed or masked in publication, including the school and district name. You can decide whether to share your name and contact information at the end of the survey; please note that I will use that information to follow up with a small subset (approximately 10-12 teachers) of survey respondents who volunteer for case study interviews.

If you are willing to take the survey, please use the link or QR code that follows. In lieu of a signed consent form, I have linked the consent form [here](#); you will indicate consent by taking the survey. If you would like more information about the study, you can contact me at sssmith2@wisc.edu. *Note: some participants shared that it was helpful to have a list of equity or anti-racist professional development they attended when they completed the survey; this is by no means required or necessary.*

Best,
Sherri Cyra

Appendix B

Phase One Survey Design

This is the survey design plan. The actual survey will be designed and administered through Qualtrics. Participants will receive a district-specific hyperlink and QR code through e-mail, by which they can access and complete the survey on any device.

General and Demographic Information

School (Dropdown)	District Specific School Options (converted to district & school pseudonyms in data dashboard)
Role (Dropdown)	Grade-level Teacher Content-Specific Teacher Specialist Other Role (with text entry)
Experience (Slide Scale)	Years in Education Years in District Years of Equity or Anti-Racist Professional Development
Racial Identity (Multiple Choice)	Asian Black/African American Hispanic/Latinx Indigenous American/American Indian Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander Two or More Races White (skip to end if white is not selected)

Identity Development and White Racial Frame

Racial Identity Development					
Q1-Q3: Select the statement with which you agree most. ⁶ (each row is a discrete item)					
There is no race problem in the U.S.	American society is sick, evil, and racist.	I believe Western Civilization is the most sophisticated culture to ever exist.	I identify with my ethnic group or social class rather than my race.	White culture and society must be restructured to eliminate racism and oppression	I accept that being white does not make me superior to any other racial group.
My race is the human race.	There is nothing I can do to prevent racism.	It does seem that students of color break rules more often than white students.	I want to help understand or address racism but may need people of color to help me	White people and culture are not superior to people of color and their culture.	Being a member of a multi-racial environment is important to me.

⁶ Racial Identity Development item descriptors are drawn from Helms, J. (2020). *A race is a nice thing to have: A guide to being a white person or understanding the white persons in your life*. Cognella.

			understand.		
I personally don't notice what race a person is.	I avoid thinking about racial issues.	I am more comfortable around people of my race.	I try to help people of color when I can or help white people understand people of color.	A multicultural society cannot exist unless white people give up their racism.	My race (whiteness) is an important part of who I am.
Q4: From your perspective, to what degree has professional development impacted your racial identity development?					

1 - No Impact	2 - Slight Impact	3 - Moderate Impact	4 - Significant Impact	5 - Very Significant Impact
Q5-Q6: Select the statement that best reflects your beliefs about racism.				

Most racism ended after the civil rights era.	Racism creates challenges for many people of color, but not all people of color.	Racism in the U.S. is deep-seated and systemic, built upon centuries-old, institutionalized systems of oppression.
There is less racism today than decades ago. What happens today is the result of racist individuals.	White privilege is connected to and creates systemic inequities for people (& students) of color.	White privilege is the result of white supremacy.

Q7: From your perspective, to what degree has professional development impacted your thinking about racism?				
1 - No Impact	2 - Slight Impact	3 - Moderate Impact	4 - Significant Impact	5 - Very Significant Impact

Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy

Q8-Q19: Select the description that best describes your practice toward building relationships with students. <i>(each row is a discrete item)</i>		
I care about all of my students.	I find something to appreciate or identify a strength of each student.	I believe students bring funds of knowledge to our classroom and I learn from them as they learn from me.
I especially want to help my students of color.	I am committed to the success of all students and feel connected to all of my students.	Every one of my students can achieve at high levels.
Q10: From your perspective, to what degree has professional development impacted a change in your practice toward building relationships with students		

1 - No Impact	2 - Slight Impact	3 - Moderate Impact	4 - Significant Impact	5 - Very Significant Impact
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Q11-Q12: Select the description that best describes your anti-racist curriculum and course content practice. (each row is a discreet item)

I have incorporated books and materials that represent people or authors of color.	I have de-emphasized the Euro-centric focus in my course or curriculum; we examine issues from multiple perspectives. I try to incorporate students' interests & identities in course content.	Students' identities are included and examined in class & through the curriculum. We discuss students' role in social action & institutional & systemic change.
I have added the contributions of leaders and figures of color to my course or curriculum.	We regularly discuss racism & inequities at the individual & institutional levels.	I have reconceptualized my curriculum with a critical focus on race, racism, power, & oppression.

Q13: From your perspective, to what degree has professional development impacted a change in your practice toward anti-racist curriculum and course content?

1 - No Impact	2 - Slight Impact	3 - Moderate Impact	4 - Significant Impact	5 - Very Significant Impact
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Q14-Q16: Select the description that best describes your anti-racist pedagogy. (each row is a discreet item)

I incorporate critical thinking work in my classes	We learn about formal and informal leaders who have advocated for change and engaged in activism	We interrogate texts and focus on the omission of voices, experiences, & perspectives of oppressed people
I have incorporated more representative materials and topics into my classes	I incorporate a critique & analysis that includes stereotypes, representation (incl. misrepresentation and absence)	I provide explicit instruction on recognizing bias and confronting racism
I incorporate social issues, particularly historical issues	I incorporate an examination of contemporary social issues or student-driven topics/issues	I incorporate a problem-solving practice oriented toward engaging students in institutional or social change

Q17: From your perspective, to what degree has professional development impacted a change in your practice toward anti-racist pedagogy?

1 - No Impact	2 - Slight Impact	3 - Moderate Impact	4 - Significant Impact	5 - Very Significant Impact
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Q18: Name the specific professional development events and/or experiences (formal or informal) that you perceive to have impacted your racial identity development and/or change in practice toward an anti-racist stance. (only populates if the previous answer was 2 or higher)

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Q19: Describe the specific professional development events and/or experiences that you perceive as impactful in **your racial identity development**. Were there particular activities, discussions, etc. that were especially powerful? (only populates if the previous answer was 2 or higher)

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Q19: Describe the specific professional development events and/or experiences that you perceive as impactful in changing your **relationships with students** and/or **classroom practice toward an anti-racist stance**. What was it that impacted you? Were there particular activities, discussions, etc. that were especially powerful? (only populates if the previous answer was 2 or higher)

Closing

Phase Two (Yes/No) Would you be willing to participate in a follow-up case study interview?
 Name (Short Text) Optional; Required only if "Yes" on Phase Two question
 Contact Email Populates only if "Yes" on Phase Two question
 Contact Phone Populates only if "Yes" on Phase Two question

Thank you for the time you spent taking this survey.

Your response has been recorded.

Appendix C

Phase Two Educator Interviews

Interview Protocol*

Start Recording

Consent (both interviews)

When I sent out the invitation for the case study interviews, you also received the Phase 2 Consent Form.

- *Do you give your verbal consent for interview participation?*
- *Do you give verbal consent to be quoted directly in publications without your name?*

Interview One

Introductory Questions

- How did you come to be a teacher?
- Please summarize your teaching experience.
- What drives your practice as an educator? (possible follow-up: How/where does equity or anti-racist work fit into that?)

The introductory questions are designed as a soft start and a time when I can build an intentional connection with participants

White Racial Identity Development, White Racial Frame

- If your racial identity development journey were a book, where would it start? What would show up in the professional development chapter?
 - When is the first time you remember being aware of your racial identity?
 - Describe your racial identity development journey.
- Are there particular events, not necessarily professional development-related, that intersected with your identity development?
 - For example, was there information you learned about the history of the United States or current events that was impactful on your racial identity development?
- How would you describe yourself as an educator in terms of equity or anti-racist work?
- Tell me about a time when you felt uncomfortable discussing racism or your own racial identity.
- How have you thought about white privilege and white supremacy (e.g., how they intersect with schools, education, equity/anti-racism work)? *Text in parentheses is used if participants require more explanation.*
- If you were able to talk to yourself from ten years ago, what might you want to share?
- Were there specific professional development experiences connected to the development of your (white) racial identity? How did you interpret/experience that professional development? Can you tell me more? Describe the experience? Professional development that was impactful in understanding the history of racism, white privilege, etc.?

Interview Two

Anti-Racist Ideology and Pedagogy

Amanda Gorman, the poet who spoke at President Biden's inauguration, opens her poetry workshops with the question, "Whose shoulders do you stand on? She shares, 'I am the daughter of Black writers who descended from freedom fighters who broke their chains and changed the world. They call me.'" As an equity-focused or anti-racist white teacher, whose shoulders do you stand on?

If you could go back in time and re-do one experience in your classroom related to anti-racist practice, what would it be? How would you approach it differently now? Why?

If you could shine a light on the best example of anti-racist practice you've engaged in, what would it be? Why?

- Can you tell me about a specific lesson that exemplified your anti-racist pedagogy or curriculum work?
- Do you have a copy of the lesson plan or instructional material, an example of student work, or something else you could share?
- Can you describe a unit that you and/or your team have reconceptualized from an anti-racist perspective?

Were there specific professional development experiences that impacted your practice toward an anti-racist stance? If so, can you tell me more about them? Describe them? Describe how they changed your perspective about your practice? How did your classroom practice change as a result of that professional development?

If you were able to transform education, or your school, to be truly anti-racist, what would you envision? What would it require to achieve that?

If you could design the ideal and most impactful anti-racist professional development experience, what would it be?

One theme that has arisen in both the survey and interviews is the role that colleagues, and sometimes students or families of color, have played in helping white teachers unpack and understand the history of racism and the current structure of racism in schools. This can place an especially heavy burden on staff of color, especially in predominantly white spaces. How could professional development be designed in such a way as to reduce the burden on the staff of color and shift it to white educators? *(added after the first couple of second-round interviews)*

When you think about the interplay between your own (anti-racist) racial identity development, race consciousness, and anti-racist practice, did one lead or follow the other? Can you elaborate on that?

General Inquiry Stems

Tell me about a time when...

Give me an example of...

Tell me more about that...

What was it like for you when...

Notes:

*The interviews will be semi-structured; these questions will guide the interviews, but the critical inquiry process will result in variation based on participants' answers and our interactions.

**Inquiry stems will be employed as follow-up questions to topics that participants raise, or when elaboration is required.

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