2020

Conscientization and Leadership: A Study of Latina Principals

Elizabeth Beltran
Loyola Marymount University

LOYOLA MARYMOUNT UNIVERSITY

Conscientization and Leadership: A Study of Latina Principals

by

Elizabeth Beltran

A dissertation presented to the faculty of the School of Education,

Loyola Marymount University

In partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree

Doctor of Education

2020

Conscientization and Leadership: A Study of Latina Principals

by

Elizabeth Beltran

Loyola Marymount University
School of Education
Los Angeles, CA 90045

This dissertation written by Elizabeth Beltran, under the direction of the Dissertation Committee, is approved and accepted by all committee members, in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education.

3/16/2020
Date

Dissertation Committee

[redacted]
Antonia Darder, Ph.D., Committee Member

[redacted]
William Perez, Ph.D., Committee Member

[redacted]
Kortney Hernandez, Ed.D., Committee Member

DEDICATION

Para todas las mexicanas que vivían en un mundo partido en dos, las cuales que con el amor de las mujeres que las rodean, tuvieron el corazón para sanar y luchar. Que para mi han sido mis hermanas, mis hijas, mis dos Margaritas y lo más dulce de mi vida, mi Mama Consuelo.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work brings together a journey of reading, learning and researching that was created by a need to fully understand my humanity. This journey could not have been traveled without the love and understanding of the people who have loved me as I am. First, my children, Viviana, Carolina, Natalia and Andres, who have endured the many nights and weekends that I spent reading and writing. They helped carry the dream of this dissertation with their understanding when I was not fully present for them, and in that absence, they have learned to be independent and strong. You are the heart of my heart, the love of my love and the soul of my soul. *Y Viviana, en especial para ti, porque yo se que tu carga fue mucho. Con el amor que te tengo. . . .*

My hope is that through this work, that has brought my own healing, the duality that you must live with is not as painful as the one I experienced to get to this moment.

Next, the women in my life. First my mother and grandmother, who struggled to show my sisters and I what real *mujeres* are all about. They gave us the faith that keeps us going, the perseverance to never stop and the *fuerzas* to never look back. They traveled from their home in Michoacán to forge an American dream and created for us a home. They gave us the stability that we carry into our own homes and create for our own children. Next, my sisters who are some of the strongest women I know. When I think about who you women are and the role models you are for my daughters and nieces, my heart fills with joy and pride to call you my sisters. Lastly, many thanks to Oralia, who always was there to make sure I ate, pushed me out the door on Monday afternoons, and was always willing to listen to all that my heart could not hold any longer.

I would also like to thank the men in my life. First Andres, whom I share my four children with. Without his understanding and constant support, this work would not have happened. Thank you for always being willing to take the kids when I needed the time to work and write. You never say no and I can only hope you know how much that means to me. *Tu cariño y apoyo siempre lo tengo consiente, y lo llevo en mi corazón.* My brother, who has two daughters of his own, and works every day to show them what a good loving father looks like. Oscar and all the many, many conversations that helped me get these thoughts on paper. It was through our constant discourse and dialogue that the shape for this work took hold. I thank you for questioning and listening. Your feet were always firmly planted on the ground, while I lived in the clouds.

I want to acknowledge my students who have demanded that I do better by them. You are the reason why this work must happen. Your love and care for me as your principal has given me the drive to do this work. Your voices and your hearts have to be heard and I hope that this work allows me the ability to shape a school that helps you achieve, create and most importantly allows you to love your Latino culture as much as I have come to love my *Mexicanidad*.

I would also like to acknowledge LMU and Dr. Antonia Darder who gave me the words that I was lacking for so long. The language to understand the duality that had caged my humanity. Dr. Darder, your knowledge and support has helped me free my very existence. Shannon, Cameron and Fatima, without you always pushing me to write and sharing in some of our frustrations, this work would not have happened. Thank you to my committee members, Dr. Will Perez and Dr. Kortney Hernandez, for their support and insights.

And finally and most importanly, *a Dios, que para mi es la luz que me calma y me que me mantiene siempre centrada. Con solo saber que soy amada por Dios, todo en el mundo es posible*.

Y arriba la banda, el mar, el sol, y la luna!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Table **Page**

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

Conscientization and Leadership: A Study of Latina Principals

by

Elizabeth Beltran

Demographics in American urban cities have been steadily changing over the last few decades and are on their way to becoming more ethnically diverse than ever. Cities in the southwestern region of the United States are increasingly becoming primarily Latino (Mellom, Straubhaar, Balderas, Ariail, & Portes, 2018). This demands the need for a reflective and critical view of the schooling system in this region and how it serves the needs of the Latino communities. This dissertation makes a case for the need to push against mainstream educational practices that are imposed on school systems by lawmakers, capitalist corporations, and philanthropist, and looks instead to the educators of color, more specifically to Latina principals, who work hand in hand with teachers and families in working-class Latino schools. This proposal calls for the development of a critical consciousness by educators of color as a grassroots change effort to heal the dehumanization that these educators have themselves suffered as a result of their experiences in American school (Annamma & Morrison, 2018).

Educators have a responsibility to support students in the development of voice and participation in ways consistent with a democratic social order. This requires educators committed to the amelioration of oppression and the formation of an educated and empowered citizenry. Through examining the perceptions of bicultural principals who are aware of this dilemma and involved in the mentorship of bicultural educators, the study sought to identify

what practices and understandings are needed in working-class Latino schools to support educators and students of color to deal with the duality of their biculturalism, which can have a negative impact on the academic achievement of Latino students.

Similarly, the study brought to light the emancipatory approaches that conscious Latina principals utilize when engaging with bicultural teachers who teach bicultural students from working-class communities The goal was not to create another superimposed reform effort that closes the "achievement gap" of students of color, but to instead, close the "critical consciousness gap" that affects many educators of color, so that they can in turn create emancipatory pedagogical centers in majority minority urban schools.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

> In English my name means hope. In Spanish it means too many letters. It means sadness, it means waiting. A muddy color. It is the Mexican record my father plays on Sunday mornings when he is shaving. . . .
>
> At school they say my name funny as if the syllables were made out of tin and hurt the roof of your mouth.
>
> But in Spanish my name is made out of a softer something, like silver,
>
> But *I am always* Esperanza.
>
> I would like to baptize myself under a new name, a name more like the real me, the one nobody sees.
>
> Sandra Cisneros, *House on Mango Street*

Growing up as a Chicana in the 90s, I always knew that there was something different about me. I always felt fragmented, like I was not fully myself. I was Mexican at home, but not white enough at school. I straddled between two worlds and missing the language to describe it. Until I found Sandra Cisneros's (1991) book *House on Mango Street.* With this story, I finally felt as if someone was putting into words the things I was experiencing every day. I found in myself my own inner Esperanza, the one who could explain what I was living.

House on Mango Street did for me what no book had ever done before, it told the story of my struggles of living between my Mexican Catholic culture and my white American school culture. The two worlds could not be more different. At home, everything seemed to have more "*sazón*". Living felt full of love and color. The music filled the soul and healed the heart. Things had a magic that only miracles by *La Virgin de Guadalupe* and *San Judas* could make come true. The words, the food, the smell of the house had a full embodied sensory experience that made me feel alive.

At school, all that had to be shut down. I became an English-speaking individual who had to be more cognitive than sensory. The idea of explaining anything through feelings was frowned upon. The school world was filled with logical arguments and terminology that followed strict

structures. The more similar you were to the rest of the students, the more you would fit in and connect. Leaving school at the end of the day felt liberating. I could mesh both worlds on my walks home from school. I could be a reflective thinker and a full-bodied Mexican girl with hoop earrings and red lips, as I swayed to the Mexican tunes that rang in my ears. Only during those walks home could I truly be me, the me that no one saw.

As I struggled with this duality, I became an avid reader. I wanted to find more of those stories that could explain what I was living. I wanted to connect how I was feeling to what was in the books we were reading in school. Over the years, I realized that my experience was not reflected in the stories or histories in the books we read nor the lectures we heard in school. I was learning about places and people that had little to do with me and who I was. When the topics of Mexicans or other Latinos came up in stories or articles, it always gave a negative or politically correct representation of who we were. I slowly found that I had to learn how to secretly live inside myself, if I was going to "make it".

I was always searching; searching for answers that would finally make me whole. My grandmother would walk me to the library to help with my never-ending quest. She would ask me, "*que tanto buscas*" and I would answer the only way I could, "*no se*". She would help me carry home the ten new books I checked out every two-week along with some "*novelas*" for her. We would then sit in the sun in the porch outside my house, while she read love stories and I looked for answers to help fuse the two parts that lived inside of me. As we sat together, my grandmother would remind me that no matter what I found or how bad things were when I found my answers, I could always come home; and home was spoken in Spanish and safe, full of love and forgiveness and rich with faith.

And such began my journey into the world of education. My teachers in school attributed this curiosity to intelligence. They saw in me someone with drive and potential. I was labeled as one of the smart Mexican girls in school. I was given opportunities that other students were not offered. From these experiences, I learned that my condition did not define me. I had lived in two very distinct worlds that had been altered by decisions my parents had made, but also by the limited circumstances and opportunities available for poor working-class communities. The identity that was imposed upon us was one that was unfair and unjust, simply because our family's material structure had changed. We were still a family, just one whose make up was now different and whose resources were very limited.

My grandmother Consuelo had experienced the same thing when her husband died, and she had to immigrate to the United States alone. She went from living a decent life in Mexico to being a maid and a nanny in white affluent homes in Los Angeles. She had experience firsthand what we were living through and because of that was able to hold a "safe space" for us to grapple with the injustices we were beginning to face and most importantly, feel as young Chicanas in the 90s. I feel that I was one of the lucky ones, who had a place for healing and critical reflection in my grandmother's arms; she was a cultural beacon that grounded my identity. My grandmother was an unwavering ray of hope, faith and love. She taught me that I was whole and loved. She instilled in me the ability to believe in myself and to dream and work towards making the world a more just place for others around me. She believed in me and her unwavering sense of admiration and love carried me through my early years in schools and allowed me to flourish.

At school, my answer to escaping all the injustices I saw in my neighborhood was to be a top student. I joined every club and group on campus, so that I would not have to go home to the poverty that awaited. I also understood that my mother's lack of involvement in my education

had nothing to do with her value system or her perceptions of what was important in life. It was a consequence of our impoverished conditions. She would always tell us that she could either come to our school functions or work so that we could have a place to live and food on the table. We all understood and began to look outside our home for support. For me, it became the educators I saw day in and day out at school. I understood early on that the only thing that would hold me together when things went bad was my education and my culture as a Chicana.

Educators, along with my grandmother, became my surrogate parents who helped instill in me a love of learning and the desire to succeed. My grandmother's love and my sixth-grade teacher's strong believe in my abilities is what set my trajectory to college. My teacher was instrumental in planting in me the idea that college was within my grasp. The first words from his mouth on the first day of sixth grade was, "This is the first day of your college experience". He was the first person who had ever mentioned college to me.

Prior to this, I had never even heard about college, let alone know what it was. As a child from a working-class family, my parents never discussed college with my siblings and I. College was never set as a goal for our future. I was one of six children, whose father believed I should just be a good girl, find a husband, get married and have children. The high expectations that my teacher brought to the classroom is what made me think that there was another future for me, where I could use my intellect to forge a new reality for myself. Suffice to say, that I followed the path that my teacher set in motion for me as a sixth-grade student and was the first to attend college on both sides of my family. My teacher's ability to see my humanity—and not form prejudices because of race, gender or class—gave me the confidence to believe that anything was possible.

I attended a primarily Latino school in a working-class neighborhood and as I sat in classrooms, I began to understand that not all of students were afforded the same opportunity to a post-secondary education. I understood that not everyone was given the choice or opportunity to attend college. Despite the rhetoric of American schooling, I came to see that the majority of my Latino friends were often tracked into vocational programs, while only a few were put into college tracks. I was one of those students who was able to move between two distinct cultural worlds with enough ease as to not disrupt my acceptance in either. This allowed me to have access to educators who looked at me and actually saw my potential and tried to support me.

My teachers' acceptance of my academic potential persisted throughout my schooling experience, where I was tracked into honors classes, improving my future opportunities for an education. Such a choice or opportunity was only given to students that teachers felt had something in them to succeed. I was one of those students and because of these educators; the trajectory of my family's life was altered. I became the first to go to college on both side of the family. My decision to attend a four-year university has now become an expectation for the children in our family.

As I moved through that first year of college, I felt the duality I had been living with as I was growing up and began to understand that my upbringing and community was not the same as the dominant culture I was encountering at the university. For the first time, my music, my hair, my clothes, my Spanish language I loved so dearly, and the way I pronounced certain words in English became a sense of shame for me. I was forced to grapple with siting in classes with mostly white students and yearning for my family back home. My frustration and disconnection from school slowly began, while I sat not understanding why I had to pretend to be someone else. I had to be passively independent in class and fiercely exercise my right to use my Spanish

language with my family and friends. When people asked me how I was doing in college, I often did not know how to answer. I was missing the language and tools to help me better understand and contend with my "tragic dilemma" (Freire, 2000) and bicultural identity (Darder, 2012) when finding myself in hegemonic institutions that where ill equipped and unprepared to address the needs of bicultural Chicano students like myself. I had left my community and found myself in an oppressive institution that I did not understand and that did not really care to understand me.

As I packed my bags and walked out of my dorm room at the University of California, San Diego in the mid 90s, I looked back into my room with a feeling of shame and a sense of failure. I was going home back to Los Angeles and would not be returning the following quarter. I finished one year at UCSD and left feeling as if I did not belong and not understanding how I was going to face everyone back home. I had my heart set on attending a 4-year university and after one year, was leaving dejected, knowing that I was failing my grandmother and the teachers who believed in me back home. My two cultural realities clashing together, leaving me wounded.

Statement of the Problem

I recognize today the conflict and contradictions I had to content with as a working-class bicultural student and that the educators in my life set my path toward academic achievement. Hence, my life experience taught me that how bicultural educators perceive the potential of working-class students can have an enduring impact on their lives and that of their families. This phenomenon was further impressed upon me, as I became a teacher and later a principal, compelling me to explore the perceptions and knowledge of principals in developing and

creating emancipatory cultural centers of healing and reflective pedagogy in working class Latino schools.

Education has traditionally been seen as the vehicle that leads to a critical understanding of one's positionality and relation to the world and how it is experienced. Education provides students opportunities to gain tools and knowledge to bring a voice to the lived experience of the most disenfranchised through a critical teaching of literacy, which is fundamental to engaging the oppressive conditions in which many people live. Education, therefore, is considered fundamental in giving voice to the most marginalized and in supporting an awakening or a process of c*onscientização*, so aptly posited by Paulo Freire (2000) in his seminal book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Freire explained that in order to understand the oppressed/oppressor relationship, one must "take into account their behavior, their view of the world and their values" (p. 55). Without a reflective critique of one's own existences in relation to how others experience life, it can be easy to see why people remain in oppressive conditions without being able to find the way to change their situations.

The limiting believes of race, gender, and especially class, negatively impact the achievement and success of Latino students (Annamma & Morrison, 2018). A large number of Latino students live in poor communities and attend segregated schools that primarily serve Latino students. These schools are segregated by housing patterns and tend to be high poverty schools with low achievement benchmarks. According to the National Center for Education Statistics, in 2016, 44% of Latino students attended high poverty schools, compared to 4% of white students. It was also well documented that poverty decreases a child's readiness for school. The relationship between social economic status and educational measures has come to be

known as “socioeconomic gradient” (Ferguson, Bovaird, & Mueller, 2007). This approach was used to measure the relationship between academic achievement and social economic status.

The Tragic Dilemma

Unfortunately, the issue of what Freire (2000) called the tragic dilemma with respect to the perceptions of bicultural educators toward children of color has received little attention. Freire defines the notion of the “tragic dilemma” as the duality that the oppressed must contend with, as they are divided beings who are shaped by the concrete situation of oppression and violence in which they must survive (p. 55). As would be expected, educators of color are not free of this duality and often express this in their relationship with students through contradictory and damaging ways. Often, this results from tensions they experience in navigating the intersectionalities that are part and parcel of the bicultural condition (Darder, 2012). To avoid oppressive responses toward their students, bicultural educators must first understand in themselves how bicultural conditions of race, gender and class that shape their lived experiences can continue to impact them in disabling ways, even as they seek to serve Latino student populations.

Bicultural educators must possess an ideological clarity along with pedagogical expertise. Ideological clarity refers to the ability of bicultural educators to understand their current social constructs and juxtapose them with those propagated by the dominant social order (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017). This development of consciousness regarding their own lived histories is perhaps one of the most critical aspects of an educator’s preparation that often goes unaddressed (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017). As bicultural educators begin to take on leadership roles, this condition needs to be addressed more critically. As principals in leadership roles, bicultural educators now have a platform that provides the opportunity for a school to move

towards creating pedagogical conditions where students can critically question their conditions without fear of repercussion or reprisals (Darder, 2015).

In the absence of these conditions, bicultural principals and educators may continue to foster in working class majority minority schools, deficient views and victim blaming tendencies that are perpetuated through assimilative tendencies. Associated with the contradictions stemming from the "tragic dilemma", Latino students may experience (as bicultural individuals) difficulty navigating the Eurocentric educational institution. As working-class minority students continue to perform poorly, bicultural educators who are unconscious of the dilemmas they face may begin to perceive bicultural students as lacking agency and motivation. This deficit-based lens contends that bicultural students are not fit for academic success because they come from a culture of poverty that does not value education, they have poor language development, refuse to assimilate and have a cultural mismatch that disallows for success (Darder, 2017; Howard, 2010). This perpetuates the cycle of oppression that keeps working class bicultural students in poverty and under hegemonic control, where they are blamed and made responsibly for the condition in which they live instead of society changing the system that helps perpetuate these conditions (Anyon, 1980).

Because of their own experiences with oppression and possibly lack of schooling experiences that have allowed bicultural educators the opportunity for critical dialogue about their experiences within education, it is easy to understand why these assimilative tendencies are so destructive to schools and perhaps more painful for bicultural students when deficit perspectives are enacted by bicultural educators. Research has shown that for working class minority students, teacher expectations have a higher impact than expectations from families and peers; and yet, little research has been done to examine this phenomenon (Ferguson et al., 2007;

Jensen, 2013; Peterson, Davies, Osborne, & Sibley, 2016). A few studies, however, have attempted to bring to light how students of color feel and think about the expectations that their teachers have of them.

Purpose of the Study

From a critical pedagogical perspective, educators have a responsibility to support students in the development of voice and participation in ways consistent with a democratic social order. This requires educators committed to the amelioration of oppression and the formation of an educated and empowered citizenry. Through examining the perceptions of bicultural principals who are aware of this dilemma and involved in the mentorship of bicultural educators, the study aimed to identify what practices and understandings are needed to better prepare working class Latinos schools to support educators of color to deal with the duality of their biculturalism, which can negatively impact on the academic achievement of Latino students. Similarly, the study hoped to also bring to light the emancipatory approaches that conscious principals utilize when engaging with bicultural teachers who teach bicultural students from working-class communities.

Significance of the Study

As Latinos continue to grow as a population in the United States and more and more Latinas enter the field of education, the number of Latina administrators will continue to increase. It is imperative to look at Latina principals and their self-emancipation to ensure that they can create bicultural school centers of support and healing for their bicultural teachers. Principals are the source of structure and vision for a school and understanding how Latino female leaders see their role and understand their own condition is imperative in helping them

lead and redesign schools into emancipatory teaching and learning centers that further cultural democracy (Darder, 2012).

Research Questions

The research questions guided the development of this study included the following:

- How do Latina principals in working-class Latino secondary schools understand their roles as bicultural educators and define the purpose of education, their leadership role, and the role of their bicultural teachers in the process of schooling?
- How has their own experiences navigating the tensions and contradictions of the intersectionality of race, gender and class impact their approach in leading schools?
- What practices do Latina principals believe enhance the achievement of bicultural students?

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for this study incorporated two important theoretical lenses: critical pedagogy and critical biculturalism. The following discussion serves as a rationale for the use of this conceptual framework, which served as the foundation for Darder's (2012) critical bicultural pedagogy, also essential to this study.

Critical Pedagogy

Paulo Freire's (2000) seminal work, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, has had a significant impact on how we understand Critical Pedagogy (Darder, Torres, & Baltodano, 2017), which defined my position on how to best fight against oppression and injustice and spoke to hegemony and institutionalized racism and classism. Freire (2000) called on educators to be revolutionary

thought leaders who collaborate with students and their families to change the oppressive focus of capitalism in schooling that strips students of their humanity. He explained that the goal of educators should not integrate the oppressed into the structure of oppression but transform the structure through a critical analysis that allows the oppressed to become beings for themselves. Educators have the responsibility to help their students look critically at their conditions so that they seek to change the system in which they exist through a dialogical teaching methodology.

An educational movement towards becoming whole is the basis for critical pedagogy. The ability to look at theory and move toward action toward *conscientization* is what ultimately leads to liberation. When addressing the "tragic dilemma" one needs to understand that without moving towards conscientization, it is more likely that the oppressed will emulate their oppressors. The oppressive condition is one that as the oppressed move through distinct social classes, within a system of prescription, they are likely to take on the image of the oppressor, or the dominant culture. Subjugated individuals are not able to see themselves as oppressed, without undergoing a process of conscientization by way of critical dialogue and praxis. If they remain outside the process of conscientization, they will tend to seek assimilation rather than emancipation. Educators and principals who themselves have lived within oppressive conditions and have not moved towards conscientization, have the potential to teach in assimilating ways and, thus, perpetuate racialized authoritarian inequalities in their leadership of schools.

Freire (2000) posited that in order to be fully liberated, the oppressed must first critically engage with their current ideologies and, from there, begin to form a new understanding and awareness that generates new thoughts, values and a responsibility for action that engenders social justice. This new political formation, however, is one that is often mired in fear. In order to move closer to freedom, they must abandon prescriptive paradigms of education and move

toward liberatory practices. Consequently, individuals often will find themselves in experiences where they must critique and challenge the dominant culture. As educators and principal leaders, this could potentially mean loss in social mobility and even employment. The risk of moving toward emancipatory practices can seem too high, and it is not uncommon for bicultural educators to remain in subjugated conditions, without exercising their voice and calling for more just conditions, perpetuating a status quo education. In order to surmount this struggle, the oppressed must be critical and reflective of the lived and institutional conditions that produce social and material inequalities.

This often creates in them a duality that results in a "tragic dilemma" within, given the social and material conditions that do not support their cultural existence. The knowledge and yearning for freedom and the fear of what it takes to achieve it concretely is also at work here. Bicultural educators often come to realize that without freedom they cannot exist authentically. They are at the same time themselves and a reflection of the oppressor, whose identity they have assumed as their own (Freire, 2000). The conflict is between being heard and being silent, understanding, at the same time, that they live in a constant struggle between living a life imposed upon them and one of having authentic choices and true agency to change their condition.

Latino educators and principals who have themselves grown up and attended systems of schooling that perpetuate the dominant culture have to be more vigilant and reflective about their own struggles with the conflicts and contradictions they might experience within, if they are to ensure that their practices build schools where bicultural teachers and students can:

1. Constantly work with theory and practice through dialogue to ensure that critical bicultural praxis exists within themselves;

2. Create schools that serve as emancipatory centers where teachers and students; and
3. Can have the opportunity for critical dialogue that moves them toward the process conscientization.

Critical Biculturalism

Creating school systems that allow for cultural democracy in the classrooms enables students to begin the process towards conscientization. Darder (2012) posited that critical biculturalism speaks to the process where individuals learn to function in two distinct social culture environments, that of the dominant culture and that of the communities in which they live. Perhaps one of the most fundamental aspect missing in the schooling of bicultural students is the need to engage critically with how culture and power interplays with students' success within hegemonic educational structures. Darder (2012) indicated that schools with bicultural students must change the structures of schooling to support bicultural students in understanding their culture and the hegemonic school structures imposed on them. Again, according to Freire (2000), the idea is not to have students assimilate within the dominant culture, but to alter the structures of a hegemonic system, so that the oppressed can truly become being for themselves.

Through the process of assimilation and reproduction, schools maintain systems that further the process of assimilation and strip students' ability to reconcile the duality that exists within themselves. Because of this hegemonic system of schooling, bicultural Latino educators must understand the assimilation and cultural oppression they themselves are a part of within the American schooling system. Darder (2012) argued that bicultural educators who have found their own voice can serve as bicultural mirrors, through which they can serve and validate students going through this process, particularly during moments of "cognitive disequilibrium" (63), as

they begin to develop voice and the language to describe the sense of duality that encompasses their daily experience, as they move towards a more humanizing existence.

Critical Bicultural Pedagogy

In Darder's (2012) seminal work, *Culture and Power in the Classroom*, critical pedagogy and critical biculturalism in combination are essential to a foundation for a critical bicultural pedagogy; bicultural school leaders have the responsibility as critical educators to ensure that their school practices create the conditions for critical democracy in classrooms. This begins with a focus on critical bicultural pedagogy that prepares educators to offer students the opportunities to explore how dominant cultural practices affects their world and their identity (Darder, 2012). Critical bicultural pedagogy allows students a safe space where they learn with their teachers and fellow students how to question the structures that produce the world around them.

Moreover, Darder (2012) posited the following six tenets need to be present in a classroom that seeks to create an emancipatory structure. The classroom must:

1. Build on a theory of cultural democracy,
2. Support a dialectical, contextual view of the world, particularly as it relates to the notion of culture within the bicultural experience,
3. Recognize those forms of cultural invasion that negatively impact the lives of bicultural students and their families,
4. Utilize a dialogical model of communication that can create the conditions for students of color to find their voice and reflect, critique and act on their world to transform it,
5. Acknowledge the issue of power in society and the political nature of schooling,

6. Commit to the empowerment and liberation of all people all living sentient being, including the planet. (p. 102)

Although the classroom is the space where students formally receive most of their education, it is also imperative that the school itself is a center for emancipatory education. Darder (2012) shared that James Bank chaired a panel that identified twelve essential principles related to creating a culturally democratic classroom and tied them to five key areas of schooling: 1) Teacher Learning, 2) Student Learning, 3) Intergroup Relations, 4) School Governance, Organization, and Equity and 5) Assessment (p. 119). By following the tenets of these essential principals for cultural democratic pedagogy, principals can begin to create schools that provide bicultural teachers the opportunities to move more critically toward a politically clear understanding of their bicultural positionality in society and, thus, a substantive consciousness of their biculturalism and that of their students.

Methodology

This study employed a qualitative approach where critical narratives were used to uncover how Latina principals found their bicultural voice and began to move towards greater *conscientization* in their positions as school leaders. It explored how their experiences with injustices gave them the calling to move into leadership positions and how they help to foster within their school greater opportunities for their teachers to become more conscious of their own biculturalism and that of their students. I employed a critical narrative approach that allowed counterstories to emerge in order to create the room for marginalized groups to share their lived experiences in their development of consciousness (Bell, 2003; DePalma, 2008; Lea, 2014). Critical narratives allow researchers to look for patterns that emerge from the retelling of the participants experiences (Bernal, 1998). This served to document experiences outside of the

dominant cultures that were often hidden or silenced in the traditional context of educational leadership.

Participants were selected using a convenience sample of individuals known personally through my professional network. The six participants in this study were Latina principals in secondary schools in Los Angeles. Data was analyzed with Darder's (2012) sphere of biculturalism in mind, which traces the development of a bicultural identity and movement towards conscientization through a continuum with four major response patterns: alienation, dualism, separatism, and negotiation. The analysis of participants' narratives provided examples for understanding how these experiences helped the Latina principals in this study to overcome feelings of duality and "the tragic dilemma". Similarly, prompts related to the participants schools and the systems in place were framed through the lens of critical biculturalism theory, specifically Darder's (2012) tenets related to bicultural pedagogy and cultural democracy in schools as noted above.

Positionality of Researcher

As a Latina high school principal, I see more and more the effects of my leadership in creating the basis for a school to be a center that honors students' humanity and their bicultural existence. As discussed earlier, educators have the power to improve and enhance a child's schooling experience and improve their educational achievement and principals play a major role in supporting teachers in making this happen. I have found that principals who hold higher expectation of their Latino teacher and students develop powerful relationships with them that ultimately help to guide students toward future success. Given my personal experiences during my early life as a student and in my experience as a bicultural teacher and principal, my insights and perspectives were bound to be reflected in the analysis and conclusions made in this study.

I have a strong conviction that education must be enacted with love, compassion, and kindness, by educators who care and understand their students' struggle toward freedom, empowerment, and self-determination. Educators must provide opportunities for dialogue and hold space for the voices of the most marginalized, as they move through the process of *conscientização*. Creating a place and a practice by which teachers and students can reach a new level of consciousness is what critical education is all about.

Link of Study to Social Justice

Social justice is a collective responsibility. No one can truly do it alone. It is in solidarity that we lead to improve all of our collective oppression. We do not go out to help the oppressed, but we are all one, together fighting for the collective good. As a Latina woman and a practicing educator in the public-school system, I find that I have the unique opportunity to share a different perspective on the challenges that Latino communities face. I believe that with respect to the struggles people of color face with issues of race, class and gender in education, it is necessary to better prepare educators, in an effort to lessen the impact of poverty and racism on teaching and learning.

I fundamentally believe that in order for the world to be a better place, social change is needed, and the base for that change comes through the efforts of an educational community focused on analyzing, informing and demanding social justice through education. I believe that education is the ultimate catalyst for social change. Bicultural educators should be social agents for the development of a democratic social order, working to end oppression and create an educated citizenry based on democratic socialist ideals, rather than an oppressive capitalist worldview. Schools should promote equal opportunities based on shared values that seek to mobilize the citizenry for a more just society and the common good (Darder, 2012).

Poverty and teacher expectations for students in working-class communities like mine have had an incredible impact on my own perception of self and how I grew to see my own unfinishedness. This realization has shaped my worldview and guides how I work and live. Bicultural educators are important advocates in the lives of students and because of that, more needs to be done so educators define and understand the values and social constructs of Latino families in Los Angeles and incorporate their cultural values into our school system. I believe educators, moreover, need a better understanding of the intersectional impact of race, class and gender on the students within their classrooms and schools and how this impacts the development of a healthy bicultural identity for Latino students.

Key Terms

The following words constituted key terms that appear repeatedly throughout this study.

Bicultural Identity: is the condition of being oneself regarding the combination of two cultures.

***Conscientization*:** The process of developing critical awareness regarding one's circumstances, which moves individuals and communities towards active participation in a democratic social order (Darder, 2015).

Emancipatory Education: Emancipatory pedagogy is rooted in the notion that education should play a role in creating a just democratic society (Giroux, 1981) by providing opportunities for critical dialogue and reflection where people of color can begin to understand and heal their dualistic existence and move towards emancipation.

Hegemony: The process by which dominant believes, values, and social practices are produced and distributed through social institutions through a form of popular consensus in order

to effectively indoctrinate those belonging to subcultures and perpetuating the status quo (Giroux, 1981).

Oppression: Freire (2000) defined oppression as the process of dehumanization, a distortion of the vocation of becoming more fully human" (p. 44). The ability to take an individual and stripping them of their humanity through injustice, violence and exploitation. Freire (2000) also explained that oppression is not a given destiny, but a result of the conditions in which one finds oneself. He said that the oppressors exploit oppressed communities by virtue of their power and create systems of false generosity to camouflage the impact. The purpose of oppression is to subjugate a group of people so that a dominant group can maintain power, privilege, and control of material resources.

Tragic Dilemma: The choice a person of color must make between their primary culture and the dominant culture, between following a hegemonic prescription or having cultural choices, between being themselves or being what society dictates for one to be.

Organization of Dissertation

Chapter 1 sought to introduce the study, in terms of the background, research questions, conceptual framework, and methodology. Chapter 2 analyzes how race, gender and class conditions effect Latino students to highlight the experience of Latino bicultural educators who have themselves attended hegemonic public schools. It also examines the social justice leadership literature that establishes the role of the principal as a change agent and key position to the development of school culture and establishment of pedagogy at school. It also outlines Latinas as educational leaders, as well as defines the idea of emancipatory education and a critical bicultural praxis of leadership. Chapter 3 discusses the methodology that was utilized in this study, as well as presents the research design for the study. This chapter includes the way in

which data was analyzed and coded. Chapter 4 presents the data collected from the critical narratives, through the voices of the Latina principal participants. Finally, Chapter 5 provides an analysis and discussion of the findings of the study, along with conclusions, and recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

SCHOOLING OF LATINO STUDENTS AND LATINA EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP: A LITERATURE REVIEW

The process of schooling within a capitalist society perpetuates injustices that must be examined critically. Giroux (1988) established that educational language has to be understood as a theory-based endeavor that exemplifies the assumptions that govern its political, social and ideological formation. He further noted that the state of schooling in America failed to create critical emancipatory centers for learning, but instead mask the capitalist and oppressive nature through a lens that focuses on the mastery of techniques and conditioned passivity. With this in mind, this literature review delineates the oppressive conditions for Latino students in American schools, specifically related to race, gender and class. It also analyzed the effects of these injustices on Latina educators who increasingly are moving into positions of power in schools that have historically subjugated Latino students. It traced the movement of Latina educators into positions of power and defined how these positions were key to developing emancipatory schools and a critical bicultural praxis in schools.

In 1966, what has come to be known as the Coleman Report was published in America (Dickinson, 2016). This report set out to understand one critical piece of the *Civil Rights Act* of 1964, "concerning the lack of availability of equal educational opportunities for individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin in public educational institutions" (Dickinson, 2016). The report findings established that student achievement was primarily due to a student's familial conditions outside of school. This report was defined by a deficit mindset in its conclusions related to the lives of children of color, while at the same time discounting the negative effects that schools and schooling systems enacted upon children of color. The review

of the literature provided an analysis of how race, gender and class in schools impacts the achievement of Latino students and established that there is more to this lack of achievement than simply familial circumstances.

The Effects of Race on Latino Student Achievement

As Latinos continue to formulate a larger part of the American schooling system, it is critical to understand their bicultural experience, so that they are better equipped to forge new paths in the American mainstream culture. The responsibility for creating a more just and human world lies with all of us, but it must be a primary concern of those who decide to make education their lives' work. Iris Marion Young (2013) argued that the American schooling system limits the possibilities of students who fail—students that are most often members of poor working-class communities. Young (2013), therefore, believed that school systems have a responsibility to offer multiple ways in which people can continue to learn so that they can participate as empowered citizens within the society they live. This problematic and oppressive dimension of schooling in America reinforces conditions of poverty, blaming the impoverished populations for their own failure and the limited opportunities in their lives; instead of embracing their bicultural identity and helping students develop a critical understanding of their circumstances and conditions.

Race and racial discrimination in American public schools is a topic that is often ignored and can often be minimized even though it weighs heavily on the achievement of students of color. Many studies have been conducted on the effects of race on black students and some have looked at this body of research for insight when addressing the needs of Latino students (Benner & Graham,2011; Lee & Klugman,2013); however, the literature is not as robust for the effects of racial discrimination and biases on Latino students. Many educators ascribe to the mantra of "I

do not see color, I just see children.", or a claim that they are color blind (Hawley & Nieto, 2010) which is problematic in that it discounts the true identity of children of color. This problematic worldview seeks to make all students the same, by ignoring who they truly are and thereby rendering some students invisible and structural conditions that perpetuate racial discrimination.

Rejection Sensitivity

Racial discrimination can be defined as the mistreatment of individual or groups because of belonging or identification to a marginalized racial group (Vaswani, Alviar & Giguère, 2019). The fear of discrimination and how one responds to discrimination is based on an individual's current experience, a result of past experiences, and can cause someone to develop rejection sensitivity (Downey & Feldman, 1996; Feldman & Downey, 1994). Mendoza-Denton, Downey, Purdie, Davis, and Pietrzak (2002) posited that rejection sensitivity does not require one to experience discrimination directly, but people can simply develop rejection sensitivity if they belong to social groups that have historically been rejected or dehumanized. Furthermore, (Mendoza-Denton, Pietrzak, & Downey, 2008) members of racial groups who have historically experienced discrimination can develop anxiety, fear of rejection, and react intensely to perceived discrimination. For example, if students at one school have experienced discrimination in their school settings, other students of the same racial group who are new to the school may come to that school with the expectation, anxiety and concerns of being discriminated against as well. The effects of racial discrimination and sensitivity to discrimination have been found to have a negative effect on people of color. Studies have demonstrated that discrimination is associated with issues of self-worth and associated with anxiety, stress and depression (Greene, Way, & Pahl, 2006; Romero & Roberts, 2003a, 2003b).

Cultural Stress

Along with the feelings of racial discrimination, Latino students can also develop what is known as bicultural stress through the acculturation process. Bicultural stress is defined by stress over dual language fluency, conflicting cultural values, beliefs and social norms, and actual and potential discrimination from the mainstream cultural groups (Pina-Watson, Ojeda, Castellon & Dornhecker, 2013). Not only can Latino students experience racial discrimination, but they can also develop cultural stress that leads to anxiety and negatively effects their well-being (Diener,1984; Pina-Watson, Dornhecker & Salinas, 2015; Pina-Watson, Llamas & Stevens, 2015b).

Benner and Graham (2011) conducted a study on the perception and experiences of racial discrimination by high school students over a two-year period. The study examined the effects of discrimination over the first two years of high school. The findings were critical in explaining how Latino students reacted to discrimination and yet continued to pursue their high school diploma. Discrimination was perceived more often if students were more fluent in their native language and used it to help their parents within the school context, where they felt there was a discriminatory view of their parents. Furthermore, this study posited that feelings and experiences of discrimination contributed to perceptions of school climate as inhibiting and led to increase in school absenteeism and low achievement. As students were absent more from school, their level of disengagement increased, as did their lack of academic achievement (Rumberger & Larson, 1998). Disengagement from the school due to a poor school climate, correlated with a high rate of absenteeism for high school students more so than for elementary students. Cumulative experiences with discrimination that were caused due to biases around

language, lack of ethnic diversity, and the teaching staff had disastrous effects on Latino students' physical, mental, and emotional health (Benner & Graham, 2011).

Acculturation and Academic Achievement

Acculturation is the process whereby one adapts to a new culture after contact with that culture begins to create shifts or changes in attitude, language, behaviors, knowledge and identity (Berry, 2007). Acculturation has been known to have negative effects on Latino students since it calls for a change to one's identity (Waldinger & Feliciano, 2004). The level of one's acculturation can be measured by language acquisition and generational status (Valentine, 2001). The level of one's acculturation is dependent on how much a person ascribes to the cultural majority. Becerra (2012) posited that in order for Latino students to have higher levels of academic achievement, educators must understand Latino culture, values and believes at a deeper level. In order for Latino students to do better, it is not enough for students to acculturate to the dominant culture. The Pew Research Center in 2004 showed third generation Latinos students did not fare well in high school completion rates when compared to less acculturated second-generation Latino students.

Furthermore, Konold, Cornell, Shukla, and Huang (2016) posited that there was a racial gap that existed with Latino and black students and how theese students perceive the supports offered to them in schools. When compared to white students, students of color, reported that their teachers were less supportive and more demanding. The study also concluded that students of color tended to be less trusting of their teachers and thereby engaged less with the academic content in classrooms. This study also found that school climates that were authoritative, yet fair in disciplinary structure, favored students of all races, so long as students of color found the practices to be fairly executed among all students.

These findings are important, given that students of color generally can experience unfavorable academic climates, which contribute to low academic achievement and higher rates of misbehavior (Voight, Hanson, O'Malley, & Adelyke, 2015). Racial discrimination in school policies affect the achievement of Latino students. Bali and Alvarez (2003) found that school polices around credentialing, teacher diversity, class size, and language development can have a detrimental effect on the achievement of Latino students. Schools where teachers were fully credential, adequately equipped with technology, and smaller class size created a more favorable schooling experience for Latino students.

The Effects of Gender on Latino Student Achievement

The gender disparities in Latino children is one that needs to be addressed when understanding the biases created in schools, since Latinas students tended to outperform their male counterparts (Bae, Choy, Geddes, Sable, & Snyder, 2000; Clewell & Anderson, 1991). Similarly, Hughes, Im, and Allee (2014) posited that Latino males had a lower level of school belonging than Latina girls. The dropout rate for Latino males was well over 65% (Schott Foundation, 2010) and they were more likely to be expelled or suspended (Fergus & Noguera, 2010). The rate by which Latino males felt like they belonged in school, moreover, did not show growth from middle to high schools. Latina girls on the other hand, showed similar trends in feelings of school belonging of other ethnic groups.

This study was significant because it also showed a positive correlation with feelings of school belonging and student achievement thereby suggesting a possible reason why Latina female students are out performing Latino male students. Similarly, Riegle-Crumb (2006) indicated that Latinas females are more likely than Latino males to enroll in higher-level math courses in high school. This in turn limited Latino student access to post-secondary education,

where Latinos continue to have one of the lowest college graduation rates (US Department of Education, 2019).

According to Erba (2018), one major factor that contributes to the lack of Latino male student achievement was the racial stereotypes depicted in the media, with Latino males depicted primarily as lazy, violent criminals, and less intelligent; while Latina women were portrayed as self-sacrificing virginal women or manipulative sexual women. Erba (2018) explained that this stereotypical representation had an effect on how Latino students were perceived by their peers in schools and they consciously must change their behaviors and identity so as not to exemplify perceived stereotypes.

The Effects of Poverty on Latino Student Achievement

Although poverty is not an issue that many people are willing to seriously grapple with, living in poverty has a major impact on a person's life. The traditional definition of poverty is one in which a person does not have enough money to buy the necessities essential to well-being. Merriam-Webster's definition of poverty states, "The state of one who lacks a usual or socially acceptable amount of money or material possessions." I use this definition because when most people think about the definition of poverty, this is what they believe, the classic dictionary definition of poverty. This definition limits what it means to be poor, to a social economic status that is directly tied to the amount of money an individual possesses.

A more robust definition of poverty is one in which poverty is also measured by the access (or lack of access) that one has to the things necessary to exist as an integrated person in society. That includes access to healthcare, childcare, social emotional services, education, and positive role models (Ferguson et al.,2007). Poverty, here, is not limited to the amount of money one has but to the social structures that are not easily accessible to families who live in poverty.

For instance, a parent who needs to work multiple jobs might not be available to assist school functions or have the time to take their children to participate in extracurricular activities. Working class families have limited amounts of time, material resources, and institutional access which goes beyond simply the amount of money they possess. It is well documented that poverty decreases a child's readiness for school. Through the aspects of health, home life, schooling, and neighborhoods; poverty causes material and social deficit that impact students' achievement in school. The relationship between social economic status and educational measure has come to be known as "socioeconomic gradient" (Ferguson et al., 2007). This measures the relationship between academic achievement and social economic status.

Families from working communities lack assistance in many areas, from childcare to role models. Children from these working-class communities can come to school unprepared, without the social and academic skills that will allow them to prosper in the banking system of education. Studies have examined factors that have the most impact on students' classroom engagement. One study proposed seven differences or factors considered to have the most impact on student engagement in working class communities. The differences occur in the areas of health and nutrition, vocabulary, effort, hope and growth mind-set, cognition, relationships, and distress (Jensen, 2013).

Children living in poverty must endure difficult life conditions that can interfere with their academic achievement. The ability to form relationships with peers, educators, and other adults is considered significant for students' academic achievement (Friend & Caruthers, 2012; Gonzalez & Padilla, 1997). Unfortunately, this is often difficult to achieve even with educators of color, given the way the assimilative culture of schooling reinforces assimilation and the tragic dilemma or contradictions of duality that often results (Freire, 2000) in the schooling experience

of Latino students. Similarly, this ability to forge relationships can also define how much or how little assistance and care Latino students received from their educators (Friend & Caruthers, 2012). Students who are perceived to positively meet expectations are thought to not only make more positive connection with their educators but are also more likely to receive the assistance and guidance that support them to excel academically (Jones, Miron, & Kelaher-Young, 2012).

Hochschild (2003) analyzed the impact of social class in schools. Evidence showed that good teachers had clear positive effects on students and that tremendous amount of harm that can be done by bad teachers over the course of time. In addressing this topic, Hochschild introduced the idea of "nested inequalities". This concept indicated that there are inherent structures in schools that perpetuate the cycle of low achievement for minority students. This study showed that high-poverty and low achieving schools had teachers who have not majored in the fields in which they teach, they have less access to technology, and they group students by ability. Students are poorly taught in classrooms where teachers have low expectations. According to Hochschild (2003), policy changes were needed to improve the conditions in which poor children are educated, so that students can have access to similar methodologies and resources as those enjoyed by more affluent students.

Studies demonstrated that students from marginalized communities understood the implied low expectations that are inherent in the tracking method of placing higher achieving students in cohorts of similar students (Alvidrez & Weinstein, 1999). Students understood that placement in these tracks was normally done by teacher recommendation. Such ability grouping was usually a reflection of teacher expectations. Secondary students were also aware of when the expectation for their success was less than what was expected of their peers.

Furthermore, students living in poverty can experience a sense of hopelessness, despair, and, depression. This affects students' participation in school and their engagement in classroom life (Jensen, 2013). School structures are such that students are told to try harder and be self-motivated. They are constantly told that they must have individual or inner motivation to succeed. This is difficult for students in working class communities who live in poverty and do not see their conditions improving. It is easy to understand why they disconnect and become withdrawn in school. Jensen (2013) noted that even their body language and their attitude was reflective of one who may be experiencing depression and a loss of hope.

Teacher Expectation and Working-Class Students

Issues with social class and race have been found to have a tremendous impact on the academic achievement of minority students. A review of the literature demonstrated time and again how social class and ethnicity can affect and lower the expectations teachers have for the academic success of their students (Alvidrez & Weinstein, 1999; Colon, Esparza & Sanchez, 2005; Jensen, 2013; Mc Kown & Weinstein, 2008). Studies have shown that this in turn, perpetuates the conditions of poverty when children fail to make adequate academic gains, fail to transition on to post-secondary education, or drop out of high school altogether. Teacher expectations, moreover, are not clearly defined in the literature. Most of the literature focused on what is expected of the teacher by the administration, but not necessarily, what teachers should expect of their students. This causes one to wonder how the concept of teacher expectation is taught and explained in teacher preparation programs. For this review, teacher expectation is defined as the beliefs a teacher has that his/her students can learn and have high academic achievement.

Jean Anyon (1980) analyzed the disparity that exists in curriculum between schools who have students from different social classes. Anyon (1980) employed the notion of "hidden curriculum" to explain how schools prepared students depending on their social status for different types of professions; with those from higher social status being afforded curriculum that emphasizes skills sets leading to social power or curriculum emphasizing skill sets related to practical manual work, generally offered to working class students. Anyon (1980) evaluated five elementary schools with different social class structures. Two of the schools were in working class neighborhoods with most of the parents having blue-collar jobs. The income of the majority of the families was similar to almost 40% of the population in the United States. With respect to gender and unemployment rate, 15% of the fathers were unemployed while only 30% of the women were employed. The remainder three schools were in more affluent neighborhoods; with one being in a middle-class neighborhood, one upper middle class, and one upper class (Anyon, 1980).

Anyon's (1980) study further concluded that the two schools in the middle-class neighborhood shared some similarities, but their income gap was $15,000 from the highest income level in the middle class to the lowest income level in the upper middle class. The middle-class school had parents in an array of jobs ranging from blue collar to white collar and a few occupations. The upper middle-class families held more professional occupations and earned income representative of seven percent of the population. The upper-class school was constituted of fathers who were executives. This group's income was similar to the one percent of the families in the United States. There were no minority children at this school. The other four schools all had minority populations ranging from 10-15 percent.

This ethnographic study included observations, interviews and data analysis of the demographics of the student bodies at each school. Anyon (1980) found that the curriculum that was taught at each school was biased towards the prevailing social class at each school, respectively. Schools with mostly blue-collar workers tended to be more prescriptive, rule following, with teachers being more directive. Teachers did not seek to include students' creativity or voice, but rather expected to exert control in ways that were not always kind or caring, but instead seen as threatening. As the social class increased in each school setting, so did teacher expectations and the rigor and creativity of the curriculum and instruction that was afforded to students. These findings clearly demonstrated a bias in curriculum and expectations in schools due to social class. The study was not conclusive in any association to these biases holding to the issue of race. The reason for the disparity according to Anyon (1980) was one purely associated with class differences.

Other studies have continued to explore the issues found by Anyon (1980). Along with the notion of the "hidden curriculum", research has shown that teachers have lower expectations for minority students (Mellon, et al, 2018). Quantitative studies have demonstrated that teachers have a less favorable perception of the achievement levels of multicultural students. According to Peterson et al. (2016), teacher expectations were set because of underlying assumptions of race and class. Teachers' previous biases and believes of stereotypes created a predisposed opinion of working-class minority students. This study concluded that when teachers have higher expectations of their students, regardless of prior biases for race and class, students would perform better. Teachers who can learn to overcome racial and class stereotypes are successful in forging positive relationships with their students and thereby creating learning environments that are conducive to student success.

Mc Kown and Weinstein's (2008) study supported Peterson et al.'s (2016) findings. Their qualitative study looked at 83 classrooms with a total of 1872 elementary aged students. They looked at the correlation between child ethnicity and teacher expectation. This study tested the idea of "conditional race neutrality" that was developed by Ferguson (1998) that stated that any correlation between child ethnicity and teacher expectation reflected ethnic bias. This article contends that African-American students were the ones who primarily were the targets of racial stereotypes, while for Latino students their intellect was normally the target of bias. Latino student intellect is more often brought to question and often deemed less than that of white students. Ferguson's (1998) study explored the concept of race and teacher expectations in three different classrooms. The study employed the Teacher Treatment Inventory (TTI) to measure the classroom level of perceived differential treatment. The classrooms included students from four main ethnic groups, white, Asian, African American and Latinos.

The results of Ferguson's (1998) study concluded that the bias due to race does occur less in school teachers' expectations with white and Asian students than with African-American and Latino counterparts with the same ability level. In classrooms where the population was more diverse, teachers tended to have lower expectations for minority students and higher for white and Asian students. Teachers tended to rank white and Asian students seven to eight points higher in reading and Math than African-American students and Latino students. The study called for the need to better prepare teachers to mitigate the problems of stereotyping and perceived bias in African-American and Latino students. Hence, the research clearly demonstrated that teacher expectations for working class students had a significant impact on how these students felt about themselves and how they saw their potential for future success.

Although research has shown that for working class minority students, teacher expectations have a higher impact than the expectations from families and peers, not much research has been done to ascertain the voice of these students.

Studies, moreover, have demonstrated that students from marginalized communities understand the implications of low expectations that are inherent in the tracking method of placing higher achieving students in cohorts of similar students. Students understand that placement in these "tracks" are normally done by teacher recommendation. Such ability grouping is usually a representation of teacher expectation (Alvidrez & Weinstein, 1999). Secondary students are also aware when the expectation for their success is less than what is expected of their peers. Drawing from a comprehensive study by Anne Wheelock (1993) in *Crossing Tracks*, Darder (2012) noted, moreover, "Tracking, as a mechanism of exclusion that acts primarily as a sorting device, historically has supported and reinforced attitudes and practices that result in the unfair treatment of bicultural students" (p. 16).

Toward Emancipatory Educational Practices

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Paulo Freire (2000) described quite accurately, what occurs within the American educational system. He posited that the banking system of education oppresses working class students, through it highly prescriptive and objectifying pedagogy. In a banking system of education, the teacher is seen as the giver of information. Teachers are the carriers of knowledge, while students are expected to receive. The teacher's reality is what reality becomes for the student. The scope of action a student is allowed is that of receiving, filling and storing deposited (Freire, 2000). Students are not allowed to think for themselves, but rather, are told how and what to think and believe. The very nature of this way of learning, maintains the students in a dormant state, where they do not question their unfinishedness.

Yet, Freire (2000) insisted that teachers and students have an inherent need to become more fully human. By nature, a person seeks to improve their human condition by being critical and reflective thinkers, who come to a greater sense of self-awareness or consciousness. In contrast, the banking system of education is formulated to control and minimize a person's ability to become fully human. Freire's answer to the dehumanization that occurs as a consequence of the banking system of education is the concept of "problem-posing education".

Table 1 provides a comparison between how Freire (2000) viewed banking education and problem-solving education. It is interesting to note that a sort of "problem-posing education" is the pedagogy generally at work within elite upper-class schools. While, banking education is most often the pedagogy and curricular approach found in working class neighborhoods. Table 2 compares this phenomenon with respect to curriculum in working-class schools and upper-class schools, which can shed light on why there is a need for principals to develop critical consciousness if they are to support teachers in enacting practices within their classrooms that promote a more just society.

Table 1
Comparison of Banking Education and Problem-posing Education

Banking Education	Problem-posing Education
Teacher teaches, students are taught.	Learning is a cognitive process instead of a memorization of facts.
Teacher know everything, the students know nothing.	Teacher and student learn from each other.
The teacher talks and the students listen meekly.	Teacher and students jointly responsible for the learning and growth.
The teacher chooses and enforces his choice, the students comply.	Constant dialogue between the teacher and the student, no passive listening.
The teacher chooses the program content and the students adapt to it.	Mutual respect by teacher and students.
	Student has a decision-making power.

Note: Adapted from *Pedagogy of the Oppressed, by* P. Freire, 2000, New York, NY: Bloomsbury. Copyright 2000 by Bloomsbury.

Table 2
Comparison of Working-Class and Upper-Class Curriculum

Curriculum in Working Class Schools	Curriculum in Upper Class Schools
Teacher teaches and the students are taught	Students engage in discussion of concepts
The teacher knows everything, the students receive information	Students engage on independent projects where they are in charge of their learning
The teacher talk and the students listen	Students are expected to reflect and be conscious of their own behavior
The teacher chooses and the students comply without questioning	Students treated with respect and their humanity respected
Techers give orders, and the students follow directions	

Note: Adapted from "Social Class and the Hidden Curriculum of Work," by J. Anyon, 1980, in *The Journal of Education, 162(1),* pp. 67-92. Copyright 1980 by Rutgers University.

Hence, banking education is deeply implicated in the issues of race, gender, and class that many Latino students face in American schools. Low expectations, poverty, and a banking system of education affects the capacity of principals to create emancipatory organizations within schools. When examined critically, the educational system with its hidden curriculum, low expectations, and biases due to class and race perpetuate a system of oppressions that is difficult to transform. Freire (2000) noted, however, that not all educators knowingly participate

in this oppressive system, but that they too, can inadvertently dehumanize their students. Nonetheless, Alfaro and Bartolomé (2017) argued that educators can develop consciousness and become more aware of oppressive structures and, thereby, support the humanization of teachers and students. They contended that this is best carried out through the implementation of emancipatory educational practices that promote voice, social agency, and empowerment.

Emancipatory educational practices can create a context that supports the healing of bicultural students who have struggled to understand the oppressive conditions that they endure every day in their lives. Through the process of critically analyzing political and social issues and the consequences of social inequity, people of color can begin to heal the tragic dilemma they contend with (Nouri & Sajjadi, 2014). Emancipatory pedagogy is rooted in the notion that education should play a role in creating a just democratic society (Giroux, 1981). Within the context of an emancipatory pedagogy, marginalized and oppressed people can begin to move towards a greater sense of empowerment and thus, humanization (Annamma & Morrison, 2018). Humanization is the creation of an individual who begins to see himself or herself as more complete, through love, humility, faith, trust, hope, and critical thinking (Nouri & Sajjadi, 2014).

Tan (2009) furthered the idea of emancipatory education and explained that it consists of five tenets.

1. Engage: Building trust, respect, and buy-in with students, families and communities
2. Educate: Developing academic and critical competencies
3. Experience: From exposure to lived experiences
4. Empowering of self: Knowing that there is hope
5. Enact: What are you going to do about it?

These five tenets move what Freire (2000) described as problem-posing education into a practical way of defining and creating schools that contribute to increasing critical consciousness and undoing the tragic dilemma in the life and practice of Latina principals. Tan's (2009) five tenets gave emancipatory educators a way to frame their work in schools, to support this process.

Much needs to be done to improve the educational praxis of teachers and their schools, so that they are more effective in the academic formation of working-class bicultural students. Freire (1998) believed that teachers must engage in constant critical reflection within the context of their practice. They must understand that without a critical approach, emancipatory practice is impossible. He believed that teachers must be constantly involved in the dialectical movement between "doing" and "reflecting on doing" (p. 43). Educators must consistently examine their beliefs and practices to ensure that they are living a praxis that supports student empowerment (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017; Beckett, 2013; Darder, 2012). Moreover, they must understand that just like their students, educators are learners as well. Freire (2000) insisted that without a critical analysis of the practice of yesterday and today, the practice of tomorrow cannot improve.

Jacobs and Struyf (2015) study also suggested the need for emancipatory educators to develop a caring climate where students can thrive. Principals must be more than just educators of content; they must also be compassionate individuals in how they engage teachers and students in their schools. They must understand that respect from teacher and students is fundamental, if they are to be effective leaders who help teachers and students to develop greater consciousness (Freire, 1998). As Freire (2000) asserted, the relationship must be one where principals learn from teachers and students and teachers and students learn from their principals. In order to accomplish this spirit of collaboration, principals must hold high expectations of their

teachers and students and be committed to creating schools that embody a humanizing culture of leadership, as well as teaching, and learning.

Issues Latina Principals Face

As Latinas begin to achieve and attain higher post-secondary educational gains, it is necessary to understand the effects of race, gender and poverty on their trajectory through education to understand the effects of the Freirean "tragic dilemma" on their lives as educators. It is necessary to listen to the voices of Latina leaders and how they have come to attain their leadership positions (Hernandez & Murakami, 2016). It is important to note that in California, the current population of Latino students in 2019 constituted approximately 55% of all students in the state of California (see Appendix A). Similarly, the California Ed Data Facts source (2019) stated that approximately 21% of all teachers in the state were of Latino descent and 73% of them were women (see Appendix B). According to a survey conducted by the School Superintendents Association in 2016, women constituted 52% of all principals nationwide, an increase from 13% in 2000 (Superville, 2016). With the growing number of Latino students and teachers in the state of California, it is safe to say that as the Latino population increases, more Latina educators will step into the role of principals across the state. The following section engages some issue pertinent to understanding the experience of Latina principals

Women as Principals

Given that Latinas must engage with questions of gender and leadership, it is useful to briefly discuss issues related to women as principals and some of the issues they face. Although women are overrepresented in the role of teacher, women remain underrepresented in the role of site and district level K-12 leadership. Current research has generated hypotheses about this disparity, suggesting there continue to exist biased perceptions of women in leadership roles and

a lack of sustainability of women within the role of principal as contributing factors (Hernandez, Murakami & Cerecer, 2014). Women tend to not fit the traditional archetype of a leader and this negative perception not only affects the evaluation and perception of women in leadership roles, it may also affect women's perceptions of themselves as leaders (Chemers, 1997).

As a potential remedy to the overwhelming demands on secondary site principals, and the future growing demand for new principals, educational researchers suggest the need to change the public's expectations of principals, providing more mentoring, developing leaders from within a school system, and restructuring the position itself, in order for women principals, and in particular Latina principals, to feel more effective in their roles (Ferrandino & Tirozzi, 2000; Whitaker 2001). Cimperman (1986) suggested that self-perception was an important variable to be considered when examining leadership behavior and holds promise as a means for expanding the scope of research on effective leadership. Not only does gender effect a leader's perception of their effectiveness, race and class also impact their sense of legitimacy (Milligan & Howley, 2015; Ospina & Foldy, 2009). Experiences with oppression and injustices related to race, gender and class contribute to the tragic dilemma that principals of color must contend with in themselves and in their school communities.

Effective female principals create schools that are inspirational, considerate, and offer teachers intellectual stimulation. (Hauserman & Stick, 2013). Furthermore, principals are essential to ensuring that the school has quality teachers that support students and protect them from possible harm that can be caused by their teachers (Donaldson, 2011). From the standpoint of Freirean pedagogy, this speaks to a humanizing environment that supports voice, social agency, and participation among both teachers and students in the process of teaching and learning (Darder, 2015).

Latina Principals

Although Latina principals face many of the same issues as principals in general, for Latina principals their bicultural identity, language and childhood experiences with race, class, and gender shape who they are as leaders (Murakami, Hernandez, Mendez -Morse & Byrne-Jimenez, 2016). This study of 213 Latino principals found that Latino principals had the same managerial concerns as all principals. This study posited that many Latina principals considered themselves democratic leaders and this was tied back to their cultural upbringing and their childhood experiences with injustices. Furthermore, the experiences of Latina principals with issues of identity, language, and race ultimately influenced their advocacy (Monarrez, 2010). Moreover, Bagula (2016) posited that Latina principals tended to lead in the same schools where they were also taught. Her study concluded that Latina principals had strong familial support as they move into teaching and subsequently leadership roles, contradictory to claims that Latino parents were not involved in their children's education. This study also posited that Latina principals continued to face issues of race, gender and class in their roles as principals.

Montaño's (2016) dissertation presented in his study many possible reasons why Latina principals are unrepresented in administration. His study found a lack of resources, both in paying for additional credentials, but also human capital in the form of mentors and networks of other Latino administrators. Montaño (2016) in his dissertation also posited that the impact of the Latina principal in a school served as role models for Latino students. Further, this study showed that the lack of Latina role models was also problematic, given that many Latino educators have themselves been taught in banking models of education, which perpetuates the belief that Latina principals were not as capable or knowledgeable to lead schools. Figueroa (2018) found that childhood experiences had a tremendous impact on Latino principals. This study found that

because of their experiences with race, gender and class, Latina principals tended to practice transformative leadership. This type of leadership style looked to improve schools' culture and climate systems, which are a necessary and crucial aspect of emancipatory practices in schools.

Culturally Affirming Spaces

Given that Latina principals are doing the difficult work of creating more critically conscious schools, it must also be noted that they must have spaces where they can engage in critical dialogue and reflection with other like-minded principals of color. Freire (2000) posited that the movement towards *conscientization* can be one of great danger for the oppressed. This is the very reason for the duality and the tragic dilemma it informs, which can inhibit or minimize the movement towards freedom and actualization of the humanity for people of color. In a similar way, hooks (2003) explained that democratic educators must continue to teach and share knowledge in a way that breaks the hegemonic system of American schooling.

The idea of safe spaces is found in the literature as places where people of color can have an affirmative space where they can be truly themselves and reflect and grow in solidarity through their experiences with race, gender and class. There is much controversy on "safe spaces" and the need for people of color to partake in these spaces (Harpalani, 2017; Hill, 2020). The controversy lies in the believe that these spaces are used as a place for segregation by people of color and are not inclusive to white people. Harpalani (2017) theorized that on the contrary these safe spaces were a place for people of color to feel solidarity through shared experiences and to further explore their responses to injustices they face. Safe spaces are a place where Latina principals can create counterhegemonic opportunities, where there is ample room for bicultural voices and the affirmation of bicultural identities are welcomed and engaged critically.

School Culture, Climate, and Change

Research confirms that the culture and climate of the school can have an impact on not only student achievement (Brand, Felner, Seitsinger, Burns, & Bolton, 2008; Chen & Weikart, 2008; Collins & Parson, 2010), but also the experience of teachers and principals (Murakami et al., 2016). There is much to be said about a school's culture and climate and what can be done when these are positive and supporting or negative and stifling. The key to change in organizations, as it is with individuals, is the presence of a safe environment where people are included in the process of growth and change (Saetren & Laumann, 2017) and where change is not only valued, but celebrated. Hall and Hord (2015) explained that organizations adopt change, but individuals implement the change and, because of that, need to be supported. This is one of the most critical "must know" of an educational leader, who wants to create a system that promotes a school community's movement toward *conscientization*. A school must have a system in place that allows for a structure of dialogue and reflection. Moreover, research shows "the key role principals play in helping their schools succeed. Excellent principals make important contributions to school culture and climate and have detectable and substantial impacts on student achievement" (Manna, 2015, p. 8).

Price (2012) posited that a principal's commitment to change in a school was directly affected by the relationship with her teachers. The ability to create meaningful relationships that are transparent has a direct impact on the school culture, which the principal is primarily responsible for creating (Byrk & Schneider, 2002; Hauserman & Stick, 2013). Similarly, a positive teacher/principal relationship increases teacher retention when a principal has a servant leadership approach (Shaw & Newton, 2014). This type of leadership is one that is rooted in listening, empathy healing and a commitment to the growth of people (Northhouse, 2016). The

tenets of servant leadership fall very closely in line with the tents of a critical bicultural educator who is centered in supporting an emancipatory school climate, where teachers and students are encouraged to become more critically conscious of school and community life.

Cultural Relevance

Gloria Ladson-Billings has written extensively about culturally relevant pedagogy as the tenets that can improve the achievement of students of color. She wrote, "[N]o human being is ever the same in every context. The variety of "selves" we perform have made multicultural education richer, more complex and more difficult enterprise to organize and implement than previously envisioned" (2010, pg. 50). Ladson-Billings (2010) challenged us to think differently of multi-cultural education as a process for reform and change. Such is also the calling for bicultural Latina principals. As principals, Latinas have the opportunity to guide teachers and students in their own movement towards critical consciousness by ensuring that cultural emancipatory practices are at work in their schools (Cooper, 2009). This entails that Latina principals' practices are linked to a critical analysis of their own schooling experiences with the intersectionality of race, gender and class and the ideological constraints of hegemonic schooling (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017).

Culturally relevant leadership models (Guthrie, Jones, & Osteen, 2017) use the idea of systems thinking as a way that Latina principal leaders can look at their schools critically through a systemic understanding of interactions with all member of the school community. This supports the development of cultural competence for the school community, including the principal, teachers and students in a culturally inclusive campus. Furthermore, the ability to create practices of inclusivity has shown to have positive effects on the school culture and climate (Owen, Hassell-Goodman, & Yamanaka, 2017). A focus on culturally competent

leadership then enhances the ability of Latina principals to develop their own leadership identity, as well as improve their self-efficacy and those of members of their school community (Kohli, Lin, Ha, Jose, & Shini, 2019; Owen et al., 2017).

In working class Latino schools, the assumption often is that Latino educators understand the cultural implications of students of color. As Freire (2000) reminded us the duality of the "tragic dilemma" experienced by oppressed individuals does not always allow them to understand their own oppression and can lead them to replicate oppressive conditions by assuming the identity of the oppressor. One then must explore how Latina leaders have developed consciousness of their own experience with the "tragic Dilemma" to better prepare Latina principals to lead emancipatory schools that are anchored upon transformative practices of critical analysis, reflection and dialogue (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017).

With respect to the relationship of their racial identity to their leadership practice, one study found that Latina principals did not consider this relevant, stating that the fact that they were Latinas had no bearing on how they organized and led their respective schools (Mendez-Morse, Murakami, Byrne-Jimenez, & Hernandez, 2015). The study, however, went on to conclude that the same group of principals expressed that the fact that they were Latinas allowed them to connect more with their students. These principals seemed to have a dualistic or contradictory approach to how they articulated their experience as school leaders. The practical organizational aspects of schools were something they needed to separate from their culture, while the human process of connecting with students was one where their culture was of most importance. There seemed to be a disconnect in how they viewed the impact of their cultural values and how they enacted the process and practice of their school leadership.

Critical Biculturalism

The dualism noted in Latina principals by Mendez-Morse et al. (2015) above was consistent with Darder's (2012) notion of cultural dualism in her articulation of the sphere of biculturalism (See Figure 1), where she noted the response patterns of individuals who are moving towards

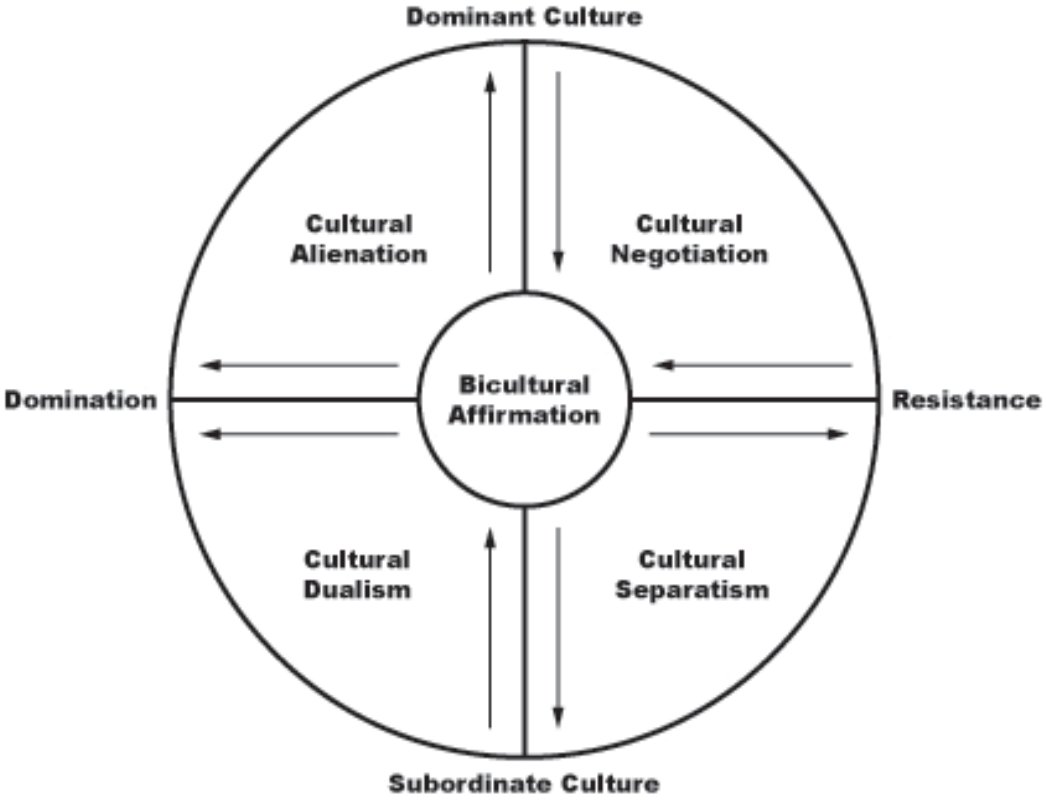

Figure 1. Sphere of biculturalism. Source: Adapted from *Culture and Power in the Classroom* (2nd ed.), 2012, by A. Darder, New York: Routledge. Copyright 2012 by Routledge. Used with permission

conscientization, while contending with the tensions of their bicultural identity. Individuals contending with the "tragic dilemma" within themselves often exhibit conscious and unconscious responses that move across contradictory, oppressive and emancipatory responses to the primary and dominant culture. Darder (2012) posited that four major response patterns are negotiated in a variety of ways, as bicultural individuals seek to arrive to a sense of bicultural

affirmation—an integral response pattern that moves them beyond the incapacitation of the tragic dilemma. The four major response patters associated with the sphere of biculturalism include:

1. *Cultural alienation* reflects an internalized identification with the dominant culture and a rejection of the dominant culture.
2. *Cultural dualist* reflects the idea of moving across two separate identities that are incompatible with one another.
3. *Cultural separatists* remain strictly within the boundaries of the primary culture, while rejecting the dominant culture.
4. *Cultural negotiation* reflects and attempt to mediate, reconcile and integrate the reality of lived experiences in an effort to retain primary cultural identity while also functioning within the dominant culture for societal transformation of the society at large. (Darder, 2012)

According to Darder's (2012) critical theory of biculturalism, a bicultural person must go through the painful of experience of developing their identity through the refusal and eventual acceptance of their primary culture. This experience is one that causes trauma in an individual, but at the same time allows for one to develop an awareness that when shared, can make the journey for other bicultural individuals less painful. The Sphere of Biculturalism has four quadrants of response patterns that explains how a bicultural person can engage with the primary and dominant cultures. When one has a fundamental understanding of the range of responses for bicultural students, one can begin to design emancipatory practices that help engage students of color in moving towards consciousness and the overcoming the "tragic dilemma" that defines their experiences (Darder, 2012).

Latina principals that are not critically conscious of the oppressive ideological forces that shape their dualistic responses are unable to critically analyze, challenge, and work to change hegemonic structures of schooling (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017). In order to do this effectively, Latina principals must understand their own bicultural identity formation and the manner in which their identities have been shaped by the intersectionality of oppressive forces that impact their lives (Darder, 2012). Developing cultural competence is not an event, but rather a process that forges over time through critical dialogue and reflection (Sperry, 2012).

Creating Emancipatory Schools

Latina Principals in working-class schools face a climate that seeks to place the majority of accountabilities for student success on schools and is moving towards a more privatized scheme of education (Glass, 2001). As such, classes are housed in school buildings that are becoming increasingly more and more shaped by neoliberal policies of standardization and accountability (Darder, 2017). Unfortunately, emancipatory leadership styles are not necessarily well received within such a context. Schools principals are asked to have open door policies and establish clear systems of accountability, communication, and decision making (Fullan & Quinn, 2015), but are not asked to be critically conscious leaders who can enact the principles of an emancipatory pedagogy or transformative leadership (Shields, 2010). Competition, rather than cooperation, is the accepted norm. Educators, unfortunately, are not innately awake to a sense of justice and moral courage (Jost, 2006). Fullan and Quinn (2015) posited the need to develop clear, written rules and procedures so that everyone is familiar with shared expectations. Although this can seem rather unbending, they argued it also brings a systematic way of organizing a school that can be equitable and fair. This supposedly allows for the equal treatment of all individuals in the organization (Northhouse, 2016; Owens & Valesky, 2015).

One problem with this form of leadership, however, is that it does not consider the everyday lived experiences that one encounters in the daily work of schools. Sometimes, rules that are written and applied systematically negatively impact those who are most vulnerable (Stahl, 2017). They do not allow for everyday life to be taken into consideration when dealing with teachers and students (Annamma & Morrison, 2018). The rules, although enacted to create a fair system, can be ineffective and create unequal systems for both educators and students of color, particularly when issues of intersectionality are not considered in the practice of school decisions (Mellon & et al, 2017; Stahl, 2017).

The ability to couple systematic school procedures with a positive mindset of growth and reflection is a key component of an effective leader. One allows for the use of clear systems and procedures to make for a smoothly running organization, while the other allows for compassion and differences in how we express our humanity to enter the school community. Theoharis and Causton-Theoharis (2008) theorized that there are three dispositions that emancipatory leaders possess. These include: 1) a theoretical foundation, 2) a bold vision, and 3) a sense of agency.

These characteristics allow emancipatory leaders to look at school structures more comprehensively and, thus, continuously move them closer to enacting with their faculty emancipatory schools. Furthermore, emancipatory leaders have a moral responsibility to move their schools towards ending oppression. Stahl (2017) posited that oppression depended on a systematic acceptance of social norms that constrained disempowered groups as part of social practice. Latina principals as emancipatory leaders have a moral imperative then to be conscious and watchful, so that oppressive practices do not go challenged or unaddressed in their schools.

Conclusion

As Latinas begin to move more and more into roles as teachers, they also are slowly moving into administration and positions of power, specifically as principals. It is necessary to understand that the majority of these teachers and principal leaders received their education in the very same low-income neighborhoods that many are teaching and leading in (Flores, 2017). Without critical work that moves towards conscientization it is likely that Latina educators and principals will continue to perpetuate race, gender class biases and the banking system of education they themselves experienced in the process of their schooling (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017).

The literature presented in this chapter suggested that Latina principals must possess both caring and humanizing practices to enact emancipatory schooling environments that can provide Latino teachers and their students safe spaces to grapple with the tensions related to their bicultural identities, which create dilemmas that can keep them subjugated to hegemonic conditions. Schools leaders, in particular Latina principals, have the opportunity to be both reflective and practical visionaries who can critically analyze the conditions of inclusion and exclusion that occur within their schools. The ability to enter into a process of greater critical consciousness is not far from reach, but it does take a courageous leader who is willing to see the humanity and solidarity with which she must execute her calling. Little research has examined this phenomenon of consciousness among Latina principals, which is precisely what this study has sought to address.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

A critical aspect of supporting consciousness within schools is the ability to dialogue and to develop new ways of reading the world (Freire, 2000). An integral aspect of this within the context of this research, was enacting a critical bicultural praxis, where the voices of Latina principals were centered in order to understand the ways they have come to consciousness and; in so doing, moved beyond the tensions of the tragic dilemma (Freire, 2000), particularly with respect the intersectionality of race, gender, and class. Toward this end, this study employed the use of critical narratives, also known as *testimonios* (Bernal, 1998), to understand the lived experiences of participants in this study.

Research Questions

The following research questions guided the execution of this study:

- How do Latina principals in working-class Latino secondary schools understand their roles as bicultural educators and define the purpose of education, their leadership role, and the role of their bicultural teachers in the process of schooling?
- How has their own experiences navigating the tensions and contradictions of the intersectionality of race, gender and class impact their approach in leading schools?
- What practices do Latina principals believe enhance the achievement of bicultural students?

Qualitative Methodology

The need to understand the conditions and experiences of how Latina principals are leading schools called for this study to be a qualitative study. A qualitative study allowed for a more personal and nuanced analysis of phenomenon that cannot be measured by quantitative approaches. Goodson (2001) traced the development of using life histories as a method to understanding the lives of people through a narrative approach. Goodson explained that Becker in 1970 delineated that a narrative methodology allowed for a counter-narrative to be created for people in marginalized groups. He asserted that narrative methodology allowed those in power to better listen to those they seek to serve. In this study, this meant, listening to the voices of marginalized female Latina principals as they shared how they were coming into consciousness, their understating of the intersectionality of race, gender and class; and how these pertained to the schools they led and the emancipatory systems they sought to imbed in those schools.

Furthermore, narratives allowed not only the researcher, but also the subject an opportunity to be reflective about their own stories. Dyer (2010) posited that educators through a narrative approach revisit their experiences and their students' experiences through the perspective of who they have become as they grow as educators. She explained that this reflective practice is a process of discovering the underlining philosophical and moral underpinnings of what constitutes the experiences of educators and students and critically reflective on their meaning and consequences.

Research Design

The following provides a discussion of the research design utilized to conduct this study of Latina principals.

Participants. For the purpose of this study, I interviewed six secondary Latina principals in the San Fernando Valley. All six principals served in the same school district and all six had been teachers in the same district as well. Through my professional connections, participants were selected by convenience sampling or snowball sampling. I contacted them through email and telephone. Of eight leaders identified as potential participants, six agreed to be interviewed via an email invitation. Once my sample was identified, I provided them with an informed consent form. They also completed a demographic questionnaire so that I could identify and sort participants who were educated in working class Los Angeles neighborhoods and attended majority minority schools as children. This questionnaire identified participants who felt at times as if they had lived with a duality, that intersected their culture and their careers. All but one of the interviews were conducted in person for a duration ranging from 60 minutes to 120 minutes between December 26, 2019 and February 1, 2020.

Collection of Data. I engaged each participant individually through the use of critical narratives, where they shared their stories on how they dealt with the intersectionality of race, gender and class, as they had grown in their professions to become principals. The critical narratives focused on the participants' perceptions of childhood experiences that shaped their identity, as well as their identity as secondary principals, and their roles in creating emancipatory schools in Los Angeles.

Critical narrative prompts based on the ideas of critical biculturalism were used with participants to assist them in sharing their perspectives on how they helped to build emancipatory practices in their schools. The prompts were used to assist participants to share stories related to the following five areas.

1. Participants' childhood experiences with issues of race, gender and class, at home and in school grades K-12.
2. Participants' experiences in college with issue of race, gender and class.
3. Specific experiences that the participants identified as critical in cementing their bicultural identity and any experience, where they felt like the "other" or a sense of not belonging.
4. Participants' experiences with race, gender and class in their role as bicultural principals.
5. Emancipatory practices participants believed were effective in enhancing the critical consciousness and achievement of Latino students.

In this way, the study specifically sought to find patterns in the narratives of Latina principals where the intersection of race, gender and class experiences helped define perceptions of their bicultural identity, the systems by which they led their schools and moved them towards emancipatory practices, as well as their stories about how they experienced the process of conscientization. I recorded and transcribed each interview. Pseudonyms were used to identify each participant in order to ensure confidentiality.

Transcription and Coding. Critical narratives were recorded and transcribed. During the initial interview, participants were informed that a second interview might be needed to clarify any aspect of the initial interview that was unclear. I reviewed and listened to the audio recording of the interviews several times in order to become familiar with the data. Data was transcribed and coded for patterns in the lived experiences that demonstrated similarities and difference between participants. Data was analyzed for stories demonstrating where bicultural identity was formed and what feelings were generated because of those experiences. I sought to engage with

the participants stories of bicultural identity and their experiences as women and secondary school principals.

Analysis of Data

Data was analyzed through a critical bicultural lens that encompassed Darder's (2012) critical bicultural pedagogy (as discussed in Chapter 1) and the sphere of biculturalism (as discussed in Chapter 2) to better understand how participants' experiences shaped their bicultural identities and informed their leadership philosophies and emancipatory practices within their schools. By using this conceptual lens for the analysis of the data, participants narratives were reviewed closely in order to find patterns or correlations that would provide insights into their bicultural identity, their formation of critical consciousness, and their leadership praxis.

Limitations and Delimitations

Participants were selected through a convenience sampling which could limit how forthright participants were with sharing their stories. Similarly, participants were asked to critically analyze their educational experiences growing up and more importantly look for similar practices in schools they led. This can be problematic since a reflective practice might uncover instances where schools were not emancipatory centers, but rather perpetuating negative hegemonic conditions. Trustworthiness as a science according to Moss (2004) has been delineated by Lincoln and Guba (1985) as having four criteria—credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. I mitigated the issue of trustworthiness by meticulously transcribing the interviews.

One delimitation of this study was the fact that all participants were selected from the same geographical location. This limited the amount of experiences that participants had in their school context, since they were leading schools in the same general geographical location. This

was mitigated by giving possible participants a demographic questionnaire that highlighted where they received their schooling as children, which may make the findings more generalizable.

CHAPTER 4

Latina Principal Narratives

The purpose of this study was to identify and explore how Latina principals develop their leadership practice through their own critical consciousness and reflection of their life experiences with respect to issues of race, gender and class. The study sought to bring to light issues of dualism and biases that Latina leaders may have overcome to inform a critical consciousness, through which they led their schools. As biculturalism and dual language concerns entered more fully into mainstream consciousness and conversations about biculturalism are slowly infiltrating educational spaces, it was imperative to understand how Latina principals came to form their bicultural identity, how they contended and moved beyond restrictions of the tragic dilemma and begun to forge a new critical consciousness as bicultural leaders.

The critical narratives process provided participants opportunities to freely discuss issues in their lives where they felt a duality in their identity and connect those experiences to issue of race, gender or class. This allowed for deeper analysis of the participants responses, as they engaged in retelling how these experiences shaped who they were as bicultural leaders and how these experiences shaped their beliefs of what was most impactful in creating emancipatory structures and practices in their schools. This chapter includes brief participant profiles and an overview of the findings, by way of themes that emerged from the data. The first theme centered on conscientization and the participants experiences with race, culture and class and the effects of those experiences to their bicultural identity. The second theme related to participants as bicultural mirrors for teachers and students. The final theme centered on emancipatory practices participants identified as effective in their schools.

Participant Profiles

The following provides brief profiles of the six Latina principals that participated in this narrative study. The table below includes the demographic information that was taken from the participant questionnaire. That is followed by a more in-depth profile for each participant.

Table 3
Participant Questionnaire Information

	Family Structure	Marital Status	Education	Teaching Experience	Years as Principal	Inspiration
Soleil	Both parents	Never been married	Private Colleges	9	7	Teacher
Josefina	Blended family	Never been married	Out of State	6	9.5	Teachers
Lizeth	Single mother	Married	UC	7	4	Teacher
Andrea	Both parents	Widow	State Colleges	6	4	Teacher
Elena	Single mother	Married	State College	4	8	Teacher
Nati	Both parents	Married	CSU	18	9	Teacher

Soleil

Soleil was born in the United States to Mexican immigrant parents. She is the oldest of four siblings who grew up in the San Fernando Valley where the majority of her experience in education has been. She grew up in a two-parent household where education and going to college was important. Soleil's educational experience was primarily in public K-12 schools, in the same community in which she served as principal. Her college experience, however, was in a private university, where she received her bachelor degree and teaching credential.

Soleil had served as an educator for 22 years. She was a classroom teacher for nine years, teaching grades nine to twelve. At the time of this study she was in her seventh year as a high school principal. Soleil believed strongly in working in tandem with Latino students so that they

too can overcome some of the barriers she experienced growing up in Los Angeles. She believed firmly that women and people of color must move into positions of leadership to ensure that these barriers are not just overcome, but that systems are changed to be more inclusive of all people. Soleil stated,

> As a bilingual educator, I think it's really important that students understand that there are multiple perspectives in the world and if you are bilingual or bicultural, those are things that should be celebrated. I feel the more you can see things from different perspectives, then the better you're able to connect with other people. I feel that the more women and people of color are in positions of leadership or power, I think that's what's going to help break down these barriers. I see my role as being part of that pipeline of support.

Josefina

Josefina was born in Chile an immigrated to the United States with her mother and stepfather at the age of six. She grew up in a household of four children, two sisters and two brothers. Her family expected graduation from high school and did not promote college as an expectation. She attended public schools for her K-12 education. She attended a small private college in upstate New York where she received her bachelors and teaching credential.

Josefina had been in education for 24 years, serving over ten years as a teacher. At the time of this study, she had served as a principal for nine years in both middle and high school. Josefina remembered fondly how teachers in school made her feel capable and convinced her to go into the teaching profession. Similarly, it was other educators who persuaded her to go into administration, a path she was not considering. She shared an experience that helped make that

decision clearer, when a white woman explained to her that, "it was our job to pull these kids out of poverty." Josefina shared her reaction to this statement,

> I remember just being so insulted and aghast that she said that. . . . I realized that it wasn't about us pulling kids out of poverty, it was about educating them so they can do that for themselves. That's my philosophy, that we educate children so they can pull themselves out of poverty.

Lizeth

Lizeth and her three brothers were raised by her mother in the same primarily Latino working-class community where she was the principal of a high school. Her family believed that education was important to get ahead in life. Her brother, who "was like a dad" for her and her mother always inspired her to do more and allowed her to concentrate on her studies. Despite growing up in the housing projects, Lizeth felt that she, unlike some of her peers, had teachers who believed in her.

Lizeth had been education for 22 years, seven of those as a classroom teacher and four as a principal. She held out of classroom positions and had been an assistant principal as well. She credits her teachers as the primary reason why she went into education. She believed her role as a principal was to "prepare students for the world" and to give students hope and "show them that they can dream." She believed a high school diploma was not enough and that she was also responsible in preparing students for college.

Andrea

Andrea grew up in Los Angeles across the street from a high school that was plagued by violence. She was raised by her Mexican immigrant parents with her two sisters. She considered her family close knit and stated that for her father "family comes first". Her father believed in

traditional gender roles and was extremely careful and protective of his three daughters. Her mother was not allowed to work when the girls started middle school, since she had to be home when they arrived from school. Her family believed in the need for a high school diploma, but college was not over stressed.

Andrea worked in the same high school she attended, where she was the principal. The majority of her educational experience were in this same school public high school in the San Fernando Valley. She attended public schools for her K-12 education and a state university as well, where she received her bachelor degree and credentials. She had been in education a total of 18 years and had served as a principal for two and a half years. She believed her primary role as principal was to calm the fears of parents, students and teachers. She attributed this mindset to her restrictive upbringing that she feels was fueled by her parents fear of the unknown.

Elena

Elena is of Mexican descent raised by her mother in East Los Angeles. She is one of three siblings who struggled growing up while her father was in and out of prison. She spoke candidly about her sense of family and belonging in her East LA neighborhood. She remembered fondly her time in public schools in LA and the Spanish language she grew up speaking at home and in her community, until it all changed in middle school, when she was bused from her much loved community to a neighborhood in Tarzana, a predominately affluent white community. During this time as well, her mother moved the family to Palmdale where she could afford to buy a home. Her mother, who worked for the school district, then moved Elena during her final years in middle school to the northeast part of the San Fernando Valley. Her mother began working at a school that would make the drive to Palmdale more manageable. Elena continued her public

school education through high school and then attended a private university in Los Angeles, where she received her bachelor degree and teaching credentials.

Elena began her principalship at the same middle school she attended. She believed that her role as a principal was to provide students the opportunities and exposure to see what is possible. She states, “How do you dream bigger, and how can you dream about something you’ve never seen or don’t know anything about. So, it’s about pushing [students] to go beyond the limits.” She explains that as an educator, her role was to ensure that her “staff is patient, that they put in extra time and acknowledge that [students] exist” because you don’t see the “turnaround immediately.”

Nati

Nati was born in a small mining town in Honduras where her father was a miner and her mother stayed home. She derives from a family of six children; four daughters and two sons. Neither one of her parents had much schooling, with her father only going to sixth grade. Her mother had no education, since her grandparents believed this was a way of protecting her. Nati’s father was an alcoholic and her mother did not work. Her mother felt that sending Nati to America would improve her chances for a better future. She shares this poignant memory in the following manner:

> It was a very difficult situation for my mother. It was because of that that I decided to come [to the United States] after they got divorced in 1985. She got rights to all the kids and it was clear to us, that if you want more than to just be a housewife and to stay in this little town, you need to leave. We called our grandmother who lived here in the United States. It was actually the divorce of my parents that gave us that opportunity.

Upon her arrival in the United States Nati, began high school in a public school in Los Angeles. In this working-class Latino neighborhood, Nati said she "was incorporated very safely." She felt she was very sheltered and protected. She then went on to a community college and transferred to the University of California, Los Angeles where she received her bachelor's degree.

Nati, at the time of publication, led secondary schools in the San Fernando Valley. She always wanted to be of service to her community and knew at an early age that she wanted to be a teacher. She joined a social order of sisters and intended to become a nun. She eventually left the order, married and began her career as a teacher in public schools in Los Angeles. She believed her role was to create a sense of family in her school community, so that everyone at the school site had a sense of belonging.

Conscientization and the Intersection of Race, Class, and Gender

One of the major themes that emerged from this study was related to the process of conscientization and its connection to issues of race, class and gender. What follows provides an illustration of the manner that each participant spoke to this theme.

Soleil

Soleil grew up in a primarily Latino community where she went to school with primarily Latino students. She always felt very connected to her family and community. Although there were instances where she found herself at odds with her family and culture, overall, her upbringing was very positive and loving. Soleil, explains that she "didn't see herself as different because I was always around family and friends and they just loved me unconditionally."

Although Soleil felt acceptance, she described differences in expectations at school and at home, stating, "My parents were very strict, but at school. Like those restrictions weren't placed

upon me." She spoke about having more freedom at school than at home, and that sense of freedom, placed her at odds with her home environment.

> I had to struggle a lot with some of those traditions at home, for example whenever we would have a family get together, I remember the women would serve the men first and we would have to help serve. Then the women would eat. I remember thinking that it was unfair, so I wouldn't do it and go serve my own plate, and then go sit down.

Soleil also described a time in high school where she became very aware of her culture and how her culture connected to her sense of identity. Soleil took part in a summer camping activity that was organized by a non-profit organization Future Leaders of America. This organization took Latino youth camping for a week where they learned about leadership, identity and culture. "It was all about being proud of your heritage and where you came from, but also instilling in us that we could have leadership roles," explained Soleil. Soleil recalled how difficult it was for her parents to allow her to attend the camping trip. She explained how two Latino teachers were able to convince her parents to let her go on the trip—a trip she considered life changing.

> I think that experienced help me to be able to overcome that sense of isolation or feeling different when I was in college. I was able to build a network of friends that I could be myself around and dance my *cumbias* and sing my songs and still we all had the same goal of doing well in school.

Soleil credited this experience with helping her meld her two cultural realities. She acknowledged that before this, she was more rebellious at home and resented some of her parents' rules and cultural norms. Although the camping experience did not directly engage with

issues of injustice, it was an experience where she felt she finally accepted her culture and traditions. When asked more in depth about this camping experience she explained,

> Growing up in the U.S., there's many traditions you lose from Mexico. I remember when I went on this camping trip we did campfire songs, but it was *De Colores* or *Cielito Lindo*. They had a dance for us and we would dance *cumbias*, and that was the first time I learned how to dance *cumbias*. I think that experience helped me be able to overcome that sense of isolation or feeling different when I was in college because I was able to build a network of friends where I could be myself.

This experience allowed Soleil an insight into understanding that all cultures needed to be included and that there is a need for cultures to be accepted and practiced, including her own Mexican culture. This camping trip gave her the ability to find like-minded people and develop groups and networks where she could have conversations about issues of race, class, and gender. One such group she still maintained and she credited the group for continuing her movement towards conscientization was her network of Latino friends she developed in college.

Soleil described the changes that occurred for her while attending a private university in Los Angeles. She spoke about feelings of isolation and holding fast to her cultural identity. She lived in a multicultural dorm and created a network of Latino friends, similar to the network she created through the camping trip experience in high school. She recalled an event where she was part of a protest to bring more multicultural courses to her university campus.

> I was part of a hunger strike. It kind of woke me up, my political activism during that time . . . being able to have friends and being able to talk about these things. Growing up with the sense of being very proud and yet know that we don't have to accept these traditions and that women didn't have to be subservient. When I reflect back [I see]

there is that sense of things not being fair. I see that in education all the time. That sense of our communities not being well served. I think that's why I feel my position is so important.

Soleil believed her experiences with race, gender and class in her childhood, as well as exposure to culturally relevant events, allowed her to move towards conscientization and healing feelings of duality associated with her tragic dilemma, as she navigated her family's customs and the dominant culture she found in schools. Soleil also spoke very candidly about professional experiences where she had a sense of not fitting in because of her race, gender and class. She noted instances, when as assistant principal, she was often confused for the secretary. She said, "I was in a room full of assistant principals, and [they] thought I was the secretary, when everyone in the room was an assistant principal. That stuck with me."

She went on to explain that she had to face what she termed a "lack of confidence" and the feeling of not meeting the expectation for her position. She had often felt that she was not perceived as competent or professional. She had understood that the passion she brought to the job as more important. She explained her response to this phenomenon in the following manner.

I don't owe anyone and explanation. I have my background, degrees and credentials. It has all slowly gone away. When I started a doctoral program I remember thinking, well maybe they made a mistake. You question yourself. Even after you get the job or even after you get into the whatever program.

Soleil spoke about the people who supported her in finding her bicultural identity and helped her to bridge that divide between the dominant culture and her subordinate culture. She recalls the network of folks she had to develop, to continue on her journey to conscientization. She spoke about needing a network of Latina principals to help her navigate those instances

when she did not feel like she was competent enough in her role as a principal. “Now as a principal even less, even less” is how she expressed her lack of a network of bicultural principals. She ended her narrative by explaining how much she yearned for a network of bicultural principals to help her navigate the difficult job of being a principal. “I have to be more aggressive about it, and less apologetic, be a strong woman and go for it.” This defining experience led to Soleil ensuring that her school campus maintains an inclusive atmosphere. She continuously looked for moments where students’ cultures were not welcomed. She believed that she must work tirelessly to remove barriers to inclusion in her school setting.

Josefina

Living in New York, Josefina remembered taking English as a Second Language classes. She grew up on Long Island in a primarily white neighborhood. She recalled the very defined gender roles that organized her familial structure.

> My parents, you know, would say you need to do the cooking and the cleaning and the kitchen stuff. My brothers are doing the mowing of the lawn and I rather mow the lawn and have them do the dishes. No. no. This is what you’re going to do. So I worked with my mom starting around ten cleaning houses. I would go with her but my brothers didn’t.

Josefina shared that she was not a very good student and was rebellious while in middle school. She did not agree with the defined roles society had for her and she struggled in school. She recalls her teachers telling her, “You have so much potential, stop doing stupid stuff.” She began tutoring in high school and that is how she found her calling for education.

Josefina also described her experience growing up in a sheltered home where she did not understand the cultural differences between herself and her neighbors. Her community was not primarily Latino and in her home the need to practice English was seen as important. She noted,

"we spoke Spanish at home, but we did [speak] more English. For a while I couldn't even speak to my parents in Spanish. It was so uncomfortable because you know, you have to practice your English." She also remembered not understanding that her family was different from the mainstream culture.

> Family members would come and stay with us for six months. There was a point where we had like 10 people in my house, you know, just from different places so it's like typical of what I see here, but I wasn't aware that it was different from my neighbors, who didn't have this family coming and staying and multiple families staying in the house.

When Josefina went to college in a small private rural school about an hour from Canada, near Niagara Falls, she met more Latinos from New York City who she thought were more culturally aware than she was. She indicated that this was where she began to take notice of the differences between herself and her classmates.

> When I went to college is when I first realized that I'd been poor, like grown up poor. I was constantly working and every semester it was like, "how am I going to pay for this semester, how am I going to pay for this." There were kids who did not work . . . their parents paid for everything. It was a big awareness.

For Josefina, the moment she remembered as putting her on the path towards conscientization occurred during a trip to California she took during her college years. She went to Los Angeles to visit a friend, who Josefina believed had a more defined bicultural identity. This visit was where she came to understand the duality she had been feeling felt and could not articulate.

> When I came here, I found other people who spoke Spanish and had similar stories, like

billions of family members and all that. I was like, Oh, this is what was missing. I moved out here and I knew I wasn't happy in upstate New York and I couldn't put my finger on why . . . I was in Santa Monica and I was like, why don't I live here, here in the valley. Just here. I felt so home.

Shortly after her 26th birthday, Josefina made the move to Los Angeles and began teaching in a working class primarily Latino middle school in the San Fernando Valley. She recalled how she and a group of Latino teachers ate lunch in a non-airconditioned room away from the teachers who labeled students as "these kids", a term she found demeaning and alienating. She remembered fondly the welcoming feeling of being home and her thinking once again, "this is what I was missing." Most of those Latino teachers became administrators and led schools in the San Fernando Valley. This group of teachers also became like family to her, with whom she would participate in a social context as well. She remembered one Latina teacher whom she described as "very awaked, self-aware and confident." This Latina teacher, in particular, served as a role model that allowed Josefina to continue to define her bicultural identity.

Josefina recalled teaching in a middle school that was labeled a "failing school" under the parameters of the *No Child Left Behind Education Act* (2001). Her school was forced to reconstitute and here began her trajectory into leaderships roles. She took an outside-of-the-classroom position where she felt she could make a difference in a school that was not serving the needs of the students in the community. "Things were a mess and I can do this better for the kids," she stated when referring to why she went into administration. She had a belief that things could be better and that students needed to be given opportunities so they would have more choices. She explained that she would tell her students "go see something else, go meet people

from somewhere else, so that you can see what's it's like somewhere else." She believed it was important to have the ability to choose and that those choices are linked to consciousness, especially when you understand and contend with the duality that comes from living in a society that leans more into the dominant culture.

Josefina sought to put in place opportunities for her students to visit other places, so that they would be able to understand that there are different experiences and different ways of seeing the world. She thought that students needed to get out of their communities, in order to begin understanding their own experiences and the cultural dynamics that shape their everyday life.

She stated,

> Go see something else, go meet people from somewhere else, so that you can see what's it's like to meet someone from a rural place", [I tell students]. All they know is this, we need to get them out so they can see what else there is. Bring that back and change community. Keeping in mind that there's all these possibilities. It's hard for [students] to imagine. It is hard for [students' families] to imagine. It takes saying it over and over again, and showing them over and over again.

Lizeth

Lizeth considered herself "very fortunate" in that although she grew up in the housing projects of Pacoima, a suburb of Los Angeles, where she had teachers who believed in her. She also recognized the unfair practices, given that not all her friends had the same "good fortune".

> I was very fortunate in that I was placed in, I'm going to say higher level classes, but my friends . . . because I lived in the project . . . my friends didn't take the same classes I did. I felt that they were very bright and that they could actually make it . . . I just didn't know what it was that they were not."

Lizeth also recalled growing up in a community were the two predominate racial groups were Black and Latino. She remembered her early years in public school where Latino cultural events were celebrated. She was very aware early on of her bicultural identity because of the two distinct racial groups in her housing projects.

Lizeth was also part of the first group of students that was bused to help integrate her district's schools. She remembered being selected to move to another elementary school but did not understand why. Her new elementary school was primarily white and it was very evident to her that she had a different culture.

> It was very different. It wasn't the work. I don't think the work was any harder. It was the attitude of the kids, even the teacher that I had, I felt that she treated the kids that were selected to go the school a little bit differently. She would pair us up with each other, like instead of just integrating us so that we could meet other kids. She would just pair us up amongst ourselves. I just had the same friends that I had at the school that I was supposed to be at.

Lizeth also shared that she felt her role as a principal was primarily about fostering opportunities for her students to attain diverse experiences by going to college. She explained that for her this was important in making her consciously aware of the differences in the lives of people outside her community. She made it a point to celebrate diversity in her school by bringing in the students' culture into her educational program. Lizeth spoke very fondly of her community and did not see herself changing schools. She noted that the work in her community entailed the need to increase consciousness among students, which she felt still needed to be addressed.

Andrea

Andrea attended public schools in Los Angeles in primarily Latino working-class communities. When she was in elementary school, her parents moved to the San Fernando Valley where her father was able to purchase a home. This allowed her and her sisters more freedom, since her parents did not allow them to play outside after school in their previous neighborhood. Eventually, six or seven of the houses on her block were owned by family members.

Andrea had many recollections where her parents spoke to her about race in relation to the community outside their home. Her father would caution them about "other" people, outside of their Mexican culture.

> My dad [was] so much about family and protecting family, whether we are good people or bad people, they are family right and so then it kind of would expand to other Latinos. But when you start looking at other races, they are not who we are. Their values are different. I remember one break-in in particular [that] was in the middle of the night. They took their electronics and they said it was the black guy from across the street. I always thought that's a person, even though my parents truly believed they were different.

She went on to explain that her father expected his daughters to treat people differently because of race, something she refused to do. Andrea attributed her father's views to fear from living in such a volatile community environment, plagued by violence and poverty.

Andrea also shared that her childhood was very restricted to her immediate neighborhood. She was not allowed "to go to football games, parties with friends or any after school activity. It just wasn't allowed". She was allowed to attend prom, but only because her

sister attended with her. This was also the case when looking at potential colleges. Her father wanted her to go to the community college where her sister attended, despite the fact that Andrea had excellent grades and was taking numerous AP course. Because of this, Andrea felt a need to reject her culture at home. She stated, that she understood as an adult that her father reacted based on fear, but she did not have this understanding when she was younger.

> Part of me was not able to stand up to my parents because of my culture. When I moved out [after] I finished college my dad didn't talk to me for two years. I wasn't married and then I move out, how dare I. For the first year, we could not be in the same room. He would leave the room if I went to visit so I worked my hours to visit my mom. Then the second year it stared changing. I think he realized I wasn't pregnant yet or lost my job and living out in the streets. But still he would not talk to me, he would not look at me. Again, the fear. There [needs to be] someone to protect me. There was no one. They need us to get married so the next person can protect us.

Andrea recalled the many rules her father had around race; in another instance, she explained, he had rules about who his daughters could date or marry.

> He had rules for whom we could and could not marry. He said them out loud. In my head I thought, so weird. It never crossed my mind that I would follow that. But he had his ideas and his beliefs. You're not going to think about your dad as racist, he's your dad. Yes, he was fearful and what he hears was all he knew was what you see on the news.

Andrea's experiences with gender and race led her to rebel against her family's cultural norms and not understanding the duality of living between two cultural worlds. She stated,

> I wasn't going to go straight to getting married and [I was] feeling like I needed independence. I was 21. I wasn't going out at night, because I was living under their household. There were so many rules that I didn't explore a lot."

Gender issues also persisted for her when she was in college, where she majored in math. She remembered being one of a handful of female Latinas in her math classes. She also recalled taking night classes and walking to her car at night talking to a friend on the phone, in order to feel safe until she got in her car.

Elena

Elena recalled the sense of duality she experienced growing up in Los Angeles. She spoke about her sense of belonging and community when growing up in East Los Angles, a community where her bicultural identity was celebrated at home and in school. As part of the busing program in her school district, she was selected to be bused to a middle school in an affluent white community. About this experience she said,

> I was proud of my race and ethnicity. Even though the teachers were not my race or ethnicity, I think they just embraced us and they would teach us about their cultures. Everyone in school and around us spoke English and Spanish it didn't matter. But going into middle school, I got bused from East LA into Tarzana. They're taking all the ghetto kids and putting them into the rich schools. And there is where I think the adults were not okay with the kids integrating. They would make little comments. I got an A on a test, they would [ask], "Did someone give you the answers?"

Elena also recalled an experience where a teacher told her that "kids like [her]" didn't go to schools like Pepperdine.

> We were passing Pepperdine and I was like, "what is that?" I had no idea. The teacher

was like, “well kids like you don’t go there”. That was the first time I had ever heard kids like me. At that point I didn’t know what it meant. I really didn’t know. I just knew that I was different then.

Elena explained how after this incident she began to see herself as different. When she moved to Palmdale, she remembered thinking,

> How can I make myself fit into this new world? I started to lose the Spanish, the whole Latina identity, I didn’t want to identify with it. I bounced around to a few different middle schools and so it was a constant, like okay who am I here. When I came to the last school, I was almost too white, and not Mexican enough. I was caught in this weird stage.

As her sense of duality increased, Elena remembered being very angry.

> My dad was in an out of jail. In middle school is when I was uprooted. When I was in East LA, I would dance *folklorico*. I could walk to the store. I had a lot of independence. When we moved to Palmdale, I was trapped. There was no dance, there was no after school program, there was no extracurricular anything. Then the freeway broke when the Northridge earthquake hit. My mom was commuting from Palmdale, all the way to East LA. She was leaving at three in the morning and not coming back until 9 p.m. most nights. Now I’m with grandma all day long. I’m trying to figure out how I’m going to dress. We are poor, so it’s not like I can buy the latest clothes. We are wearing hand me down stuff. I’m trying to make it work to fit in. I was an angry kid.

Elena considered herself to be outspoken in negative ways and she attributed this anger to finding her voice and pushing her to fight the racist and unjust boundaries she encountered.

> Growing up I was angry at everything. In high school, I wasn’t allowed to be in the

> A[dvanced] P[lacement] class for the magnet program, because it was during first period.I was commuting from Palmdale and they would have tardy lockouts. There were times when I was one minute late and I got stuck in the cafeteria, doing timetable worksheets. The teacher said I wasn't taking school seriously. She had no idea what my morning looked like . . . so they placed me in the regular school's class. When I asked, where are all the books, [the teacher] said, they don't really expect you to pass the class, they are just going to say they gave it to you.

After this encounter, Elena began advocating for the things she needed for her classes, both in high school and then in college. She began to develop a sense of pride in her bicultural identity. A pride she continued to have as she began her career as an educator. She recalled an experience where her gender and age were called out in a meeting with other administrators. She gained a deep knowledge of how the world perceived her and the duality that she consistently lived with.

> I was sitting with a bunch of suits and being young. I don't think they cared that I was Latina, they cared that I was a woman and that I was way younger than everyone else. They were like what does this kid know. I can count the many times they said "oh *mija*". Don't call me *mija*. I am not your *mija*. Now I am having conversations, whether official or unofficially, about having respect for yourself and carrying yourself with confidence.

Nati

Despite her positive experiences in high school, Nati began to sense injustices as she began her college education. She attended a community college in Santa Monica where she felt a sense of disconnection and did not feel her culture and language were accepted.

> I went to Santa Monica College because my English was still not very strong

> when I graduated from high school. I had only been here for four years. That was a very difficult thing for me because of the accent. Some teacher [believed] that I was not very good in math. That I wasn't going to pass calculus. I had teachers that laughed at me when I said my goal was to graduate from UCLA. Maybe it was the language barrier. They just didn't think it was going to happen. I was an illegal. I didn't have my green card, so maybe it was because of that.

When Nati finally made it to UCLA, she continued to experience a sense of separation.

> When I was at UCLA I felt very alone. I had some Mexican friends and someone invited me to be part of MECHA and I didn't feel welcomed. I thought that would be the only place that I would be part of an established community at UCLA, I didn't feel too welcomed. I just let it go and then I just went to class or to the library to study. I really didn't develop a sense of belonging.

Given these schooling experiences of isolation, as principal, Nati consciously and deliberately so that her school was a place where students had a voice and experienced a sense of belonging.

Bicultural Mirrors and Leadership Praxis

An important subtheme of conscientization that emerged from the data when analyzing for patterns in the critical narratives was the ability of participants to see themselves as bicultural mirrors for their teachers, students and parents, while using their experiences as a basis for their pedological and ideological praxis in the schools they led.

For Lizeth, her lack of opportunities for greater cognitive engagement in her own schooling compelled her to ensure that students at her school were academically challenged. She spoke about "making sure that all of our students are learning, not just the high-level students."

She remembered her experiences in school and taking special note of students that were not challenged in the hegemonic structures of her high school. Lizeth emphatically stated,

> Academics are for all of our students. It's my notion that all of our students have a fighting chance that all of our students deserve that support. I'm trying to change the climate into making sure that our teachers really do have the notion that all of our students can be successful. Teachers have to understand the importance they have every day in the lives of our students.

For Andrea and Soleil their parents' restrictive practices juxtaposed between the more liberal school settings, caused them to create structures in their schools that help alleviate the fear parents and students have when navigating the dominant culture reflected in schools. Andrea ensured that she created practices in her school where teachers, students and parents deal dialogically with the unknown, through opportunities to see the humanity of one another, despite differences. She believed that the "fear can [be] overcome by being informed, by being educated."

Nati's positive acceptance of her cultural identity allowed her to be critically conscious and aware of the needs of her students. She attributed this to all the support she received from the counselors and administrators during her own schooling.

> When it comes to social emotional component, I know all the needs I had. I probably wouldn't be here if the counselor at the time didn't see all the trauma that I came with and the post-traumatic stress disorder from just coming alone. So, I try to add that to my school now. I have hired counselors. [The ability] for [students] to have that they can talk to and that has the time to find resources for them is important.

Moreover, Nati's sense of otherness made her critically aware of the need to have inclusive practices at her school. She stated, "I don't ever want a kid to feel different, or that he doesn't belong. I want to create a very safe place for my kids", like what was created for her when she was in high school.

Emancipatory Practices

As the participants reflected on what constitutes emancipatory practices in their school sites the data reflected four important themes: 1) pedagogical practices, 2) school culture, 3) family and community connection, and 4) care for the principal. The participants shared how they attempt to include practices in their schools that supported teachers, students and parents in engaging with the tragic dilemma and duality that they face as bicultural human beings.

Pedagogical Practices

The notion of pedagogical practices was discussed in a variety of ways within the participant narratives. These surfaced in references made to professional development of teachers, curriculum, and cultural discourse and reflection.

Professional Development (PD) for Teachers. Participants noted the need for teacher development in emancipatory practices. They referred to the need for professional development opportunities where teachers could engage in critical dialogue about issues of race, gender and class. Soleil spoke about offering formal professional development sessions that focused on multicultural curriculum and instructional practices. She followed these PD sessions with both formal and informal conversations as needed. About this she stated,

> It is difficult for teachers to understand that it doesn't happen overnight. It takes a lot of teaching and discussion and changing structures. You have to put these structures in place to make sure things happen. It all has to be done in relation to the students' culture.

Similarly, Nati spoke about a professional session where the faculty and staff engaged in a World Café session were all voices were brought to the discussion. Here, she explained, "students talked to the teachers about how they feel and what is it that some teachers do to make them feel like they belong. It was powerful."

Curriculum

Three of the six participants shared the need to increase multicultural pedagogy in their schools. Lizeth explained,

> We try as best as we can to incorporate different novels that would appeal to our students. Students are more engaged because they feel they can relate to the readings. In history our teachers try to cover as much of the events that relate to our students.

Soleil spoke of the importance of having students discuss material they engage with critically. She stated, "I want students to read stories and critically analyze them and discuss how they could relate to them. How they are reflected in their lives."

Elena and Lizeth spoke about how cultural events were held to honor student cultures and allow students opportunities to speak about their experiences. Although the cultural events that were held can seem like they are superficially engaging with culture, these are followed however, with more in-depth lessons through classrooms discussions and activities. About this approach, Elena noted,

> We start very superficially, with holidays and food. Then the history teachers have gone a little deeper [asking], "Why is this important to have a mixture of cultures and ethnicities and respecting [cultures]? What are the implications for society?

Lizeth described the cultural events and activities that she reincorporated into her school, specifically a *Mariachi* program, *Folklorico,* and a *Día de los Muertos* event where families also

participate. These cultural activities turned into courses that students can enroll in as one of their classes that meet graduation requirement. Lizeth explained,

> One of our teachers approached me about making altars and for the past two years we have students making altars and we have an event after school where we look at the altars. We have a full *Maricahi*. [The teacher] teaches it zero period. We have *Folklorico*. I didn't want it to disappear, so we had one of our partners [who] saw the importance of it too, and they agreed [to teach] the class.

The participants all discussed their attempts at changing the curriculum that is taught in their schools. They were all in different places as far as implementation, but they all agreed with need to change the critical conversations that students should engage in through the curriculum and experiences at the school sites. Lizeth explained this best when she stated that although she was trying to incorporate more multicultural curriculum in her school it was not always effective.

> We are building a culture [in Math] where problems are more based on real world, but that doesn't necessarily mean that they are reflective of the students'[cultural] identity. With the science department the goal is also to bring in engaging activities but maybe they are not so focused on the culture of the kids yet.

Critical Discourse and Reflection. All participants spoke about the need for critical discourse in their schools. The conversations were conducted in different ways and through different grouping combinations. Lizeth, Nati, Andrea, and Elena all spoke about creating safe spaces, where students-and-teachers and students-and-students were able to have critical conversations, which allowed both teachers and students to move towards a process of conscientization. Andrea noted that she had a group that which was comprised of students, parents, teachers and staff and met monthly to discuss the critical issues the school was facing.

Lizeth shared that it was important for her "teachers to feel comfortable working collaboratively and that they [felt] safe." Nati shared a school activity known as "Sit with Wisdom" which she explained "[was] a good way for students and teachers to get to know each other. It was an opportunity for "teachers and students to see that just because the teacher [was] not from their culture [it] doesn't necessarily mean that they don't have a lot in common." This was an opportunity for both groups to see the humanity in one other.

Nati, Elena, and Josefina shared that in their schools, students also led restorative justice circles where students had critical conversations in class about issues that concern the student population or outside community. Elena noted that,

> Sometimes as administrators, it is all content, content, content, but I walked into classrooms where there is no content, but [instead] a discussion because something happened that day, or something happened at lunch time. The kids are sharing what they feel. Sometimes it's like an organic discussion, [where teachers ask], How do you feel right now? Why does that suck? We don't have an answer, we don't have a solution but we can listen and try to connect [them]. You allow for open dialogue in your classroom as needed.

Soleil elaborated that her school had moved to a pedagogical practice where students were having "critical discussions amongst themselves." They were moving away from teacher centered lectures to discussions of critical problems and "allowing students to have the bulk of the discussion with the teacher as a facilitator." All participants spoke about the need to create school conditions where students can develop their voice.

School Culture

Another important issue that emerged across the critical narratives was the importance of creating a school culture of respect for bicultural students. This issue was primarily discussed with respect to critical conversation with teachers and the issue of belonging.

Critical Conversations with Teachers. All the participants believed that they have a responsibility to support critical conversations with teachers, in order to ensure that teachers saw the humanity in their students and understand their bicultural identity. Josefina stated, “Whose’s going to advocate for them. [I have to] humanize [students] a little bit for [teachers]. I think [I’m] trying to keep that in mind and [bring] it back that they aren’t just a number. Nati also had conferences and critical conversation with teachers when students were disrespected and treated in an unjust manner. She stated, “I wouldn’t say that I conference a lot of teachers, more like I conference some teachers a lot.”, when she explained her conferencing with teachers.

Andrea and Josefina spoke about having reflective conversations with teachers. About this, Josefina stated, “When there’s screaming and yelling then the kid is disrespectful back. Part of the conversation is always, ‘How were you disrespectful too?” Let’s talk about how can we have better relationship [with students].”

Soleil and Andrea continuously asked their teachers about their practice. Soleil believed this was important. She explained, “as adults, we don’t always think critically about how everything is connected or are you making the right changes.” Josefina and Elena spoke about removing barriers for their teachers by asking them what they needed and treating them as professionals. Elena stated that she allows [her teachers] to be “professional to decide what is appropriate and what is not.” Similarly, Josefina spoke about “trusting their judgment” and allowing teachers and staff to develop their own voice.

Belonging. Another issue that emerged was the need for bicultural students to have a sense of belonging. Nati shared that it was important for teachers to have "respect for the students in the way they speak to them. She shared a practice at her school where teachers "call students when they have been absent more than three days". When they come back, the teachers say, "Hey, we missed you." Lizeth shared that at her school a greater majority of her teachers were alumni. She believed this allowed for her school to have teachers "who really do care and understand where the students are coming from."

Elena and Josefina shared how at their schools they created safe spaces and hosted inclusion activities at the beginning of the school year where students "[built] confidence and trust". Elena stated,

> It is building those relationships where they feel comfortable being able to express [themselves] and know they not going to get in trouble. They won't be paralyzed for speaking, they have a sense of safety.

During Josefina's two weeks of character-building sessions, positive behavior expectations were shared. These sessions were organized, developed and taught by teachers.

> We ran different sessions. It set the tone because every teacher participated. [It develops] the culture and expectations that we are giving kids. So we continue pushing and building [the] relationships. That's a process that I think has had an impact in the classroom.

Family and Community Connections. Another issue the participants raised was the need for family and community connections. As a process for healing the "tragic dilemma" and moving towards conscientization, all the participants shared about the need to include families and communities into the school context. All participants spoke about the need to have education for parents and family members. This type of critical engagement ranged from monthly meetings

with parents where parents could share their opinions on how the schools should be organized for the needs of the community and families to cultural events were parents were incorporated as participants not just spectators. Lizeth held monthly meetings with parents and made sure that cultural celebrations were held after school to allow parents and community the ability to attend. Similarly, Josefina explained that 'a big part [was] working with parents and sort of empowering them to make decisions that make sense for kids."

Nati explained how she sometimes saw "parents and students fighting because parents [wanted] to raise the kids the way [the parents] were raised in their countries. She explained that bringing in parents and connecting with them, was an effective way to engage the cultural divide that can separate families.

Elena indicated that she firmly believed that there was a need to critical understand the changing dynamics of families in the San Fernando Valley. She spoke about the importance of creating a sense of ownership among the entire school community. When describing this sense of community, she noted,

> I would say we love our kids. My staff would say the same. We don't talk about our students as just students, they all talk about them as like they are my kids. The school is not just my school, it's your school. Everyone has ownership.

Elena went on to further explain what she considered establishing communal ownership one of her key responsibilities with parents,

> I think sometimes we give up things for our families. But we give up the wrong thigs. So how do you educate a family in that you have to push them. We miss out in so many opportunities and [I am] trying to show our families that me can stifle our growth just because we are afraid of the unknown.

Care for the Principal. Another topic that emerged from the data was the call for the need to care for the principal. All participants shared the structures they had in place to care for themselves. They also shared what systems they needed in order to feel more supported as principals and thereby be able to continue with the critical work of leading working-class Latino schools.

Lizeth, Elena, Andrea and Josefina spoke about the sense of gratitude they had for serving in their schools. Lizeth shared this sentiment by saying, "I'm very fortunate. Being here is like a dream." When asked about future plans for themselves none of the participants shared the desire to leave their respective schools. Nati said, this was the best position she had held that she was "very thankful to have the ability to make change."

Soleil, Andrea and Nati stressed the need to have networks of colleagues who could guide them and help them validate their practice. Soleil yearned to have more professional experiences with her collogues.

> The biggest impact for me has been learning from other principals. That has truly helped me change my practice. Having this mentor gave me the confidence to implement these ideas and reassure me that I was moving in the right direction.

Andrea and Nati spoke about feeling more like family than colleagues. Nati stated how she feels about creating bonds with people who surround her.

> When we have a close family relationship, anything is possible. I think that for me not having a family, I had to build my own family. [It is] not necessarily blood relations, but to really create a sense of family ins schools or in church, in any organization that you have support.

Summary

This chapter presented the finding from the critical narratives conducted with six Latina principals. Issues raised by participants related to the three major themes that emerged from the coding of the data—conscientization, bicultural mirror, and emancipatory practices—were presented through the voices of the Latina principals. In Chapter 5, the themes and accompanying issues presented here are analyzed and discussed, along with implications, conclusion, and recommendations derived from the study.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

> In the struggle between saying and doing, in which we must engage to diminish the distance between them, it is just as possible to change what is said to make it fit the doing, as it is to change the doing to make it fit what is said.
>
> Paulo Freire (1998)

The identity of bicultural educators comes from a constant interior struggle in which they must find who they are and make amends to how they have been living. This move towards praxis, where there is coherence with what is said and what is done, evolves through the development of a critical consciousness, which affords Latina educators opportunities to contend with contradictions of the "tragic dilemma" and duality, so that one begins to understand through critical analysis of injustices and hegemonic experiences that oppressed subjects have been systematically stripped of their identity and humanity. As these experiences begin to shape the identity of bicultural educators, they begin to look critically at their leadership practice and develop emancipatory practices in schools that assist others on their journey towards healing their own sense of duality.

Through a critical narrative approach, this study sought to understand at a deeper level the experiences with issues of race, gender and class that bicultural Latina principals grapple with during the process of overcoming the "tragic dilemma" and duality they lived with as they moved on their path to conscientization. The process of conscientization is not one that has an end point, but rather it is one that entails an ongoing evolutionary process (Darder, 2015) and encompasses a praxis of dialogue and reflection.

This research also sought to understand what emancipatory practices were incorporated in schools and what struggles bicultural Latina principals have experienced in the process of implementing those practices. Discussion of the findings in this study focus on the lived experiences of six bicultural Latina principals that moved them towards conscientization and the development of their own bicultural identity, which is reflected in their leadership through emancipatory practices they implement in their schools.

Biculturalism and Conscientization

Participants' narratives provided some insights into their experiences that reflected the sphere of biculturalism. Key to this process was understanding how these experiences helped participants to overcome the feelings of duality and the "tragic dilemma". The participants, moreover, believed that they needed to protect their students from negative experiences similar to the ones they endured and recreate positive experiences that foster affirming bicultural identity development. Soleil, for example, reflected on the lack of connection she had to her culture growing up and saw her role as principal to be one of providing students with experiences that allow them to explore their bicultural identity. In a similar manner Lizeth, engaged her students and families in cultural experiences rooted in their own histories and communities. Both Soleil and Elena acknowledged that these experiences seemed superficial, but they were important, nonetheless.

Furthermore, they believed that their bicultural identity allowed them the opportunity to understand parents and students' experiences. Andrea spoke about her connection to parents and her ability to calm their fears, because she could connect with the parents at her school in Spanish thereby building a sense of trust. About this, Andrea stated,

> I think my connection to the community is definitely important, because I can make the parents feel welcomed. We all have different experiences, but [I am] pushing for parents to allow [students] to participate in after school activities and for [students] to go away to college.

The participants in this study saw their role of principal as one where their primary responsibility was fostering in their students hope, acceptance, and healing. They believed that their responsibility was to be courageous in communicating these ideals to teachers, students and parents. Figueroa (2018) posited that transformative urban leaders need to form a leadership practice where they address issue of race, class and gender with courage and compassion, while also ensuring that teachers are ideologically clear to better address the needs of bicultural students (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017). All six participants spoke about providing their teachers with professional development in the areas of multicultural education and student voice. Andrea, Elena and Nati held sessions where students and teachers would come together to listen and learn from one another.

Bicultural Mirrors

Darder's (2012) concept of bicultural mirror, where bicultural educators served as a channel for bicultural students to see themselves in their teachers, was reflected in the narratives of the six participants in this study. Although some may argue that a teacher is more impactful in the lives of students, they can also be detrimental as was the case for four out of the six participants in this study (Mellon et. al, 2018; Peterson et al., 2016). Four of the participants shared experiences where they were put down by their teachers. This led to feelings of disengagement and dislike for some of their teachers. Elena shared how she was always angry as

a middle-school student, and attributed this to her inability to connect with anyone. She saw herself then as “being too white and not Mexican enough”.

Elena shared her experience of seeing Pepperdine University for the first time and being told by her teacher that students like her did not attend private universities. She was devastated and this pushed her to attend that university, from where she eventually graduated. She consistently shared this story with her students, so that they will come to understand that they cannot limit themselves because of what others say to them. She also allowed her students to grapple with issues they saw as unjust and provided time for them to offer solutions. Elena stated,

> My students always complain about the treatment they get from the [other school]. Part of that is how to respond respectfully, because it is not fair. Those conversations are [about what to do] when you are being treated unfairly. How can we teach you to advocate?

Josefina had a similar experience in middle school. She spoke about not doing well in school and “messing around”. She remembered how one teacher believed in her and asked her to straighten up. She states, “I had people that [said] you just need to stop and get your act together. That was what I needed. Even to the last minute, I wasn’t going to a four-year college”. She shared this experience with her teachers, students and parents and makes sure that her students understand that they have choices when it to comes to post-high school plans. In these ways, participants were effective bicultural mirrors in their work as Latina principals.

Conscientization

One of the most prevalent themes that emerged from the data was the defining of critical moments where the participants understood that they were living in duality and, from there,

beginning the process of moving towards conscientization as praxis. They confirmed in their narratives that their own experiences with the intersectionality of race, gender and class had an impact on their approach to leading schools. Participants continued to reference these experiences as times where they understood more and more their bicultural identity and began to develop their leadership philosophy. They traced their movement from their denunciation of their former oppressive realities to their annunciation of their new formed ideologies.

In order to better understand the difficulty experienced in the process of conscientization and the development of bicultural identity, it is important to discuss the tensions and the struggle that the participants in this study underwent, while attempting to create effective counterhegemonic practices that affirm bicultural identities and support the development of critical consciousness among teachers, students, and their parents and communities (Darder, 2012). Freire (2000) posited how difficult and how costly it can be for the oppressed to fight against the oppressive hegemonic institutions in which they live and work. All of the participants shared moments of pain, frustration and sadness when they discussed what they had to endure; while, at the same time, expressed a sense of pride when they reflected on the progress they made in their schools by creating counterhegemonic spaces of bicultural affirmation.

Josefina shared the struggles she faced with her district when making choices that did not align with what the district expected of her. She believed this was one of the reasons why she was transferred without much of an explanation from her previous school to her new assignment.

She stated, with a certain sense of anger and frustration, “The director did not care so much [about my decision]. They were annoyed and now I am at [this new school]. I pissed people of.” She goes on to share many instances when she had to defend her students and push against the hegemonic conditions that are inherent in the education system.

In a similar fashion, Elena recalled and cried when she shared an instance where she too had to confront her Latino director to defend her position as a bicultural leader. Her raw description of this incident brought to light the pain she still felt when defending the counterhegemonic school structures that she has attempted to create for her working class Latino community. What pained her most was that this was at the hands of male Latino leader:

> It was awful on this campus. They started bullying teachers. [Administration] could come into my room any time. [They] were going to see teaching every single day every single period. I am not afraid. Our kids deserve something better.

Elena also spoke about the grief both she and her mother felt over her efforts against the hegemonic institutions.

> It was breaking my heart. Even just talking about it now. I told her, "I will stop." She said, "No. You fight for that school. And you keep going." I couldn't give it up.

When I asked her about changing schools or leaving her principalship at her current school she shook her head and said, "This school has cost me too much."

Participants' narratives also provided examples of experiences that reflected the sphere of biculturalism. Key to this was understanding how their lived experiences helped participants to build consciousness through overcoming the feelings of duality "and tragic dilemma" that Latina principals had been experiencing. In an effort to help students move towards their own conscientization, the participants in this study provided students the opportunity to engage in critically discourse in ways that allowed them to grapple with the injustices they faced, so they could come to solutions together.

The experiences with race, culture and class that participants faced as children in the educational system and in their communities seem to have a significant impact on how they

defined their bicultural identity and how they lead in schools (Murakami et al., 2016). As the participants recalled their experiences, the majority became sad and two were moved to tears. When analyzed, each participant shared experiences where they moved through a combination of the cultural response patterns associated with the sphere of biculturalism: namely, alienation (absolute rejection of the primary culture); dualism (engaging with both primary and dominant culture, and negotiation (creation of a bicultural identity); only one shared having experienced separatism, but this participant migrated to the United States as an adolescent.

Soleil's experience in a culturally relevant camping trip made her more aware of her bicultural identity and have he the tools to navigate predominantly white private college experience. She stated,

> When I went on this camping trip, we did campfire songs and it was *De Colores* or *Cielito Lindo* . . . that experience helped me be able to overcome the sense of isolation of feeling different when I was in college.

Because of this experience, Soleil tried to ensure that everyone at her school felt connected and part of the school family.

Although some of experiences that surfaced in the narratives were difficult to share, the strength and courage from having a defined bicultural identity was also apparent. They all shared the convictions they had about making sure that in their schools, all students' voices were heard and that high expectations were set for everyone. Lizeth and Soleil, mentioned many times the idea that "college is for all students" and that "high expectations should be set for all students". However, expressing her concern for the lack of consciousness about biculturalism among teachers, Josefina noted her frustration with poor quality teachers in working class Latino schools with this powerful statement, "We can't carry them. They cause too much damage [to

Latino students].” Concerned with this same issue, Elena shared that she demanded a high level of quality from her teachers. She went on to say that her role was to work to remove the barriers that teachers feel stop them from assisting Latino students to achieve success.

All six participants utilized a negotiation response pattern and saw themselves as bicultural individuals, which they noted repeatedly as significant to their work with teachers, students, and families. They embraced aspects of their primary culture and fully engaged in it. They all sought to provide opportunities for their students and teachers to develop their racialize identity and saw the need for more teachers of color to do the same. They felt that their leadership styles were developed in part to the painful experiences with race, gender and class; experiences they hope to lessen for their students.

The experiences the participants in this study had growing up in their working-class Latina neighborhoods not only shaped their bicultural identity, but formed their leadership practice. They were able to negotiate the tragic dilemma and disconnection form their primary culture to move into clarity around who they are. According to Murakami et al., (2016) Latina principal leaders’ childhood experiences also shape their advocacy. This was the case for the Latina principals in this study. They advocated for the humanization of their students though the emancipatory practices they put in place into their schools.

Emancipatory Practices

Giroux (1988) contended that public schools offer the working class and other oppressed groups limited individual mobility, but it is more a place for the reproduction of capitalist relations of production and the dominant legitimizing ideologies of ruling groups. For the participants in this study, Giroux’s (1988) analysis of what constitutes the function of education was very much present in their experiences growing up and attending schools in working-class

communities. Through dialogue and reflection, the participants in this study were able to develop leadership practices that were more aligned with emancipatory education and less so, with the perpetuation of hegemonic conditions in their working-class Latino schools.

The participants experiences growing up and attending schools in primarily working-class Latino neighborhoods enhanced the ability of the principals in this study to make connections and enact practices that supported the identity and achievement of bicultural students. Participants also shared experiences in implementing practices in their schools that would help teachers understand the dilemma and duality that students were experiencing as they moved to accept their bicultural identity and shed the hegemonic experience they had been enduring. Although the participants discussed emancipatory practices by different names, they were consistent with the literature on emancipatory practices and are divided here into two categories for discussion: 1) pedagogical practices and 2) positive school culture and climate.

Pedagogical Practices

The notion of pedagogical practices was discussed in a variety of ways within the participant narratives. These surfaced in references made in the following areas: 1) teacher training; 2) curriculum; and 3) critical discourse and reflection.

Professional Development (PD) for Teachers. Professional development is not often seen as an emancipatory practice. Professional development is normally a practice where teachers engage in data analysis, share best practices, or develop lessons and units of study. For participants in this study, professional development was also a space where teachers were asked to confront their own biases and learn about their own racialized identity, in order to better support their students (Alfaro & Bartolomé, 2017). Professional development was also a place where teachers could understand how students of color respond to negative hegemonic school

practices (Hawley & Nieto, 2010). All participants in this study engaged in professional development activities where their teachers looked at survey data where students' voices and experiences where shared. Three participants also had professional development experiences where students met with teachers and shared directly the impact of current schooling practices on students' lives.

Freire (2000) spoke about the need for teachers and students to learn from one another. He explained that together they can come to a truer understanding of each other's unifinishness and help one another move towards conscientization. Teachers' need for control can stem from a fear of allowing students the ability to find for themselves a new reality that will alter the power that sets the stage for control in the classroom (Darder, 2012, Giroux, 1988). By including experiences like the ones mentioned above, bicultural principals help to diminish the fear of freedom and the dynamics of power that can be found in working-class Latino classrooms.

Andrea also spoke of offering critical professional development sessions that specifically targeted teachers' understanding of the communities "where the kids were coming from." She also conducted data conversations about the student demographic, language and the needs of the community that would help mitigate cultural stress that may arise (Pina-Watson et al., 2013). Andrea also talked about offering PD sessions that focused on the Five Love Languages with teachers, parents and students. Josefina also spoke of conducting similar session with her staff focused on community demographic data so that teachers could begin to see their students' humanity. As Nouri and Sajjadi (2014) posited, this is necessary for the creation of an individual who begins to see themselves as more complete. Similarly, Elena and Lizeth also worked with their teachers on creating expectations, setting the vision, and discussing cultural nuances that research shows can mitigate the feelings of discrimination students may feel in school and lead

to low achievement (Fullan & Quinn, 2015; Rumberger & Larson, 1998; Theoharis & Causton-Theoharis, 2008).

Curriculum. In an interview with Gloria Ladson-Billings, (Fay, 2019) explained in depth the need for students of color to engage critically with curriculum that is representative of their lived experiences. Students must be able to see themselves in the material they are engaging with and have discussions that address the injustices they see and also have a space for dialogue to reflect on how to best address it. Although the ideas she presented have slowly become more and more mainstream, she stated, however, that she believes much of her work is not fully understood. She believes that most educators do not fully engage with her work and see it on a superficial level. This is especially present in district one-size-fits-all professional development on multicultural pedagogy, as was the case in all but two of the schools, the participants in this study led.

Although participants in this study saw the benefits of diversifying their schools' curriculums so that it is more reflective of the student body, many did not go too much in depth as to what types of discussions that were held regarding the new curriculum. Anyon (1980) posited that a disparity exists between schools who have students from different social classes. Participants in this study spoke about experiences where they were subjected to teaching material that was not rigorous. Lizeth and Elena shared how they or their classmates were not engaged in difficult work. "It wasn't the work, it was not hard," Elena explained about the lack of rigor in her classes. The depth of the dialogue is just as important, if not more so, than the type of curriculum students are engaging. In problem posing education as defined by Freire (2000), the opportunity to have an engaging, reflective dialogue with the problems posed in the question is

what leads to further development of conscientization. This idea was suggested in several of the Latina principal narratives from this study.

Critical Discourse and Reflection. Freire (1974) explained the use of "culture circles" through critical dialogue to clarify situations or to seek action arising from the clarifications. This process was usually initiated by members of the circle. This can be seen in the practice of restorative justice circles in Elena and Josefina's schools. They each spoke about opportunities where students were given the ability to discuss issues they are having with one another or with teachers and /or school practices. Elena sought to give her students the language and critical thinking skills to allow students to create solutions to problems in a way that would honor the humanity of all involved, a quality she sought to model in her leadership. In Nati's school she also incorporated the use of "culture circles" by consciously setting up opportunities for students and teachers to sit in dialogue. She provided opportunities for both groups to see the humanity in one another. She further took on this practice for herself, as she also engaged with other principals in "culture circle" discussion on a monthly basis.

School Culture and Climate

Another subtheme under emancipatory practice that emerged was the need to support a positive school culture and climate. These included focusing on: 1) critical conversations with teachers and confronting negative hegemonic practices through these conversations; 2) supporting students' sense of belonging; 3) increasing positive family and community connection; and 4) supporting the school principal. The participants shared how they attempt to include practices in their schools that supported teachers, students and parents in engaging with the tragic dilemma and duality they could face as bicultural human beings.

In order for Latino students to feel connected and understand that they can participate critically in schools, a positive school culture and climate is especially necessary in working class community schools (Owen et al., 2017). Bicultural Latina principals in this study made efforts to improve school climate and culture through the emancipatory practices discussed below. The principals also noted that they worked to integrate social and emotional supports into their bicultural praxis. They, most importantly, were compassionate educators who understood that every person is in a state of unfinishedness.

Critical Conversations with Teachers. Alfaro and Bartolomé (2017) posited that educators must move to develop ideological clarity about their beliefs, so that they too can "announce and denounce" ideological and structural oppression that inhibits emancipatory practices in schools. By having ideological clarity, bicultural Latina principals can have the courage to contend with uncomfortable conversations with teachers who are unable or refuse to incorporate into their teaching practice emancipatory experiences for their students. Addressing negative teacher perceptions and behavior; increases the ability of Latino students to connect with the school, as low teacher expectations have a debilitating impact on students of color (Alvidrez & Weinstein, 1999; Ferguson, 2003; Mc Kown & Weinstein, 2008). All six participants in this study spoke about having the courage to confront unjust or dehumanizing conditions that negatively impact teachers, students and parents.

Three of the six participants spoke more frankly about calling out instances of racism or discriminatory practices they observed in their schools. They believed that these conversations, although uncomfortable, were critical in developing a culture where hegemonic structures where not going to be allowed. Elena and Josefina spoke about confronting district policies that they

felt would also create unjust practices in their schools or would reverse some of the positive movement towards consciousness that was being made.

Belonging. Freire (1998) spoke about belonging through the lens of hope, the hope that a teacher and student share in the believe that change is possible. Darder (2012) spoke about allowing the voice of students to emerge, without the silencing that can occur in an unconscious classrooms. Participants shared their experiences of creating hope in their schools, through critical bicultural discourse with teachers and students. For Elena, who was stripped of hope when a teacher told her she could not attend a private college in Los Angeles, it is a moral imperative to ensure that her students understand that a new reality is possible. In similar ways, Soleil and Josefina spoke about instituting experiences and practices that instill hope and change in their students. Josefina, Nati, and Lizeth also created opportunities where their teachers sense of hope was reignited. Without the ability to believe that change is possible, Freire (1998) posited that one remains stagnant and under hegemonic control, where true freedom can never be achieved.

Family and Community Connections. This sense of belonging that emerged from the narratives was not just associated with teachers and students. All participants spoke about the need for families and community to take apart in the movement toward greater consciousness. The reason for engaging parents and community was not because of a believe that parents were lacking in knowledge, but rather as an attempt to merge the two cultural experiences of the primary and the dominant culture, in ways that could support student achievement. Andrea and Josefina, in order to facilitate understanding and minimize the fear parents have regarding their children's education, would host parent meetings where students and parents engaged in discussions, set goals, and learned about one another. These safe spaces where parents and their

children could embrace their bicultural identities allowed for more open and trusting relationships between school and community.

Care for the Principal. Paulo Freire shared in an interview with Darder (2015), "One of the virtues that a seriously progressive man or woman must have is to not expect that personal or social change is going to fall from the sky, instead, to expect to create in his or her body the virtue of being coherent" (p. 149). The responsibility of fostering a liberatory school is not one that is light to carry. The Latina principals in this study spoke about a need to find a center in themselves, so they could continue to do the work they do. In an interview with between Paolo Freire, Darder (2015) shared the frustration and broken heartedness that comes with working and living in structures that although can be deemed progressive, are often times not so in practice. Darder (2015) argued it is more painful for the oppressed to be in situations where oppressive hegemonic experiences are perpetuated by people who share the same culture, race, or ethnicities as the oppressed. This was reflected in the participants narratives when they spoke about how difficult their jobs have become and their need for care.

Participants in this study also spoke about how difficult the job of a principal has become. Nati was the only principal who spoke about how much she loved her work, and this was the same principal who spends at least one evening a month in dialogue with her colleagues about the issues they are facing in their daily work. The importance of mentoring and having a network of leaders with whom to share experiences is important for principals (Ferrandino & Tirozzi, 2000; Whitaker, 2001). Soleil echoed this sentiment when she spoke with great angst, mentioning various times her desire to have a group of principals with whom to share and analyze the experiences and frustrations with injustices that she faces every day.

Although, originally this study did not focus on the care for principals doing the work of creating conscious school spaces, all but one participant spoke about how they cared for themselves and how connections with like-minded family, friends and colleagues helped heal the constant struggle with duality and injustices. All participants shared what structures they had in place to care for themselves or what they needed in order to feel more connected and be able to continue with the critical work of leading working-class Latino schools. Nati was very specific and stated that she "[had] monthly dinner dates" with her colleagues, where they discuss "issues [they were] having at [their] schools so [they could] let them go."

Conclusion

This study sought to answer questions concerning the effect of hegemonic childhood experiences with race, gender and class on the bicultural identity of Latina principals and the impact of their experiences on the development of consciousness and more importantly the development of effective practices that support Latino students and their communities. The Latina principals in this study lived through experiences that created disconnection, frustration, and cultural dissonance, while they navigated growing up and attending schools in working class Latino communities. Their experiences where in alignment with research that explains how the intersectionality of race, gender and class has the potential to limit the success of working-class Latino students, on one hand; yet, how a strong sense of a bicultural identity generates consciousness and the ability to bring their bicultural experience to bear on their leadership practice in schools.

It is worth noting that the participants in this study were reflective of the literature that states that most Latina educators return to their communities to teach and lead (Flores, 2017). Five out of the six participants returned to the same schools they attended to teach and to lead as

school site administrators. Three of the participants, continued to lead in the same school for over 20 years now. Lizeth described the ability to lead at her alma matter as a "dream". When asked if they would consider leaving their schools, all three gave a resounding "No!."

In alignment with the research literature on the importance of the school site principals, the participants in this study acknowledged the impact that they had in their respective schools. They all believed that their role as principal was important in providing bicultural students opportunities, but also to offer them protection from the brutal experiences that were imposed on them by teachers unprepared to teach bicultural students. Donaldson (2011) posited that effective principals are critical in assessing teacher quality and behavior that can cause harm to their students. This concept is aligned with the Freirean pedagogy of humanizing the teaching and learning experience of students from oppressed communities.

The Latina principals in this study also shared how with the support of positive teachers, family and colleagues, they were able to develop a bicultural identity that translated into emancipatory practices in the same working-class neighborhoods where they grew up and and led. They found that through the process of conscientization and the healing of their duality, they were able to more effectively create positive experiences for teachers, students and families in Latino communities. Moreover, they attributed their overcoming the duality of the tragic dilemma and embracing more fully their bicultural identity as key in garnering the courage to take on the responsibility for extending the critical bicultural knowledge, language and practices necessary to walk the path of conscientization.

Recommendations

Bicultural Latina principals leading in working-class Latino schools must create in their school emancipatory practices that allow for both Latino teachers and students the ability to form

their own cultural identity and heal the duality and tragic dilemma that keeps people of color under hegemonic control. Bicultural Latina leaders who are on their journey towards conscientization, must have a framework of critical dialogue and deep listening that is a process that exists as part of the school's culture. Figure 2 demonstrates how this movement towards conscientization and a coherent praxis must occur in working-class Latino schools with primarily Latino educators. There must be an open flow of discourse and deep listening between principals, teachers and students where they engage in active discussion around their experiences with race, gender and class.

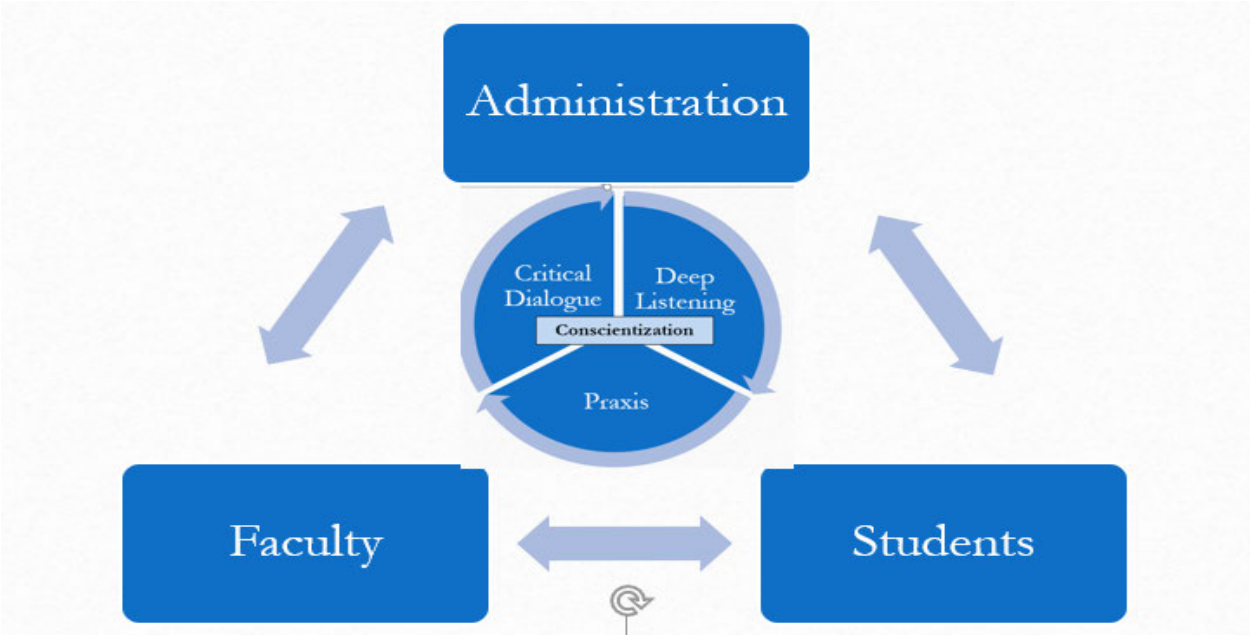

Figure 2: Movement towards conscientization.

The following recommendations will allow for opportunities of critical discourse and deep listening as a school community moves towards conscientization.

Preparation for Principals

Although critical consciousness is becoming more and more a part of academic discourse, the idea of the "tragic dilemma" and the deeper understanding that hegemonic

principles are part of the lives of many unconscious Latino educators who work primarily in working class Latino neighborhoods is not one that has been explored. In primarily Latino working-class schools in Los Angeles there is a growing number of Latino educators, and more and more Latino principals and although the student body and the faculty have similar cultural backgrounds, positive and healthy relationships are not always fostered. Because of this, it is imperative to research the process by which Latino teachers and students become critically consciousness, specifically with respect to the phenomenon of the "tragic dilemma" and issues of dualism.

This exploration is necessary so that students and teachers become more aware of how to identify and minimize experiences in classrooms and schools that dehumanize students of color. It is also essential as dual language programs are once again introduced into the mainstream culture, to give teachers and principals the critical bicultural language with which to engage in critical conversations about culture and power in the lives of bicultural students. People of color who have experienced the clashes between their primary culture and the dominant culture need to have the language and cultural mirrors that will affirm their identities and support them in overcoming the debilitating experience of dualism in their lives.

One far reaching implication from this study in response to the development of principals and teachers, is the ability of educators to confront and engage critically with issues of race, gender and class. All educators must confront their own racial identity and biases in critical dialogue with one another. These on-going conversations cannot only take place in private spaces but instead must be held in community, so that principals, teachers, students, and families can begin to understand and contend with the nuances of injustices that each particular school community faces.

Professional development on ideological believes and emancipatory practices must also be part of the formation of principals within their leadership coursework. Although the Latina principals in this study could all articulate the experiences they had undergone and could, critically and consciously, explain how they were unjust, some lacked the language to explain the emancipatory practices they utilized in their schools. The conscious recognition that principals are deliberately choosing to incorporate emancipatory practices needs to be made apparent so that bicultural Latina principals are more effective in analyzing the practices in their schools.

Creation of Safe Spaces and Networks

An issue that emerged from the narratives was the need for bicultural individuals to have culturally affirming safe spaces where their bicultural voices and identities are welcomed and critically engaged. These spaces would offer them the ability to have conversations about their experiences within a space where they would be understood and could speak freely, without fear of retaliation. Freire (2000) posited that many oppressed people remain oppressed because of the fear that moving towards conscientization and freedom leads to personal loss and/or retaliation from members of the dominant culture. Participants in this study looked for opportunities to engage in critical discourse and share experiences freely with networks of colleagues. The participants who had a more extensive network had more job satisfaction and seemed to engage with their school community with more courage and openness. The participants whose network was not as defined, took more time in finding their bicultural identity and the courage to face hegemonic structures in their schools or district.

Professional Organizations

An integral component in the formation of bicultural Latino administrators is tied to the professional organizations (such as National Association of Secondary School Principals,

Association of Mexican American Educators, Association of School Administrators and the University Council for Educational Administration) to which many of principals belong. Their membership in professional organization begs the questions about the effectiveness and commitment of these organizations to programs that specifically assist Latino and other bicultural administrators to grapple with the concepts of consciousness and bicultural identity formation. The participants in this study voiced their needs to have opportunities to engage in bicultural conversations specifically about how their bicultural identities shaped their leadership capacity and the emancipatory practices they worked to create and included in their schools. A more in-depth analysis on the effectiveness of these organizations is needed in order to provide these organizations the opportunity to critically analyze their service to the Latino and other bicultural members.

Colleges and Universities

In a similar way, it is imperative that colleges and universities incorporate the critical exploration and development of racial identity in their courses of study for teachers and administrators. It is not enough for teacher candidates to understand the concepts of multicultural education, they must understand what their culture identity is and what biases are at work, given the hegemonic nature of the society in which they live and learn. They must also understand the realities of the bicultural identities of the students they will be teaching, so that teacher can have the tools and language to better understand how bicultural identities manifest themselves in the classroom and in the lives of the families with whom they work.

Recommendations for Future Research

One major limitation of this study was the focus only on female bicultural Latina principals. Further research on male Latino leaders is needed to understand their experiences and

how their struggles with bicultural identity manifest in schools and inform their leadership practices. This can lead to insights on how to heal or overcome the "tragic dilemma" that is keeping many male Latino makes from achieving academic success. Another area that needs to be researched is the effects of unconscious or assimilated Latino teachers on Latino students. The impact of race on race discriminatory practices in schools must be carefully studied to get a better understanding on how this phenomenon hinders Latino student academic success. Another area of research that needs further exploration is the extent and success of colleges and universities courses on multicultural identity development in credentialing programs for teachers and administrators. Teacher and leadership preparation programs must provide safe spaces for educators of color to explore issues related to intersectionalities of race, class, and gender, without the fear of reprisal and judgment from their peers or faculty members.

Epilogue

For as long as I can remember the achievement gap and conversations about school reform have been the topic of many school discussions, research, and state and federal laws. The idea that somehow there is something inherently wrong with students of color, and because of that deficit, they are deemed to be lacking the ability and desire to improve their lives and succeed in school. By conducting this study, I came to finally understand the problematic discourse that shaped and stripped me of my own bicultural identity. I was succumbing to the same narrative in practice, even when I knew it did not feel right. The bicultural Latina principals in this study, moved towards creating for themselves and their students a bicultural identity and rejected the hegemonic paradigm that shaped the schools they led. They were not dependent on an outside school reform effort to shape and increase academic achievement for students of color

in their schools, but chose instead to create safe spaces in their schools, critically and with love, to help heal the tragic dilemma and dualism experienced by their teachers, students, and families.

For the majority of my life, I struggled to understand the duality and tragic dilemma that formed my own existence. It was extremely difficult to move between two worlds when all I wanted was to belong to both, but belong in such a way as to improve the lives of others. I saw the beauty of my Mexican culture, while at the same time understanding that acceptance by the dominant culture was needed for me be create change in my world on in-betweens. Sandra Cisneros in her short vignettes painted a story of the struggles I was living. Paulo Freire gave me the language and voice by which to begin to heal those struggles, while Antonia Darder gave me the courage to fight for the safe spaces that help me heal. And most importantly, my grandmother gave me the love that was necessary for it all to come together.

APPENDIX A

Ethnic Distribution of Public School Students: 2017-2018

Ethnicity	Number of students	Percentage
African American not Hispanic	334,652	5.40%
American Indian or Alaska Native	31,358	0.50%
Asian	573,925	9.30%
Filipino	149,680	2.40%
Hispanic or Latino	3,374,921	54.60%
Pacific Islander	28,085	0.40%
White not Hispanic	1,417,055	22.90%
Two or More Races Not Hispanic	223,967	3.60%
None Reported	52,635	0.90%
Total	6,186,278	100.00%

Source: California Department of Education (2019, March 6). Fingertip Facts on Education in California. *CalEdFacts*. Retrieved from https://www.cde.ca.gov/ds/sd/cb/ceffingertipfacts.asp

APPENDIX B

Ethnic Distribution of Public School Teachers: 2017-2018

Ethnicity	Number of Male Teachers	Number of Female Teachers	Total
American Indian or Alaska Native	455	1,069	1,524
Asian	4,145	13,515	17,660
Pacific Islander	269	646	915
Filipino	1,238	3,437	4,675
Hispanic or Latino	17,256	46,124	63,380
African American	3,684	8,234	11,918
White (not Hispanic)	50,325	139,687	190,012
Two or More Races Not Hispanic	821	2,044	2,865
No Response	3,607	9,705	13,312
Total*	81,800	224,461	306,261

*Some totals in the Public School Teachers table may not match due to difference in reporting strategy.

Source: California Department of Education (2019, March 6). Fingertip Facts on Education in California. *CalEdFacts*. Retrieved from https://www.cde.ca.gov/ds/sd/cb/ceffingertipfacts.asp

REFERENCES

Alfaro, C., & Bartolomé, L. (2017) Preparing ideologically clear bilingual teachers: Honoring working-class non-standard language use in the bilingual education classroom. *Issues in Teacher Education*, *26*(2), 11-34.

Alvidrez, J., & Weinstein, R. S. (1999) Early teacher perceptions and later student academic achievement. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 91*(4), 731-746. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0663.91.4.731

Annamma, S., & Morrison, D. (2018). DisCrit classroom ecology: Using praxis to dismantle dysfunctional education ecologies. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 73*,70-80. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2018.03.008

Anyon, J. (1980). Social class and the hidden curriculum of work. *Journal of Education*, *162*(1), 67-92. https://doi.org/10.1177/002205748016200106

Bae, Y., Choy, S., Geddes, C., Sable, J., & Snyder, T. (2000). *Trends in educational equity of girls and women*. Jessup, MD: ED Pubs.

Bagula, F. (2016). Latina principals in southern California: A phenomenological look into their journey towards leadership. [Doctoral Dissertation, University of San Diego] *Dissertations*. 32. Retrieved from https://digital.sandiego.edu/dissertations/32

Bali, V.A., & Alvarez, R.M. (2003), Schools and educational outcomes: What causes the "race gap" in student test scores? *Social Science Quarterly, 84*(1), 485-507. doi:10.1111/1540-6237.8403001

Becerra, D. (2012). Perceptions of educational barriers affecting the academic achievement of Latino K-12 students. *Children & Schools, 34*(3), 167-177. https://doi.org/10.1093/cs/cds001

Becker, H. (1970). *Sociological work: Method and substance*. Chicago: Aldine.

Beckett, K. S. (2013). Paulo Freire and the concept of education. *Education Philosophy and Theory*, *45*(1), 49-62. https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2012.715385

Bell, A. (2003) A narrative approach to research. *Canadian Journal of Environmental Education, 8*, 95-110.

Benner, A. D., & Graham, S. (2011). Latino adolescents' experiences of discrimination across the first 2 years of high school: Correlates and influences on educational outcomes. *Child Development, 82*(2), 508-519. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2010.01524.x

Bernal, D. D. (1998). Using a Chicana feminist epistemology in educational research. *Harvard Educational Review, 68*(4), 555-581.

Berry, J. W. (2007). Acculturation strategies and adaptation. In J. E. Lansford, K. Deater-Deckard, & M. H. Bornstein (Eds.), *Duke series in child development and public policy. Immigrant families in contemporary society* (p. 69–82). New York, NY: Guilford Press.

Brand, S., Felner, R. D., Seitsinger, A., Burns, A., & Bolton, N. (2008). A large scale study of the assessment of the social environment of middle and secondary schools: the validity and utility of teachers' ratings of school climate, cultural pluralism, and safety problems for understanding school effects and school improvement. *Journal of School Psychology. 46*(5), 507–535. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2007.12.001

Byrk, A. S., & Schneider, B. L. (2002). *Trust in school: A core resource for improvement*. New York, NY, Russell Sage.

California Department of Education, EdData. (2019). Fingertip facts on education in California. *CalEdFacts*. Retrieved from https://www.cde.ca.gov/ds/sd/cb/ceffingertipfacts.asp

Chemers, M. M. (1997). *An integrative theory of leadership.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

Chen, G., & Weikart, L. A. (2008). Student background, school climate, school disorder, and student achievement: an empirical study of New York City's middle schools. *Journal of School Violence 7*(4), 3–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/15388220801973813

Cimperman, R. M. (1986). A comparison of perceived primary leadership style, style range, and leadership style adaptability of female and male administrators in the Wisconsin vocational, technical and adult education system [Doctoral dissertation: University of San Diego]. *Dissertation Abstracts International Section A: Humanities and Social Sciences, 46*(8-A), 2141.

Cisneros, S. (1991, c1989) *The house on mango street.* New York, NY: Vintage Books.

Civil Rights Act of 1964, Pub.L. 88-352, 78 Stat. 241 (1964).

Clewell, B. C., & Anderson, B. (1991). *Women of color in mathematics, science & engineering: a review of the literature*. Washington, DC: Center for Women Policy Studies.

Collins, T. N., & Parson, K. A. (2010). School climate and student outcomes. *Journal of Cross Discipline. Perspective Education. 3*(1), 34–39.

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

Cooper, C. W. (2009). Performing cultural work in demographically changing schools: Implications for expanding transformative frameworks. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 45*(5), 694-724. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X09341639

Erba, J. (2018). Media representations of Latina/os and Latino students' stereotype threat behavior. *Howard Journal of Communications, 29*(1), 83-102. https://doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2017.1327377

Darder, A. (2012). *Culture and power in the classroom* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.

Darder, A, (2015). *Freire and education*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Darder, A. (2017). *Reinventing Paulo Freire: A pedagogy of love* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.

Darder, A., Torres, R. D. & Baltodano, M. P. (2017). *Critical pedagogy reader* (3rd ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.

DePalma, R. (2008). "The voices of every black person": Bringing authentic minority voices into the multicultural dialogue. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 24*(3), 767-778. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2007.08.002

Dickinson, E. E. (2016). Coleman Report set the standard for the study of public education. *Johns Hopkins Magazine.* Retrieved from https://hub.jhu.edu/magazine/2016/winter/coleman-report-public-Education/

Diener, E. (1984). Subjective well-being. *Psychological Bulletin*, *95*(3), 542-575 https://dx.doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.95.3.542

Donaldson, M. L. (2011). Principals' approach to developing teacher quality: Constraints and opportunities in hiring, assigning, evaluating, and developing teachers. *Center for American Progress*. Retrieved from https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/education-k-12/reports/2011/02/23/9161/principals-approaches-to-developing-teacher-quality/

Downey, G., & Feldman, S. I. (1996). Implications of rejection sensitivity for intimate relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 70*(6), 1327-1343. https://doi.org/10.1037/022-3514.70.6.1327

Dyer, B. (2010). Ruminations of a road traveled towards empowerment: musing narratives of teaching, learning and self-realization. *Research in Dance Education, 11*(1), 5-18. https://doi.org/10.1080/14647891003653393

Fay, L. (2019). 74 Interview: researcher Gloria Ladson-Billings on culturally relevant teaching, the role of teachers in Trump's America & lessons from her two decades in education research. *T74.* Retrieved from https://www.the74million.org/article/74-interview-researcher-Gloria-ladson-billings-on-culturally-relevant-teaching-the-role-of-teachers-in-trumps-america-lessons-from-her-two-decades-in-education-research/

Feldman, S., & Downey, G. (1994). Rejection sensitivity and a mediator of the impact of childhood exposure to family violence on adult attachment behavior. *Development of Psychopathology, 6(*1) 231-247. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0954579400005976

Fergus, E., & Noguera, P. (2010). Doing what it takes to prepare black and Latino males in college. 97-137. In C. Edley Jr., & J. L. DeVelasco (Eds.), *Changing places: How communities will improve the health of boys of color*, (pp. 97-137). Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Law: Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute on Race, Ethnicity and Diversity at the University of California, Berkeley School of Law. *eScholarship University of California*. Retrieved from https://escholarship.org/uc/item/8fk5w1ts

Ferguson, H. B., Bovaird, S., & Mueller, M. P. (2007) The impact of poverty on educational outcomes for children. *Pediatric Child Heath, 12*(8), 701-706. https://doi.org/10.1093/pch/12.8.701

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

Ferrandino, V., & Tirozzi, G. (2000). The principal, keystone of a high- achieving school: Attracting and keeping the leaders we need. *Education Week*, *19*(28).

Figueroa, S. (2018). Transformative urban education leaders in Los Angeles. [Doctoral Dissertation, Loyola Marymount University] *Dissertations.* 530. Retrieved from https://digitacommons.lmu.edu/etd/530

Flores, G. M. (2017). *Latina teachers: Creating careers and guarding culture*. New York, NY: NYU Press.

Freire, P. (1974). *Education for critical consciousness.* New York, NY: Bloomsbury Academic.

Freire, P. (1998). *Pedagogy of freedom: Ethics, democracy, and civic courage*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Freire, P. (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury.

Friend, J., & Caruthers, L. (2012). Reconstructing the cultural context of urban schools: Listening to the voices of high school students, *Educational Studies, 48*(4), 366-388. DOI: 10.1080/00131946.2011.647152

Fullan, M., & Quinn, J. (2015). *Coherence: The right drivers in action for schools, districts, and systems*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin.

Giroux, H. A. (1988). Teacher *as intellectuals: Towards a critical pedagogy of learning*. Westport, CT: Gergin & Garvey.

Giroux, H. A. (1981). Hegemony, resistance, and the paradox of educational reform. *Boston University Interchange on Educational Policy, 12(*2), 3-26.

Glass, R. D. (2001). On transgressions, moral education, and education as a practice of freedom. *Philosophy of Education Yearbook, 120*(8).

Gonzalez, R., & Padilla, A. (1997). The academic resilience of Mexican American high school students. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 19* (3), 301-317. https://doi.org/10.1177/07399863970193004

Goodson, I. (2001). The story of life histories: Origins of the life history method in sociology. *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research, 1*(2), 129-142. https://doi.org/10.1207/S1532706XID010202

Greene, M. L., Way, N. & Pahl, K. (2006). Trajectories of perceived adult and peer discrimination among black, Latino and Asian-American adolescents: Patterns and psychological correlates. *Developmental Psychology, 42*(1), 218-236. https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.42.2.218

Guthrie, K. L., Jones, T.B., & Osteen, L. (2017). The teaching and being of leadership: Exploring context and practice of the culturally relevant leadership learning model. *Journal of Leadership Studies,11*(3), 61-67. https://doi.org/10.1002/jls.21547

Hall, G. E., & Hord, S. M. (2015). *Implementing change: Patterns, principles, and potholes* (4th ed.). Boston, MA: Pearson.

Harpalani, V. (2017). "Safe Spaces" and the educational benefits of diversity. *Duke Journal of Constitutional Law & Public Policy, 117.* https://ssrn.com/abstract=2942980

Hauserman, C. P., & Stick, S. L. (2013). The leadership teachers want from their principals: Transformational. *Canadian Journal of Education, 36*(3), 184-203.

Hawley, W. D., & Nieto, S. (2010). Another inconvenient truth: Race and ethnicity. *Educational Leadership, 68*(3), 66-71.

Hernandez, F., & Murakami, E. (2016). Counterstories about leadership: A Latina school principal's experience from a less documented view in an urban school context. E*ducation Sciences, 6*(6) 1-16. https://doi.org/10.3390/educsci6010006

Hernandez, F., & Murakami, E. & Cerecer, P. Q. (2014). A Latina principal leading for social justice. *Journal of School Leadership, 24*(1), 568-598. https://doi.org/10.1177/105268461402400401

Hill, D. W. (2020). Communication as a moral vocation: Safe space and freedom of speech. *Sociological Review, 68*(1), 3-16. https://doi.org/10.1177/0038026119854857

Hochschild, J. L. (2003). Social class in public schools. *Journal of Social Issues*, *59*(4), 821-840. https://doi.org/10.1046/j.0022-4537.2003.00092.x

hooks, b. (2003). *Teaching community: A pedagogy of hope*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Howard, T. (2010). *Why race and culture matter in school: Closing the achievement gap in America's classroom*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Hughes, J. N., Im, M. H., & Allee, P. J. (2014). Effects of school belonging trajectories in grades 6-8 on achievement: Gender and ethnic differences. *Journal of School Psychology, 53*(6), 493-507. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2015.08.001

Kohli, R., Lin, Y.C., Ha, N. Jose, A., & Shini, C. (2019). A way of being: Women of color educators and their ongoing commitments to critical consciousness. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 82,* 24-32. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2019.03.005

Konold, T., Cornell, D., Shukla, K., & Huang, F. (2016). Racial/Ethnic differences in perceptions of school climate and its association with student engagement and peer aggression. *Youth Adolescence, 46,* 1289,1303. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-016-0576-1

Jacobs, K., & Struyf, E. (2015). A first step toward a comprehensive model of integrated socio-emotional guidance: Investigating the effect of teachers' task perception and a supportive network at school. *The Journal of Educational Research*, *108*(2), 95-115. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220671.2013.839542

Jensen, E. (2013). How poverty affects the classroom engagement. *Educational Leadership*, *70*(8), 24-30.

Jones, J., Miron, G., & Kelaher-Young, A. (2012). The Kalamazoo Promise and perceived changes in teacher beliefs, expectations and behaviors. *The Journal of Educational Research*, *105*(1), 36-51. https://doi.org/10.1080/00220671.2010.517575

Jost, T. J. (2006). Profiles in social justice research- Morton Deutsch. *Social Justice Research, 19*(1), 1-5. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11211-006-9997-4

Ladson-Billings, G. (2010). New directions in multicultural education: Complexities, boundaries, and critical race theory. *Semantic Scholar.* Retrieved from https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/New-Directions-in-Multicultural-Education-%2C-%2C-and-Ladson-Billings/83f46d93e3b83d0d698842d785a9185f363f42df

Lea, Y. (2014). Winds of consciousness: An analysis of revolutionary narratives and praxis. *Theory in Action, 7*(2), 16-41. https://doi.org/10.3798/tia.1937-0237.14009

Lee, J. C., & Klugman, J. (2013). Latino school concentration and academic performance among Latino children. *Social Science Quarterly, 94*(1) 977-1015. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-6237.2012.00935.x

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Manna, P. (2015). *Developing excellent school principals to advance teaching and learning: Considerations for state policy*. New York, NY: The Wallace Foundation.

Mc Kown, C., & Weinstein, R. (2008). Teacher expectations, classroom context, and the achievement gap. *Journal of School Psychology*, *46*(3), 235-261. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2007.05.001

Mellom, P. J., Straubhaar, R., Balderas, C., Ariail, M. & Portes, P. R.. (2018). "They come with nothing:" How professional development in a culturally responsive pedagogy shapes teacher attitudes towards Latino/a English language learners. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 71*, 98-107. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2017.12.013

Mendez-Morse, S., Murakami, E.T., Byrne-Jimenez, M., & Hernandez, F. (2015). *Mujeres* in the principal's office: Latina school leaders. *Journal of Latinos and Education,14*, 171-187. https://doi.org/10.1080/15348431.2014.973566

Mendoza-Denton, R., Downey, G., Purdie, V. J., Davis, A. & Pietrzak, J. (2002). Sensitivity to status based rejection: Implications for African-American student' college experiences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83*(4), 896-918. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.83.4.896

Mendoza-Denton, R., Pietrzak, J, & Downey, G. (2008). Distinguishing institutional identification from academic goal pursuit: Interactive effects of ethnic identification and race based rejection sensitivity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 95*(2), 338-351. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.95.2.338

Milligan, T., & Howley, C. (2015). Educational leadership in our peculiar institutions: Understanding of principals in segregated, white-staffed urban elementary schools in the United States. *International Journal of Multicultural Education. 17*(1), 43-61. https://doi.org/10.18251/ijme.v17i1.873

Monarrez, R. H. (2010). Tales of "*La Lucha*": Reflection of Latina bilingual educators. [Doctoral Dissertation, Claremont Graduate University]. *Dissertations*. UMI 3436587. *PROQUEST*

Montaño, J. (2016). Latino and Latina urban elementary principals' entry into educational administration. [Doctoral Dissertation, Loyola Marymount University]. *Dissertations.* 464. Retrieved from https://digitalcommons.lmu.edu/etd/464

Moss, G. (2004). Provisions of trustworthiness in critical narrative research: Bridging intersubjectivity and fidelity. *The Qualitative Report, 9*(2), 359-374. Retrieved from https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol9/iss2/10

Murakami, E., Hernandez, F., Mendez-Morse, S. & Byrne-Jimenez, M. (2016). Latina/o school principals: identity, leadership and advocacy. *International Journal of Leadership in Education, 19*(3), 280-299. https://doi.org./10.1080/13603124.2015.1025854

National Center for Education Statistics. (2019). Concentration of public school students eligible for free or reduced-price lunch. Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator_clb.asp

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

Northhouse, P. G. (2016). *Leadership theory and practice* (7th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Nouri, A., & Sajjadi, S. M. (2014). Emancipatory pedagogy in practice: Aims, principles and curriculum orientation. *International Journal of Critical Pedagogy*, *5*(2), 76-87.

Ospina, S., & Foldy, E. (2009). A critical review of race and ethnicity in the leadership literature: surfacing context, power and the collective dimensions of leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly, 20*(6), 876-896. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2009.09.005

Owen, J., Hassell-Goodman, S., & Yamanaka, A. (2017). Culturally relevant leadership learning: Identity, capacity, and efficacy. *Journal of Leadership Studies, 11*(3), 48-54. https://doi.org/10.1002/jls.21545

Owens, R. G., & Valesky, T. C. (2015). *Organizational behavior in education: Leadership and school reform* (11th ed.). Boston: Pearson Education.

Peterson, E. R., Davies, C., Osborne, D., & Sibley, C. (2016). Teachers' explicit expectations and implicit prejudiced attitudes to educational achievement: Relations with students' achievement and the ethnic achievement gap. *Learning and Instruction*, *42*, 123-14. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.learninstruc.2016.01.010

Pew Research Center. (2004). *Generational difference.* Retrieved from https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2004/03/19/generational-differences/

Pina-Watson, B., Dornhecker, M. & Salinas, S. R. (2015). The impact of bicultural stress on Mexican-American adolescents' depressive symptoms and suicidal ideation. Gender matters. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences, 32*(1), 342-364. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986315586788

Pina-Watson, B., Llamas J. D., & Stevens, A. K. (2015). Attempting to successfully straddle the cultural divide: Hopelessness model of bicultural stress, mental health, and caregiver connection for Mexican descent adolescents. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 62*(4), 670-681. https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000116

Pina-Watson, B., Ojeda, L., Castellon, N. E., & Dornhecker, M. (2013) *Familismo*, ethnic identity, and bicultural stress as predictors of Mexican American adolescents'' positive psychological functioning. *Journal of Latino/a Psychology, 1*(4), 204-217. https://doi.org/10.1037/lat0000006

Price, H. E. (2012). Principal–teacher interactions: How affective relationships shape principal and teacher attitudes. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 48*(1), 39–85. https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X11417126

Merriam-Webster Dictionary. (2019). "Poverty". Retrieved from https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/poverty

Riegle-Crumb, C. (2006). The path through math: Course sequences and academic performance at the intersection of race-ethnicity and gender. *American Journal of Education 113(*1), 101-122. https://doi.org/10.1086/506495

Romero, A. J., & Roberts, R. E. (2003a). Stress within a bicultural context for adolescents of Mexican descent. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology, 9*(2), 171-184. https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.9.2.171

Romero, A. J., & Roberts, R. E. (2003b). The impact of multiple dimensions of ethnic identity on discrimination and adolescents' self-esteem. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology, 33*(11), 2288-2305. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986314527733

Rumberger, R. W., & Larson, K. A. (1998). Student mobility and the increased risk of high school dropout. *America Journal of Education, 107,*(1), 1-35. https://doi.org/10.1086/444201

Saetren, G. B., & Laumann, K. (2017). Organizational change management theories and safety-A critical review. *Safety Science Monitor 20*(1), 1-10. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/317717072_Organizational_change_management_theories_and_safety_-_A_critical_review

Schott Foundation. (2015) *Black lives matter: The Schott 50 state report on public education and black males*. Retrieved from http://schottfoundation.org/resources/black-lives-matter-schott-50-state-report-public-education-and-black-males

Shaw, J., & Newton, J. (2014). Teacher retention and satisfaction with a servant leader as a principal. *Education, 135*(1), 101-106.

Shields, C. M. (2010). Transformative leadership: Working for equity in diverse contexts. *Educational Administration Quarterly, 46*(4), 558-589, https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161x10375609

Sperry, L. (2012). How cultural competence develops. *Seminary Journal, 18*(2), 48-52.

Stahl, T. (2017). Collective responsibility for oppression. *Social Theory and Practice*, *43*(3), 473-501. https://doi.org/10.5840/soctheorpract201773110

Superville, D. (2016). Few women run the nation's school districts. Why? *Education Week*. Retrieved from https://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2016/11/16/few-women-run-the-nations-school-districts.html

Tan, L. (2009). The 5E's of emancipatory pedagogy: The rehumanizing approach to teaching and learning with inner city youth. *Social Justice and Advocacy Course*. Retrieved from http://socialjusticeandadvocacy.files.wordpress.com

Theoharis, G., & Causton-Theoharis, J. N. (2008). Oppressors or emancipators: Critical dispositions for preparing inclusive schools leaders. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 41*(2), 230-246. https://doi.org/10.1080/10665680801973714

Valentine, S. (2001). Self-esteem, cultural identity and generational status as determinants of Hispanic acculturation. *Hispanic Journal of Behavior Science, 23*(4), 459-468. https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986301234007

Vaswani, M., Alviar, L., & Giguère, B. (2019). Can cultural identity clarity protect the well-being of Latino/a Canadians from the negative impact of race-based rejection sensitivity? *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology.* Advance online publication. https://doi.org/10.1037/cdp0000302

Voight, A., Hanson, T., O'Malley, M., & Adelyke, L. (2015). The racial school climate gap: Within-school disparities in student's experience of safety, support, and connectedness. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 56*(3*)*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10464-015-9751-x

Waldinger, R., & Feliciano, C. (2004). Will the new second generation experience "downward assimilation"? Segmented assimilation reassessed. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 27*(3), 376-402. https://doi.org/10.1080/0141987042000189196

Wheelock, A. (1993). *Crossing the tracks: How "untracking" can save America's schools*. New York, NY: New Press.

Whitaker, K. (2001). Where are the principal candidates? Perceptions of superintendents. *NASSP Bulletin*, *85*(625), 82–92. https://doi.org/10.1177/019263650108562509

Young, I. M. (2013). *Responsibility for justice.* NY: Oxford University Press.