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Los Angeles

Becoming a Community School: Teacher Perspectives through the Transition from Traditional Public to Public Community School

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education

by

Shanté Kathryn Stuart McQueen

2018

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Becoming a Community School: Teacher Perspectives through the
Transition from Traditional Public to Public Community School

by

Shanté Kathryn Stuart McQueen

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2018

Professor Tyrone C. Howard, Chair

This dissertation study is situated in the context of urban school reform, considering community schools (CSs) as a viable strategy for increasing equity and justice in underserved urban communities. This study begins to fill the gap in literature on teachers' experiences in CSs by studying the implementation of the CS strategy through the perspective of teachers. The theoretical framework includes literature on community schools, community-oriented teachers and organizational change theory. Research questions are: 1.) How do teachers in a developing university-assisted community school (UACS) experience inclusion in a purportedly democratic, partnership-based reform? 2.) To what extent do teachers in a developing UACS experience transformation in six pillars that define the community schooling approach (Frankl et al., 2016): a.) curricula that is engaging, culturally relevant and challenging, b.) emphasis on high-quality teaching, c.) wrap-around supports and [extended-learning] opportunities, d.) positive discipline practices, e.) authentic parent and community engagement, f.) inclusive school leadership.

Qualitative case-study methodology was employed to develop context dependent knowledge through interviews and participant observation (Merriam, 2009). The primary source of data was 25 qualitative interviews and 2 focus groups conducted over the course of one year. Interview data was supported through triangulation of data from weekly meeting observations and document analysis. Major findings in relation to question #1 demonstrate that teachers experienced inclusion through enhanced collaboration and decision-making power brought by positions on councils and committees, as well as additional professional development meetings. In response to question #2, this study found teachers experienced more pronounced transformation in the pillars one and two: emphasis on high-quality teaching and curricula that is engaging, culturally relevant and challenging. Findings suggest that the university, whose CS initiative was led by their school of education, was well suited to be the lead-partner agency for the school in study because of the school's desire to improve the quality and stability of their faculty. Additionally, several of the primary decisions made by the school's leadership and shared-governance council created conditions in which successful organizational learning could occur, including building additional professional learning and collaboration time into the weekly schedule, and combining decision-making bodies to improve representation through the inclusion of a larger group of stakeholders.

The dissertation of Shanté Kathryn Stuart McQueen is approved.

John S. Rogers

Karen Quartz

Thomas M. Philip

Evelyn A. Blumenberg

Tyrone C. Howard, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2018

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VITA

Shanté Kathryn Stuart McQueen

EDUCATION

Ph.D. Education, University of California Los Angeles expected summer **2018**

- Committee Members:
    - Professor Tyrone Howard (advisor and chair)
    - Professor John Rogers
    - Professor Thomas Philip
    - Professor Evelyn Blumenberg

M.A. Education, University of California Los Angeles **2011**
Multiple Subjects Teaching Credential **2010**

B.S. Ethnic Studies, University of Oregon **2008**
Minor in Business Administration

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

University of Pittsburgh Center on Race and Social Problems Sept 2018 – Current
Post-Doctoral Fellow

UCLA Urban Schooling Program Aug 2016 – July 2018
Graduate Researcher

UCLA Center for Community Schooling Feb 2016 – July 2018
Graduate Researcher

UCLA Center X Teacher Education Program Sept 2015 – Mar 2016
Graduate Researcher

Children's Defense Fund (CDF) Freedom Schools Assessment Team Member Summer 2014
Black Male Institute

TEACHING & CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT

UCLA Math Project Aug 2017 – Current
Professional Development Consultant

Sixth Grade Math/History Teacher, Aug 2016 – Jun 2017
Horace Mann UCLA Community School, LAUSD

Graduate Teaching Assistant Sept 2013 – Jun 2015
Race, Class, Gender & Inequality in Education, UCLA

Eighth Grade US History & Seventh Grade Mathematics Teacher Aug 2011 – Jun 2013
Monseñor Oscar Romero Charter School, Youth Policy Institute

PUBLICATIONS

Stuart McQueen, S. (2018). “School-university partnerships: Reflections from a teacher-researcher,” Southern California Professional Development Consortium, (7)1, 10.

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PRESENTATIONS

“How community histories can be a school reform asset,” presented at the Coalition for Community Schools National Forum, Baltimore, MD, May 2018

“Looking back to the build the future: Understanding and honoring a community's history while engaging in partnership-based school reform,” presented on the University-Assisted Community School Network monthly conference call, nationwide, March 2018

“Engaged scholarship: The UCLA Community Schools Initiative,” presented at the UCLA’s Graduate School of Education and Information Sciences Research in Action Colloquium, Los Angeles, CA, October 2017

Chapter One: Introduction

Problem Statement

Throughout the history of United States' education system, students with low-socioeconomic status (SES), and in particular, students of color with low SES, have rarely experienced high-quality, equitable schooling (Ladson-Billings, 2006a; Love, 2004; Tate, 1997). Most of the country's discriminatory past has purposely denied many ethnic groups access to education or provided them with an inferior and often culture stripping education (Freire, 2000; Smith, 2005; Valenzuela, 1999). Even post-integration educational movements have maintained inequitable education for children from low-SES backgrounds and children of color, though the integration called for by *Brown v. Board of Education* is commonly perceived as the landmark decision that equalized schooling opportunities for all children (Love, 2004). Adding to, and yet obscuring the issues, blame for the failure to educate all children has shifted from the government to the communities, schools and children themselves (Martin, Fergus, & Noguera, 2010; Noguera & Wells, 2011).

Over the last three decades, urban schools in particular have been targeted by many educational reform efforts ranging from local community-based organizations such as the Promesa Boyle Heights Social Justice Collaborative in Los Angeles (Perez & Madera, 2015), to citywide and even federal programs such as Renaissance 2010 in Chicago (Lipman, 2011) and *No Child Left Behind* and *Race to the Top* (Harris, 2012; Viteritti, 2012). In relation to schooling, urban does not necessarily correlate with the part of a city a school is located in, but has become synonymous with schools that serve a large population of Black or Latino children and children from lower socioeconomic status backgrounds. Schools that are classified or described as "urban" are generally underfunded and experience chronic failure, and are often located in

densely populated areas, though schools like these also exist in suburban and even rural regions (Howard & Milner, 2014). Many recent reform efforts have called for a shift in curriculum, higher test scores, and the increasingly neoliberal strategy of encouraging competition amongst schools and closing down those that cannot keep pace in the "race to the top" (Anyon, 2014; Berliner, 2009). Inequity and discrimination are further embedded into the structure of this country's education system by reform efforts that fail to acknowledge the many reasons that most urban schools start the race at a grave disadvantage. Three major outcomes of historical discrimination that have had devastating impacts on urban schools today are 1) widespread poverty and detrimental living conditions in segregated, low-income neighborhoods, 2) unequal distribution of qualified educators across schools, and 3) cultural discontinuity between schools and communities of color (Anyon, 2014; Howard & Milner, 2014; Milner, 2013; Noguera & Wells, 2011). The discussion of these three factors are critical in the development and implementation of equity-focused school reform initiatives.

Background Information

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the major concepts that motivated me to conduct a study based in urban school reform, and focused specifically on the implementation of the university-assisted community school[1] strategy from the perspective of teachers. The community school movement has promising potential to be a transformative urban school reform strategy that addresses societal inequities through a variety of health and social services, and genuine community engagement and development (Dryfoos, 2005; Frankl, 2016; Green &

[1] University-assisted community schools are a particular model of community school, in which a local university serves as the lead agency for a public school in developing their partnerships, programs and establishing a vision and direction for the school in collaboration with the school leadership (Lawson, 2010; Lubell, 2011).

Gooden, 2014). The service provision and relationship building aspects of community schools are in large part a response to the poverty, lack of prepared teachers and cultural discontinuity between urban schools and their communities that have hindered the growth and wellness of such schools for generations (Dryfoos, 2005; Gomez, Gonzalez, Niebuhr & Villareal, 2012; Zeller-Berkman, 2012). The setting for this study is an urban middle school that has historically faced many of the challenges to urban schools discussed above, and is now developing a partnership with a local university to become a university-assisted community school. The primary participants in study were veteran teachers at the school, and I documented their perspectives on inclusion and transformation as they experienced their organization change from a traditional public school to a university-assisted community school. In the following sections, I discuss three major factors (introduced in the previous section) that contribute to the failure of urban schools and provide a brief history of the community schools movement as an intervention to reimagine urban school spaces. I finish the chapter with an overview of the theoretical framework and methods I used for this study, and finally I discuss the rationale for focusing studying the perspectives of teachers within one particular university-assisted community school.

Urban Schools and Poverty

The rapidly increasing wealth gap between the rich and poor, as well as the declining living conditions of middle-class citizens have become a major political topic in recent years, and is certainly highlighted by the recent presidential race in the United States (Lauter, 2015; Walsh, 2016). What is not always mentioned, however, is the number of poor *children* that the growing income gap has affected, and the disproportionate number children of color that are represented amongst these numbers. In 2014, the Children's Defense Fund reported that 21 percent of children in the US were living in poverty – that is over 16 million poor children in one

of the world's richest nations (CDF, 2014). The numbers tell more about the targets of inequity when disaggregated by race, where approximately 37% of Black children under the age of 18 were living in poverty, 32% of Hispanic/Latino, 14% Asian, and 12% White (CDF, 2014). The numbers are even more staggering when they include children who live in families who are labeled low-income by federal standards, which includes families at or under the poverty line as well as those that earn less than 200% of the poverty line. Anyon (2013) found that in the 2010 Census year, 44% of all children were in low-income families, 64% of Black children were in low-income families, 63% of Native American children, 61% of children with parents who were immigrants, and 31% of White children. While it is unacceptable for any group of people to be left in or near poverty, the uneven distribution of impoverished conditions speaks to the vast inequalities that persist in the United States today.

As a frame for understanding the following discussion of poverty, it is paramount to understand the development (or persistence, rather) of racial and economic inequalities over time to understand how critical it is for the US to take drastic measures to rectify these social ills if equality in schooling is ever to be achieved. Looking at African American history alone, 246 years were spent in legal chattel slavery, the most inhumane and debilitating system of slavery in world history, beginning with the first signs of slavery in 1619 in Jamestown, VA. The following 100 years, from 1865-1965, African Americans were victimized by Jim Crow laws and various forms of "Black Codes" that rapidly penalized and incarcerated Black people as well as denied them the power to vote, to equitable schools, jobs and living conditions (Alexander, 2012; Kelley, 1993; Richardson, 1969). Only within the most recent 50 years of United States history have laws reflected a call for equal treatment of African Americans and other groups of color, yet the foundations of inequality still permeate every aspect of life and culture in the US.

Injustice assaults non-White people through the systemic exclusion of their representation in school curriculums and legal preferences, and the massive wealth imbalance attributed to them being denied the ability to accumulate and pass down wealth over generations. With this context in mind, it is imperative to analyze the effects that poverty and lack of resources in urban schools has on academic achievement.

The effects of poverty can be devastating to a child's in-school experiences and life outcomes (Gorski, 2013; Jensen, 2009; Milner, 2015; Mirra & Rogers, 2015; Noguera & Wells, 2011). For example, food insecurities that result from poverty are highlighted by studies that find insufficient food intake, especially at breakfast time, affects children's alertness, cognition, memory and their ability to persist through academic tasks (Basch, 2011; Mahoney, Taylor, Kanarek, & Samuel, 2005; Wesnes, Pincock, Richardson, Helm & Hails, 2003). Life in poverty brings a host of other challenges aside from hunger for families to navigate that often affect the stability and stress levels of children. As an example, adults living in poverty often work more than one job to make ends meet, only to earn less than living wages and often in conditions that endanger their physical and mental health. Children in these families may spend more hours alone without a parent to supervise or help with homework, and are up early and stay up late to accommodate for their guardian's transportation needs (Gorski, 2013; Jensen, 2009). Living arrangements for many children living in poverty cause students to arrive to school tired or without their homework completed, not because of any lack of commitment to their education, but because of the challenges of poverty that do not revolve around a suburban, middle class lifestyle.

It is commonly perceived that urban communities negatively impact children in poverty, in part due to the belief that parents in such communities do not care about education and that

they have higher instances of drug and alcohol abuse (Gorski, 2013; Lipman, 2011). To support that perception, it is well documented that urban neighborhoods and the children in them struggle against the negative outcomes of family members with drug addictions and alcoholism, and birth defects as a result of exposure to these poisons in the womb (Gorski, 2013; Jensen, 2009). Research has challenged the idea, however, that drug and alcohol addictions happen at a higher rate in low-income urban neighborhoods than in wealthier suburban neighborhoods (Brenner, 1975; Galea, Ahern, Tracy, & Vlahov, 2007; Gorski, 2013; Pollack, Cubbin, Ahn, & Winkleby, 2005). In fact, studies show that alcohol consumption is positively associated with higher incomes (Diala, Muntaner, & Walrath, 2004; Gorski, 2013). The problem is that urban neighborhoods have far fewer outreach and care centers that help counsel people whose usage becomes a deleterious addiction, as well as other safeguards that accompany wealth and privilege to forgive and support those who make mistakes (Diala et al., 2004; Gorski, 2013). The availability of affordable, quality health care also impacts the effects that exposure to drugs and alcohol have on people's bodies, especially for pregnant women who need care (Gorski, 2013; Lubell, 2011; Marsh, D'Aunno, & Smith, 2000)

The impact of poverty reaches beyond the physical and mental realms, to affect the aspirations individuals and entire communities have for the future. Neglected neighborhood spaces in impoverished areas clearly communicate a lack of value by the dominant society and continues to oppress the real and perceived opportunities of many of the residents within them. Anyon (2014) poignantly highlights how senseless it may seem to young people to work hard and graduate in schools that are visibly underserved, only to enter a world that is offering them poverty wage jobs. Gorski (2013) developed seven categories that capture many of the sources and experiences that hinder the experiences and aspirations of people in poverty because they

simply cannot afford them: “1.) access to healthcare; 2.) access to healthy living and working environments; 3.) access to recreation options; 4.) access to quality childcare; 6.) access to cognitive enrichment resources; 7.) access to a validating society (p. 58)”. As mentioned above, these conditions were created and maintained by overt and structural racism and economic oppression, and will take major deliberate action to see a transformation of the lived environment that surrounds urban schools (Anyon, 2014; Kelley, 1997; Lipman, 2011; Soja, 2010).

The challenges surrounding poverty are also significant when schools as a whole, and teachers in particular, are not equipped with the tools or an understanding of how to support children that face the challenges of life in poverty. Though many education professionals would quickly state that it is not their job to deal with issues that originate outside of the classroom, the fact of the matter is that such challenges are a part of children’s lives that cannot be ignored (Milner, 2013). While dealing with issues that arise as a result of poverty in a productive manner may require extra effort from teachers, there are many strategies that have yielded positive results (Gorski, 2013; Jensen, 2009; Milner, 2015). Trying to ignore children’s non-academic issues, on the other hand, often results in behavior issues, interpersonal misunderstandings between teachers, students and parents, and most likely an incorrect characterization of the student’s work ethic and value for education (Milner, 2015). Although much more needs to be done to address poverty on a structural level, certainly there are strategies and dispositions towards equity that teachers can adopt to better support students who are affected by poverty (Gorski, 2013; Howard, 2010; Milner, 2015; Sato & Lensmire, 2009)

Lack of Prepared Teachers in Urban Schools

Research has shown that teachers may have the largest impact on a child’s in-school experience, yet teachers are the most unevenly distributed resource across varying school and

class types in the United States (Darling-Hammond, 2010). Many urban schools are put in a position to hire an abundance of inadequately prepared teachers and staff, and often quickly lose qualified candidates to more “desirable” teaching environments (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Freedman & Appleman, 2009; Ingersoll, 2003). The unequal distribution of high quality teachers causes numerous problems for school budgeting and stability, for the students in their classrooms, as well as for the qualified teachers who are committed to urban schools and need a supportive team of teachers to join them (Ronfeldt, Loeb, & Wyckoff, 2013).

Instability begins for high-poverty urban schools with the number of teachers that transition through the “revolving door” of teaching in the US (Ingersoll, 2003). Ingersoll (2003) found that high-poverty urban schools are nearly twice as likely to lose teachers than low-poverty schools. Teacher moves to other schools and out of the profession are attributed to a number of factors by varying scholars, including lack of preparation, perceived lack of support from administration, discipline issues with students, salary, desire to move to different schools, inability to contribute to decision making (Freedman & Appleman, 2009), as well as a lack of cultural connection or awareness of urban schools (Haberman, 2005; Howard & Milner, 2014). Certainly, all of these reasons for leaving affect the lives and academic achievement of students who often see teachers come and go (Ronfeldt et al., 2013), and in some extreme cases are taught by substitute teachers for large portions of a year (Darling-Hammond, 2010).

In many ways, the lack of prepared teachers that urban schools suffer is a reflection of the other resources and supports that are missing from these schools. Darling-Hammond (2010) found that working conditions are at least as likely as salary in determining a school’s recruitment power. Urban schools themselves often work with smaller budgets per child because of tax-based budgetary practices (Anyon, 2014; Lipman, 2011), which can hinder their ability to

recruit and retain highly qualified teachers who require higher salaries (Darling-Hammond, 2010). In addition, much of the extra technology, sports equipment, extracurricular trips, and even specialized teachers in suburban schools are paid for through fundraising efforts and donations that are more feasible in wealthier neighborhoods (Darling-Hammond, 2010). In these cases, the rich not only get richer financially, but also have much richer teaching and learning experiences because of the additional capital families can contribute.

The basic budgets that urban schools are provided are often inadequate to begin with, but then are over-extended by the constant need to recruit and train new-teachers (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Ronfeldt et al., 2013). On top of exacerbated staffing costs, many urban school budgets appear wildly inadequate when considering need for facilities maintenance, the additional needs of academic interventions and tutoring, and the cost of providing extracurricular and afterschool activities for the large number of children that attend urban schools. Such programs and supports are glaringly absent from these school environments and contribute to the inequitable school experience that children of color in low-income neighborhoods receive (Lipman, 2011).

Scholars such as Linda Darling-Hammond and Jeannie Oakes have documented the trend of unequally distributing qualified teachers over the last three decades. Darling-Hammond (2010) reported that some schools in New York during in the 1990s had over 50% of their teachers employed through emergency credentials, which required little-to-no training. In the early 2000s, Oakes (2002) found schools with a high non-White population of students, children had less than a 50% chance of having a math or science teacher that held a teaching license and a degree in the same field they were teaching (Haycock, 2001; Oakes, 2000). Oakes (2002) also cited a report by the Professional Development Task Force in California that found that schools

with a high number of students of color are nearly seven times more likely to have under qualified teachers than schools with a low number of students of color. Students in schools that have such a large number of under qualified teachers are underserved and provided a subpar education as the basis of their achievement for their latter college and career years.

Alternative certification programs are another trend that is rapidly supplying schools with inexperienced and underqualified teachers. Organizations such as Teach for America, an alternative certification program, incentivize teaching in urban schools by drastically reducing training time (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Oakes, Franke, Quartz, & Rogers, 2002). In opposition to the reduced training strategy, research shows that urban schools can turnaround teacher shortages simply by retaining teachers, which often begins with adequate training in teacher education programs (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Freedman & Appleman, 2009; Howard & Milner, 2014). Moreover, achievement gaps between urban schools and more affluent schools can be mitigated by assigning highly qualified teachers to classrooms with the greatest need (Boyd, Lankford, Loeb, Rockoff, & Wyckoff, 2008). Studies show that in subject areas such as mathematics, a highly qualified and experienced teacher is a larger predictor of student achievement than both race and parental education combined (Darling-Hammond, 2010).

Another major factor that impacts a teacher's success in urban schools and their willingness to persevere through challenges is an understanding of the cultural landscape and a respect for the population of students who live there (Battey & Franke, 2015; Gay, 2014; Howard, 2010). It takes what some may call the "urban commitment" (Fall & Billingsley, 2011; Frankenberg, Taylor, & Merseth, 2010; Whipp & Geronime, 2015) to be prepared for the many challenges of differentiating instruction for a large number of students on a smaller budget, with fewer teaching resources, and perhaps without as much administrative support. As will be

discussed further in the next section, an overwhelming majority of teachers in the US are White, middle-class women that may have little-to-no familiarity with urban children and their experiences. The cultural differences between teachers and students can present the possibility for conflicts and misunderstandings that are unintended but create a hostile environment for both teachers and students (Gay, 2014; Haberman, 2005; Howard, 2010; Howard & Milner, 2014; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Milner, 2010). Howard & Milner (2014) advance the notion that a teacher who is prepared to teach in an urban school must have explicit racial and cultural knowledge, as well as be skillfully trained with the ability to acquire the essential knowledge, skills and dispositions uniquely suited to their context – in addition to deep subject and pedagogical knowledge.

Cultural Discontinuity between School and Community

Cultural discontinuity between a student's home/community life and school life is a widespread source of missed learning opportunities and student disengagement (Milner, 2010). Cultural discontinuity may be more difficult to identify than the effects of poverty or unprepared teachers because most often schools and many of the teachers in them operate from the normative viewpoint, which privileges a White American male cultural lens (Banks, 1993; Stovall, Dixson, & Lynn, 2013). Even when teachers are neither male (and the vast majority are not), nor White, curriculum selected by schools are tailored toward White male norms that reinforce a White male bias (Tillman, 2009). Often times students become victims of Whiteness because their teachers engage them in ways and about topics that are unfamiliar, and then they are deemed deviant or deficient for not understanding how to respond (Milner, 2010).

Howard (2010) notes that cultural incongruence has been a major concern for many researchers in urban education. As a result, some schools have shifted their focus more heavily

on cultural relevance as a way to counter the negative effects of cultural mismatches on students' academics and confidence. Cultural relevance focuses on honoring what students already know and how they know it, then building bridges to the expectations of the culture of power (Delpit, 1988) to help students develop their repertoire of patterns of behaviors and understandings (Gay, 2000, 2014). Cultural relevance greatly enhances student's learning experiences by engaging them in topics and conversations that are pertinent to their lives, which furthers student learning and enhances cognition through their connections to culture (Gay, 2000; Howard, 2010).

In addition to negatively impacting academic achievement, cultural discontinuity and cultural misunderstanding often result in more extreme forms of exclusion that shapes the current reality for students of color. Milner (2010) argues that cultural misunderstanding has an alarming level of impact on African American students, in particular, in the following ways:

- Overrepresentation in special education;
- underrepresentation in gifted and talented education as well as school wide clubs, organizations and other prestigious arenas;
- over referral to the office for disciplinary actions;
- overwhelming number of suspensions and expulsions;
- and underrepresentation of faculty and staff of Color in school faculty and staff and leadership positions (p. 22).

The lack of inclusion of students of color in advanced and extracurricular activities in school Milner (2010) does not only affect children while they are in school, but also impacts their academic and career opportunities afterward. The over referral of students of color to disciplinary and remedial actions is a major contribution to the structural racism that continues to disenfranchise young people of color through the school system (Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera,

2010; Milner, 2010). Scholars have documented the continuing pattern of exclusion and punishment as well as the manner in which it funnels non-white students to incarceration[2] (Archer, 2009; Gregory et al., 2010; Metze, 2012; Tate IV et al., 2014).

The above-mentioned conditions not only manifest in individual teacher/classroom levels but can also be a result of school wide culture. School wide procedures for discipline, course selection, access to programs and even bell schedules can all have an impact on a student's ability to access them (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Gregory et al., 2010; Jensen, 2009). In relation to cultural continuity, schools must ask the following types of questions:

- Are these procedures familiar to students from different cultural backgrounds, including those with different language needs?
- Are these procedures fair and accessible to all students, or are their choices bypassed by administrative selection?
- What kind of input did students and families have in developing these procedures?

These same questions can be applied to the level of family involvement in schools. Family involvement is a major topic in and of itself, but research shows that many guardians of students of color had a poor and untrusting relationship in their own schooling experience and find it difficult to approach schools despite a desire to be involved in their children's education (Gorski, 2013; Khalifa, 2012). It is critical for schools to rethink the manner in which their culture is shaped and find new ways to ensure that the cultural understandings of students of color in their schools are reflected. Engaging youth into a welcoming academic environment serves as a protective factor against social exclusion and life-long economic oppression that stems from routines that can start early in school (Gregory et al., 2010; Milner, 2015)

[2] The crisis of young people of color being prepared for incarceration rather than college and careers through exclusion and punishment is often referred to as the school-to-prison pipeline.

Connection-to Community Schooling Movement: Community Schools as Intervention

Taken together, high levels of poverty, underprepared teachers in urban schools, and lack of cultural continuity between schools and urban communities paints a bleak picture for young people of color seeking access to a high-quality education. There is hope, however, in the work that is being done across varying fields that relate to education and address the impacts poverty has on schooling (Gorski, 2013; Jensen, 2009; Milner, 2015). There are several fields of study that are positively influencing the ways in which schools engage students of color to improve their academic and life outcomes. The recommendations from many progressive research efforts are reshaping ideas about the purpose of schools in urban areas and impacting school reform agendas including the community schooling movement.

Influential areas of study within education include research on the impact of race and culture in schools, ways that teachers and schools can create a more inclusive environment for an increasingly diverse student body (Gay, 2000; Howard, 2010; Howard & Milner, 2014; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Milner, 2010) as well as strategies to enact actively anti-racist pedagogy and curriculum. Fields of study such as Urban Planning and Public Policy are broadening the understandings of forces that impact schooling, such as racist housing practices, job availability and other economic policies that have oppressive effects on low-income families and communities of color (Anyon, 2014; Blumenberg & Manville, 2004; Lipman, 2011; Ma, Gee, & Kushel, 2008; Soja, 2010). Research on both in-school and out-of-school factors that negatively impact urban youth has influenced a historic moment in the resurgence of the community schooling movement, and is reflected in the community development and engagement oriented practices of community schools (Frankl, Dunn, Kingston Roche, Serrette, Stahly-Butts, Razza,

2016; Green & Gooden, 2014; Lubell, 2011; Martin et al., 2010; Warren, 2005; Zeller-Berkman, 2012).

Community schools have grown out of the recognition of vast racial and economic inequality in our nation's schooling, and the acknowledgement that schools alone cannot overcome all of the out-of-schools challenges that hinder them from providing a quality education (Berliner, 2009; Dryfoos, 2005; Green & Gooden, 2014; Milner, 2013; Quinn, 2005; Zeller-Berkman, 2012). Case studies and regional evaluations have produced a plethora of research that demonstrates students perform better in school when they are healthy, supported by positive adult role models, and can see themselves making a lasting impact on their community (Bryk, 2010; Lubell, 2011; Zeller-Berkman, 2012). The community school strategy provides high-quality schooling through the integration of community partners who can provide academic, health and social services as well as creative outlets on or linked to the school campus that support both students *and* families (Frankl, 2016; Quinn, 2005). The community school strategy not only takes on the challenge of meeting student needs, but also of including families and community organizations as integral partners in ensuring success in their children's education and life outcomes –thereby creating whole school and community transformation (Blank, Melaville & Shah, 2003; Dryfoos & Maguire, 2002; Frankl et al., 2016; Quinn, 2005; Zeller-Berkman, 2012).

Inspired by what she calls a "surge of spontaneous innovation" (Dryfoos, 2005, p. 11) in 1990, Joy Dryfoos was one of the earliest and most well-known scholars to advocate for the current wave of community schools. She described them as hubs for communities, particularly those that are economically disadvantaged, because there was endless potential for the development of community partners. Partnering organizations would help public schools remain

open late into the evening, over weekends and holidays, and to provide the community with the vital services and engagement opportunities that they needed and deserved. Dryfoos (1994), along with leaders of the Coalition for Community Schools, envisioned these schools as institutions that shared authority between the school leadership and community agencies (Dryfoos, 2002; Lubell, 2011). Shared authority would be structured by the implementation of a decision-making body that includes school staff, parents and students, and community organization and local business representatives. Dryfoos (2002) also called for political support to help spread the movement and provide it with the fiscal and systemic support that would improve sustainability. These visions were only emerging during Dryfoos' time, but are now well under way.

The modern era of community schools arose during a tumultuous time in the US when many were suffering from economic downturn and job loss. A shift toward neoliberal policymaking during this period resulted in the privatization of many public spaces and services, which in turn denied access to the many low-income people of color who most needed them (Dryfoos, 2005; Harvey, 2005; Kelley, 1997; Noguera, 2009; Zeller-Berkman, 2012). Combatting similar conditions in different eras of US history, community schools have their roots in the schools lead by Jane Addams in the 1800s as she sought to educate and support the needs of newly arrived immigrants to the US (Oakes, Hunter Quartz, Ryan & Lipton, 2000) and John Dewey's teachings on democratic education in *The School as Social Centre (1902)* (Rogers, 1998; Zeller-Berkman, 2012). In addition, there are several examples of community-based schools that were developed in marginalized communities such as the Black Panther Freedom School of the 1960s (Huggins, LeBlanc-Ernest, 2009) and African American schools of the post-emancipation era (Green & Gooden, 2014).

Explanation of Study

In addition to the service and community development aspects, community schools aim to improve the academic outcomes of underserved students by providing a high-quality, integrated instructional plan. Instruction is anchored by teachers who, through the community school partnership model, should have the support of more available adults from partnering programs to assist students when academic, physical or emotional need arises throughout the school day (Lubell, 2011; Potapchuck, 2013; Quinn, 2005). Teachers in community schools ideally have more professional training and resources that help them in supporting student learning, as well as become more connected to parents and community members. High levels of teacher and student support, as well as professional resources in community schools have been described from the perspective of researchers and agencies connected with community schools. However, there have been limited studies that document these claims from a teacher's perspective, and with only two accessible exceptions through the end of this study (Fehrer, et al. 2015; Quinn & Dryfoos, 2009), none with a specific focus on teachers' workplace experience in community schools.

This study focuses primarily on the implementation of the community school strategy from the perspective of teachers in a developing community school, referred to in this study as the Jane Addams-University Community School or simply Addams. I chose this focus in particular because there is a significant gap in professional community school literature on teachers. While a growing body of literature speaks to the organizational make up of community schools (McMahon, Ward, Kline Pruett, Davidson, Griffith, 2000; Tagle, 2005; Valli, Stefanski, & Jacobson, 2013; Quinn, 2005), how they emerge and their stated goals and objectives, teachers' reflections on and experiences in community schools are largely absent. The teachers in

this study worked at a school that recently developed a partnership with a prominent local university, referred to in this study as University. Together, the teachers at Addams joined the rest of their staff, leadership and representatives from University to embark upon the organizational learning that would set them up for a successful organizational change. The change process required extra participation and planning from teachers, at the same time as enhanced their professional development space and provided their students with quality extended learning experiences.

Research Questions

The following questions guided my inquiry into the implementation of the community school strategy from the perspective of teachers:

1. How do teachers in a developing university-assisted community school (UACS) experience inclusion in a purportedly democratic, partnership-based reform?
2. To what extent do teachers in a developing UACS experience transformation in six areas that define the community schooling movement (Frankl et al., 2016): a.) curricula that is engaging, culturally relevant and challenging, b.) emphasis on high-quality teaching, c.) wrap-around supports and [extended-learning] opportunities, d.) positive discipline practices, e.) authentic parent and community engagement, f.) inclusive school leadership.

Methodology

To address these research questions, I utilized a qualitative case-study methodology in order to capture rich observational data, as well as the direct voices of teachers in a specific context. I conducted a series of interviews with five teachers working in a developing university-assisted community school. The first interview took place in the first semester of school in the

Fall of 2016, the second interview in the Spring of 2017, a third interview at the conclusion of the 2016-2017 school year and a final interview the beginning of the second semester of the 2017-2018 in the following academic year. The time between interviews allowed for the partnership to formulate and grow, and for teachers to have the opportunity to observe and utilize resources over the course of the year. I also conducted two focus groups that engaged three veteran teachers and eight new teachers, and three individual interviews of leaders from the design team.

The interview data was complemented by observation data conducted by myself as a researcher, teacher, and design team member at the school. I observed and participated in weekly professional development meetings and kept notes on how teachers engaged with University representatives, resources and additional experiences the partnership afforded them. Finally, I participated in the design team and planning meetings that were co-led by Addams and University faculty, which provided insight into the larger context and timeline of the partnership.

Theoretical Framework

I drew on several bodies of literature to form the theoretical framework for this study, including: community schools, community-oriented teachers and organizational change theory. I begin with literature on the community school movement, introduced in the previous section, as an urban school reform strategy that has potential to make schools and communities more equitable. Community school literature often talks about the strategy on a schoolwide level, but in the effort to fill the gap on teacher's in community schools, I support it with a discussion on whole child education and the overlapping spheres theory to make connections to how community schooling might look at the classroom level. Community school advocates often employ the phrase "teach the whole child", referring to the concept of whole child education,

which acknowledges that a child must be physically, emotionally, and socially well in order for them to have full access to a learning environment (Lewallen, Hunt, Potts-Datema, Zaza, & Giles, 2015; Santiago, Ferrara, & Quinn, 2012). If educating institutions are to provide a high-quality education to all of their students, then they must prioritize resources that help support the health, wellness and engagement of all students.

The overlapping spheres theory relates to the community school movement in that it argues for creating deeper relationships between schools, families and communities for the benefit of students. The overlapping spheres theory explains that a child's school, home and community spheres are all separate entities that impact their lives in different ways throughout the day (Epstein, 1995; Epstein, Hurrelmann, Kaufmann, & Losel, 1987). To the extent that these entities, or spheres, can overlap and work together to share influences, students will have more continuously enriching experiences. Epstein's (1987) insights on the ways in which teacher practices can enhance or detract from the overlap of students' spheres is significant to this research project and relates to the next section on community-oriented teachers.

In the absence of literature on teachers in community schools, I consulted literature that spoke about teachers with a community orientation. One of the earliest and most-widely applied conceptualizations of a community teacher (CT) came from Murrell (2000), who sought to develop a community orientation in aspiring teachers through their teacher education. The teacher candidates in Murrell's (2000) study were paired with an established CT and experienced meaningful transformation in the four powerful areas known as the CT framework: 1.) practice, 2.) situated perspective on learning, 3.) cultural learning, and 4.) co-participation in a community of practice. Teachers who are engaged in these four practices, view themselves as advocates for the community and connected to the students they serve embody what it means to be a CT. Kohli

& Pizarro (2016) found similar attributes of community-oriented teachers, but argue that for teachers who enter the profession with such an orientation, traditional schools can be a space of isolation and disillusionment that encourages early-career burnout. Organizational change theory supports this study in helping to provide a lens for how a school can successfully implement a schoolwide initiative while respecting and supporting community teachers. Scholars of organizational change in schools argue that two of the most important indicators of successful change is the style and connections of the leadership, as well as the provision of ample time for teachers and other staff members to collectively acquire the necessary skills and understandings that will result in organization-wide learning (Bryk, 2010; Fauske & Raybould, 2005; Sanders, 2016; Shogren, McCart, Lyon & Sailor, 2015).

Significance and Rationale

It is my hope that this study will add to the literature about the implementation, impact and functioning of community schools in urban communities. We currently know that community schools do a great deal of work on attempting to address the needs of students, such as health and emotional care, that are traditionally considered out-of-school factors. Community school employees and partners assist families with a number of services from help with legal matters to finding transportation and clothing (Gomez, et al., 2012; Quinn, 2005). These schools also show strong evidence of connecting urban youth to larger communities through service projects, thus enhancing student social capital, repertoire and opportunities to leave a lasting impact in society (Zellar-Berkman, 2012). Several third-party evaluations have found that community schools have increased attendance rates for students, which is a major finding that can be attributed to multiple aspects of the community school strategy (Frankl et al., 2016; Lubell, 2011; Quinn, 2005; Zeller-Berkman, 2012). Attendance rates are related to improved

health conditions, co-location of essential services such as medical and dental care, and higher motivation of students and guardians to attend school because of the sense of connection they feel to the school community. Community school leaders have placed a major focus on forging partnerships with guardians and families to make them an integral part of their child's educational experience, as well as to provide support for their skill development and unmet needs.

Most of what we know about community schools, however, comes from the research arm of the lead partnering agency (LPA) for community schools such as those led by the Children's Aid Society, Beacon Community Schools and the Netter Center at Indiana University-Purdue University Indianapolis. The researcher lens provides the perspective of how community schools work, the mission behind them, and lessons for other schools and agencies that hope to join in this transformative work. While such research is valuable and necessary, the field needs to move forward to include voices from those who are impacted daily in urban schools: teachers and other school personnel, students, and families.

This study seeks to begin the work of gathering voices of those who are often unheard by listening to and learning from the experience of teachers in a developing university-assisted community school. Though teachers are recognized for being in the trenches of education and schooling, their expertise is often disregarded as politicians and education professionals move forward with school reforms. Research has shown that teacher ability can be the most impactful factor in a child's academic achievement, as well as teachers and their actions are often the most significant figure in a child's perception of their schooling experience (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Howard, 2010; Milner, 2013). With this in mind, it is crucial that community school literature includes voices from teachers on how they experience organizational change from traditional to

community school. Community school literature must develop a more nuanced discussion on if and how teachers feel a sense of inclusion through the change process and what hinders or supports their ability to actively engage in decision-making processes. Finally, advocates of community schooling also need to know specifically if and how teachers feel that their professional experience has been enhanced by additional resources, provisions, and structural changes that are a result of engaging in partnership. With this kind of data, advocates of community schooling can assess if and how community schools enhance the experience of their teachers, which will potentially add to data that finds such schools suited to enrich the lives of urban youth.

This study also has implications for urban teacher education scholars and programs. Institutions that are responsible for preparing the next generation of teachers need to take note of the mounting evidence of the positive impact community schools are having in urban neighborhoods. If the data alone is not convincing enough, they can take note that community schools are gaining steam through political support for their development included in the recent re-signing of the federal ESEA bill, and the *Every Student Succeeds Act* (Frankl, 2016; Oakes, Maier & Daniel, 2017). There are community schools operating all over the country in urban and even rural regions, and some even enjoy district-wide support as in the Oakland Unified School District (Bautista & Partnership, 2014; Fehrer, Leos-Urbel, Messner & Riley, 2016; Frankl et al., 2016; Trujillo, Hernandez, Jarrell & Kissell, 2014). It is critical that teacher education institutions shape their programs in a way that will help prepare teachers to enter the high-energy, multi-faceted teaching environment of community schools. For those teacher education programs that reside in departments with a specific focus on urban education, the inclusion of a

community school preparation faction will enhance the message that teaching is a strong combination of high-quality instruction and caring for the whole child and their experiences.

Over the past century, community schools have emerged and re-emerged because of the recognition that schools have the power to unite communities and enhance the lives of those within them (Rogers, 1998). It is time to recognize that high-stakes and competition-based reforms have had damaging effects on our most vulnerable students, and that we need to re-imagine the role of schools in supporting the health and wellness of the nation's youth. Though the US is still battling a long history of racial and class oppression in this country, we are now in a time of unprecedented wealth, resources and information on how to use them. It is time that researchers, politicians, and education practitioners band together to bring the focus of education back to the local community. Such a focus has potential to cultivate equity and justice for economically disadvantaged communities of color, and unity between communities that have long been separated by the forces of oppression including economic segregation, distrust and cultural misunderstandings.

Chapter Two - Literature Review & Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, I lay out the theoretical framework and discuss three relevant bodies of literature that guide my study on implementation of the community school strategy through the perspective of the teachers. These three bodies of literature are: a.) community schools bolstered by whole child education and overlapping spheres theory, b.) community-oriented teachers, and c.) organizational change theory. I begin with a history and discussion of the various models and evidence for the effectiveness of community schools. To make stronger connections between community schooling literature and what might be necessary practices of schools and teachers to facilitate a supportive community learning space inside of schools, I briefly review literature on whole child education and the overlapping spheres theory (Epstein et al., 1987) .

After discussing community schools as a whole, I narrow the lens of the review by focusing on literature that discusses community-oriented teachers. Teachers are students' primary point of contact with schools, thus they must be empowered in order for any school transformation strategy to make a deep impact on children's school experiences. Though community school literature does not currently address the qualifications nor the preparation of community school teachers, literature on community-oriented teachers and teacher preparation sheds light on how the field of education currently values and conceptualizes such a way of teaching. It also illuminates how teachers in a developing community school might adapt their teachings methods to align with the new community-oriented vision of their school and develop their abilities to effectively meet the needs of their students. For example, one might assume that teachers in community schools in particular must be able to enact a culturally relevant curriculum, and to fluidly engage with the partnering community and families in order to effectively translate the community school strategy.

I will end this chapter with a review of literature on organizational change in schools. As the teachers in this study embarked upon the transition from a traditional middle school to a university-assisted community school, they were required to adapt to new leadership structures, learn new organizational routines and instructional models, and to collectively develop a culture to align with the school's new mission and vision. Organizational change literature discusses challenges to implementing initiatives in organizations and transforming schools, such as humans' nature to resist change or to apply their current mental models of an organization's structures to new initiatives. Organizational changes theorists and scholars who have applied the theory to school transformation also share necessary aspects of successful change, including effective leadership styles and structures that allow all members of the organization to develop the necessary skills and understandings to engage in change. Considering that the community school movement is expanding quickly in the United States and many of them are transitioning from an existing school rather than built from the ground up, literature on organizational change and how it applies to the implementation of the community school strategy is critical to the success of the movement.

Community Schools

Brief History

The current wave of community schools arose following the tumultuous time of the 80's and early 90's in the United States, when many across the nation were suffering from economic downturn and job loss. The time period also saw the subsequent shift toward neoliberal policymaking that resulted in the privatization of many public spaces and services, which denied access to many low-income people of color who most needed them (Dryfoos, 2005; Kelley,

1997; Zeller-Berkman, 2012). Combatting similar conditions in different eras of US history, community schools have their roots in the schools led by Jane Addams in the 1800's as she strove to educate and support the needs of newly arrived immigrants to the US (Oakes, Hunter Quartz, Ryan & Lipton, 2000) and John Dewey's teachings on democratic education in The *School as Social Centre (1902)* (Rogers, 1998; Zeller-Berkman, 2012). In addition, there are many examples of need-based schools that were developed in marginalized communities such as the Black Panther Freedom School of the 1960s (Huggins, LeBlanc-Ernest, 2009) and African American schools of the post-emancipation era (Green & Gooden, 2014).

The current wave of community schooling is officially recognized to have begun around 1990, when various models of community schools popped up across the US. As the number of schools grew, several community school leaders and partner organizations came together in Washington DC in 1998 to launch the Coalition for Community Schools (CCS), which is now an alliance of hundreds of national, state and local organizations that support education and/or community development (Coalition for Community Schools, 2015; Dryfoos, 2005). According to research by the Children's Aid Society (CAS), a leader in the development and sustainability of the community school movement, pioneering models of community schools include Beacon Schools, Bridges to Success, CAS Community Schools as well as the university-assisted community school model (Lubell, 2011).

Community School Models, How They Work and Exemplary Models

Inspired by what she calls a "surge of spontaneous innovation" (Dryfoos, 2005, p. 11) in 1990, Joy Dryfoos (2005) was one of the earliest and most well-known scholars to advocate for

community schools[3]. She saw them as hubs for communities, particularly those that are economically disadvantaged, where there was endless potential for the development of community partners to help public schools remain open late into the evening, over weekends and holidays, and to provide the community with the vital services and engagement opportunities that it needed and deserved. Dryfoos (1994, 2002), along with leaders of CCS, envisioned these schools as institutions that shared authority between the school leadership and community agencies, and would implement a decision-making body that includes school staff, parents, students, community organizations and local business representatives. She also called for political support to help spread the movement and provide it with the fiscal and systemic resources that would improve sustainability.

Children's Aid Society Community Schools (CAS). In 1989**,** CAS rose to the challenge by creating a partnership with the New York City School Board to support one of the most economically depressed and racially segregated schools in Manhattan. They spent three years planning to open their first school, and developed a partnership model that named CAS the lead agency to serve as a liaison for cultivating and aligning partnerships for the needs and vision of the school. The lead-agency model has become one of the most popular ways to organize community schools. CAS now collaborates directly with nineteen schools in New York, has helped hundreds of community schools open across the country through establishing the National Center for Community Schools, and has been replicated by thousands more schools in the US and around the world (Lubell, 2011; Quinn, 2005). This kind of partnership allows schools to

[3] Dryfoos uses the term "full-service community schools" and is referring to the same idea as those that simply refer to them as community schools. Because of some debate over the usage of the term "full-service" (Lawson, 2010; Valli, Stefanski, & Jacobson, 2013), I have chosen to simply use "community schools" to encompass all those who meet the criteria discussed in this paper for a community school.

maximize their space and time because the lead agency coordinates programs and staff who support children's health and educational needs during school hours, as well as constructive recreation activities before and after school hours that extend student learning. Offering extended-learning opportunities is a critical piece of being successful in serving students who are low-income and have limited opportunities for such experiences apart from school (Milner, 2013; Quinn, 2005).

The main goal of the CAS community school model is to support children's development in a way that helps usher them into a productive adulthood. Because CAS understands that children are influenced by their school as well as by their families and communities, they integrate the efforts of all three key players into a partnership approach that addresses students, families, the school community and education policy (Quinn, 2005). Each partnership is initiated by a structured needs-and-resource assessment in order to ensure that they are a good match for the school population, have the capacity to support one another, and are willing to adhere to the focus and culture of the school. One of the distinguishing features that CAS utilizes in alignment with the community school strategy is that they fully integrate their partnerships into the school and regularly meet to ensure communication between each party. These meetings and assessment of their vision alignment promotes a synergistic environment, rather than the inefficiency and confusion that can take place when a school has a list of programs that often overlap or are not conducive to one another (Bautista, M., personal communication, February 27, 2014; Gomez, 2012).

Since the opening of their first school in 1992, CAS has been committed to tracking their outcomes in order to continually improve their practices. They have engaged several third party research institutions to evaluate their schools, including Fordham University, the Education

Development Center, ActKnowledge and the Albert Einstein College of Medicine (Lubell, 2011; Quinn, 2005). Although each of their schools have a tailored set of programs and therefore a unique impact, their comprehensive evaluations over a nineteen-year period by the Fordham University and ActKnowledge show that CAS community schools boast higher attendance amongst students and teachers as well as greater academic gains than their peer schools. Those schools with on-site health programs have made a major impact on the physical health of their children, as well as show impressive results in helping students cope with mental health challenges. The Fordham University conducted a six year study of the CAS community schools and found high levels of parent involvement as one of the most significant outcomes (Lubell, 2011; Quinn, 2005). Finally, CAS community schools have been recognized by the Coalition for Community Schools as an exemplary model, and have influenced the development of community schools in the US and abroad (Leadership, 2016).

As Dryfoos envisioned, ongoing planning at each CAS school is facilitated through formal structures that include administrators and staff, community partners, parents and often students. Each school is tailored to the interests and needs of its particular neighborhood, and might include: after-school programs and summer camps for extended learning opportunities, parent involvement and adult education, physical and mental health services, social services, early childhood care and education including prenatal support, and community and economic development. Although it takes countless extra hours and creativity in garnering financial resources to support all of these programs and partners, CAS like other community schools believe that this is a “powerful strategy for improving the lives of children and families” (Quinn, 2005, p. 25), especially for those families that have been historically denied a caring and quality education.

Beacon Community Schools. Similar to CAS, the Youth Development Institute (YDI) created the Beacons Community Schools (BCS) to expand their mission of helping young people, particularly urban youth, transition successfully to adulthood (Zeller-Berkman, 2012, p. ii). YDI is moved to action by the reality of youth across the nation who suffer from violence, economic distress and their intersection with the race and class-based disparity in educational achievement. BCS centers their programming on uplifting the voice of urban youth and engaging them in leadership opportunities across the cities they live in in order to increase their social capital and provide them with meaningful experiences to anchor their in-school learning (Warren, 2005; Zeller-Berkman, 2012). Additionally, BCS adheres to research that demonstrates effective policies must be developed and instituted with the input of youth and community members, while the dominant policy development practices most often exclude these voices. BCS are located in major urban areas to serve as neighborhood hubs in the vision of all community schools, and strategically position themselves as key players in municipal, statewide and national policymaking. They envision their strategy as a viable model for integrating out-of-school time initiatives into schools within current place-based education reforms (Zeller-Berkman, 2012). Through their carefully thought out and implemented program goals, BCS has had over twenty years of experience serving approximately 150,000 youth across the US.

Research-Based Evidence: Community School Successes

Embracing the power of research-based practice, CAS, YDI, and the Netter Center for Community Partnerships have all undertaken the responsibility of conducting on-going research to provide evidence of community school success, as well as to guide future practice and expansion. Just a glimpse of the impact of community schooling, the key statistics below speak

to the measures of success outlined by the Coalition for Community School beginning with short-term results (Lubell, 2011):

- *Children are ready to enter school*: Many schools take a p-20 focus that supports child readiness in several different ways. For example, three of the CAS schools in NY have pre-school and early Headstart programs, and studies have shown that the children in those programs enter kindergarten with higher literacy and socio-emotional skills. Many other schools have health care programs for pregnant women and infants to ensure that children are healthy and immunized on their first day of school (Lubell, 2011).
- *Students attend school consistently*:
    - Three major studies conducted by third-party evaluators over a thirteen-year period found that CAS schools had definitively higher attendance than their peer schools (Lubell, 2011; Quinn, 2005).
    - The Center for Popular Democracy (2016) highlighted states and cities that have multiple community schools across the country and found that 6 out of 8 experienced a significant increase in attendance rate; the study includes data from Kentucky, Portland, OR, Cincinnati, OH, Minneapolis, MN, Los Angeles, CA, Baltimore, MD, Orlando, FL and Austin, TX. Attendance increased as little as 3% and as much as 18% (Frankl, 2016).
    - Community schools across the country that serve upper grades have found their students graduate at a higher rate (Frankl, 2016). George Washington Community High School (GWCHS) in Indianapolis experienced an increased graduation rate from 47 to 77% between 2009-2011(Green & Gooden, 2014; Officer, Grim, Medina, Bringle, & Foreman, 2013).

- *Students are actively involved in learning and in their community:*
    - Many community schools with successful partnerships are able to allow partners to use the community as a classroom during school time (Taylor Jr & McGlynn, 2010).
    - Community schools often supplement the core instructional program after school with programs such as the YMCA's Youth and Government Program that BCS students participate in San Francisco (Zeller-Berkman, 2012).
    - Community schools in Kentucky have a specific effort to train and place secondary students in summer jobs, and paid internships in Florida that brings over $200,000 to the community each year (Frankl, 2016).
- *Schools are engaged with families and communities:*
    - BCS in San Francisco reported a 183% increase in parent and community involvement in BCS programs in just
    - GWCHS cultivated relationships with over 70 community partners in a three-year period (Green & Gooden, 2014).
    - Historic Samuel Coleridge Taylor Elementary School (HSCTE) in Baltimore, MD made 100 home visits in 2015 with help from their partners (Frankl, 2016).
    - Webb Middle School in Austin, TX serves 300 families per year through their Full-time Family Resource Center with a host of social services and parent classes (Frankl, 2016).
- *Families are increasingly involved in their children's education:*
    - 6 of the 8 cities and states mentioned in the study above mentioned specific parent engagement programs that have increased the involvement of parents and families in the education of their children; for example HSCTE enrolled 7 cohorts in the parent

university initiative (Frankl, 2016).

Long-term results outlined by the Coalition are: "1.) Students succeed academically 2.) Students are healthy – physically, socially and emotionally 3.) Students live and learn in safe, supportive and stable environments 4.) Communities are desirable places to live" (Lubell, 2011, p. 20). The studies conducted by the organizations listed above show ample evidence that many community schools have accomplished several of these long-term goals, and the others are well within reach.

Challenges to the Efficacy of the Community School Movement

Although in support of the purpose behind community schools, critics such as Keith (1996) and Raffo & Dyson (2007) fear that the implementation of these schools may only address the symptom of social inequities, and will only reproduce the larger problem. Keith (1996) insightfully challenges leaders of organizations that seek to build community schools to think about the dynamics of their relationships with the community: are these relationships centered on the interests and needs of community members or is the organization working from their own perspective of what will help "fix" their challenges? Are community voices being included and privileged in the organizing process or are they only referred to when the plan is nearly complete? For community schools to have a true partnership with a community rather than a reproduction of antagonistic and inequitable relationship, Keith (1996) argues that it requires these schools to organize from a community development model rather than a service provision model.

Similarly, Raffo & Dyson (2007) warn that the spread of these schools across communities will only end up reproducing the same kind of inequities between schools if school leaders and partners do not challenge the policies and practices that create such vast inequality in

the first place. While individuals and communities that attend a particular community school are likely to live and perform better, children and families in other communities will still live in poverty and oppression. The stated purpose of the community school strategy is for all children to attend schools that are nurturing and academically invigorating, for children and families to be empowered by being engaged with and supported by their school, and for children and families to become healthier and more economically stable through education and job provision – yet, this goal is unlikely to come to fruition if community schools continue to operate within a system that is based on racial and economic inequality (Raffo & Dyson, 2007).

Limitations of Full-Service Community School Literature

The literature on community schools is limited in its scope because the majority of articles and books are written about the strategy's models and through the viewpoint of scholars who have played a part in building a community school with hopes to share the lessons they learned. These perspectives are necessary in a field of work that is primarily practiced-based and action-oriented and are the practical option for leaders who aspire to build a community school in their own area. A glaring oversight in most of this research, however, is that there is little-to-no voice directly from the constituents of these schools. With few exceptions, (Dryfoos & Maguire, 2002; Luter, Lester & Kronick, 2013; Martin et al., 2010) most of the literature that even addresses school faculty and staff only briefly discuss how the community school model aids teachers in teaching with fewer distractions and supports the principal in more seamless provision of services. Teachers, who are crucial actors in schools, are spoken about but their voices are rarely privileged or even heard.

This study provides insight to community school literature by conducting in an in-depth study on teachers in a developing university-assisted community school. Because teachers are so

central to the idea of schooling, supporters and inquirers of community schooling will gain a greater understanding of community school implementation through how it impacts or does not impact teacher practice and workplace experiences. The experiences readers will gain insight into include: teachers' interactions with students and multiple other constituents, how teachers engage in schoolwide professional development and how they believe it impacts their practice, as well as how they are able and/or elect to participate in decision-making processes at the school and throughout the partnership process. To provide a research base for the importance of schools and teachers engaging in practices that support the community school strategy, the following two sections discuss whole child education and overlapping spheres theory.

Whole Child Education. The notion of educating the "whole child" stands in stark contrast to the current nation-wide focus in urban schools on drilling down on standards, evaluating young people on high-stakes testing, and removing arts and physically engaging activities from core educational practices (Malone, 2008; Noddings, 2005). Whole child education argues that schools must attend to the needs of students as a physical and emotional human being in order to allow them full access to learning environments. With respect to community schooling, advocates of whole child education argue for the provision of wellness services in close proximity to or on the school campus that address the physical and mental needs of students and their families. Whole child education also calls for school leaders and teachers to adopt practices and curriculum that support children's mental and emotional growth in a culturally affirming fashion.

Health services provision. A critical aspect of teaching the whole child comes through the coordination of educational and health services. Rasberry, Slade, Lohrmann, & Valois (2015) discuss the development of the Whole School, Whole Community, Whole Child (WSCC) model

that creates linkages between health and learning. The WSCC was developed by a convening of the US Center for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD), who had previously done separate work through the Coordinated School Health (CSH) Initiative and the Whole Child Initiative, respectively. In 2013, these two organizations joined forces to create a strengthened focus on health and learning, which they view as having a symbiotic relationship (Rasberry et al., 2015).

The ASCD called constituents from various professions together for the Commission on the Whole Child and tasked them with reshaping the idea of a successful student from one that was merely academic, to one who is knowledgeable, physically and emotionally healthy, civically engaged and inspired. Referring directly to Maslow's (1943), hierarchy of needs, the whole child approach recognizes that health and then safety must be established in an environment before a child can be engaged and challenged in learning (Rasberry et al., 2015). The WSCC model highlights the recognition across fields that children do not learn in a vacuum, that there are many different facets of their lived experiences that influence them (Rasberry et al., 2015).

Beginning with the basic needs of health, safety and support, whole-child centered services in school can act as the basis for providing both physical and symbolic care for children while ensuring that they are ready to engage in learning activities (Frankl, 2016; Quinn, 2005; Rasberry et al., 2015). Furthermore, the incorporation of education on healthy lifestyles into a general curriculum adds to the focus on the whole child that advocates for a more broad and generalized development of curriculum to address the needs, interests and lives of students (Noddings, 2005; Rasberry et al., 2015; Williams, 2015). Both the whole child and coordinated school health approaches recognize the value of developing supportive partnerships between the

school and community resources to strengthen the community as a whole and to make these resources available to the school.

School and teacher practice. Many education scholars and professionals have adopted the belief that children should not be taught isolated subjects nor should their education neglect to take into account who they are as whole people. In this holistic view of teaching, relationships and prior experiences matter (Wing Han Lamb, 2001b). The entire context of people's relationships and experiences matter because their understandings are in-part shaped by the culture in which they were brought up. Thus, in order to teach to whole children, it is important that schools and teachers assess their own cultures and ways of being, as well as to develop culturally relevant ways of interacting with their students (Williams, 2015).

Earlier concepts of whole child education began urging educators to think of children as whole people in a cultural, relational and emotional sense. Noddings (2005) reminds us, however, that this concept is not new and that there are educators and policy makers like Thomas Jefferson who over the last 200 years have pushed for education to cover topics such as knowledge of rights, morals and faithfulness in relationships. Noddings (2005) adds to the aims of education and the duty of educators to also develop happiness in their classrooms. Happiness in education would look like helping students understand qualities such as, "a rich intellectual life, rewarding human relationships, love of home and place, sound character, good parenting, spirituality, and a job that one loves" (Noddings, 2005, p. 5). Happiness and the previously mentioned aims cannot be taught directly as Noddings (2005) acknowledges, but they are intended to help teachers think about how to broaden their curriculum to include aspects of these in their instruction and in ways that they interact with students. Such aims resonate with a similar charge by Epstein (1990) to focus instruction on the whole child rather than to specialize

instruction topic-by-topic.

Moving beyond care, Wing Han Lamb (2001a) argues that educators cannot afford to neglect teaching the whole child because of the vital nature of learning. He says that one must recognize children as whole and complete people that have their own histories and understanding of the world; he specifies, "it means that the educator has to recognize that the child has a personal history that she brings to the learning situation and for that reason the continuity of her memory should be respected, because the capacity to learn what is new is vitally connected to the liveliness of that memory" (Wing Han Lamb, 2001a, p. 212). Recognizing the continuity of a young person's memory also highlights the reality of an educator's responsibility in a classroom to be able to recognize the discontinuities and possible disturbances in their histories, and to create a safe place for them to engage in the learning experience. Attending to the whole child in order to help develop more continuous learning experiences is echoed in recent literature on educating children with emotional disturbances (ED) (Wagner & Davis, 2006), as well as in the framework for mental service provision in full-service community schools (Lubell, 2011).

A critical point of consideration for teaching the whole child is at the intersection of a student's own culture, and the systems in which they are required to learn within. Williams (2015) urges educators and administrators that are committed to teaching the whole child to begin by analyzing their school spaces and the messages they carry, as well as their planning and instructional practices. Traditional school spaces often carry messages and enact routines that are not culturally familiar to many students and families and do not welcome them to engage in the learning process (Gorski, 2013; Howard, 2010; Williams, 2015). In addition, the way that teachers and administrators spend their planning time, whether focused on standards and assessments or on developing student's ability to critically engage in discussion, says a lot about

their cultural values (Williams, 2015). In order to begin caring for children, engaging them as complete persons, and creating an environment that can help them build from discontinuous histories (Noddings, 2005; Wing Han Lamb, 2001), they must first start with an analysis of their own ways of being and their beliefs about the “right” way to teach and learn. Teachers must then alter the learning space to communicate welcome and inclusivity (Williams, 2015). The argument of teaching with an understanding of culture and family to enhance student’s educational experiences is mirrored in the next section on the overlapping spheres theory.

Overlapping Spheres Theory. The overlapping spheres theory is a concept that centers the experience of children in building optimal learning environments through partnership and collaboration across the child’s various living spaces. The theory, introduced by Joyce Epstein (1987) and her colleagues, begins with the idea that children are more successful in schools when given consistent messages across school and home environments about the importance of school. Furthermore, children learn more when their families and school pool their resources to give them “varied, intensive and coordinated learning opportunities” (Epstein, 1990, p.100). Epstein et al. (1987) built the overlapping spheres theory on several years of their own research, as well as decades of research that found children whose parents supported school activities have advantages in school (Clausen, 1966; Epstein & McPartland, 1979; Epstein, 1990; Heyns, 1978) and that school practices can affect their level of parent involvement across demographics (Becker & Epstein, 1982; Clark, 1983; Davies, 1988). Epstein, Hurrelmann, Kaufmann, and Losel (1987) concurred with the previous research that opposed a one-way concept of parents involving themselves in schools, as they argued it is critical for schools to also involve themselves with the families and be inclusive of “family-like” practices (Epstein et al., 1987). Epstein’s research found that students who experienced more overlap between home and school,

where their families were knowledgeable and encouraging about school and their school included and partnered with families, held more positive attitudes toward school and experienced higher academic outcomes (Epstein et al., 1987; Epstein, 1990; Epstein, 1995).

The overlapping spheres perspective began with only considerations for schools and families (Epstein, 1987), but has expanded to include community and peer groups to consider four primary spheres of influence (Elish-Piper & Lelko, 2012-2013; Epstein, 1988). Three major forces according to Epstein (1990) that affect the extent and content of overlap of the spheres in a person's life are: a.) the time period that accounts for growth and development of a child over grades, activities, etc. b.) the family's philosophies, policies and practices c.) the school's philosophies, policies and practices (Epstein, 1990, p. 103). These three forces affect the kinds of interactions that happen between the institutions. In relation to these forces, Epstein (1990) notes that research often supports the commonly held notion that higher income families are typically more involved in schools (Baker & Stevenson, 1986; Coleman, 1987; Lareau, 1987), which leads to the conclusion that lower-income families do not care as much about their child's schooling. She counters this perception with the fact that a school's policies, philosophies and practices affect how low-income families are able to participate and as an extension, they affect the family and student's learning and development.

Several researchers have taken up Epstein's theory of overlapping spheres of influence to explore the impact of school-family partnerships on children's academic gains (Copper, Chavira & Mena, 2005; Elish-Piper & Lelko, 2013; Galindo & Sheldon, 2012; Xu & Gulosino, 2006). Galindo & Sheldon (2012) found that schools that were intentional at reaching out to and involving parents showed higher level academic gains for their students, specifically in kindergarten math and reading. They argue schools that seek to develop lasting and impactful

partnerships with parents must continue their efforts of communication and inclusion throughout the year, because the announcement and documents often sent home at the beginning of the year are seen as superficial and routine (Galindo & Sheldon, 2012).

Developing an analysis that focuses in on teachers, Xu & Gulosino (2006) engage the overlapping spheres theory to challenge the standardized method of teacher evaluation. They reject the notion that simply having more degrees and certifications makes teachers more successful in teaching children and suggest a more holistic view of teacher quality. The overlapping spheres theory served as a lens for Xu & Gulosino (2006) to analyze teachers' behavior, specifically their practices in engaging and maintaining good relationships with parents. They found through their study that teacher-parent interactions have a positive effect on the academic outcomes of young people consistently across public and private schools. They suggest that the behavioral practices of teachers move them from simply being a qualified teacher to being a quality teacher and should be central to future studies on teacher quality. Such a concept of a quality teacher adds to the concept of what to look for in the development of teachers in this dissertation study.

Community Oriented Teachers

The purpose for this section of the literature review is to conceptualize what qualities a teacher must embody in order to flourish and to facilitate the community school strategy inside and outside of the classroom. As mentioned in the previous section, there is little research on community schools that speak at length about teachers in these schools, and with three exceptions (Fehrer & Leos-Urbel, 2015; Luter, Lester & Kronick, 2013; Martin et al., 2010), none that captures teacher's voices in discussing the schools. This dissertation study focuses

predominantly on the teachers experience in a developing community school, so I have used "community-oriented teacher" as a working term of how a teacher in a community school might already be or might become through working in such an atmosphere. The following discussion of literature seeks to capture what is already being said about how teachers are prepared to facilitate family and community partnerships, and multiple variations of what is a "community" or "community-oriented" teacher. This literature was valuable in helping me think about the understandings that a teacher in a community school may need to have or develop as I engaged in this research study over the past two years, as well as in situating the contribution of the findings within community school literature.

Connecting with Epstein's overlapping spheres theory, there are several practices that teachers can adopt to develop stronger and longer lasting relationships with parents and community members. In *School, Family, Community Partnerships: Caring for the Children We Share,* Epstein (1995) lays out six areas of involvement between teachers, parents and students which include: parenting, communicating, volunteering, learning at home, decision making, and collaborating with community. She also discusses the understandings and results that each party has gained through her experience in implementing the framework. Below is a brief description of the understandings and results that teachers might gain from each collaborative experience:

- *Parenting* – An understanding of the diversity of their students, as well as their families' background, culture and their needs, goals and concerns regarding their children. Teachers should also gain respect for families' strengths and efforts, as well as their own ability to share information on child development.

- *Communicating* – An understanding of teacher's own ability to communicate clearly, as well as an increased diversity of communication channels. Teachers should also gain greater appreciation for using parent networks to communicate.
- *Volunteering* – An awareness of parents' talents in the school and interest in children, as well as a readiness to develop new ways to involve parents who are and are not already involved at the school.
- *Learning at home* – An ability to design better homework assignments in a way that respects family time. Teachers should also recognize the abilities of single parents, dual income and less formally educated parents to motivate and reinforce student learning.
- *Decision making* – A view of equal status of parents and community members on committees, as well as their perspectives as a factor in decisions and policy development.
- *Collaborating with community* – Knowledge of community resources to enhance curriculum and instruction, as well as to make referrals to children and families for services and/or interests. Teachers should also develop the ability to include mentors, local businesses and community members to assist students and to augment their own teaching (Epstein, 1995, p. 796).

Though skills and understandings that are developed for and through a successful overlap of spheres between teachers, students, families and communities are complex, still very few teacher education programs dedicate sufficient effort to preparing teachers for this kind of work (Epstein & Sanders, 2006). Despite an overall lack of attention to preparing teachers for successful family and community partnerships, there are several exemplary programs that are doing this work and show evidence that it has a positive impact on teachers when they enter the field (Boyle-Baise,

2006; Mahan, 1982; Murrell, 2000; Oakes, Franke, Quartz & Rogers, 2002; Zygmunt-Fillwalk, Malaby, & Clausen, 2010).

Murrell (2000) offered a framework for preparing urban school teacher candidates to become community teachers, the Community Teachers (CT) framework. Murrell (2000) defines a community teacher as, "an accomplished urban teacher who develops the contextualized knowledge of culture, community, and identity of children and their families as the core of their teaching practice (p. 340)". He acknowledged that many of these teachers are traditionally not formal classroom teachers, but work with and often live in the same neighborhoods of the underserved students for whom they work. Many of these teachers say that they work in these communities that they are often themselves from because they are motivated by a sense of "giving back". According to Murrell (2000), community teachers show the ability to help their students achieve positive results in their academics, and do so at the same time as centering contextualized knowledge of the students' culture, community, and their individual and familial identities.

The framework for preparing community teachers posed by Murrell (2000) aligns with the overlapping spheres theory and the whole child approach, in that its theoretical basis is cultural-historical, social and ecological in nature. The four main components of his framework are 1.) *Practice* - is not simply the act of teaching, but the understanding that learning takes place by the teachers through their instructional practice as well as through interactions with children. 2.) *Situated perspective on learning* - requires teachers to understand that learning takes place in the lived experiences of people's lives as they gather and apply new knowledge and understandings. A situated perspective on learning stands in stark contrast to the predominant view of learning as internalized knowledge gained through a systematic process separate from

other activities. 3.) *Cultural learning* - means that community teachers are prepared to improvise a teaching strategy or topic and tailor it to what matters in the lives of those in her classroom; he also engages with his students to maintain a vibrant cultural environment in the classroom. 4.) *Co-participation in a community of practice* - community teachers learn with and from the experiences of other practicing teachers who actively seek growth and disseminate knowledge amongst one another.

Murrell's (2000) discussion of the CT framework is based in his experience with four cohorts of predominantly white women who were planning to enter the education major at his university. They all seemed to have a great deal of growth in learning about the experiences of their potential students, learned from practicing community teachers in out-of-school settings and confronted cultural realities that caused them to reevaluate their own privilege and positionality. Similar findings are reflected in several studies of teacher education programs that purposefully integrate a community engagement component (Boyle-Baise, 2006; Zygmunt-Fillwalk et al., 2010). Importantly, many of the faculty and staff discussed in Murrell's (2000) article with whom teacher candidates did their field placements were people of color who saw it necessary to develop a sense in teachers that they were change agents connected to a community and that they can serve as a catalyst for change in school policies, teaching practices and empowerment of their diverse urban students.

In contrast to the positive building experiences of pre-service teachers who participated in teacher training programs based on and related to the CT framework (Boyle-Baise, 2006; Murrell, 2000), many practicing teachers of color who view themselves as community-oriented teachers find schools to be a destructive and isolating space. In *Fighting to Educate Our Own: Teachers of Color, Relational Accountability, and the Struggle for Racial Justice,* Kohli &

Pizarro (2016) describe the desire to teach children as activism and a way to serve their communities. The teachers in Kohli & Pizarro's (2016) study are teachers of color that came to the practice with an activist stance and community-oriented ethics, ways of knowing, and ways of being and relating (Kohli & Pizarro, 2016). Though Murrell's (2000) and Kohli & Pizarro's (2016) studies take place in quite different contexts and nearly two decades apart, they share distinct similarities in that teacher education faculty and K-12 teachers of color were fighting against the oppressive nature of schooling in the US to be able to implement learning experiences for young people that advance a social justice and anti-racist agenda.

What can be learned from the various perspectives on who is and how to become a more community-oriented teacher is that it is not the result of a quick nor easy training. A community-oriented teacher must have deep connections to the community they serve and a range of understanding of their student's cultural and familial identities, and the realities of their lived experiences. A community-oriented teacher must be able to broaden their curriculum to teach the whole child (Kohli & Pizarro, 2016; Noddings, 2005; Wing Han Lamb, 2001), and to be able to address community needs, interests and challenges through the various academic skills that they are commissioned to teach. Community-oriented teachers must be able to develop and maintain relationships with parents/families, community members and students to be able to create meaningful overlaps of spheres of influence that impact their students' lives (Epstein, 1995; Murrell, 2000). Such skills and deep knowledge of a community might take years to develop, and requires continual effort in improving practice and overcoming obstacles along the way.

In order to support the professional growth of their practice, community-oriented teachers also must be able to build relationships with colleagues inside and outside of their school to engage in a community of practice that continues to develop their ability to teach for change in

their communities (Kohli & Pizarro, 2016; Murrell, 2000). These communities of practice also serve as a protective factor against the often heart-breaking realities that accompany teaching children in underserved communities, and dedicating one's career to working within a system that has historically stripped students of color of their culture and provided them with an inferior education (Kohli & Pizarro, 2016; Ladson-Billings, 2006b; Love, 2004; Smith, 2005; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002; Valenzuela, 1999). One of the most potent take-aways from the literature on community-oriented teachers is that teaching for transformation in an urban community is a social justice mission that requires teachers to see themselves as activists that work with and for the entire community that they teach in (Kohli & Pizarro, 2016; Murrell, 2000).

Organizational Change in Schools

The implementation of community schools is understudied (Oakes, et al., 2017), and yet to include a study that focuses on the implementation process from the perspective of the teachers. The transition from an existing traditional middle school to a university-assisted community school calls for a major shift in a school's structure, routines, functions and culture. Scholarly literature refers to such a shift as organizational change, which entails in-depth learning of new structural-technical systems as well as social-cognitive systems by individuals in an organization which leads to collective organizational learning and change (Fausk & Raybould, 2005). Bolman & Deal (2013) explain that organizational change is difficult because organizations are composed of humans with differing perceptions of the world, a multitude of mental models of organization's routines and structures, and who undoubtedly react in a variety of ways to any proposed change.

Key aspects of a successful change or initiative is to increase the likelihood that all

parties have an understanding and level of comfort with the change by providing ample psychological support, training and opportunity for participation. Bolman & Deal (2013) advise leaders and managers who are at the forefront of organizational change that "Taking the time to hear people's ideas and concerns and to make sure that all involved have the talent, confidence, and expertise to carry out their new responsibilities is a requisite of successful innovation (p. 381)". Though there are parallels to general discussion on organizations, it is significant to this dissertation that there are several studies that speak specifically to the complexities of organizational change in a school space (Fausk & Raybould, 2005; Sanders, 2016; Shogren, McCart, Lyon & Sailor, 2015, Zoltner Sherer & Spillane, 2011).

Fausk & Raybould (2005) took an early look at organizational learning in a school, as they explored the integration of technology at an elementary school. Through interviewing and observing teachers as well as the school leader, they found that a key factor in productive organizational learning is that "information must flow consistently and predictably without barriers, and decision-making processes should be clear (Fausk & Raybould, 2005, p. 35)". The challenge in schools, however, is that teachers' schedules are often demanding and leave little time for individual learning about a new initiative, let alone for developing a collective understanding and learning around the change. The teachers in study did not have time to experiment with the technology they were required to implement, nor was there structured time with colleagues to interact and make decisions around instructional technology. Two other key findings arose from the study: 1.) pre-existing mental models and collective understandings in a school space can serve as a roadblock to a change effort as teachers apply their prior understandings to make sense of the new initiative; and 2.) initiative leaders, such as principals and district representatives, must align their words and actions as they emphasize the importance

of the change (Fausk & Raybould, 2005).

As opposed to the study above that found teachers struggling to implement technology, Shogren et al. (2015) studied six schools that were identified as effectively transforming their traditional schools to full inclusion schools. Implementing a full inclusion program, meaning there are no longer separate classrooms for students with disabilities, requires a notable shift in culture as well as school structures and systems. The study found that all six schools developed a strong belief that everyone in the school is responsible for educating all children in the school and had dedicated leadership that supported teachers in developing buy-in. Teachers shared that their principals had a palpable commitment to creating a welcoming environment for all students, families and the faculty, which vitally impacted their own views on the inclusion initiative. The principal's leadership, as well as support from the district, allowed the school to creatively shift structures to best support student needs while matching their vision. An example of a structural shift was pairing a special education teacher with a general education teacher to co-teach a class in order for all students to learn together and receive the tailored support they need.

Teachers identified that a strong focus on professional learning was critical in providing them with opportunities to learn through the challenges of a school transformation. Moreover, collaborative school cultures allowed teachers to engage in collective learning and to provide peer-to-peer support that enhanced individual practice and produced organizational learning (Shogren et al., 2015). Shogren et al. (2015) found that the strength of leadership, a collaborative peer environment and trusting community partnerships to be key in transforming a school's environment and function.

Sanders (2016) conducted a multiple case study of three community schools using Richardson's (2009) framework for highly effective community schools (HECS), which built on

the work of organizational theorists Bolman & Deal (1992) and Cheng (1994). Sanders (2016) explored three components of the HECS framework, principal leadership, community partnerships and organizational development, to understand how each component leads to school effectiveness. She found that relational and political strength of the leadership, namely of the principal with the support of the community school coordinator, explained differences in the ability of the school to implement the community school strategy through leveraging social networks and attracting community partnerships. In addition, the principal's leadership influenced organizational structures at each school, which in turn affected student level indicators such as attendance and test scores.

Two major challenges that schools faced in Sander's (2016) study were capacity issues, securing enough funding to pay for programs and additional staff; and programming issues, recruiting and retaining highly-qualified teachers to build a solid instructional program. The most effective school in study did not face programming challenges due to a tight-knit faculty of qualified educators who had grown to value the community school mode, and were encouraged by their principal to engage in community partnerships that would enhance and extend their academic program. The most effective school did, however, face funding issues that caused the principal to continuously overcome such challenges through fundraising, in-kind donations from partners, and raising political awareness for the needs of his school. The two other schools did not have challenges with funding due to major grants, but they were not as effective as the first school because they did not share the same level of community connection and struggled with recruiting and retaining qualified teachers.

Significantly, Sanders (2016) points out that much of the community school literature discusses a high-quality academic program as a given, and neglects to understand how

organizational development and change impacts instruction. Her findings are in alignment with other studies of schools as organizations, which highlight the importance of the principal's leadership in establishing a professional environment in which teachers can collaborate with one another and in actively engaging with community partners to promote success (Bryk, 2010; Sanders, 2016; Shogren, et al., 2015). Principal leadership is also a driver of change through proactively initiating relationships and developing the leadership capacity of teachers and other school members, as well as working with the community school coordinator to curate community partnerships to enhance the effectiveness of the school (Bryk, 2010; Sanders, 2016). Sanders (2016) ends her study with a call for future research with a focus on instruction, she suggests, "practitioners and researches in the field should focus more explicitly on how instruction is delivered by teachers and supported by principals and community partners if full-service schools are to be transformative learning environments socially and economically disadvantaged children" (p. 173). Her call for a focus on instruction in community schools is in part answered by this dissertation, which centers teachers' perspectives on the inclusion and transformation they experience as their school engages in partnership with a university to become a university-assisted community school.

Summary

The theoretical framework laid out in this chapter highlights the importance for schools and teachers to develop their practices to support students holistically. The emphasis on holistic education has become more urgent in the US and abroad, as education policies have made a hard swing toward focusing solely on achievement in isolated subjects. Connecting literature on the community school strategy to literature on whole child education and overlapping spheres theory

helps to inform the research behind the development of these schools, and provides concrete examples of how these practices are being carried out in a comprehensive way. The community school approach has also pushed the other two theories to include a focus on community development - schools should not only partner with parents and community members to help boost in-school achievement, but also to positively impact neighborhoods that have been marginalized by education, economic and housing policies for decades.

The emerging concept of community-oriented teachers shapes a vision of the kind of teacher that might develop in or be attracted to practice in a community school. Community-oriented teachers understand that the mission of education is not for students to simply learn information about subjects. Rather, education is a tool for induction into one's culture, personal development and eventually upward mobility for one's self and family. Community oriented teacher's come to the classroom with the understanding that gaining a holistic, affirming education has always been and continues to be a fight for communities of color and those that are low-income. This concept casts a significant view of teaching as activism, which must be present in a school that seeks to create a holistic impact in an under-served community. In order for the community school strategy to be fully integrated into the school environment, teachers must be capable of navigating the many resources brought in by partners, as well as facilitate a holistic and empowering curriculum that is connected to the communities they serve.

The final section in this review helps to understand how the conditions of a community school and the skills and practices of community-oriented teachers may develop where they did not previously exist organization-wide. The bodies of literature discussed in this chapter as a whole make it clear that schools must support their students and their families in a holistic fashion through transforming their school's structure and relationships and part of that must be

creating an environment where community-oriented teachers can thrive. The purpose of this study is to discuss a current transformative approach to urban schooling through privileging the voice of those who are on the front lines everyday: the teachers.

Chapter Three: Methodology

In the previous two chapters, I explained the background behind why this study took place in an urban school and specifically in a public school that is the implementing the community school strategy in partnership with a local university. The main focus of this study was to examine the experiences of teachers in a developing university-assisted community school. The analysis took place in the context of a school with an explicit social justice mission seeking to provide high-quality education to low-income students of color. Systemic conditions such as poverty, lack of unprepared teachers and cultural discontinuity between students' communities and their schools continue to have dire effects on urban school outcomes (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Gorski, 2013; Howard & Milner, 2014). The factors that contribute to the plight of many urban schools have become prime in promoting community schooling as an intervention on such deep-seated challenges (Green & Gooden, 2014; Lubell, 2011; Zeller-Berkman, 2012). My goal was to provide insight into how teachers experienced inclusion and if and how they perceived transformation in their practices and school environment as they underwent a school-wide organizational change from a traditional public school to a public university-assisted community school[4].

I used a qualitative case-study methodology to capture rich observational data on the programs, trainings and planning opportunities that involve the teachers at Jane Addams-University Community School (Addams). I conducted a series of semi-structured interviews with teachers that allowed for their voices to be the primary source of data on whether and how they

[4] A defining difference between traditional and public schools is the level of coherence between all partnering services. Most community schools also have a lead partner agency that heads the partnerships and aligns the vision. Community schools that have a university as their lead partner agency are largely referred to as university-assisted community schools.

felt included in decision making processes at the school, and if partnership resources and practices promoted transformation. The interviews captured teachers' perceptions, insights, and understandings about their workplace and their own rolls as educators as they transitioned from a traditional public school to a university-assisted community school. Through in-depth, qualitative data collection methods, my study provides a window into the complexity of implementing a democratic, partnership-based reform in an urban school where teachers and administrators are often already stretched-thin, and how teachers attempt to embrace transformation while maintaining a stable classroom environment.

Research Questions

This study focused on a single case of teachers in an urban middle school that is transitioning from a traditional public middle school to a university-assisted community school. In order to gain an insight into their experiences, I collected observational data weekly over the course of an entire academic year, and interview data from teachers in four phases. The following research questions guided my work:

1. How do teachers in a developing UACS experience inclusion in a purportedly democratic, partnership-based reform?
2. To what extent do teachers in a developing university-assisted community school experience transformation in six areas that define the community schooling strategy (Frankl et al., 2016): a.) curricula that is engaging, culturally relevant and challenging, b.) emphasis on high-quality teaching, c.) wrap-around supports and [extended-learning] opportunities, d.) positive discipline practices, e.) authentic parent and community engagement, f.) inclusive school leadership.

Study Design

Focus on Teachers

Though this study is based in the community schooling strategy, which is a student-centered school transformation approach, I chose to take an in-depth look at the experience of teachers for several reasons. A wealth of research shows that teachers are amongst the most important, if not the number one factor that determine academic outcomes for students (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Howard, 2010; Milner, 2013). The significance of teachers to children's success should warrant a priority focus for research, and yet the literature on school reform strategies often speak about teachers from detached viewpoints without acknowledging their perspectives and voices, or even overlook teachers entirely (Seidman, 2013). Teachers are critical in any classroom intervention strategy that influences student learning and it is a glaring oversight not to include their input on how community schools manage to impact in-class experiences. One of the best ways to learn about how an intervention is working is to hear directly from those who interact with it on a day-to-day basis (Merriam, 2009); thus, teachers should be a top priority for research when evaluating a major school transformation strategy such as community schooling.

I also chose to focus on a set of teachers in an urban school because of the current political environment that regularly attacks schools and de-professionalizes teachers (Endacott et al., 2015; Milner, 2013). There are many highly-skilled teachers who purposefully elect to work in urban schools because they want to work with children who are often not given a chance, and they teach and support their students in a variety of ways that are rarely captured by the standardized reports that evaluate schools (Kohli & Pizarro, 2016). For this reason, a qualitative research design was appropriate for this study to capture teacher's informed, insider perspectives

on how the school transformation affected their teaching and workplace environment. The qualitative approach to this study allowed insight into the multitude of responsibilities and considerations of teachers that are often neglected by quantitative studies.

A Qualitative Case Study Approach

The defining characteristic of a qualitative case study is a bounded system of which an in-depth description and analysis took place (Merriam, 2009). This study is appropriately labeled a case study because it took place in a bounded system, the Jane Addams-University Community School, with the unit of analysis being a particular set of teachers. As a participant-observer, I studied this case in its natural setting and was deeply involved with the activities at the school and with the group of teachers. Such proximity to the school and my participants helped me develop the context-dependent knowledge and experiences that are at the heart of case studies as a method of learning (Bazeley, 2013; Flyvbjerg, 2004). Furthermore, Flyvberg (2001, 2004) makes the argument that one can only move from beginner's knowledge to expert knowledge by making the leap from general textbook understandings to deep and context-based understandings gained through case studies. Case study methodology was the strongest option for gaining an expert view of the teaching experiences that occurred through this major organizational change by allowing me to more fully capture the complex and nuanced experiences that I encountered over the course of this study. Though one of the soundest arguments against case studies is that their findings cannot be generalized, I elected this methodology because it was not my hope to provide generalizable theories in the sense of exact replication (Flyvbjerg, 2004; Merriam, 2009). It was my hope to create a narrative of a set of teachers that honored their experiences and that will serve as a learning tool for researchers and practitioners who see themselves somewhere in this experience.

A qualitative approach to this study was suitable because of my aim of finding out primarily how teachers experienced a particular phenomenon at their school. Qualitative research, according to Merriam (2009), is enacted to find meaning for research topics within social science fields. As she states, "Qualitative researchers are interested in understanding how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences" (Merriam, 2009, p. 5). In my study with the teachers in a developing university-assisted community school, it was important to examine how teachers reacted to the transition, and how they engaged in the change and decision-making processes. Furthermore, I needed to develop an analysis on if and how they experienced transformation in the six pillars that define community schooling. The detailed responses from qualitative interviews allowed me to not only gather data on how teachers felt, but also *why* they felt certain ways and to ask follow-up questions in real time to gain robust understandings that would not have been accessible through quantitative measures.

Merriam (2009) positions humans as the ideal instrument to conduct qualitative research because of our ability to detect underlying meaning within a situation while collecting and analyzing data. My ability as a researcher to detect meaning was strengthened by operating as a participant-observer, as only a qualitative study design allows. I was at the school site most school days, at all of the weekly professional development (PD) meetings and teaching sixth grade, so I was aware of certain events and requirements that teachers spoke about in their interviews that I would not have otherwise understood. Further nuanced, I was aware of behaviors exhibited by other constituents including students that were referenced in the interviews as well as faculty and staff norms that gave me an analytic edge. All of these context-

specific understandings helped me to more accurately and descriptively make meaning of the data I collected through interviews and observations.

Because quantitative data can be recorded with little-to-no context, one might wonder about the range of interpretations a consumer of the data might produce. Such conditions may lead to misguided theories about what impacts urban schooling and how to improve it (Klein, Lomax, & Murguia, 2010). This study, however, has not added to data that can be consumed without context. My aim was not to quantify the outcomes of the change at Addams, but to create a narrative that captures the teacher's experiences during a time of change. Teachers' voices and experiences are valuable as they provided an in-depth look at a school that is seeking to overturn a long history of low-performance, detachment from the community and instability. Many of the issues this school faced arose from systemic oppression, similar to the plight many urban schools have been battling for decades across the United States. Though the situation at Addams is not the same and cannot be generalized to every other school, certainly there are some aspects of the teachers' experiences, insights and wisdom from which community school researchers and practitioners can learn.

Because my study is based in a larger frame of the community school movement, I should also note that qualitative research is most appropriate to discuss community schools. Community schools are purposefully "no two alike" (Dryfoos, 2005, p. 8) and therefore a qualitative description of their functioning and narratives from those in them is the best way for outsiders to gain an understanding of what goes on in these schools. Qualitative analyses create pictures of the social interactions that take place in such institutions, where humans and social life is often unpredictable and not generalizable at its very nature. I agree with Bazeley (2013) when she

argues that the value of situated research should be prioritized over general data that cannot be applied to the nuanced needs of unique situations.

Positionality of the Researcher. It is important to note that I was a member of the teaching team at Addams as a half-time sixth grade teacher during the 2016-2017 school year, which gave me access to knowledge of the teachers' experience in an even more intimate manner. I taught half of a course load on a block schedule, which was structured as three days of teaching and other required activities such as professional development per week. I was also highly involved in the school's design team (described in the next section) in my role as a graduate student researcher at the partnering university, referred to as University in this study, so I was often on campus on the days that I did not teach to attend to the responsibilities assigned by University. Due to my dual-employment at Addams and University, my newness to the teaching team, and part-time rather than full-time teaching status, I was somewhat of an outsider in the school context, while engaging in insider experiences. I kept my outsider status in mind as I analyzed my own participation and viewpoints as a teacher when they contrasted with those of the full-time and experienced teachers, or when they were informed more by my knowledge of University work.

I was a member of the design team from February 2016 until its worked ended in summer 2017, worked part time at Addams from October 2015 through the end of the study, and started attended weekly professional development sessions in January 2016. My participation in the professional development meetings helped me become more familiar with the staff and their responsibilities, and began building a trusting rapport between the teachers and me. I believe that my high level of involvement at the school furthered the trusting relationship between the faculty and me because I was seen as a colleague and a representative of University who was dedicated

to the success of Addams' students. As a qualitative researcher, it is essential to develop trusting relationships with potential study participants to procure an accurate understanding of the perceptions and experiences. Despite a preliminary level of trust with teachers, I ensured that teachers were given an opportunity to share their views and weigh in on how this research was reported in order to maintain transparency and credibility.

Context

I conducted this study at Jane Addams-University Community School, which is located in a large west-coast city. This site was chosen because it had all the characteristics of an urban intensive school (Howard & Milner, 2014), and was in the beginning stages of transforming from a traditional public middle school to a university-assisted community school. I believe that it is important to investigate firsthand how teachers in community schools experience the interventions that they undergo, whether they are top down or grassroots, rather than simply hearing about the outcomes from a third party. The following paragraphs describe the population at the school, provides some data on academic achievement and school trends over the past seven years.

Description of the Site

At the beginning of the 2016-2017 school year, Addams had 21 teachers ranging from 6th to 8th grade, and nine who were designated specifically for special education classes. All five of the administrators, and 14 of the 21 teachers were Black/African American, which created a unique setting considering approximately 78% of the teachers in the US are White (Howard & Milner, 2014). The student population mirrored the changes in the neighborhood, which was transitioning from predominantly Black to Latino, as are many of the historically Black neighborhoods in the city in which the school is located. In the 2015-2016 school year, Addams

enrolled 369 students, with 48% identifying as Black, 50% Latino and 1% American Indian. Six percent of the students at Addams were designated for Gifted and Talented Education (GATE), 27% were diagnosed with disabilities, 25% classified as English Language Learners (ELL), 86% considered by local district standards as economically disadvantage, and 4% were reported as being in foster care (School Report Card, 2016). Addams should be a high priority for support and research because of the population is comprised of historically underserved ethnic and economic populations, who are part of the much discussed "achievement gap" that is noted in the introduction of this proposal. Though these statistics alone are not to suggest or prove underperformance, the following snapshot of statistics[5] paints a dire picture:

- **Enrollment:** Consistently and rapidly declining from 1298 students in 2007, to 280 students at the start of the 2016 – 2017 school year.

- **Student Academic Indicators:**
    - Average whole school Academic Performance Index (API) of 561 (out of 1000) from 2007-2013
    - *English* Proficiency on SBAC in 2015 and 2016, 10% of students met or exceeded the state benchmark.
    - *Math* Proficiency on SBAC in 2015 4% met or exceeded standards, dropped to in 2016 1%.

- **Average Attendance Rates from 2008-2015:**
    - Professional attendance 96% or greater – 55%
    - Student attendance 96% or greater – 56%

- **Perceptions of Safety according to School Climate Survey:**
- ***Safety Across Teachers, Parent and Students*** - Perceived differently – from 2008 and 2015, 50%-78% of teachers (67% on average) and 67%-78% of parents (71% on average) felt Addams' campus was safe.
    - Student responses, however, dropped from between 70%-75% from 2008-2012, to 51% in 2013, and 31% in 2015.

[5] Statistics in this list are taken from a report that I prepared for the design team in April of 2016 to help build an understanding of the academic, school culture and demographic trends that existed in the school over the course of the 8 years from 2007-2015. The full chart can be viewed in Appendix A.

Methods for Data Collection & Analysis

Critical Race Theory scholars (Bell, 1992; Delgado, 1989; Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002; Tate, 1997) and critical education scholars (Howard, 2002; Kohli & Pizarro, 2016; Milner, 2010; Philip, Martinez, Lopez, & Garcia, 2016) highlight through their research, words and actions that scholarship should privilege those who have historically been silenced by and shut out of mainstream research, therefore having their perspectives marginalized in society. Privileging, to these scholars, does not simply mean to discuss and analyze people, but it means to elicit their voices, to uncover their perspectives, to honor their experiences and to advocate for their unique needs and representation.

Urban school teachers, particularly urban school teachers of color, are a group that has been silenced and marginalized in today's progressively neoliberal education politics (Philip et al., 2016). Teachers are spoken about often in research and policy agendas, but the rhetoric surrounding teachers has become about control and accountability, rather than about their human value and experiences that contribute to the very foundation of schooling (Kohli & Pizarro, 2016; Philip et al., 2016; Seidman, 2013) Many urban school teachers of color experience multiple layers of oppression as they face the systemic racism of society and bias in their profession that comes in the form of curriculum, school culture norms, discipline practices, amongst many others. Many teachers of color often feel alienated from their fellow colleagues for voicing opposition to oppressive conditions (Kohli & Pizarro, 2016). Ironically, teacher perspectives have also been largely shut out of community schooling literature, although the community school movement is focused on social justice and intended to meet the unique needs and values of the communities they serve. For this reason and in line with the scholarly

perspective above, I chose to undertake a study that is based in the community schooling movement but is viewed through the perspective of the teachers.

Data Collection

Qualitative Interviews. Data was collected for this project through two main strategies though my daily experiences at Addams may constitute data collection as a participant-researcher. The first strategy that yielded the bulk of my data is an extended version of a three-part interview series with each of the participating teachers. Seidman (2013) says that behind the motivation of interviewing is "an interest in understanding the lived experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience" (p. 9). He describes the three-part interview series as a strategy used by many qualitative researchers who seek an authentic window into the experience of their participants and the phenomena in study, with the understanding that interviewing is a relationship (Seidman, 2013). Each of the three interviews in Seidman's (2013) three-part structure are recommended to last from sixty-to-ninety minutes and take place approximately three days to a week apart. For this study, I modified the three-part structure by extending the time between interviews from days to months due to the need of the research to gain teacher's perspectives over time and by adding a fourth interview as an updated version of the third.

The first interview was focused on developing background and context of the lives of the teachers and their experiences while teaching at Addams up until the point of the interview, which was approximately two to three months into the 2016-2017 school year. The second interview took place throughout the month of May, 2016 and focused primarily on teachers' experiences with and opinion on the six pillars of community schooling. The second interview is referred to as the baseline interview throughout this study because it was the first time questions

about the pillars were introduced, and serves as a point of reference for how teachers experienced transformation in the areas described by the pillars. The third interview, which is the follow-up interview, took place in June while teachers were on campus for training with the exception of one. The follow-up interview focused on whether and how teachers experienced transformation at the school in the area of the pillars, as well as how they felt they were able to be included in decision-making throughout the partnership. The fourth and final interview took place at the beginning of second semester of the 2017-2018 school year, between January and early February. The questions in the final interview were nearly all replicated from the third interview to capture updates that may have taken place as a result to structural changes implemented in the 2017-2018 school year. In addition to the four-part interviews, I also interviewed three members of the design team, and conducted two focus groups at the end of the study.

Interview Participants. The primary participants in this study were teachers at Addams, as determined by the case. I also interviewed three design team leaders to gain insight into the history of the partnership. I planned to recruit four-to-six teachers to participate in the full interview series for the study and was able to recruit nine teachers that participated in the first interview. Due to two teachers moving on to other schools for personal reasons and another two deciding not to continue with the study because of time commitments to other activities at Addams, only five continued into the baseline (second) and follow-up (third) interviews. One more teacher moved to another school at the end of the 2016-2017 school year, so four remained in the study through the final interview.

I looked for faculty with a range of a.) years of experience b.) grade and subject matter expertise c.) and ethnicity and gender. I diversified the participant group as much as possible in order to have the best chance at gaining an accurate view of the different ways the faculty is

responding to the organizational change to a community school. It is possible that teachers' own background and experience may have affected their perceptions on engaging in a major partnership. The transition at Addams brought multiple levels of professional development and support to the school from University, which may have also affected the teachers differently based on their expertise and therefore their perspectives on how the partnership did or did not impact their practice. The only uniform criterion for all teachers was that they must have been at Addams for at least one academic year, aside from those in the new teacher focus group. See the table below for details on teachers' level of experience and background and in which interviews they took part.

Teacher	**Range of years teaching**	**Interview One**	**Interview Two**	**Interview Three**	**Interview Four**
Ms. Bailey	1-5	A			
Mrs. Codyrich	11-15	A			
Mrs. Melis	15-20	A			
Mrs. Forsai	15-20	A			
Ms. Lulu	6-10	T	T	T	
Mr. Horace	21-25		T - Combo 1 & 2	T	T
Mr. Thurgood	21-25	T	T	T	T
Mr. Puphf	15-20	T	T	T	T
Mrs. Harrison	15-20	T	T	T	T

Key: A = Audio Only, T = Transcribed

Figure 1

Recruitment. I proposed this study to the design team at the beginning of the 2016-2017 school year, and they were interested in using the findings from the first set of interviews to inform their research and evaluation committee. Thus, recruitment for this dissertation study was folded into recruitment for an early evaluation on how teachers were experiencing the transition to partnership. I believe this improved the motivation for teachers to participate because there was growing momentum for the partnership and for teacher involvement in research and evaluation. I recruited the teachers for my sample predominantly through personal contact. From prior experience at the school, I was aware that the best way to communicate with teachers is face-to-face. I created a brief explanation of the study in print and handed it to the teachers personally for their consideration after I made an announcement at PD early in September, 2016. I followed up and confirmed the participants by visiting teachers individually to explain the project and answer questions. Face-to-face recruiting was important in establishing trust around the project, ensuring that teachers knew my intentions and were more familiar with seeing me as a researcher as well as a colleague.

I took a similar strategy when I recruited for the focus groups, although it was more challenging to find time when a group of people were available. I was able to schedule time for the new teacher focus group by coordinating with the Assistant Principal to utilize one of their new teacher meetings in early January, 2018. I was able to interview eight teachers in the new teacher focus group. After trying multiple dates with the veteran teachers, I settled on a date that they were already on campus, which was before the second semester Back-to-School Night in January, 2018. I was able to interview three teachers during the veteran focus group, which included one who participated in the four-part series. As for the design team members, I purposefully selected three participants who were not teachers, and served in a variety of

capacities between Addams and University. I approached each of the design team members personally, either face-to-face or via email, and all were already aware of the study and were willing to be interviewed. The design team interviews occurred months apart, from July of 2017 to January, 2018.

Participant Observation. My second strategy for data collection was participant-observation. As mentioned previously, I participated in the teachers' weekly PD meetings as well as the partnership design team meetings. I took field notes during PD meetings on how teachers interacted with and responded to the information provided at each meeting and collected any documents distributed for training or other purposes. The purpose for taking field notes was to help build context for the study about the kinds of changes that took place over time and in between teacher interviews (Merriam, 2009). Though I took notes throughout the whole meeting each week, I paid particular attention to how teachers interacted with support during PDs lead by University and when University instructional coaches were present, as well as to teacher reactions and input during partnership planning activities and important schoolwide decisions. The field notes helped strengthen my discussion for how teachers experienced the transformation to a partnership-based community school model, though their own accounts of their experiences were the primary emphasis.

Data Analysis

Bazeley (2013) calls attention to fact that data analysis is an ongoing process and begins during the data collection phase. Using a diagram created by Miles and Huberman (1994), Bazeley (2013) explains that the nature of qualitative research as both cyclical and ongoing, and that data reduction, data display, and drawing and verifying conclusions are three concurrent flows of activity within the process. With this in mind, my own data analysis in this study took

place both continuously and periodically. I wrote analytic memos from field notes when a relevant connection occurred to me after a PD session or the following day, which informed the ways in which I attended to events in the following weeks (Saldaña, 2013). I reflected after each round of interviews and noticed themes, connections and tensions between my field notes and what was discussed by teachers; I included these thoughts in analytic memos as well.

The first, second and third interview sets were transcribed after the completion of the third interview, but before the fourth interviews and focus groups took place. The remaining interviews were transcribed once all of the interviews were completed. The interview transcripts, along with the field notes and analytic memos all passed through several rounds of coding. Bazeley (2013) instructs researchers to use coding for the three main purposes of 1.) managing data, 2.) building ideas from data and 3.) facilitating and asking questions of data. I utilized coding to help build a deeper understanding and to stay organized through the continuous data analysis process. Though some may argue that coding is not the same as analysis, Saldaña (2013) refutes that argument by stating that coding is not simply labeling but is "*linking"* data to ideas and ideas to other pertinent information, and is therefore an analytic process.

Coding. I began coding with a preliminary read through of all of the interviews and did "paper and pencil" coding, which consisted of highlighting significant sections of interview responses as well as notating in the margins. I highlighted responses that aligned with each pillar in my first research question with a pre-determined color. I also selected one color for responses that related to inclusion, and another color for miscellaneous subjects that seemed important but were not clearly defined by the other categories. I completed the round of paper-and-pencil coding by reading through each interview set of the four-part series, starting with interview one, then interview two (the baseline interview) until I completed all four, and then read the focus

group transcripts and finished with the design team interview transcripts. In addition to creating notes on the physical transcripts, I also wrote summaries and notated what seemed like may have been emergent themes in a word document, to begin the process of digitizing and keeping track of my ideas.

Note taking and summarizing took on several iterations before I was able to turn to coding using the digital software MaxQDA. I read through the data several times, organizing them by interview set, then by participant and trying to decipher any transformation in their responses over time. I created summaries of each person's responses per interview, and then organized the notes several ways to notice patterns, themes or contradictions. These summaries were very helpful to return to after coding digitally, to reflect on similarities and differences of what I noticed using different modalities.

When I embarked upon transcribing digitally, I uploaded a list of words and phrases that I created from reading through my highlighted and notated sections and used these as a priori codes. I also created a code for each of the research questions and the six pillars, similar to the way in which I designated a highlighter in my initial phase. After I coded all of the interviews, I also read through all of my field notes from the 2016-2017 school year, and the 2017-2018 school year through February to code significant moments and interactions that corresponded to the codes I created from the interviews. The codes were then sorted and grouped into larger codes, with the goal of using the research questions as parent codes although not everything fit neatly. For example, the parent code for research question one was "transformation", and under it was the sub-code "culturally relevant and challenging curriculum", which also encompassed the sub-codes "summer PD/buy-back days", "flexibility to teach creatively", "school-wide approaches", "culturally relevant - in class" and "no electives".

Once all of the interview and focus group transcripts, as well as the PD notes were completed, I used the "overview of coded segments" function on MaxQDA to support the first draft of writing my findings. This function helped me read through and reflect on all of the segments I coded in relation to each research question, which I could then compare to the summaries I wrote in my earlier analysis, to write findings that I felt to be inclusive of the multiple perspectives presented to me through interviews. The writing phase, which also served as data analysis, often required me to consult other documents that were either publicly available such as a media blasts from University announcing partnership milestones, or that I had access to via the shared design team Google Drive folder that included: design team notes, Addams' autonomous school plan petition, early position papers from the design team regarding the partnership, committee notes, and a variety of other documents that were used to support and document planning of resources and meetings.

Member Checking. Through my writing process, I engaged in "member checking" as a data analysis strategy to ensure that I captured data that accurately depicted how my participants viewed their experience (Bazeley, 2013; Saldaña, 2013; Seidman, 2013). Specifically, through the data analysis process, I took the opportunity to check in with teachers to discuss concepts that I struggled with to ask for their insight and whether or not they agreed with my preliminary analysis. More formally, I provided teachers who participated in the four-part interviews with a draft of both findings chapters to ask for their feedback and whether they were comfortable with how their voices were captured. I received positive and constructive feedback from those that took the opportunity to read the chapters despite not receiving feedback from all teachers. Merriam (2009) explains the importance of member checking as a way to ensure validity and that "participants should be able to recognize their experience in your interpretation or suggest

some fine-tuning to better capture their perspectives" (p. 217). The member checking strategy was important in this study in particular because I was focused on capturing voices of those who are rarely heard from and I care deeply about honoring their words and perspectives. Member checking is a process that is advocated for by justice-oriented scholars as a way to develop a sense of trust and to honor the integrity of the participants' words (Yosso, Smith, Ceja, & Solórzano, 2009). This process allowed me to step back and reflect on areas where my own perspectives and bias as a researcher were imposed on the participants and to further nuance my understanding of the participants' perspectives.

Conclusion

In the context of a partnership-based urban school reform, I studied the ways in which a group of teachers experienced inclusion and transformation through the change process of implementing the community school strategy. Qualitative case study methodology provided me with the tools to explore this phenomenon at a site that is home to multi-dimensional relational dynamics and a rich yet complicated history. I set the goal of developing expert-level knowledge of the teachers' experience at Addams, thus engaging the experience as a case-study allowed me to hone in and immerse myself at a single site. Furthermore, the opportunity to participate as a practitioner-researcher makes the findings of this study a unique contribution to literature on the implementation of community schools as well as to literature on teachers and urban school reform. The following three chapters discuss the results of these methods at length.

Chapter Four: Partnership between Addams and University

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the reader with context for the findings in chapter five and chapter six. I begin with a description of events and collective tasks that were significant to the partnership between Addams and University, which for clarity I discuss as two time periods: the partnership development and initial planning phase from fall 2014 – spring 2017, and the implementation year from summer 2017- spring 2018. The initial planning phase includes a description of the initial goals of the partnership, and the challenges the two institutions sought to overcome together. The final section of this chapter is a brief lay out of the various committees in which teachers experienced inclusion in decision-making and influenced ways in which the partnership developed. It is important to note that the partnership process and organizational learning between two organizations is rarely linear and clear cut, and this instance is no exception. With this in mind, I used a variety of documents and member checks to describe the process as accurately as possible in this chapter. The documents I used include: my field notes, design team agendas and notes, partnership position papers, the autonomous school proposal, the accreditation documents, design team files including working group description, and shared governance council documents.

For clarification throughout the study, the initial partnership goals between Addams and University were not centered on becoming a community school. The collective vision, rather, was to bring the neighborhood children back to the school. The decision to commit more fully to the community school strategy developed as design team leaders recognized that the needs and interventions identified by the partnership aligned with the larger community schools movement.

The six pillars that are discussed in other chapters are not mentioned in this chapter because they were not used to guide the partnership, but I used them to frame this study and as a lens for my analysis.

Partnership Development and Initial Planning: Fall 2014 – Spring 2017

Partnership initiated. The partnership between Addams and University was initiated and legally solidified over a three-year period between 2014 and 2017. Leaders from both institutions navigated a complex political terrain and strained community relationships to garner support and input for the new school design, moved by their passion for transforming neighborhood schools in an underserved part of their city. Leaders from University's School of Education were initially approached about the potential for this partnership by district officials who recognized the commitment and success they demonstrated with their first district partnered school - referred to as CS1 in this study. Addams was selected because of indications that it was at risk of closing down due to rapidly declining enrollments. A new principal had just been hired and was very enthusiastic about the possibility of partnering with an institution of higher education to turn the school around.

Initial Partnership Goals: The initial vision for this partnership was guided by the intention of University and Addams to engage in a long-term commitment to enhancing public education in their city. The intent was for Addams to once again be a "cornerstone" for public education, and to serve multiple generations of families by becoming a PreK-12 span school that would nurture youth from the moment they begin school through entering college. Three priorities for the first phase of the partnership appeared to encompass the remainder of the 2015-2016 and 2016-2017 school years:

A. Professional Learning – This priority addressed professional development and coaching to improve instruction through multiple strategies including PD led by University, and developing a relationship with their teacher education program to place student teachers at Addams.
B. PreK-12 School Culture – To address concerns about safety and a lack of college preparation, Addams and University leaders envisioned integrating University programs into the school day to provide support for students during class, as well as tutoring and enrichment activities through the afterschool program for students and their siblings.
C. New School Design – A new school design was necessary to support the ambitious vision of the university-assisted community school and to provide space for the democratic nature of the collaborative endeavor. The initial needs were to select an autonomous school model in order to provide flexibility and the ability to incorporate input from local constituents, to develop a state-standards aligned instructional model and curriculum, to begin recruiting students back from charter schools and other district schools across the city, and to upgrade facilities to support the grade-level expansions.

Once the "green light" was given from the district in October 2015 to move forward, the potential of the partnership was announced by the principal to the faculty at Addams in November 2015. Leaders from University and Addams engaged faculty in a discussion around creating a vision for a school that would serve its students well. Faculty involvement began immediately as teachers were invited to sign up for working groups to help begin the planning process. According to the design team meeting notes, the faculty at Addams had a range of initial responses from "very excited" to "very concerned" and some "indifferent", and presented leaders with several questions about the new school, the partnership and how teachers would fit into the

plan. In response to the range of responses and questions, the leaders from Addams and the University honed in on faculty involvement and avenues for increasing buy-in. Teachers were given the opportunity in early January 2016 to collectively shape what faculty involvement might look like, as well as to discuss and document their hopes for their school, visions for partnership, and their concerns for what the partnership may or may not produce.

Design Team. After the partnership was announced to and discussed by the faculty, the design team officially convened. The design team was a temporary structure that would be replaced by the shared governance board once the partnership was formalized, and was made up of members from Addams and University – see table 1 for design team members who are discussed in the findings chapters. The design team also included two other partners from the university and two representatives from the local district office. The design team collaborated to plan and organize several events and initiatives over its brief eighteen months, but its primary task was to collectively write a proposal to the district to attain greater local autonomy over how they would function. The design team met weekly through the end of 2015-2016 school year and

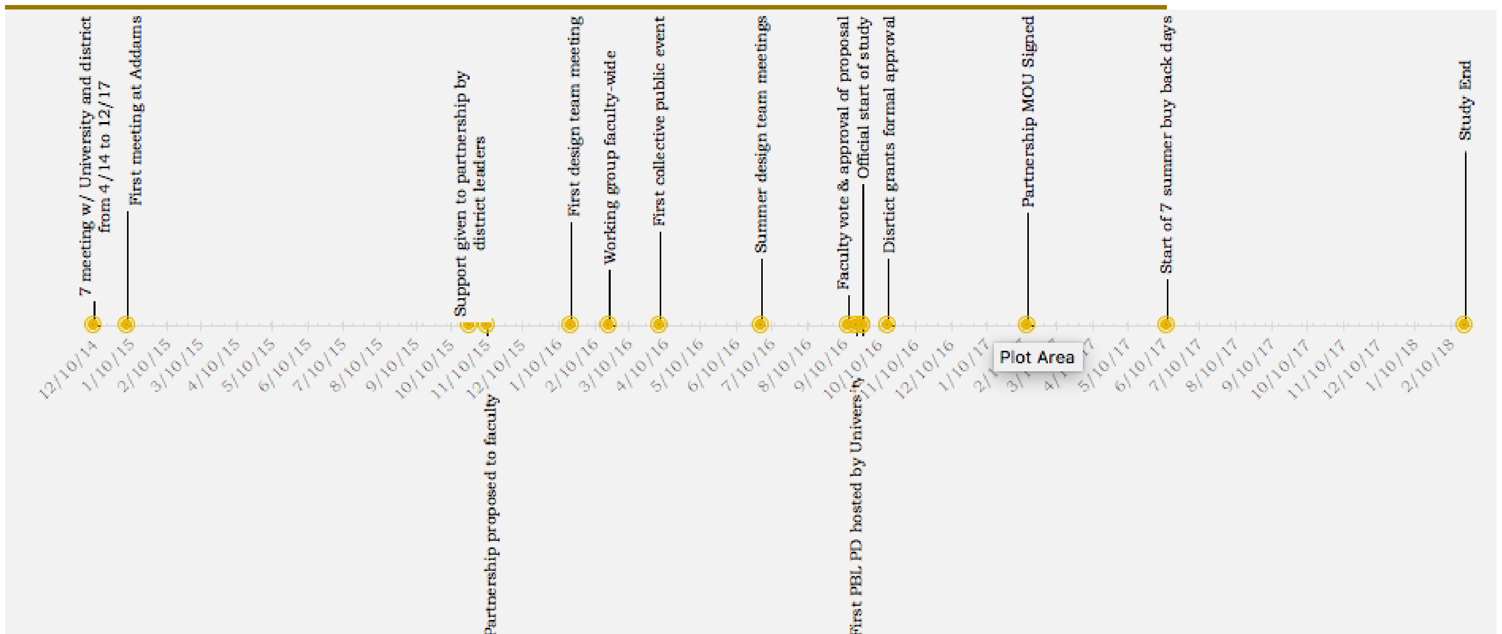

Figure 2

spent critical days in the summer of 2016 crafting the autonomous school proposal to the district. This dissertation study officially began with the first interview taking place approximately nine months after the design team began their work, as noted in bold lettering on the timeline above.

Public announcement and summer program. The partnership between Addams and University was unofficially announced to the Addams community in April of 2016. The event was planned to coincide with parent-teacher conferences in order to maximize parents' time, and included student presenters and awards, spirit activities led by University faculty and staff, and a full meal. Unfortunately, because legal negotiations were not completed in time, the partnership could not be officially announced, however the event continued with the purpose to show commitment and to garner excitement and support from families.

The next several events that were hosted at Addams as well as at local feeder elementary schools were centered on recruiting for the inaugural Addams-University summer program. The design team envisioned the summer institute as a major draw to the school because it offered a free of cost, high-quality academic enrichment program as well as elective-type activities and field trips. The summer program was a benefit to working parents because it was designed to run all day rather than the district's normal half-day, and lasted three additional weeks of the summer. The program was also a benefit for Addams and University, as it provided a venue for building relationships with students, community members and teachers across institutions at the same time as enhancing students' academic skills and creativity.

Autonomous school proposal development and vote. The autonomous school model proposal was the first major undertaking at Addams that involved the design team, a working group, and input from faculty, families, University members and district officials. The model was researched and selected by a faculty led working group, the Staffing, Budget and

Governance working group. The process of crafting the proposal, as well as enacting an autonomous school model was a foundational step in Addams' ability to become a community school. The model that Addams' faculty chose was one of several mechanisms that the district had recently offered as part of an initiative to improve schooling through increased local autonomy. After in-depth deliberations by the working group and then by the faculty as a whole, they chose their model because it offered the most flexibility in determining their structures and services as well as for the partnership to grow and adapt to an ever-changing student body.

The autonomous school proposal was crafted through several months of diligent deliberation between members of the design team with input solicited from families, faculty and staff members through multiple large and small group meetings. Representatives from the district and union visited the school to provide more information about the proposal process and local autonomies. The design team met weekly through the 2015-2016 school year to collect ideas and generate consensus for the proposal, and the meat of the content was drafted in meetings over the summer of 2016. One of the professors from University who was foundational in initiating the partnership and leading the development process took the lead on writing the final draft of the proposal that was reviewed by the faculty. Teachers were given the opportunity to read the autonomous school proposal through the first weeks of the 2016-2017 school year, and had a faculty meeting dedicated to an in-depth discussion with leaders from the design team about any questions and concerns. The proposal was approved three weeks later by a 22-3 faculty vote. After the proposal was adopted by the faculty and sent to the district for the final legal approval, the remainder of the 2016-2017 school year was dedicated to planning for the implementation year described below. University and Addams continued establishing their working relationship through design team work, programming such as college visits and tutoring, and through an

eight-part series of PDs focused on building a foundation for project-based learning (PBL), the basis of the envisioned "Learn-See-Do" instructional model.

Autonomous school plan (formal) goals. At the time of the faculty vote on the autonomous school proposal in September of 2016, the most pressing priorities of the partnership were focused on school culture and learning experiences for students, teachers and families. Similar to the priorities laid out on the initial position paper, the Addams and University sought to collectively create a "strong, safe, and supportive K-12 school culture" as well as to provide "rigorous, relevant and engaging learning experiences" and "a robust system of learning supports, including wraparound services". It was not in the purview of this study to review student data about the changes in the school, however, Addams has evidence through locally implemented surveys that the university-assisted community school strategy has created a stronger sense of safety for students and offered several opportunities to better understand college both on college campuses and through visitors at Addams. The following two findings chapter discuss data that may be seen as evidence of beginning to meet partnership goals of enhancing professional learning, providing rigorous and engaging learning experiences and supports, and the creation and implementation of a new school design.

Implementation Year: Summer 2017-2018

The beginning of the 2017-2018 school year marked a major milestone in the partnership because structures came to life that had been in the planning phase for the previous two years. In this study, the 2017-2018 school year is identified as the "implementation year" for the new school design and the accompanying structures and routines that were planned for and laid out in the autonomous school proposal. The autonomous school proposal included provisions for a host of changes, many that took place in the implementation year based on twelve different waiver

options. Three of the major changes that were implemented in the summer of 2017 leading into the 2017-2018 school year and discussed by teachers in this study are: additional professional development, the opening of the inaugural ninth grade class, and the shared governance council.

Summer and Double PD. Developing supports for the faculty, including strengthening professional development (PD) and recruiting committed and qualified new teachers, was important because of a history of rapid teacher turnover, unfilled positions, as well as under achievement and difficult school climate attributed in part to understaffing. Teachers shared repeatedly in this study that there were too many “holes” in the faculty and that many teachers who were hired would not even last through the first half of the school year. Teachers at Addams wanted colleagues that “want to be here”, that were committed to the school and students long term, and that were able to handle the challenges of teaching in an urban intensive environment. On the recruiting side, the director of the community schools from University shared that she had a long list of teachers in the district who were candidates to fill vacancies at Addams, but none of which were even willing to entertain a conversation about employment when they learned the name of the school or where it school was located. To make matters worse, strong teachers were lost over the years as a result of a school reconstitution and a “hemorrhage” of students leaving the school and causing a reduction in budget and available faculty and staff positions (Hunter Quartz, Cooper Gellar & Stuart McQueen, Forthcoming). These and myriad other challenges over the past two decades created a disjointed and isolating instructional environment, but the teachers who were steadfast through it all still had a strong desire for a stability in their faculty, higher quality professional learning, and collective innovation at Addams.

In addressing the pressing priority of enhancing the professional learning for teachers, thereby enhancing the learning environment for students, Addams and University leaders set

aside funding for six professional development (PD) days in the summer of 2017. The six-day series began with PD experts from University asking the faculty and staff from both institutions to get centered on the school's mission, vision and core competencies. The lead facilitator shared that it was important for an organization to "live the vision" in order to realize sustainability of their initiatives. In addition to establishing a mission-and-vision focus, the additional days allowed teachers to engage in collective planning around school wide systems, learning new standards, lesson planning, and the roll out of the Learn-See-Do instructional model and the accompanying field trips. Discussed in more detail in chapters five and six, teachers reported that the PD days supported them in curriculum development and planning, as well as establishing collaborative relationships with colleagues. These aspects were particularly relevant for new teachers, who saw the "buy-back" days as an advantage of working at Addams over other schools because they had more time to acquaint themselves with their new workplace and members of the school community.

The change in the school schedule implemented in the 2017-2018 school year moved to PD twice weekly rather than once, and was a catalyst for collaboration, increased teacher autonomy over curriculum and enhanced quality and opportunity for professional learning at Addams. Specifically, the proposal states:

> To support our ambitious plan for student and teacher learning, we have developed a modified block schedule. This schedule will increase both our instructional and professional development minutes based on the research base that students and teachers need more and better learning time in schools… Scheduling PD in the morning when teachers have the most energy will facilitate integrating new collaborative techniques/lessons into classes throughout the day.

The design team deliberated about the schedule, and intentionally decided that two days of PD per week was a worthy investment of time and resources to support teacher learning and to respond to the desire for more collaboration time. The additional meeting time also allowed

space for deepening the partnership relationship and planning lessons that aligned with the Learn-See-Do instructional model. Moreover, moving meetings to the morning provided more minutes as well as energy for teachers to take ownership in strengthening the school environment by addressing challenges and brainstorming initiatives that support instruction and student well-being.

Opening of 9th grade Welcoming the inaugural ninth grade class to Addams was another milestone for the vision of becoming a PreK-12[6] span school. The ninth grade was a part of the first expansion phase, which was to grow upward to include all high school grades. Planning for and supporting the ninth graders was an opportunity for teachers, as well as administrators and staff members from Addams and University to hone in on the college and career focus of the partnership. Also adding momentum to the sense of transformation at Addams, advertising for the ninth grade contributed to the first increased enrollment number in sixteen years (Hunter Quartz, et al., Forthcoming).

Accreditation. The Addams administration was notified in October of 2017 that in order for their brand-new high school to produce valid diplomas for their students they would need to go through the accreditation process that year (beginning with ninth grade), and each subsequent year that added a high school grade through twelfth. This process was directly linked to Addams becoming a span school because they petitioned for and were approved to adopt a 6-12 span model, thus they had to undergo the process by which the school would become accredited. Middle schools do not typically pursue accreditation when they are not attached to a high school, so this process presented some challenges at Addams because most of the faculty were

[6] It is important to note that the PreK-5 portion of the original vision was not included in the official partnership agreement because the district was not willing to support an expansion to the lower grades due to the projected costs of retrofitting the campus.

unfamiliar with this process and the administration was not notified about the timeline until approximately two months into the school year.

Despite challenges, the accreditation process was another opportunity for University representatives and Addams faculty and administration to roll up their sleeves and complete a milestone task together. Several of University's content coaches had been through or supported an accreditation process in the past, so they were integral in attending PD meetings regularly to support teachers in crafting the necessary documents and lessons. The same University professor who wrote the autonomous school proposal had also written the accreditation application for CS1, and volunteered to take on compiling all of the input and resources into a coherent narrative for Addams' accreditation application as well. The second semester of the 2017-2018 school year, from January through April 2018, was focused on collectively preparing for the accreditation visit. The visit aided the in-depth analysis from the accreditation team, and required "all hands on deck" from members of Addams and University to ensure that classroom practices, partnership goals, and the whole school environment aligned to meet the goals that were set out in the autonomous school and accreditation proposals. Although they were informed late and had to put aside other priorities to complete the application and prepare for the accreditation visit, Addams was notified in the summer of 2018 that their collective work earned them the highest status they were eligible for during the first phase of initial accreditation.

Committees, Working Groups and Boards

Design Team. The design team, as noted above, was a temporary committee of representatives from Addams, University, and the school district who worked to collectively design and plan the first phase of the partnership-based school transformation. The two teachers who were selected to represent the faculty on the design team were chosen based on multiple

criteria. School and university leaders who initiated the planning prior to the design team were looking for a teacher who would be “onboard” with the process, but also had the time to commit to meetings. Mr. Puphf was selected as a person who showed interest in being involved, and was willing to commit to the process. Mr. Horace also inquired about being on the design team as well as the advisory, and was selected to represent the teachers because of his status at the faculty’s union representative.

Working Groups. The working groups, which were initially announced in December of 2015 and then initiated faculty wide during PD in February of 2016, were open to all interested faculty and staff members across Addams and University. All members were allowed to select the group that most interested them, and the groups worked to collectively set their agenda and meeting times. The original goal was to meet at least monthly, although scheduling proved to be difficult and halted progress for some groups. The design team leaders, who also co-led the committees were ultimately responsible for the tasks delegated to the committees.

Shared governance. The shared governance council was the permanent body that replaced the design team and was a space where representatives of all constituent groups in the Addams-University community engaged in school initiative development and decision-making. In addition to having a wider range of perspectives represented, the shared governance council strayed from the traditional committees at Addams as it combined the school decision-making committees into one large meeting. The principal advocated for combining the meetings because he viewed it as beneficial to allow all people who were interested in school governance to have the opportunity to weigh in on decisions at the same time, as opposed to each committee addressing a smaller number of issues at separate meeting times. Per the autonomous school proposal and the teachers’ union contract, the following positions were required on the council:

- 1Principal
- 2 University community representatives, appointed by the chancellor
- 8 Teachers, elected by certificated bargaining unit employees (including union chair)
- 3 Parent/community members, elected specifically to serve on the council
- 1 Non-certificated employee, elected specifically to serve on the council
- 1 Secondary student, elected specifically to serve on the council

Though all of the positions on the council were either appointed or democratically elected by peers, the monthly meetings were opened to the public and space was provided for non-members to ask questions and share insights. The following chapters discuss the inclusive impact of implementing the shared-governance council in further detail from the perspective of the teachers.

Conclusion

This chapter described a three-year process in which Addams and University engaged in planning and implementing changes toward becoming a university-assisted community school, a major schoolwide transformation. During the first two years, the design team and working groups were avenues for teachers to engage in decision-making and influence the direction of the partnership, in addition to providing feedback on the autonomous school proposal. The implementation year brought multiple changes to the school, including structural changes to the PD schedule and governance council to concretize the commitment to democratic engagement, collective decision making, and collaborative planning. Together, Addams and University overcame the challenge of gaining trust between one another, and subsequently drafted their autonomous school proposal, their accreditation documents, and hosted numerous events and programs. The timeline, goals and decision-making groups in this partnership illuminate the complexity of implementing the community school strategy at a site that was a fully functioning

traditional school with established routines, norms and structures. The next three chapters discuss the transformation from the perspective of the teachers at Addams.

Chapter Five: Findings on Inclusion

This chapter examines the ways in which teachers at Jane Addams - University Community School (JAUCS) experienced or did not experience inclusion through the change process of implementing the community school strategy. The data for my study was collected through 22 semi-structured interviews with 9 teachers, 2 focus groups with a total of 10 different[7] teachers, 3 interviews with design team leaders, participant-observations in weekly teacher professional development (PD) meetings and my participation as a half-time teacher in the 2016-2017 school year. To uncover teacher experiences with inclusion, I looked at responses to questions regarding ability and opportunity to have voice and influence decisions about the partnership with University and the direction of the school as a result of the transition to a university-assisted community school model. The administration and decision-making structures, as well as the sense of support, open communication, and the ability to work collaboratively with others emerged as prominent factors that shaped teachers' workplace experiences through the organizational change of partnering with University.

The first section of this chapter sets the stage by describing the teachers and their first reactions to the partnership to develop a context for understanding the multiple viewpoints and orientations towards change that laid the foundation for the partnership process. Taking a wider lens, this section sheds light on the complexity of engaging in a democratic school transformation in urban schools that have experienced decades of systemic struggle including multiple negative experiences working with outside organizations. I then present data that addresses questions about inclusion, as well as the sixth community school pillar "inclusive leadership practices" because of the prominence of participant responses about leadership and

[7] With the exception of one veteran teacher who participated in the 4-part series as well as the focus group.

the significance of the leader in organizational change literature. I will defer to Oakes, Maier and Daniel's (2017) definition for a more precise picture of inclusive school leadership:

> Collaborative leadership and practice build a culture of professional learning, collective trust, and shared responsibility using such strategies as site-based leadership/governance teams, teacher learning communities, and a community-school coordinator[8] who manages the complex joint work of multiple school and community organizations (p.7).

Because of the range of dispositions toward the atmosphere of inclusion at Addams, I have organized the findings around two types of inclusion: positional inclusion and facilitated inclusion. Positional inclusion refers to a participant having voice and feeling included in the partnership process by way of holding a position on a committee or team, while facilitated inclusion is identified by a participant's feeling of inclusion that arises from the actions and decisions of another person or entity at the school. The findings laid out in this chapter attempt to answer my first research question: How do teachers in a developing university-assisted community school experience inclusion in a purportedly democratic, partnership-based reform?

Description of Teachers and Their Reactions to Partnership

Overview of teachers in the first interview. The first round of interview participants captured the diversity of perspectives that I set out to recruit – see figure 3 in the methods chapter for a visual representation. The participants self-identified as six females and three males, from ethnic backgrounds including Black or African American, Hispanic, White, and multiple ethnicities. Their teaching experiences were also quite diverse, with number of years teaching that range from two to over twenty. A handful of the teachers spent the majority of their teaching career at Addams, and some spent years either subbing in multiple schools or changing

[8] During this study, the Director of the Community School Initiative serves as the community school coordinator.

schools and levels to obtain more expertise and understanding of children's developmental phases. Collectively, the sample group taught nearly every grade from Headstart through twelfth grade. This group of teachers represented nearly all of the teaching assignments at Addams including grades six through eight and all core subjects between the general education and special education teachers. As one may expect, such a diverse group of people came to this study with different orientations toward engaging in the process of partnership-based reform.

First reactions to the partnership announcement. Teachers in the first interview were asked questions about their experience over the past three years at Addams, their response to the partnership, and their hopes and fears for the future of the school being partnered with University. Through the process of trying to identify what characterized their past three years at Addams and speaking about what they hoped for the school or were afraid might happen as a result of partnering, the teachers provided details that helped me understand salient aspects of the school environment that shaped their experiences. In this section, I lay out the variations in how teachers shared their reactions to learning about the partnership and how they were feeling about it at the time of the first interview, which took place between September and November of 2016 with the exception of Mr. Horace whose first and second interviews were combined and took place in May 2017.

When asked to describe their initial reaction to the announcement of the partnership, which would transform their school to a university-assisted community school, teachers shared emotions including hopeful, skeptical, caught off guard, emotionless and "I've been through this before". By the time of the first interview each participant offered either an exuberant or a hesitant approval of the proposed partnership, however, more than half of the nine participants reported a concerned, skeptical, or otherwise not enthusiastic initial response. On the side of

concern, Ms. Bailey was hesitant to develop a partnership with another organization out of fear of becoming a "Pocahontas" story, where University would be viewed as coming in and "saving" Addams. Ms. Bailey explained that she did not want it to have been a situation "where University, a school that doesn't accept a whole lot of "us" coming in and trying to be the White savior for these Black people that they're still not letting in their school". Her perspective is indicative of a history of racial marginalization in urban communities, and the stark contrast between the primary actors on the University side who initially were predominantly White and represented power through certain high-ranking academic positions, while the school faculty, staff and student population were nearly all Black and Latinx.

Another layer of concern came from the lack of transparency and explicit knowledge of the partnership some teachers perceived at the beginning of the process. Mrs. Forsai, a veteran special education teacher, shared that she did not see the inclusion of her paraprofessional colleagues or other stakeholders such as families and the local community. Frustration with how previous decisions that were handed down to teachers impacted the way that some viewed the announcement of the partnership when they learned it had been proposed to leadership over a year prior. Mr. Horace explained, "Well it kinda caught us off guard cause we didn't know how far along the process was… it was another example of kinda just being confused". Concern was also expressed by Mrs. Melis and a sense of being "emotionless" from Mrs. Harrison who stated that they had "been through this before" at previous schools for which that had taught. Experience with past partnerships that made large promises and "sold a dream" to teachers left them with a concern that a lot of energy and expectation would be put into the partnership but that nothing would actually change in the end. In a similar vein, another participant was skeptical that the partnership would last, questioning whether the University members truly understood the

condition of the school, and even asked “did they realize what they were embarking on? … I think that whoever came up with this idea didn’t know what the heck they were biting off.”

On the other end of the spectrum, three teachers saw the partnership as an immediate positive. Mr. Puphf described his first reaction as:

> Praise the Lord sister! That’s what I said. I said I cannot believe that at a time when this place needed it the most, we would have the opportunity to enter into this type of partnership with this type of institution. I couldn’t believe it. And for me personally, it went immediately to a spiritual level. It was a divine intervention.

Mr. Puphf also shared that before the process was announced, he already held a vision of the school rebranding and expanding back to all the buildings on campus, so he felt that, “there is a plan for this school”. Ms. Lulu and Mrs. Codyrich shared in immediate hopefulness for the partnership, believing that it was the only way that the school would remain open into the future. Mrs. Codyrich shared that she “knew the shoe would fit…It was as though Addams had been struggling for so long, since I’ve been here, that it sort of was like the light at the end of the tunnel. It was as though Addams was given a life line so that it would survive”. In the effort to capture the spectrum of teacher reactions to the partnership, I created figure 4 below.

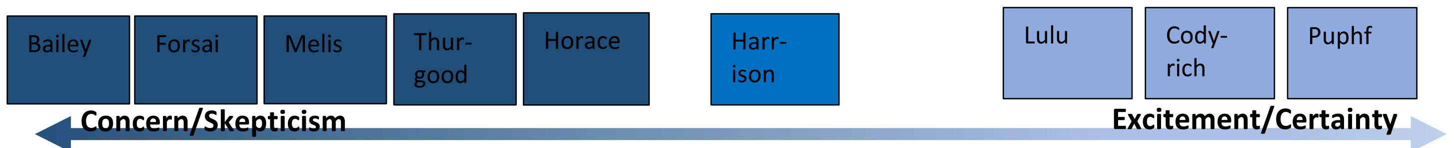

Figure 3

During the initial meeting when leaders from Addams and University announced the potential partnership to Addams’ teachers in November, 2015, University representatives Dr. Manela and Dr. Lexington amongst others, gained a strong sense of many teachers’ hesitancy to put trust in an outside organization. Dr. Lexington, an associate dean at University, recalled the meeting:

> The teachers sat there and said, 'look, just tell us what you want, we've been here. Just tell us what you want, you know what, you'll be gone by June so whatever'. And they were right, that's what had been happening to them, and we realized at that point, ok, as much as we said 'no no no its gonna be different' we had to prove it. We had to earn their trust.

It was clear from this meeting that the school transformation process would require commitment, perseverance and a willingness for both sides to invest trust in one another in order to be successful in their joint effort.

Leadership from Addams and University formally convened the design team in January 2016, after the second meeting with teachers regarding the partnership. The design team's membership included Mr. Puphf, who inquired about the opportunity early on, and Mr. Horace, who was required to be on the team because of his position as the teacher's union representative. The two teachers became instrumental in helping the rest of the faculty develop faith that University was committed to this effort, that it would be a true partnership rather than a take-over, and that effort would be beneficial for their students.

Despite a growing level of faculty support, University had a lot of work to do before the partnership would be approved to prove that they would remain committed long-term. Dr. Manela, the director of University's community school initiative, described the effort invested by University in the 2016-2017 school year:

> Last year was a lot of good will, a lot of building trust through consistently following through with things that you promised the school from the smallest detail to being present at a meeting, to coming through with the funding for a program that they wanted for the kids for the summer. It was just about ensuring that we had a good working relationship with them and had lots of times to practice collaboration.

From some of the teachers' perspective, these "good will" efforts did make an impact on their decision to ultimately support the partnership proposal. As Mr. Thurgood stated, "I applaud

people like yourself, and Dr. Manela and the whole crew that's been dedicated, and really committed, I think that it can work". Following nearly a year of meeting and reaching out to teachers, students and parents for feedback, the design team wrote their partnership proposal and it passed overwhelmingly with teachers' approval in September of 2016. The proposal development process was significant to the collective nature of partnership because the particular model was researched and selected by a group of teachers, and its contents were written by representatives from Addams and University who solicited input from their constituent groups. The proposal itself was a critical step in transforming Addams because it petitioned the district to allow greater local autonomy that would empower teachers, family members and local leaders as partners in school-decision making. The approval of the partnership proposal by teachers and the district poured the formal and legal foundation for Addams to become a community school.

After the proposal passed with the teachers, the collective tone shared by the nine participants in the first interview was cautiously optimistic, characterized by Mr. Thurgood's statement that, "I'm on board! I'm all for it, I just think that we have some high hurdles to jump over". On the most optimistic end, Mr. Puphf shared:

> I think that's wonderful. I just think that's fantastic. The school as a whole, I think the teachers are excited. They know that we voted in favor of, and we're moving forward with it. And I think they're really excited to see this thing get going.

Though still in support of any positive change taking place at the school, the more cautious perspective was captured by Ms. Bailey who stated, "I like [the] transition, I like that they're coming, but not 100%, I guess super confident that we're getting something out of this and the kids are really getting something out of this". Ms. Bailey also shared, as did several other teachers in the school at that time, that she wanted to learn more about that partnership and their "motives" because she still had "a lot of questions".

Positional Inclusion

I applied the term inclusion broadly in this study to address opportunities for teachers to have influence in the school, as well as how they felt supported and listened to as valued members of a school team. The most straight-forward form of inclusion reported by the participants over the course of this study was from positions on a committee or board, what I will refer to as positional inclusion. I use the term positional inclusion to describe influence or voice that teachers may have had throughout the partnership process by being included on a team, committee or board. Over the course of the study, there were several opportunities for teachers to be involved with the partnership development process and school decision making as a whole. In what follows, I will share findings about the school's design team, and various committees related to the school, the partnership, and the governance board. The extent to which teachers understood the partnership process or had a favorable view of one of the committees appeared to be impacted by their position on a committee or board.

Design team

The design team was a temporary committee made up of administrators and two designated teachers from Addams, faculty and graduate students from University, and leaders from the district. All members outside of the administrative leadership and the initial leaders from University were invited because of their position at their institutions and/or ability to bring knowledge and influence into the partnership process. The meetings also had regular visitors from Addams and University who were interested in or were asked to attend to weigh in on specific issues on the campus or a challenge in the process. The design team met weekly for the first year, and then bi-weekly in the second year, as well as spent critical summer months in 2016

to write the school's autonomous school proposal to concretize the partnership, local decision-making autonomies and new school structures.

Having a position on the design team was seen by some participants as being "inside" or "handpicked", and in fact one the teachers was approached by administration to be on the team and the other was selected by virtue of being the teachers' union chair. Teachers who were not on the design team were provided with irregular updates in professional development meetings, but were able to ask questions of their representative teachers or consult meeting notes and documents stored and shared with on an accessible Google Drive. I did not gather any data on how teachers responded about documents being stored on the Google Drive, however, I observed several teachers who had difficulty accessing and navigating a similar Google Drive folder in the following year during the accreditation process; it seems that their skill level of working with such folders may have been similar or less strong during the partnership process.

The partnership process was not always transparent to those who were "on the outside" of the design team early on, according to the majority of the teacher-participants. When asked about what else she would like to share to help me understand how teachers were experiencing the partnership during the first interview, Mrs. Harrison responded, "Transparency. I know that it's not very clear… I do know that they said they would offer transparency of the building foundation, or the process". I followed up by asking what transparency would look like to her and she explained, "A layout of 'this is the stage we're at, this is what it looks like, these are the components', but not general, very specific. So I see all that, but I don't see the specifics." Another teacher had a similar reflection about being on the outside as the school formalized the partnership, she explained during the veteran focus group:

> It's kind of hard for me to say because I wasn't on the inside on how that occurred, you know, but once it happened… It's not that much advertisement

> about it, it's kinda lowkey to me. And then the next thing I know, hey! We're a community school. Like 'oh how did this happen?'

This teachers' reaction may have been impacted by the lengthy process that leaders from University and Addams underwent as they sought to determine whether or not the partnership was even feasible before they involved teachers in the process. For several teachers who were not on the design team, the partnership left them with many questions, for example:

- "Where and when are the other stakeholders coming in?"
- "They still aren't talking about what they are gonna do, *how*?"
- "How could we be recruiting for a new 9th grade when we haven't changed anything?"
- "How long is the partnership? Is it forever or do they ween off?"
- "Who's on it [the design team]?"
- and the blanket statement, "I still have questions".

Both of the designated design team teachers talked about their position on the design team as a positive experience that led to a hopeful view of partnership outcomes, even though their perspectives varied on how inclusive the school and process were as a whole. Mr. Horace, a teacher on the design team, shared:

> I think like the design team is actually pretty cool, like I feel like that's productive and I feel like people are pretty responsive to different ideas and so I see some benefit in that, and I feel like that's been more of a collective approach to sort of figuring out what we need to do.

Mr. Horace went on to say he also views the design team as "heading in the right direction". Mr. Puphf said that being on the design team has been "a wonderful opportunity" and shared that through his position on the design team, he had been able to bring back other faculty's cares and concern to the team, to clarify any misunderstandings and to answer questions they may have.

Working Group Committees

In the winter of 2016, design team leaders created working groups, or sub-committees of the design team, based on feedback from teachers about how they wanted to see the school change as a result of the partnership. The director of University's community school initiative, with the support of several co-leads from University and Addams, introduced the groups to the teachers during a PD early in the spring of 2016 with mixed results. In design team discussions that followed, team members explained that some of their groups did not have direction or buy-in about their focus or responsibilities likely because it was so early in the partnership process, while others had robust discussions and one even decided to read a book together to inform their work. The working groups dissipated by the end of the 2015-2016 school year and were revived briefly in the fall of 2016; the groups were challenging to maintain due to time constraints, low numbers on their faculty and staff, and a general lack of clarity on what purpose each group would serve. Despite the rocky timeline and sparse results, several participants recalled the working groups as a way that they were able to contribute to the school's transformation.

Mr. Thurgood recalled being part of a "working group, part of the design. So we looked through all the different alternatives with [autonomous school models] and things like that". Mr. Thurgood's working group, Staffing, Budget and Governance, ultimately recommended the autonomous school model that Addams selected, applied for and was approved to become. Mrs. Codyrich shared that she was, and still is, although she had not seen her University lead in a while, "part of the communication, survey, data group. I'm actually one of the leaders in that group". She went on to say that she helped make decisions about what program they would use, with the surveys they administered to collect useful data and kept up with the book they read. Both of these statements were shared to describe how involved they had been in the partnership planning process.

Ms. Lulu shared with her leadership that she may not return to Addams in the 2016-2017 school year, and because of that she was "under the impression that if I wasn't gonna be coming back that I didn't have to be a part of that planning process, and I think that was a mistake cause then I kinda exxed myself out of being a part of it". Not having a position on a working group caused Ms. Lulu to feel that she was not included in the planning process, and she "was just kinda sitting in the background" where the transformation and its planning were concerned. Ms. Lulu's description of her experience stands in contrast to the inclusive experiences the other two teachers shared above about being able to make decisions in their group that meaningfully contributed to the school's progress. One teacher reflected during the veteran focus group, "I think if you really want to be in the know of what's going on its best to be on the committees to know, cause otherwise you wouldn't know". The design team and working group committees were of the most significant ways that teachers felt inclusion in the partnership and in the new school model, but there was concern that it "should be a little more transparent" for those who did not have such a position.

Shared governance board

The structure of the governance board was crafted by the design team during the 2016-2017 school year and was formally implemented at the beginning of the 2017-2018 school year. Having a decision-making body that includes multiple stakeholder voices is an integral part of the community school strategy as it ensures that a wide array of concerns is at the forefront and that collective action is taken to address them. As a result of the transformation to a community school model, Addams implemented a governance board whose membership includes school leadership and teachers, as well as parents, students and University representatives. The shared governance board made the decision to fold their traditional committees into the larger

governance board so that everybody would have a chance to weigh in on the issues, though the committee members had the ultimate vote.

Having a position on the governance board seemed to have made a large impact on how at least two teachers viewed the way teachers at Addams were included in the decision-making process. Mr. Thurgood explained that, "On the local school leadership, we vote on pretty much everything. Budgets, we vote on what we think is best for the school and how to use various monies that are allocated". He went on to explain that was a change from the past several years that were marked by decisions being handed down, undisclosed budgets and positions being hired that were not advertised to the staff. Mr. Thurgood explained in the final interview, "I see that we have a lot more collaboration with all stakeholders …and looks like we are starting to get more input and say over how things are spent". One of the veteran teachers in the focus group explained, "being part of the governing council and seeing the interest from the college (University) has really been beneficial…to me in understanding the process" whereas she felt that she was "not on the inside" before and thus did not have an understanding of what was taking place in the partnership process.

The collective nature of the shared governance board seemed to have not only boosted opportunities for inclusion for the school staff, but also seemed to increase the will to be included. Mr. Puphf explained in the baseline interview, prior to the implementation of the shared-governance board:

> …when the decisions are made, there's opportunities to be on the shared decision-making group. Lot of people don't do that though! There's opportunities to be on the school site council, lot of people don't do that! There's opportunity to be on the English Language Arts Committee, ELAC, lot of people don't do that. There's all these opportunities to get involved in the different groups that spear head decisions and decision-making processes here.

At the time of baseline interview when this statement was made, Mr. Puphf was the only teacher-participant who mentioned that there were multiple meaningful ways to be involved in the school and who mentioned being on a committee aside from those that were initiated by the partnership. Mr. Thurgood had a contrasting view of the opportunity to be involved at Addams at the time period referenced Mr. Puphf's statement, and shared in the follow-up interview, "there's no shared decision making here, I feel. I was on shared decision making but it's really just a joke 'cause we don't sit down". By the final interview, three of four of the primary participants, including Mr. Thurgood, were on the one of the committees that formed the shared governance board and actively participated in monthly meetings. From my informal observation of the meetings in the 2017-2018 school year, it appears that more than half of the permanent faculty either held a position on the shared governance board or attended the meetings to stay informed.

Facilitated Inclusion

Inclusion was often discussed by teachers in this study with regards to actions of someone other than themselves that impacted how they were able to participate in the partnership process and their feelings of inclusion into the school space overall. I use the term "facilitated inclusion" to categorize instances where inclusion for a teacher was facilitated through the administration's routines and norms or their actions and decisions, as well as through professional development and support, and expectations set up by the partnership.

Administration

Teachers' workplace experience at Addams was heavily influenced by the style and strength of the school's administration. This set of findings aligns with literature on organizational change in schools that highlights that the principal plays a significant role in the

success of a school's organizational learning and change (Fausk & Raybould, 2005; Sanders, 2016; Shogren, et al., 2015). In this section, it is critical to remember the context in which this study takes place. Addams is an urban school in an underserved part of a large city, and like many schools in similar situations, administrators are pulled in many different directions and forced to address many more challenges with fewer resources. The leadership team at Addams, including Mr. Kent who was a first-time principal, had just been hired at when the partnership was initiated, which added an additional set of obstacles for them to navigate. Teachers in this study often acknowledge the challenges that themselves and their leadership faced, and in this vein rarely discussed the personal qualities of members of the administration, rather their actions and norms. Though some of the actions and decisions discussed in this section may appear to be a critique of the administration, it is important to note that my intention was not to identify fault for outcomes, rather to describe factors that impacted how teachers viewed their experience with inclusion during the partnership. I have attempted to label teacher inclusion facilitated by the administration under two categories: school routines and norms and decision-making.

School routines and norms. During the baseline interview, I asked teachers to "take me through a typical day for you teaching at Addams, and I want you to think about your interactions with not only students, but parents, or admin or any other kind of programs". One of the most prominent norms arose in response to this question, as four of the five teachers shared that they do not see or interact with their administration on a typical day at the school and the fifth teacher simply made no mention of administration when describing his typical day. One teacher shared that although she converses with members of the administration regularly, they rarely walk into her classroom. When asked specifically how often the administration walk in to her classroom, she said, "Not a whole lot. We're forgotten about a lot, but they will. They'll

come in every now and then" and she went on to clarify that they may stop by two or three times per semester. Another teacher was more direct when I asked him if he interacts with administration daily, to which he responded, "Absolutely not. Like I sometimes forget they even exist".

Though the two teachers mentioned in the previous paragraph were not bothered by not seeing their school leadership around often, another teacher was quite vocal throughout the interview series about the administration not making their presence known in the classroom, hallways or on the yard. He stated multiple times that "Everybody's door is closed around here," explaining that he has to actively seek out an administrator when he needs something, and often has to knock on a closed door. The visibility challenge was complicated by a statement made by a teacher who perceived that there was an emphasis at Addams on keeping students out of the hallways in order for them to not "interrupt the important meetings". These "important meetings" may have been in reference to the process of developing a major partnership with an outside institution, which in addition to the already heavy load administrators carry in urban schools, is another time constraint that requires administrators to regularly engage in meetings that take them away from regular campus activities. Though the outcome of such meetings are likely to be for the betterment of the school, it presents challenges when there is a need for additional support.

A fourth teacher perceived the lack of administrative presence as a lack of support. She described her chaotic and under-resourced classroom, that she repeatedly requested specific resources and support with no response, and that nobody came to her room to observe a lesson she planned for her yearly evaluation. She explained, "It seems like they're just too busy to care unless there's a problem outside of the classroom. I don't feel like there's any type of support

from the administration". Lack of felt support from the administration was echoed in the veteran focus group where several teachers attributed student behavior problems to the lack of visibility of the administration. The group expressed frustration that several students refuse to follow rules in the classroom or show respect, and that they wanted to see leadership out "running things". One teacher stated, "Even if they would make their presence seen…during nutrition" highlighting the importance that teachers place on administrative presence in maintaining an orderly and supportive environment for students.

The statements made in the veteran teacher focus group highlighted the significance of the leadership in relationship to the partnership when one teacher shared that she had been feeling "so depressed" as she realized that the school as a whole had not been addressing their core values and felt that they "don't have a vision". In processing how she felt, she suggested that people from Addams needed to visit other schools where students were flourishing to determine:

> What is happening at that school that is making the kids feel like, yeah I wanna be here? ... And then what is admin doing differently 'cause they have to do something different. They can't be the same admin they were before the community school and feel like our school is just all of a sudden gonna become this fabulous place for our kids to be, for teachers, you know?

Another teacher in the same focus group expressed that she would like to see "the collaboration from the team at University, I think we need them here more to be more active as a part of the administration". They clarified how it would look for University to actively be part of the administration, "So instead of just coming to our meetings and coming here, when they come, actually come around and sit and observe in classrooms…In classrooms and mentor". These two examples taken together demonstrate that their hopes for the partnership included having more

visible leadership on campus and that they called upon their administration and University representatives to fulfill those roles.

In a surprising contrast near the end of the study, the new teachers offered a different view of the administration's presence and availability. One teacher shared in the group that, "our admin is pretty much always available for the most part, just like very approachable, and just even having those new teacher meetings, those really saved me a lot of times in the first few months". The second part of her statement sheds light on the contrasting viewpoints, clarifying that the new teachers in fact did have more regular interactions with their administration because of weekly meetings that Ms. Oaks, the assistant principal, held in the 2017-2018 to support first year teachers. Perhaps because of more frequent interactions, one of the new teachers also shared that "I'd say our administration, our principal and our assistant principal, I think that they've had like this great vision" and that the excitement they show for how to support the students "trickles down" to the teachers.

As a point of clarification, this section speaks to the perceived norms about administration's presence on campus, which differs from the next section on their leadership decisions. Although the majority of the primary participants share a perception that the administration is not visible on campus, several of the teachers in the study also believe that the administration, specifically the principal, was open to feedback and was doing his best to improve the school. The next section describes more specific decisions and how they were made that impacted inclusion at the school.

Decision making. Leadership structures and processes at Addams facilitated teachers' ability to feel included in decision-making, as well as to feel respected as professionals who understood their classroom and student needs. Through the interview series it was clear that *how* decisions

were made was often more important than the decisions themselves. I selected a sample of decisions identified by teachers that were made over the course of the study that appeared to enhance inclusion as well as sample of those that inhibited it.

Decisions that enhanced inclusion. Engaging in a partnership-based reform was a foundational decision by the administration to move toward inclusive leadership that set in motion a series of other decisions that facilitated inclusion. In agreeing to become partners with University and develop into a community school, Addams' administration courageously and intentionally selected a structure that required them to be more transparent and to include and negotiate with stakeholders that were not traditionally involved in their decision-making and sometimes even to compromise their own agenda and vision of the school. In various sections of chapter four, I discussed three major decisions made by the administration in collaboration with the design team that enhanced teacher's sense of inclusion at Addams; for clarity, I summarized the decisions previously discussed in the list below:

- Combining governance committee meetings to one larger monthly meeting, thereby increasing the number of stakeholders, including teachers, students, parents and University members, who were included in critical schoolwide decisions.
- Doubling the number of PD's per week, which provided more time for school leaders to share updates and solicit input from teachers more regularly. The extra time provided space for teachers to meet collaboratively, to actively engage in improving their practice, and to widen their network of support by co-planning with University's content coaches.
- Creating a weekly "new-teacher" meeting that helped build the teachers' confidence in the classroom by providing them support with structure and systems, as well as built positive rapport between school leaders and the new teaching staff.

By deciding to pursue partnership with University and beginning the process of becoming a community school, the administration provided more access for teachers to be involved in decision making, as well as to develop a sense of inclusion into a professional learning community with time to collaborate with one another and University representatives. With reference to school transformation, the decisions toward including more time for peer-to-peer interaction and collaborative planning surrounding the new school design and curricular shifts were key in ensuring individual and organization-wide learning.

Decisions that inhibited inclusion. Some of the decisions that teachers discussed in their interviews highlight the complicated and highly personal nature of a school environment. For example, Mr. Thurgood and Mr. Horace individually discussed how frustrated they were in the previous school year when their classrooms were "taken" without consultation. Mr. Thurgood felt that they were "lied to" because they were told by the school leaders that they were not going to switch the rooms, and then returned to work after the summer to the change having been made. Mr. Horace was deeply insulted by the decision because he felt that it hampered his ability to provide the enriching learning space that he spent over twenty years curating, and it was done without his input. He understood this as a lack of regard for the well-being of his students. He explained:

> No one came and told me and so that really kinda like, I was pissed. I was like, look, you wanna create the best environment for kids and then you're gonna hand cuff me from being able to do it. So it's almost like, everything you do, I don't think its intentional or malicious, but it's sort of like this push back. You just keep making stuff that much harder and it's not even necessary. Like if you had [an understanding], you would come and talk to me, and talk to the people who you know are affected, and be like, 'what do you need to do to be successful?' You know, 'what can I do to support that success?

Though this decision was made prior to the announcement of the partnership, bitterness still lingered in both of these teachers that negatively impacted their feelings of respect and inclusion at the school through the partnership process.

Another set of decisions that inhibited inclusion were made over the course of the study around hiring practices. The school had pre-existing structures for a hiring committee and routines around hiring, yet several positions were added and people hired without input from or advertisement to teachers. The earliest example mentioned by teachers in the interviews was not necessarily focused on the hiring aspect, but on the actual role of the newest assistant principal, Ms. Oaks. She was added to the staff by the principal, after the faculty hired him through a collective interview process. She began in one position and subsequently took on multiple roles and titles as the partnership progressed, but without explanation to the staff on how or when the changes were made. In the veteran focus group, which took place near the end of the study, one of the teachers shared that Ms. Oaks was in charge of the new high school and that "when that whole transition even happened, I don't think anybody even knew". Another teacher in the group supported the assertion that nobody knew about the transition and asked, "and based on what? What are the qualifications?" Two more unannounced out-of-classroom positions were added to the discipline team at the beginning and middle of the 2017-2018 school year and caused concern for some of the teachers surrounding district seniority because of the short-term nature of the funding that emerged to create their positions.

Perhaps compounding the issue of people not understanding her hiring, Ms. Oaks spearheaded Addams' new instructional program and focus. Ms. Oaks and Mr. Kent introduced a self-designed model called Learn-See-Do, which was based on work they had done together at a previous school and encompassed project-based and experiential learning. In the veteran focus

group, one of the teachers called attention to the fact that they had never heard of the model before, and that he even tried to research it on his own, wondering, “Whose using this? What other school is using it? Is it proven or something?” Another teacher in the focus group questioned the same assertion and felt that the teachers should be implementing a model that is evidence-based. Although this decision often inhibited inclusion, one of its early outcomes seemed to facilitate inclusion through a pool of money that was set aside to fund two months’ worth of field trips to help kick off the model, which were a great reason for all of the teachers to collaboratively plan together at the beginning of the year.

In addition to anchoring the Learn-See-Do model in project-based learning, Ms. Oaks also introduced grade-level themes that corresponded to professional schools at University that expressed initial interest in partnering with Addams. These themes and potential partnerships were an exciting selling point for Addams when marketing the new school model to families and was a way for teachers to focus their unit plans and field trips for the year. The challenge, however, seemed to be that the teachers were not involved in creating the themes. Mr. Horace noted, “those over-arching themes per grade level, we didn’t come up with that”, and Mr. Thurgood questioned, “who decided on these thematic themes for Addams? Cause we didn’t…that was just given to us”. The themes caused additional complications because teachers were not given contacts at University’s professional schools and it was not made clear how and when the partnerships with them would go into effect, nevertheless, the teachers were instructed to plan toward them. The administration and University coaches provided space in their summer PD to support teachers as they planned collaboratively around Learn-See-Do and the grade level themes, but because teachers had no input into how the model or its themes were developed, at least two teachers felt that it was still a “top down” approach “that was just given to us”.

Situations like these where the partnership was enacted to bolster a structure that was created by school leaders rather than through democratic engagement of teachers seemed to inhibit inclusion and put distance between the teachers and University representatives.

Growing pains: An example of changing practice. Through the school transformation process at Addams, positive growth sometimes occurred through addressing challenges and missteps. Mr. Puphf provided a story during the follow-up interview that demonstrated how the school leaders constructively responded to a possibly demoralizing situation:

> There's representation at every level of governance so the teachers are able to be heard, concerns are addressed pretty quickly. I had one yesterday about our new teachers' assignments being changed yesterday, the first day they show up, and I went immediately to the administrators and I said 'ok here's the deal, we can't lose these kids. They're leaving long in the face. They had a beautiful morning, they feel so welcome, now they're deflated and defeated and its just been one day. So y'all need to talk to them.' 'Well the district, we didn't see' 'ok good, explain that to them'. And it was an email sent, there were private conversations had, everyone was contacted and they're feeling a lot better today. You know but that's a result of the input being valued, right, because they could have just looked at me and said 'well tighten your cane up and you just keep moving, you got the job so just, you know'. But they didn't do it, they jumped on it. They responded to that, and that's what's happening.

This story took place during the "buy-back" days during the summer of 2017 and demonstrates not only that the leadership was open and responsive to a teacher calling them on a possible misstep, but also the power of relationship building. Had the administration and University not invested in the additional professional development time, Mr. Puphf may not have heard about the changed assignment of the new teachers and thus they would have been left without an advocate. This foundation for building relationships and representation "at every level" is a stark contrast from the perception that, "if you speak out at this school there could be repercussions" which was made by a teacher in an earlier interview.

Professional Development and Support

In addition to the tangible changes such as the schedule, there are nuances to the content and format of the professional development and support that either facilitated or inhibited inclusion. For example, in the 2016-2017 school year, I documented through my observations that the PDs were generally speaker led, and often ended with an "exit ticket" that required teachers to do an assignment created by the principal to show their engagement or understanding of the PD's content. I also noted that after the collective meeting with University wherein they asked teachers to engage in discussion and questioning and to create a poster with which to present main points to each other, the Addams administrative team turned to this strategy more often. Though the content was still selected by the administrators at this point, they seemed to provide teachers with more of an opportunity to discuss the material and present the most salient points to one another.

University faculty and staff helped lead ten PD's at Addams in the 2016-2017 school year, including eight sessions led solely by University content coaches. The participation of University in PDs had positive effects noted by teachers, such as providing a more "hands-on" experience and showing "the commitment of University… it's like 'wow, maybe they are committed, they do wanna do this". However, there is little evidence that these PD sessions facilitated inclusion in the first year of the partnership due to a disconnect between the content of the PDs and the reality teachers experienced in their classrooms.

The project-based learning disconnect. The decision to focus on project-based learning (PBL) was the most apparent challenge I observed to inclusion being facilitated through professional development. During the sixth week of the 2016-2017 school year, University hosted their first PD of the year focused on instruction and explained that they had been

collaborating with the design team for approximately six months to plan for them. The program director explained the three goals for the year were to 1.) become a model project-based learning school, 2.) improve in all content areas including reading and writing across the curriculum, and 3.) become a professional learning community. This session appeared to be quite inclusive through the use of an “inclusion activity” to get everyone familiar with one another in the spirit of the collective work and through activities designed such that the University staff could learn from the Addams faculty about what they saw as the strengths and challenges of the school. The following is an excerpt from a reflection I wrote on the day after this session:

> My general perception is that most teachers are willing to participate and give this a shot. PD is not usually a place (from my experience) where teachers are very vocal about their excitement for something, but there was a lot of writing on the carousal posters. Also, I thought the opening synetics square thing was a great way to break the ice. I hope the energy ramps up as we go and look forward to the list they come up with for the types of PDs they would want. My only question that kept recurring was, do teachers know what [the director] is talking about when she says they want PBL support?

I went on in this reflection to question whether the teachers were interested in PBL, or if it was something that was decided upon by the administration. The question in this statement was informed by my understanding of community schooling as well as the vision for University whose model it is to empower teachers with curricular decisions, which deviates from a more traditional view of the role of the principal as carrying the bulk of responsibility for creating the instructional vision.

The sense that PBL was initiated by the administration is further supported by my first observation of the year, when the principal opened the meeting by explaining that “project-based learning is the way to win our kids back”. He introduced a project that all teachers would need to plan for that fall’s Back-to-School Night and invited University members to support them as they

began planning. In a subsequent meeting, I made a note explaining “my general sense is that teachers (based on the small group I was sitting with, the math team) are overwhelmed with the amount of stuff we are required to do”. This included several compliance activities and plans, in addition to the required Back-to-School project. Frustration with the project focus was apparent in Ms. Lulu’s statement:

> I feel like [the principal] is somehow, ok so he’s taking University ideas, which is great, project-based learning, but once again he’s giving us all these projects and assessments with no real resources or background on what the hell were supposed to be doing. And so I just feel its once again putting more pressure on the teachers here…

Not only does this statement highlight the challenges of integrating project-based learning into one’s instruction, but also that she had an understanding that the PBL focus came from University. This perception may have been furthered by the fact that most of the administrators did not attend PD when University hosted, or as one participant explained, “they’re nowhere to be seen”.

Mr. Horace highlighted that not only did he feel that the University staff did not meaningfully include the teachers in planning their PD’s, but that the content they presented in the first year was not what the school needed. He said:

> To bring in University [‘s professional development] for example, I think a lot of the stuff that they bring to the table is not necessarily tailored for our needs. And so I feel like there’s a lot of things that need to be addressed, and I was a little disappointed because I thought they were going to be… And so I think that like, things aren’t necessarily, have never been tailored for what we really need. I think if you want to know what we really need, talk to the people that are here doing the job and the people doing the job are the teachers.

The sentiment that PD’s led by University were disconnected from the classroom in the first year of the partnership was echoed by Ms. Lulu and Mr. Thurgood throughout the first three interviews, with statements such as:

> I just sometimes question about what the process is and the things they want us to do and if they really understand our students. I've always liked to say, you come in and teach them, you show me how it works.

and:

> there's a complete detachment from the classroom and what we're learning in the professional developments. Like there's no checks or balances of that. It's like the shiny thing you're seeing in professional development, which they want you to do but you're not getting assistance on the most basic problems in the classroom.

Though teachers stated that they saw the value in learning about different teaching strategies, the majority of the participants saw them as "isolated lessons" that would not work with their students. Comments about the disconnect between PD and the classroom were prevalent in the first year of this study as University was still working to develop familiarity with Addams faculty and students. University faced the dual challenge of making "good faith efforts" such as hosting professional developments to develop trust between themselves and Addams, while learning a whole new set of faculty and student strengths and needs as well as institutional norms.

Two other aspects of PD and professional support that I observed in the 2016-2017 school year and through the end of the study are worth mentioning with regards to facilitated inclusion. First, as noted in chapter four, University brought content coaches for all core subjects, but there was not a representative to support the special education faculty. This may have created a symbolic isolation in which special education faculty felt that they were "an island alone", but it also created a physical space where special education faculty often worked alone during planning sessions or hopped around different groups in search of relevant information. Second, despite the fact that Addams has several teachers who have been in the field for over fifteen years, I did not observe a single PD session that was led by a teacher. One of the teachers explained that they "were never tapped into" and for those with insight to share about the school,

not empowering faculty to design learning experiences for their peers in PD facilitated feelings of exclusion rather than inclusion.

PD shifts in in 2017-2018. Addams implemented a major schedule change from one PD day per week to twice a week in the 2017-2018 school year. In contrast to the aspects of PD that inhibited inclusion in the previous school year, all four teachers who remained at the end of the study responded that they felt there was more collaboration amongst the staff and the shift to two professional development (PD) days a week played a large role. Mr. Puphf stated, “The professional development that we’re having twice a week now…we’re called on to participate more, and I think that’s exactly what the idea was behind having professional development twice a week as opposed to once”. Moving the meetings to the morning instead of in the afternoon, which is the district norm, was perceived as “a big benefit” by Mr. Horace because “I just feel like people are fresher and its sort of like more ready to work and listen and figure things out”. Having more time to collaborate and work on curriculum was a validation to Mrs. Harrison of the administration being responsive to the teachers, when she said, “they have listened and they have tried to, or made more than an effort, made some changes to address the concerns of the teachers and I think the biggest one is the collaboration time”. These comments demonstrate that the additional PD per week facilitated inclusion through an increase in teacher participation, more time to work on items that they were called upon to figure out, and the perception that they were granted the additional time because they asked for it.

Perhaps due to the accreditation process dominating the first half of the 2017-2018 school year, there was also a shift in the way that University content coaches worked with Addams faculty. The coaches attended PD regularly as participants and worked one-on-one or on a small group basis rather than hosting PDs for the entire faculty. The shift to subject matter support

rather than PD hosts caused the University staff to also be present in classrooms and help with lesson planning, which was not happening regularly in the previous year. The additional collaboration time along with the more tailored model of professional support provided space for the partnership between Addams and University to flourish. Both brand-new and veteran teachers consulted with University coaches for “great standards, framework-based lessons, and things like that”. Although it was not stated directly by any of the participants, the shifts made in the PD space and professional support provided by University seem to have promoted inclusion by addressing the lack of collaboration time and tailored support that teachers discussed in previous interviews.

Workplace Demands and Partnership Expectations

Teachers in urban schools are often face an inordinate amount of responsibility and experience far higher levels of stress compared to their suburban counterparts (Shernoff, Mehta, Atkins, Torf & Spencer, 2011). Often the impact on teachers in urban schools from structural constraints such as a lack of human and basic resources, punitive or otherwise ineffective discipline systems, low-levels of support from administrators or mentors, and from wearing multiple hats to support children in poverty leads to early career burnout (Cross & Thomas, 2017; Freedman & Appleman, 2009; Shernoff, et al., 2011). Compounding the issues teachers face, many urban schools are in a constant cycle of reforms that are often required by district or state-level officials and overburden school teachers and administrators in the effort to quickly produce improved academic outcomes (Hess, 2011). The continual reform process “damages school culture by discouraging cooperation and reducing motivation among teachers (Hess, 2011)” who have watched a series of reforms sub-par results and then be replaced. The sense of fatigue and skepticism for their new school partnership that some teachers demonstrated at

Addams is reflective of the environment and challenges described in literature on urban schools, which is the context in which the first years of the partnership planning process and teacher engagement took place.

The demanding, or “difficult”, nature of working at Addams often inhibited inclusion early on in the partnership, and in the school as a whole according to a number of the teachers. Mr. Thurgood shared that, “historically, Addams has always been one of those ‘gladiator’ type of schools” and Mr. Horace explained that most of the faculty and staff were in “survival mode”. Matching the symbolism of fighting and surviving, Mr. Puphf envisioned that the change at Addams would cause people “down the road, when the people think back, like oh man, ‘look at what happened in that neighborhood for those kids and those families. And so we’re soldiers. We’re soldiers, and this is where we’re stationed…”. Ms. Lulu spoke about how the demands of her job overpowered her desire to be involved in the partnership planning process, she said, “I feel so exhausted from the teaching part of it, that I’d rather leave it to the intellectuals that are coming in who are not working in the classrooms to figure out how to re-do this”. Similarly, Mrs. Melis who participated only in the first interview, shared that she and her colleagues could and should have been more involved in the partnership other than just talking about it, but that exhaustion stood in the way of people wanting to know more. She reflected, “I do want to know, I just need like, I don’t know, a shot of espresso”. These comments are indicative of the need for more time to engage and deliberate in the partnership process to develop collective learning and a sense of ownership in the change, however, the structural shift that would support such needs did not take place until the following year.

Several of the participants in the veteran teacher focus group questioned what the partnership was, if anything had actually changed, and what the vision was for the school. The

workplace environment they continued to experience from years past left them feeling disillusioned about how the partnership was functioning, depressed about their current condition, and as one teacher stated “like I truly don’t understand what the partnership is”. The vexation teachers experienced trying to figure out what the partnership was may have been due to their lack of understanding of the larger community schooling movement, what it takes to become a community school and generally as one teacher asked during the final interview, “What *is* a community school?"

Throughout the first two interviews, I wondered to myself whether or not teachers were aware of the community school movement. I realized that if they did not know about the purpose of community schools, that the strategy is transforming many schools across the nation, and that there are several examples of tools to use during implementation, then there must be large gaps in their level of expectation for what their school would become and how long it would take. I also suspected that many of leaders on the design team also were not aware of the nationwide movement toward community schooling because there was little talk about other schools aside from Addams’ sister school. Furthermore, the design team did not make use of the tools that organizations like the Children’s Aid Society and the Coalition for Community Schools have published to guide community school development, with the exception of sharing one article about community schools at the beginning of process. To understand how people were making sense of becoming a community school, I asked all participants in the follow-up interview, in the focus groups, and the design team interviews “What is your impression of what is a community school?” I heard a range of responses of what a community school should be from participants own vantage point, and several did align with the community schooling strategy, yet nobody

demonstrated that they had knowledge of the nationwide movement or knew of any other community schools.

Multiple participants anchored their understanding of a community school to University's first public partnership school, often referred to as CS1. When asked where he got his background about community schools, the principal, Mr. Kent, responded that "it's something I believed in, working with University kinda put a name to it, this idea of a community school". In the new teacher focus group, CS1 was the only school that they knew of that was a community school, and was said by two teachers at the exact same time in response to the question. Mr. Thurgood shared, "A partnership with an institution of higher education, in this case University. And I think we're trying to pattern ourselves after CS1, which is completely different to, the students are completely different [from Addams]". The second part of Mr. Thurgood's statement provided insight into how not having a thorough understanding of the community schooling movement may inhibit rather than facilitate inclusion. Aside from simply not knowing what to expect for what the process of becoming a community school might entail, the belief that a community school essentially meant modeling themselves after University's other partnership caused hesitation and skepticism amongst the staff. The difference between CS1 and Addams was mentioned by three teachers in the interviews, with two of them stating strongly "we are not CS1" which was stated often by several teachers in the early months of planning the partnership as a concern that University did not understand the needs of their community.

The workplace demands at Addams seemed to put constraints on teachers that often hindered them from having the time, energy or desire to be included in the school partnership and transformation process. The workplace demands also seemed to be a primary factor in how the teachers defined the work at their school, and of utmost importance for outsiders to

understand and respect the challenges they experienced everyday as they seek to improve outcomes for their students. Although multiple leaders from both Addams and University assured the Addams faculty that they were not attempting to replicate their first school and that they understood that the conditions were much different, only time could help them build that trust without the back drop of the community school national movement and the motto “no two alike”. Finally, the design team and visionaries at the school painted an exciting picture about all of the changes they were going to make together, however, there was little study of how long it took and what steps had to be made before other schools like theirs became a high-functioning community school. Without a clear vision and timeline of the work, many of the teachers were left thinking, “I guess we’re still in the building [stage]” and at times wondering, “what are we doing?”.

Conclusion

Through the process of becoming a community school, there were multiple efforts at Addams to increase democratic participation through representation of multiple stakeholders on decision making bodies, and to provide space and resources for teachers to engage in collaborative learning. The impact of an inclusive leadership structure, the sixth pillar of community schooling, was tangibly demonstrated in the findings on positional inclusion through teachers who shared their contributions and a sense of positive direction in the partnership process through their participation on committees. Inclusion was facilitated through the administrative decision of engaging in partnership-based reform, and through changes in the professional development structure that allowed teachers to engage in collaboration with one another and to be updated more regularly.

The findings in this study speak to the deeply personal and complex environment of schools because the very same structures and spaces that were implemented to enhance inclusion sometimes inhibited inclusion for people who experienced them in different ways. For example, teachers who were on the design team felt that it was a positive space and generally felt informed about the direction of the partnership, while those who were not on the team felt that they were on the outside and that the process was not transparent. It is critical in situations like these to not only consider those who are a granted a position on teams, committees and boards, but to also find ways to create a sense of inclusion for those who are being represented by them.

This chapter also highlighted the importance of creating structures that enable teachers to overcome environmental factors and other stressors through collective discussion and action. Early on in the interview, several teachers shared that they were too exhausted to participate in the planning despite the fact that they wanted to be involved. Altering the schedule to provide an extra hour and a half of PD per week, however, provided much more time during the regular school day for teachers to be able to address issues with one another and in turn felt that the school was much more collaborative as a whole. Though there were many challenges yet to overcome at the conclusion of this study with regards to inclusion and decision making, newly implemented spaces and structures helped teachers feel "now it's changing because of the school site and local school leadership council". The changes at Addams were significant steps taken toward aligning with the Community Teachers framework and the community school vision of a professional learning community that empowers teachers to take an active role in their own practice and to create a school environment that they believe is responsive, rigorous and nurturing for their students. Professional learning was also a critical aspect of preparing teachers to experience success through the organizational change process.

This chapter also reflects the fact that there is not one best way to create an inclusive environment, but that it is an ongoing practice that takes several years to penetrate all of the structures, routines and norms of the school. Described in more depth in the next chapter, some aspects of the school witnessed more change than others, while some people saw the framework for change but did not feel its impact yet; or as the new teachers explained, “we’re kind of like a car that’s turning on the ignition… but we’re not fully in motion”. School transformation is an immense under-taking that requires time and patience to yield positive results, and the implementation of a community school model through a partnership-based reform at Addams is certainly an example of a whole-hearted effort to do so.

Chapter Six: Findings on Transformation in the Pillars of Community Schooling

This chapter examines the ways in which teachers at Jane Addams – University Community School[9] experienced or did not experience transformation in their teaching practice and in their workplace environment with regards to five of the six pillars of community schooling, as they partnered with a local university to become a university-assisted community school. The data for my study was collected through 22 semi-structured interviews with 9 teachers, 2 focus groups with a total of 10 different[10] teachers, 3 interviews with design team leaders, participant-observations in weekly teacher professional development (PD) meetings and my participation as a half-time teacher in the 2016-2017 school year. The data yielded a complex and often times contradictory set of findings across the group of teachers as it addressed the second research question that guided my dissertation study: To what extent, if any, do teachers in a developing university-assisted community school experience transformation in six pillars that define the community schooling strategy (Frankl et al., 2016):

a. curricula that is engaging, culturally relevant and challenging,
b. emphasis on high-quality teaching,
c. wrap-around supports and [extended-learning] opportunities,
d. positive discipline practices,
e. authentic parent and community engagement,
f. inclusive school leadership.

Structure of The Chapter

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[9] In the remainder of this chapter, the school will be referred to simply as Addams, and the partnering university will be referred to as University as its proper name.
[10] With the exception of one veteran teacher who participated in the 4-part series as well as the focus group.

The data in this chapter addresses five of the six pillars of community schooling, with the sixth pillar already having been folded into chapter five. The discussion of the pillars encompasses questions addressed in interviews two through four, which will be referred to as the baseline interview, the follow up interview, and the final interview. The baseline interview introduced the six pillars and asked teachers for their experience with and opinion on the concept behind each one. The follow-up interview asked teachers what, if anything, changed at the school with regards to the six pillars since the partnership was initiated. The final interview asked nearly the same questions as the follow-up but took place about six months later to allow time for change over the course of the partnership process. The table below serves as a quick reference for each interview and its primary topic and questions.

Interview	Participants	Topics Addressed	Surrounding Events
1. Introduction	Bailey, Codyrich, Forsai, Harrison, Horace[11], Lulu, Melis, Puphf, Thurgood	Part 1 – Basic Info Part 2 – Experiences teaching at Addams Part 3 – Perceptions of and reactions to the transition Part 4 – Partnership hopes and fears	• Took place during the first semester of the 2016-2017 school year • shortly after the partnership proposal was approved by the faculty.
2. Baseline	Harrison, Horace, Lulu, Puphf, Thurgood	Part 1 - Teaching journey and typical day at Addams Part 2 - Current philosophy of teaching Part 3 - Experience with and opinion on 6 pillars of CSs.	• Spring 2017 • After MOU is signed between Addams, University and district leaders
3. Interim Follow Up	Harrison, Horace, Lulu, Puphf, Thurgood	Part 1 - Impressions of a community school Part 2 - Changes in the six pillars Part 3 - Democratic participation, inclusion and decision making	• End of 2016-2017 school year • Summer PD hosted by Addams admin and University
4. Final Follow Up	Harrison, Horace, Puphf, Thurgood	Part 1 - Impressions of a CS Part 2 - Changes in the six pillars Part 3 - Role of the teacher in the partnership	• Accreditation • Beginning of the second semester of 2017-2018

[11] Mr. Horace did not complete the first interview at the same time as the other participants, so his first interview was a hybrid of the first and second interview. I included him in both lists for simplicity.

Design Team Member Interview	Mr. Kent - Principal at Addams, Dr. Lexington - Associate Dean at University, Dr. Manela - Director of CSs	Part 1 - Experience in Education Part 2 - The Partnership as a Whole Part 3 - The Role of Teachers	• Between summer and fall 2017
Veteran Focus Group	Three teachers – all different except one than those in the 4-part series.	Part 1 - Recommendations to others interested in becoming a CS Part 2 - Role of the teacher in the partnership	• Beginning of second semester of 2017-2018 • Second semester Back to School Night • Accreditation
New Teacher Focus Group	Seven teachers – all different than those in the 4-part series.	Part 1 - Recommendations to others interested in becoming a CS Part 2 - Impressions of a CS	• Beginning of second semester of 2017-2018 • Accreditation

Figure 4

Six Pillars of Community Schooling

The six pillars that guide the community school strategy defined by the Alliance to Reclaim Our Schools and the Center for Popular Democracy are: 1.) curricula that is engaging, culturally relevant and challenging, 2.) emphasis on high quality teaching, 3.) wraparound supports and extended-learning opportunities, 4.) positive discipline practices, 5.) authentic parent and community engagement, and 6.) inclusive school leadership (Frank et. al, 2016). I went into this study hoping to understand how teachers experienced the areas of schooling defined by these pillars in order to develop insight into skills and understanding that teachers need to be successful in a community school. With this aim in mind, I asked the five participants who continued with the interview series to reflect on the six pillars of community schooling in the baseline, follow-up and final interviews. Prior to these interviews, the teachers had not been exposed to the literature on community schooling, nor the six pillars, but the research questions were developed using the pillars as a framework for how teachers experienced the process of

becoming a community school. The baseline interview asked teachers to share their opinions of and experiences with the areas outlined by the six pillars, which served as a point of reference for transformation they may have experienced due to the organizational change toward partnership with University and a community school model. The follow-up and final interviews asked them what changes they noticed in the areas of the six pillars at the end of the first full academic year of the partnership[12] (2016-2017), and at the mid-point of the next year (2017-2018).

Throughout the interview series, I asked participants about their views on and experiences with each of the six pillars and provided minimal-to-no prompting about what I meant by the concept. My aim was to query the teachers on how they thought about each pillar, and whether or not their responses were aligned to how I define them in this study. My primary goal, however, was to find out if their experiences over the course of the study resulted in any personal or organizational changes in the area of the pillars. I begin each of the following sections with brief definitions of the pillar in discussion, which are informed by the professional literature on community schools. The sections will explain how the participants that remained in the study (see figure 3 in the methods section for more details) viewed their experiences in relation to five of the six pillars over the course of my year-long study.

Curricula that is Engaging, Culturally Relevant and Challenging

According to community school literature, schools should offer curricula that is student-centered while including robust supports tailored to student academic needs. Schoolwide curricula should prepare students for college, career, and adult life, and include a well-rounded course offering that includes courses in the arts, ethnic studies and multiple languages (AROS,

[12] This was the first year of working together with University in developing the partnership structures and practices, the following year was when distinctive structural changes took place such as the schedule shift and implementation of a shared governance board.

2017; Frankl, 2016). Teachers should have an active role in shaping curriculum that is engaging, culturally relevant and challenging for their students. Whole child education, the overlapping spheres theory and the Community Teacher framework are all powerful proponents of teachers developing curriculum that builds on the interests and cultural understanding of students and broadening lessons to include holistic, real-life skills and emotional capacities (Epstein et al., 1987; Murrell, 2000; Noddings, 2005).

Baseline Interview. In the baseline interview, I asked participants, "What is your experience with, and opinion on, the importance of curricula that is engaging, culturally relevant and challenging?" and received a range of responses. All five teachers began by saying that such curriculum is "very important". After explaining an engaging lesson he had done that day, Mr. Puphf shared his view that "on any given day, we have the material, we have the pedagogical stuff too with it, but we try to get these kids to try and understand the big picture cause there's so much happening outside our textbook". This concept rang true with Mr. Horace who stated that he also infuses his curriculum with ways for students to connect personally to the text, as well as to provide lessons for life outside of the classroom so that students feel like, "I can go anywhere and be successful". Four of the five teachers depicted their experience with curriculum that is culturally relevant and engaging by sharing some of the lessons that they had done in their own classrooms. Interestingly, all four taught different subjects, yet all engaged students through the use of stories and storytelling. Some of the stories were novels selected specifically because of their usefulness in connecting with student experience, some short stories that helped students understand concepts such as ionic bonding, and some that reached beyond a history textbook to help students understand their own place in the world.

Mrs. Harrison shared that making her teaching relevant, or “connecting to them and their right now” is “almost like the easy part”. Although she had success implementing units that are not only culturally relevant, but also cross-curricular and interesting to students, she shared that making it challenging is the hard part. She explained that she had to be very strategic about how she scaffolded for her students because they would “shut down” without enough support. Similarly, Mr. Thurgood said that he created a classroom environment that was visually affirming of his students’ cultures and brought in outside resources to supplement outdated textbooks, but his desire to increase rigor was often stifled by low levels of academic achievement. Ms. Lulu felt that she needed more training in how to implement engaging group work in the classroom, while Mr. Puphf believed having such a small faculty made it difficult to plan culturally relevant lessons because teachers did not have enough other teachers who could serve as thought partners in planning and that “two heads are better than one”.

Perhaps because the question was focused on each participants’ own experience, there was no discussion about a school-wide curricular approach early on in the study, or anything connected to other teachers aside from one who had a co-teacher inside of the classroom. Two of the teachers did mention that they would like to have someone come into their classroom and show them how to implement lessons that they were told could be done with “this population” but found impossible to do themselves. The baseline interview that addressed teachers’ experiences with the six pillars of community schooling revealed a group of teachers who all believed that engaging, culturally relevant, and challenging curriculum is significant in schools. However, while the majority of the teacher-participants reported instances where they were able to engage their students and make curriculum relevant, they struggled to make curriculum challenging and rigorous without losing student attention and persistence.

Follow-Up Interview. In the follow-up interview that took place five to six weeks after the baseline, I attempted to uncover transformation of the teachers' experiences in the area of curriculum by asking, "Since the partnership was initiated, what changes have you noticed in the planning, training and support, or implementation of curriculum at this school?" For all but one participant who was not able to attend, the follow-up interview took place during the week after the school year ended while teachers were on campus for three "buy-back days". The buy-back days included training and planning time funded primarily by University and co-hosted by Addams administration and content coaches from University's professional development program. University hosted eight other professional development (PD) sessions to support Addams in engaging in project-based learning during the 2016-2017 school-year, but the first time their influence was mentioned by more than one teacher-participant was at the beginning of their summer session. Mr. Puphf explained that they had "glimpses of what's to come" but it seemed the group had not felt an impact in their planning practices until the summer session, as Mr. Thurgood responded, "Not until today, these last two[13] days, not until these two little buy-back days where we actually got someone …who gave us the new frameworks, that gave us some resources actually to use to help us plan". It seemed that having the opportunity to work in small, subject specific groups with a University content coach for several hours had a much stronger impact on how teacher's viewed curriculum planning than the whole-school PDs that were hosted throughout the school year. Illuminated by organizational change literature, having the opportunity to work in small groups provided a stronger opportunity to discuss and produce the individual and collective understandings that lead to organization learning and change,

[13] There were 6 buy-back days total that summer, including three during the week after school ended, and three the week before it started back the following year. Mr. Thurgood said the "last two days" because I interviewed him and Mr. Puphf on the second of 3 days.

whereas the whole group PD's allowed them to practice but little time deliberate and adjust their mental models to incorporate new learning and skills.

During the six days of summer professional development, University content coaches supported teachers in making a major shift in their curriculum toward the newly released state-endorsed frameworks. The changes varied by subject matter, but all subjects the requirements called for teachers to plan lessons that were more problem-based, wherein students had to use a variety of materials to think critically and often work in groups. This kind of planning was a major shift for teachers who were accustomed to basing their planning around a text and primarily supplementing, whereas the new frameworks often require teachers to develop collections of unique materials. Two teachers reported that enacting these changes would require planning support for themselves. Mr. Thurgood shard that his content coach supported him to pace his year according to the new framework and that he believes the University coaches will be helpful throughout the year in securing resources for lesson plans. Support for planning was also important to Mr. Puphf, who explained,

> The curriculum is getting tight. We are being guided along the curriculum structuring process with the help of University's [content coaches]. The teachers here are more invested in curriculum design and implementation…just in the two days that we've done in working, cause in [my subject] we have [new standards], which are official now.

Mrs. Harrison mentioned that the summer sessions seemed to have been a response to the teachers' desire for more collaboration time, as well as a product of teachers being listened to more and their concerns addressed. Both instructional support and collaboration time came up in the focus group with new teachers which took place nearly six months later, one teacher mentioned:

> We had those like PD days in the summertime… I think that helped us a lot, like a lot, because we got to meet every one and become familiar with the campus and

> then we had time to plan and meet with instructional coaches, and all that has been really great so far.

Significantly, two of the five participants mentioned that the summer session was pushing them to make their curriculum more student-centered, and a third mentioned that it "makes a lot of difference" that the school was becoming more student-centered.

In contrast to the positive remarks about the summer session, Mr. Horace described feelings of disappointment about the content and leadership presented during those days. He believed that the content was not "tailored to our needs", and that it was too focused on standards and overarching ideas when the new teachers needed to be given time to ask basic questions about the school and to think about structures and procedures for classroom management. Mr. Horace's idea about structure and procedures was echoed in the new-teacher focus group by several of the teachers who explained that the curriculum support given by University was overwhelming during their first few months because they were still trying to grasp how to run a classroom. The new teachers also mentioned that their new-teacher meetings hosted by their Assistant Principal, Ms. Oaks, were extremely helpful with the basics in the first few months. One new teacher shared, "We were floundering (laughter); we were just like 'what do we do' we had no idea how to do anything; we were gasping for air, [Ms. Oaks] just gave us a little bit of CPR". Mr. Horace also felt that there was no content presented that motivated teachers like himself who were "ready to sprint" to modify their curriculum, or to "come up with our personal best". In reflecting during this interview on the buy-back days and professional development over all, Mr. Horace shared that although school leaders were always pushing teachers to differentiate their instruction for students, he felt that instruction in professional development "never gets differentiated" for teachers.

Final Interview. The final interview for this study's primary participants took place January and February 2018, which was the beginning of the second semester and followed a major deadline for gaining accreditation as a new school. Accreditation is a process that high schools must undergo in order for their students to receive valid diplomas. This process was directly linked to Addams becoming a community school because they elected to adopt a grade 6-12 span model, thus they had to undergo the process by which they would be validated. Legal requirements such as these are rarely mentioned in community schooling literature but are critical in considering the impact that the partnership process has on teachers. Middle schools do not typically pursue accreditation when they are not attached to a high school, so this process presented an additional challenge at Addams because the administrators were unfamiliar with this process and were not notified about the timeline until approximately two months into the school year.

As evidenced in the findings outlined below, the accreditation process was the context in which all of the participants situated their responses regarding curriculum in the final interview. Another significant note for the final set of interviews is that there are only four primary participants mentioned, as Ms. Lulu left the Addams faculty in the 2017-2018 school year due to personal reasons. I describe three significant changes teachers discussed that transpired through the process becoming a community school: the accreditation process, more collaboration time for faculty, and faculty input being solicited and addressed.

Accreditation. The first question I asked in the final interview was the same as the previous interview, "Since the partnership was initiated, what changes have you noticed in the planning, training and support, or implementation of curriculum at this school?" Three of the four teachers mentioned the accreditation process within their immediate response. For example,

Mrs. Harrison explained, “I’ve noticed more collaboration time. Because we’re doing [accreditation] right now, I guess that’s kinda taking up some of the other PD time, so we’re more [accreditation] focused”. Similarly, Mr. Puphf explained, “The professional development that we’re having twice a week now, especially since we’re preparing for [accreditation], but it’s a lot more involved”. Mr. Horace felt that the PD time had been somewhat “hijacked” by the accreditation process, but also viewed it as an opportunity for the faculty to “collectively, as a staff, establish where we wanna go”. Building onto the idea of establishing the school’s direction, Mr. Puphf viewed the process as an opportunity to have one’s voice heard as a teacher, as they were “literally writing [the accreditation application] together”. Mrs. Harrison also viewed the accreditation process as an avenue for increasing collaboration, because with “[accreditation], you have to include all stakeholders”. Although the process “kinda jumped on us”, the faculty overall seemed to view the experience as a net positive because they were able to meet many of their goals of establishing unified classroom systems and building a supportive school culture.

Collaboration and input. The professional development (PD) schedule at Addams’ changed in the 2017-2018 school year as a direct result of the partnership with University. The design team discussed the need for more time for faculty and staff to collaborate amongst themselves and with University partners, and the schedule was approved as part of the autonomies granted in their LIS application. All four of the teachers in the final interview responded that they felt there was more collaboration amongst the staff with regards to curriculum, and the inclusion of two professional development (PD) days a week played a large role in providing the extra time. Mr. Puphf stated, “The professional development that we’re having twice a week now…we’re called on to participate more, and I think that’s exactly what

the idea was behind having professional development twice a week as opposed to once". Moving the meetings to the morning instead of in the afternoon, which was the district norm, was perceived as "a big benefit" by Mr. Horace because "I just feel like people are fresher and sort of like more ready to work and listen and figure things out".

Having more time to collaborate and work on curriculum was a validation to Mrs. Harrison of the administration being responsive to the teachers, when she said, "they have listened and they have tried to, or made more [of] an effort, made some changes to address the concerns of the teachers and I think the biggest one is the collaboration time". I informally observed one of the teachers as she made a similar observation during an all-day PD for math teachers lead by a prominent math coach at University, she stated that this was the collaboration they had been asking for and that he was a "gift" from University. The PD was organized by a part-time teacher at Addams who was also a math faculty advisor for University's TEP program helping to connect math experts from University with Addams faculty early on in the partnership. In the following year, teachers were able to collaborate more formally with support from a multi-year grant secured by University for targeted improvement of mathematics instruction at five local schools including Addams.

The extra collaboration time teachers made mention of provided space for the partnership between Addams and University to flourish because between two and six content coaches from University's professional development department regularly attended to plan with the teachers. Several teachers, brand-new and veteran, consulted with the University's content coaches for "great standards, framework-based lessons, and things like that that will help us". A caveat that should be noted is that the special education teachers did not receive subject matter support outside of what was given to support the general education teachers, as University's PD coaching

did not have a focus on special education. Likely related to the lack of outside support for special education teachers, Mrs. Harrison shared that her colleagues would say, “we don’t have enough special education meeting time”.

Emphasis on High-Quality Teaching

Throughout the interview series, I asked teachers about an emphasis on high quality teaching by asking if they had experienced such an emphasis in the baseline interview, and then how teaching was discussed at Addams in the follow-up and final interviews. I was looking for evidence that teachers felt that they had a voice in their professional development, and that they were supported to teach in ways that they viewed as beneficial to their students. Additionally, I listened for instances when teachers described opportunities to engage with one another as a professional learning community and to continuously improve their practice. A focus on continuous improvement of student-centered practice is aligned with the core components of cultural learning and co-participation in a community of practice in Murrell’s (2000) Community Teacher framework.

Baseline Interview. In the second interview, teachers were asked, “what is your experience with and opinion on an emphasis on high quality teaching?” All of the teachers answered this question with their experience at Addams, even though it was left open-ended to allow sharing about their careers overall if they deemed it pertinent. The question about high quality teaching did not yield many details about how teaching was emphasized schoolwide, rather participants responded with reasons the lack of such an emphasis was not in place or how high-quality teaching was regularly deterred. The limited findings below describe a school that was struggling with structure and “control”, with the exception of one teacher who viewed the emphasis as “in place now more than ever”.

Four of the five teachers who responded to the question about an emphasis on high-quality teaching responded by explaining the environment that surrounded them, which took the focus off teaching and onto managing behaviors. Two of the four teachers who felt that the emphasis on high-quality teaching was not in place seemed to want to answer the question positively but shared their reality that did not align with such an emphasis. For example, Mrs. Harrison explained, "I do feel that we all offer that (high quality teaching) at some level but I think it's just deterred by the level of behavior management that we have to do". She went on to say that teachers may have to deal with management less if they had more support with the challenges that students bring into the classroom. Mr. Thurgood started with, "I think we need it, but I think we need to be uniform around the school. We can't just have one person or two people high-quality teaching with order and structure and some type of classroom management and have everyone else not have that". Mr. Thurgood lamented that many of the teachers, even the veterans, did not have control in their classrooms and that their school needed the "best and the brightest" on their faculty to support their students.

In addition to asking about their experience with and opinion on high-quality teaching, I asked two participants as a follow up question specifically if Addams had an emphasis on high-quality teaching, and they both responded "No." Mr. Horace viewed most people as more "in survival mode than anything else" and trying to "keep their head above water", and attributed some of the "chaos" in the school to "systemic dysfunction" that was "constantly setting us [teachers] up for failure". Mr. Horace shared examples of occurrences that made it difficult to maintain a classroom that is "locked down really well", such as assigning a large number of kids to a small classroom and repeated interruptions over the public-address system or by underprepared supervisory staff. Ms. Lulu started answering the question by explaining that she

had not been out of the classroom to be able to see high-quality teaching for herself. Though she believed that high-quality teaching was taking place somewhere at the school, she felt that the emphasis was on “keeping the kids busy so they don’t cause trouble in the halls”.

In contrast to the view of the majority of the participants, Mr. Puphf believed that there had always been an emphasis on high-quality teaching at the school because, “this is historically an academically poor performing school”. The difference he stated, however, was that in the past teachers were being given tools and training as if to say, “hey, you aren’t teaching these kids the way they need to be taught, their scores suck!” as opposed to the way he stated that he saw support from the partnership with University as working collectively with teachers to improve instruction. He also mentioned that the two PD days per week they would have in the following year would allow teachers more time to collaborate.

Follow-Up Interview. To understand how the emphasis on high-quality teaching had changed, or impacted teachers directly, I asked the participants during the follow-up interview, “since the partnership was initiated, what, if anything, has changed in the way that teaching has been discussed, or that your personal teaching has been enhanced?” When asked directly about their own teaching practice being enhanced, the same four of five teachers who felt there had not been an emphasis on high-quality teaching in the baseline interview, also felt that their teaching had not been enhanced by the partnership. The four teachers shared different reasons why they did not feel their teaching had been enhanced, such as Mrs. Harrison who stated that she viewed her teaching assignment as very different or being in a “whole world by myself”. Mr. Horace shared a perspective similar to how he viewed the curriculum support, that his teaching had not been impacted because he already had so much experience teaching at Addams. Ms. Lulu saw that there were more people to reach out to such as the community school director, Dr. Manela,

but in the end did not believe it was worth the effort because she was not getting the support she needed for immediate classroom issues. The challenges Ms. Lulu faced on a day-to-day basis throughout the school year over-shadowed any changes that may have taken place due to the partnership with University.

Despite not seeing personal enhancement in their teaching practice, two of the five teachers responded that teaching at the school was becoming much more student-friendly or student centered. As Mr. Thurgood explained, the school wants them to:

> change to the newer models of instruction, less sage on the stage and be that guide on the side and just kinda facilitating versus lecturing, have them taking notes, have them reading. You know, they want them to think more, write more, do more.

A third teacher also explained, “I do really see it being a student-centered school”, although in response to a different question. In addition to viewing the teaching as more student-friendly, Mr. Puphf felt that his teaching had already been enhanced. Part of his transformation was self-imposed because he was motivated to make changes in his teaching by the knowledge that new standards would be put in place in the following year. Another part was the support he was given in the two days of summer PD (when this interview took place) helped him feel that he “Still [has] a lot to do and learn, but we’re definitely on the way”.

Final Interview. The final interview illuminated the challenge in implementing pedagogical shifts for teachers. Mr. Thurgood’s response captures the tension between feeling the push to change, but also understanding the reality of how students engage, the lack of resources he had in his classroom and the systems he developed to address such issues:

> Well they are trying to get this old teacher to change his ways… And to use more, in this case primary sources. And instead of, but I’m like, I have to get these kids ready for the real world and if they can’t understand these primary sources, if they aren’t navigating through some just basic textbooks. They aren’t reading. You

> know so I know they're trying to get me out of, let them do, be the guide on the side, let them do the groups and things like that. I'm like 'nope they're not disciplined enough to do a lot of the group work'. So I have to go up and go over the reading, I have to go over the notes, cause they aren't reading unless I read in class, I don't have the time to do all the reading, so they are trying to get me to change using more primary sources and teaching more to a holistic framework now in history. But like I said, our books are old, outdated, 20 or something years old and we don't have the current 2018-19 model textbooks.

Mr. Thurgood went on to explain that another one of his classes had a significant population of English language learners, but because of losing the school's bilingual teaching aide mid-year, he questioned how he was supposed to expect his students to complete assignments that require a large amount of reading.

Mr. Thurgood's frustration was echoed in the focus group with veteran teachers where two of three mentioned feeling "so depressed lately" in part due to a feeling of stagnation in the school. As one teacher processed how she was feeling, she shared, "I feel like if we're just doing the same thing we we're doing before as a community school, then what are we doing? Right? If our classes look the same, if our kids are running amok in the same way". A similar struggle came up in the focus group with the new teachers as well, as one new teacher explained:

> I think another issue is right now because of that transition from an established school, a big focus right now is student culture and school culture in terms of what do students think that school should be like, and that really effects the sort of like top three things that we deal with every day and it's not necessarily differentiation, it's not necessarily reaching out to parents, its behavior or its structure, and so I think the transition is giving rise to a lot of these particular growing pains rather than others that we might have experienced if we were starting from scratch.

In addition to spending the majority of their energy on structure and behavior rather than elements of high-quality teaching, the new teachers echoed Mr. Thurgood's concern with a lack of resources. As one teacher explained, "I think right now, we could stand to use more resources

as far as like [resource] teachers and some basic needs need to be met as far as like books, I feel like I don't have just like enough class sets and just little things like that".

Though the majority of teachers seemed to be experiencing similar in-class challenges as were described in the earlier interviews with regards to teaching, two veterans shared changes that may positively impact their classrooms as they move forward. Mr. Puphf shared that the teachers were developing schoolwide systems to implement "uniformity in the classroom" which he felt enhanced his teaching experience because "the other classes are also supporting the things that I'm doing and I'm trying to enhance other teacher's teaching by supporting and giving the kids the same thing that they're trying to do". When I asked if that uniformity was actually happening at that moment, he responded, "We are just now starting to experience it because we are focusing and concentrating on creating that type of climate and learning environment". Mr. Horace also noted a shift in his ability to shape the learning environment by a decision from the administration to grant his request to move classrooms, as he acknowledged:

> I'm much happier this year than I was last year… I love having the space to be able to function the way I wanna function. So I think I felt finally that they kind of understood, 'look he needs more space to be effective and do what he needs to do'.

Mr. Horace developed a unique teaching style over his two decades in the classroom, and having a large space allowed him to differentiate instruction with multiple student groups and activities that could occur simultaneously. Taken together, these two examples speak to schoolwide systems and leadership support that was beginning to positively impact classroom experiences for at least two different teachers.

Wraparound Supports and Extended-Learning Opportunities

Wraparound supports and extended-learning opportunities are a major component of supporting children's holistic needs and complimenting the academic program in the community school strategy. The community school strategy emphasizes that the supports and opportunities must be integrated into the school's daily operations, and that they are offered as part of a cohesive plan of services rather than an isolated selection of programs that may not communicate with one another. The focus on integration speaks to the difficulty of providing holistic support in schools, especially in under-served urban schools where need is far higher and resources are often scarce. Perhaps the most challenging level of integration is at the classroom level, where not only do service providers communicate with one another and the administration, but also regularly communicate with teachers and are accessible to provide support when needed throughout the school day

In this study, I asked the teachers about their experiences with wrap-around supports and extended-learning opportunities in the baseline interview and what additional services or programs had been implemented since the partnership was initiated in the follow-up and final interviews. My aim was to gain insight into whether additional programming that had come to Addams from the partnership with University had made an impact on the teachers' practice, or if they were aware of them at all. I used the phrase "wraparound supports and extended-learning opportunities" loosely as a term referring to any student support or activity that was outside of the traditional school day, such as an after-school program, special enrichment activities, University in-class tutors or interns who provided mental health supports. I needed to clarify this during the interviews, which I realized after the baseline interview was because the term "wraparound supports" carries a more specific definition for teachers of students with special needs.

This section is written as a whole rather than by interview because there did not seem to be a lot of movement in what teachers noticed over the course of the year as it pertains to wrap around services. Although some of the programs and experiences were new to the teachers since the partnership was initiated, there was not much response about wrap around supports and extended-learning opportunities in the interviews. There was a total of twenty-one different programs, support personnel and services mentioned over the interview series, yet only five were brought up in more than two interview sets - see appendix B for a table of the wrap around supports and extended-learning opportunities that were mentioned in each interview set.

Additional field trips were the most prominent extended learning opportunity mentioned throughout all of the interviews from the baseline to the final, as well as in the focus groups and two of three design team interviews. Extra funding was raised for field trips for the 2017-2018 school year in connection to the implementation of the Learn-See-Do curriculum model. In fact, the faculty worked together with the Assistant Principal to organize a field trip month in October and February, which meant that either a classroom, grade level, or even a schoolwide field trip took place nearly every day of both months. University helped facilitate and fund additional field trips in the previous year as well, but it is worth noting that teachers at Addams were frequently ambitious about organizing field trips for students in my informal observation of the two school years prior to the implementation of the new curriculum model and partnership funding.

Two staff members were also mentioned in the interviews for their support, Ms. Neart the Restorative Justice advisor, and Mr. Hernandez the A-G counselor. Ms. Neart and Mr. Hernandez were integral in slowly improving the campus climate by supporting the discipline team and helping students learn to process their emotions. Interestingly, these two members joined the school staff in the 2016-2017 school year though their hiring was not clearly related to

the partnership despite the timing. The other out-of-classroom personnel mentioned were discussed as a whole, and from a vantage point that “we have a ton” of them around but that they could have focused more on relationship building with students and done “a much better job sort of supporting and managing everybody”. Perhaps more support could be leveraged by a strategic plan of how to work together, in light of one teacher’s observation that “we got a lot of out of classroom positions and we got a lot of people that support but I think sometimes some people don’t know each other. There’s no unity”.

Three of the teachers mentioned tutors from University, but those that described the experience shared that the tutors are not present on a regular basis. One teacher explained:

> it was really nice that they were bringing in students to help and that was really great. Like they had the [tutors] come in but it was so inconsistent and you couldn’t really get, you never knew when they were coming, if they were coming, for how long they were coming.

The district-funded after-school program was the final program mentioned in more than two interview sets, which the University tutors were often a part of in the 2016-2017 school year. The program was well-received and seemed to even be expanding in the 2016-2017 school year, as teachers described that they took students on trips, helped them with their homework, and even had recreational athletic and cheerleading activities. In the 2017-2018 school year, however, it seemed to decline in quality as Mrs. Harrison shared that she regularly encouraged her students to attend the after-school program for homework help, but, “there’s been changes over there lately and I don’t know if they think ‘I’m gonna go over there and just play’. They don’t think there’s structure there and once they realize it they don’t wanna be there”.

Despite the fact that there were at least twenty-one programs or services on the Addams campus that the teacher-participant group could recall cumulatively, though each participant seemed to be aware of different items, the program and services did not seem to be integrated

into the school on a level that they impacted the classroom. Aside from the field trips and the out-of-classroom personnel described above, teachers did not discuss any wraparound services or extended-learning opportunities at length that they felt was beneficial or that was available consistently. When sharing which wraparound supports they do have at Addams, teachers highlighted that there was a high need for more bi-lingual aides, an expanded resource program, and increased social-emotional support for students. Based on my interview with the principal, Mr. Kent, the development of these services was a priority for the school in the near future. Mr. Kent stated that he was working with University to see how to get a health clinic on campus for the school and community, as well as "I ultimately wanna get to where our kids have somebody meeting with them, listening to them, counseling them, working with them on things outside of the classroom, so in addition to the academics, social emotional". Such supports are recognized by the teachers as a necessary for the holistic development of their students, and as Mr. Horace explained, "these kids need wraparound support in every sense of the word".

Positive Discipline Practices

The community school strategy views positive discipline practices as a critical aspect of educating children holistically. Discipline has become a primary focus for advocates of whole child education and social-justice oriented educators because a wealth of research documents that students of color are disproportionately victimized by harsh, punitive discipline. I asked teachers in this study about positive discipline and discipline practices as a whole throughout the interview series to gain an understanding of whether there was a move toward positive discipline practices at Addams. The question is significant at Addams because, similar to many urban schools, it has historically been challenged with a high number of behavioral and disciplinary incidents. I listened for evidence of an improvement in school climate due to restorative justice, a

reduction in suspensions, productive alternatives to writing referrals and sending students out of class, and events and incentives that increase school pride and encourage positive behavior through a sense of belonging and support, which are all elements of positive discipline. I discuss more traditional forms of discipline in this section, however, because such instances were prominent in most of the interview sets.

Baseline Interview. In the baseline interview, teachers were asked "what is your opinion of and experience with positive discipline practices?" Mr. Puphf, one of the school's most enthusiastic and supportive teachers, started by sharing that:

> Discipline is tough here. And we try to be as positive as we can, and that's hard to do. These kids go nuts. But the positive behavior support team is a group of people, I'm also on that, and we're on the campus to try to help the kids realize the error of their ways in a positive manner and make the change.

Mr. Puphf went on to explain that although a positive behavior support (PBS) team exists, the staff runs into resource issues because so many people are already "wearing multiple hats" and are not able to dedicate sufficient time to interventions like lunch time activities. He did have faith, however, that things were on the way to improving because the restorative justice program was still being rolled out and that they would be complementary supports.

In explaining his personal effort to positively address students, Mr. Puphf painted a picture of many behaviors that were mentioned or alluded to by teachers in the first interview:

> I was talking to the 8th graders, I said, 'for those of you who never cuss teachers out, you don't run in and out of the classroom, you don't ditch, you do every assignment, you study for your exam, you just don't cause any trouble, you're just trying to help your family and help yourself, after we finish this testing and your work here, we're gonna have some fun.

The behaviors laid out in this statement have varying levels of visibility across classrooms. For example, Mr. Thurgood shared the manner in which he dealt with behavior issues in one of his

classes, “A lot of times if you’re not behaving, I will send you to room 100 cause I don’t think that one or two or three or four people should interfere with 20 or 30 other that might want to learn.” Whereas a small number of students were causing commotion in Mr. Thurgood’s class, Ms. Lulu shared that she felt “like there’s maybe four or five in each class who are actually trying to learn and I feel like most of my day is revolved around disciplining and trying to get them to focus.” These two teachers felt that they were “at my ends wit” and that dealing with discipline issues in the classroom was “a very exhausting experience”.

The ways in which positive behavior support was discussed in the baseline interview suggests that a team was in place to address such support, but that their role was not clearly defined or functioning. Mr. Thurgood questioned:

> I always just think that our positive behavior support is supporting, but is it really addressing, or do we just send the same kids out every day with no type of recourse, no reprimands? There’s no formula to fix the problem, we’re just putting a band aid over it instead of really fixing the issues.

He went on to share that it was to the point that students would ask to leave and go to the discipline room, known as “room 100”. Mrs. Harrison also explained that her students like to go to room 100 because they viewed it as the “turn up room” and that they were often even more challenging to deal with when they returned to class. These two teachers both mentioned that schoolwide break times lacked positive discipline, explaining that “after lunch it’s just crazy”. The “crazy” environment in common spaces also impacted the classroom, apparent in an account from Mrs. Harrison who had a student with identified needs for emotional support, “our issues aren’t really in here with her, it’s when she goes out and comes back we gotta bring her down, takes 30-40 minutes to bring her down, everybody in here has to get the repercussions of whatever went on out there”.

Addressing the need for a higher presence for positive behavior support, Mr. Horace shared that:

> there should be way, way, way more [positive behavior support] because a lot of times so much time gets spent on addressing the negative that a lot of the kids who are kinda going through their day-by-day stuff and doing the right thing are not getting rewarded for that.

Mr. Horace did notice Ms. Neart publicly identifying student birthdays as an aspect of PBS. Ms. Lulu also highlighted Ms. Neart and Mr. Hernandez as people who worked hard to positively impact student behavior, and "last year I noticed there was a lot more fist fights in the classroom, not so much this year, so there's less violence on campus. So I think there has been some impact". Though the discussion of negative behavior issues far outweighed the positive in the baseline interview, the presence and effort by Ms. Neart and Mr. Hernandez seemed to help teachers feel that the school was starting to move in a positive direction.

Follow-up Interview. In the follow-up interview I asked teachers, "what changes have you noticed in the planning, training and support, or implementation of discipline practices at this school?" This interview captured an interesting time period with regards to discipline because the majority of them took place the week after the 2016-2017 school year ended. Collectively, the five interviews describe small changes that occurred over the first academic year of this study.

Mr. Thurgood reflected on the discipline practices at the end of the 2016-2017 school year and explained, "I think that it needed to be structured a little bit more. [I] think we had too many hands into who was controlling it…and what would happen when they went to room 100?" Mrs. Harrison's comments reflect changes that the discipline team underwent as a result of summer hiring and planning in her follow-up interview that took place at the beginning of the 2017-2018 school. She responded:

> I noticed that they've built onto their new, well the old discipline team, they've added to that. Added members to that team. They seem to be more together and more ready than last year. Last year was kinda like a plan and go, trial and error kinda thing, so I think they seem to be more prepared this year.

Mrs. Harrison also shared that she saw it as positive that the principal said "they were going to focus on the positive behavior plan instead of calling it disciplinary focus or disciplinary plan, which puts it in a more positive wording".

Addams had a PBS team and restorative justice advisor in the 2016-2017 school year, yet they implemented a discipline program that did not align with positive discipline practices. The tension of implementing a positive discipline focus in a traditionally punitive environment is highlighted in Ms. Lulu's statement:

> Some of the more severe behavior problems, they started to suspend again, which I think has really started to help because there were consequences and students saw that you couldn't just do anything and be put back. So I know it's not good in terms of [district] lower suspension policy, but in this extreme case, I think it made there be clear consequences for behaviors that were completely ridiculous to me…And when I first got here, there was absolutely no consequences, and now students are realizing that they can get suspended, and they'll be suspended for a week and their behavior seemed to get a little better.

Aside from more extreme examples, removal of students from the classroom was still a measure of daily discipline. "Our [positive behavior support team] I guess try to help us teachers out by taking anyone that teachers will send out to room 100", explained Mr. Thurgood. In the effort to support teachers, often the discipline practices moved further away from positive and restorative than towards it. Despite multiple shifts noted in discipline from the baseline interviews, it seemed that the teachers' feelings could be summed up by Mr. Horace's reflection that "I don't think it's changed the climate of the school. I think a lot of the kids get away with a lot of the stuff they used to get away with and there's not a lot of teeth to the consequences that they give to them".

Final Interview. The final interview fleshed out details of the changes to the discipline team mentioned in the previous interview, but also revealed systemic challenges the teachers at Addams continued to wrestle with at the mid-point of the second year of the partnership. This section includes responses to the question, "what have you noticed in the planning, training and support, or implementation of discipline practices at this school?" from the four remaining primary participants. In addition, it includes comments from both focus groups as teachers were thinking about how they would recommend a similar school to engage in partnership based on what worked and did not work for them as teachers through the process of partnering with University.

The teachers at Addams primarily described positive changes in the discipline practices that were structural and procedural. The changes they noted include moving the "discipline room" from the main building to an auxiliary building, as well as hiring an out-of-the classroom teacher to serve as the dean beginning in June, and another person who was also introduced as the dean over the entire discipline program in February. Consistent members on staff include an instructional aide who moved to the discipline team and Mr. Hernandez who teachers have always viewed both as reliably supportive and actively trying to get a handle on discipline, as well as Ms. Neart who works with students through a restorative justice lens. The school also developed clarity in the discipline referral process, as Mrs. Harrison explained:

> We know pretty much who the campus deans are, where the dean room is, detention room is, who the chain of command is usually. Before it was just like up in the air, we didn't know really who do we send them to, whose gonna handle the situation.

Teachers along with the administration also spent several professional develop meeting hours at the end of the 2016-2017 school year and over the summer to develop school wide systems in the effort to minimize discipline issues, which were revisited during the accreditation

process. It seems that systems had varying levels of uptake based on teacher observations. Whereas Mr. Puphf saw that "inside of classroom we're trying to get ahead of all that by having really good lessons, systems in place that are again universal classroom to classroom so that the kids get into some kind of groove," Mrs. Harrison shared:

> I guess it'd be easier to see things more, everybody do things more consistently …I don't see that. Like we should have consistency as far as this is how we head our papers, this is how were going to address certain, these are our essential questions for this week. As far as subject matters, you know stuff like that, being more on one accord.

Mr. Horace added that he felt the staff could nurture each grade level and mitigate some of the dysfunction he saw at the school "if we could be on the same page, but we lack the time to able to sit and discuss that or talk about what we need to do or like get the right people in place that can actually execute those things". Despite efforts toward structure and uniformity, the final interview illustrated that most teachers were still experiencing daily issues with discipline and several were deeply troubled at the form of discipline that they felt compelled to implement at Addams. All of the veteran teachers shared challenges that they still experience with the discipline system at the school, and the majority decried the school atmosphere and the lack of control and structure they saw across classrooms.

Mr. Horace's comment in the previous paragraph alluded to an issue that seems to have been further complicated by the year's hiring. Previously, teachers attributed the lack of control and school chaos to the revolving door of teachers and the multitude of substitutes that occupied classrooms day-to-day. For the 2017-2018 school year, however, Addams opened all but two classes with a permanent, qualified faculty member in every classroom; the two other classes had long-term substitute teachers with experience at Addams. Half of the veteran teachers, between the primary participants and the focus groups, made comments that the new teachers were not

adequately prepared or were not being supported well-enough to develop and maintain control and positive behavior in their classrooms. However, the new teachers held a different view of systems at the school.

The focus group with seven new teachers at Addams, six of which were first year teachers, complicated and yet added depth to what the veterans saw at the school. The most obvious point of contention is that several of the veterans did not believe the new teachers were being supported, while the new teachers felt that they were very supported and received valuable advice on how to implement classroom management structures. The teachers met weekly in the first semester with Ms. Oaks, who they viewed as protecting them and taking on a “mama bear” roll for them. The concept of support is obfuscated, however, when it came to discipline. The new teachers were all trained with a restorative justice lens in their teacher education program at University but did not feel that they were given the tools to be successful with restorative practices at Addams.

A majority of the new teachers shared that although they wanted to practice restorative justice in their classrooms, there were multiple barriers to doing so. First, they admired the restorative justice advisor, Ms. Neart, but saw her as “incredibly over booked”, which they viewed as negatively impacting their ability to change the culture of the school. Also, because of their class sizes, a number of the teachers said that they felt frustrated at not having a designated “RJ”, which is a room they observed at other schools that was set up specifically for teachers to run restorative justice circle talks. One participant explained, “I’m having a hard time doing it, and I really want to…in my class I have almost 40 students in one of them, so it’s difficult to get my class into a circle”. Another teacher went on to explain how the lack of resources and support for restorative justice impacts how she viewed and believed students may view the school:

> I think students are also looking to our discipline program to figure out how we quote quote "really feel about them", or how we really treat them, and I think it's harder for students to trust you or parents trust you if you are giving them one message in the classroom and a different message through the discipline system at the school. So either we as a school need to be more consistent about that or we need more resources in order to really carry out how we think discipline should happen.

The explanation of inconsistency between their values and their reality opened up the conversation with the new teachers, and another went on to explain her view of the discipline system as further traumatizing students that already experience trauma. She explained:

> a lot of students who are often in discipline room or often having to have their parents come up here, are often in some type of trouble are the ones who are getting pushed out and I feel like those are the ones who are facing the most types of trauma… telling them that they're easily disposable and saying that 'the way that you act will take you out of this school', not 'we will respond to those things and we will help you get through it'. We don't have time for it. And that's one thing that's not sitting well with me. How do we work with students to help them deal with trauma and not like responding to them in negative ways all the time? …So, I don't know, I feel like that was a huge thing that seems, it seems like I don't really have much control.

The lack of control shared in this teacher's statement was echoed by several others.

The new teachers felt that forms of discipline that were punitive and that affected students in "very negative ways" were in fact what "the school is encouraging us to do". One teacher processed feelings of guilt from sending students out of her class because she felt that she had no other option or enough support with her classroom needs,

> I'm guilty of resorting to it (punitive discipline) many times cause I feel overwhelmed and I really feel like there's no other option as far as like, and then our resource specialists who are cut really thin and I have like 6 kids who need a resource specialist and I have them in a class of 40 with other children who are dealing with trauma who are like acting out, and then I get them for 30 minutes out of a 99 minute period, yeah, some kids are gonna get kicked out. And the restorative justice is, I don't have time to deal with this in a restorative way because I'm dealing with the other 39 kids.

The discipline system was a source of conflict for the way in which the new teachers related to the school. One teacher shared that while "all this other stuff is great", they were still dealing with discipline in a "traditional manner" that was "stuck in the stone-age". The newer teachers viewed it as the responsibility of "the school" to teach them positive discipline practices as they learned how to be teachers, and that "the tools that our school is giving us is showing us how to handle discipline, and I think that if they don't teach us restorative ways to do it then we're not gonna know them". Interestingly, no individual person was identified as having the responsibility to teach them positive or restorative practices, just simply "the school".

A final observation about the discipline system at Addams was that despite the prevalent need, it was relatively untouched by the partnership with University and the move toward community schooling at the close of this study. The structural changes made over the summer and into the school year were aided by hiring new staff, which serendipitously occurred that year because of monies won through a lawsuit waged on the school district by a local community organization. The only partnership support, which is aligned with the community schooling strategy, was a group of University students who started visiting Addams weekly to support Ms. Neart in implementing mediated conversations for students involved in conflict. This program was quite new at the end of this study and was not mentioned by any of the interview participants.

Authentic Family and Community engagement

Family and community engagement is essential to the success and sustainability of a community school. Families and community members must have their views represented in the school, and they must feel that there are multiple ways that they can participate and feel valued on campus and in the school's functions. The overlapping spheres theory argues that teachers

and schools can develop a repertoire of practices that increase family's ability to be engaged and create two-way involvement. Developing these practices is particularly important in urban communities like the on surrounding Addams, where families have historically been alienated from genuine involvement in their child's schooling. In this section, I asked teachers about family and community engagement and was listening for evidence that there were multiple constituents making an effort to reach out to families and the local community, to plan events with the interest of the community in mind, and of growing relationships between families and Addams' faculty and staff. Also, because community school literature does not address the preparation of teachers for the community school strategy, I was hoping to learn more about how teachers were supported in the area of community engagement.

In this brief section, I will share some highlights from interviews, as well as events and efforts that took place at Addams to engage families during this year-long study. I discuss the topic as a whole rather than over the course of the interviews because the effort to engage families seems to have been fairly consistent, with a few wins and challenges along the way. Overall, it seems that the partnership with University provided motivation, purposes and human resources to energize the effort to engage families and the community surrounding Addams, however, the effort had not yet yielded visible results to teachers in parent and family presence on campus or at school events.

Early in the interview series, the primary participants shared a variety of ways that they reached out to the community. Four out of five teachers shared that they regularly call parents, and the fifth shared that she pulled away due to a bad experience but did believe that the ability to reach families over the phone had gotten better over her two years at Addams. Two of the teachers shared that they have daily contact with parents over the phone, including Mr. Thurgood

who said that he puts his phone number on the syllabus and has an "open door policy" so parents can call, text, or show up to class whenever they wish. Mr. Puphf shared that he plans a weekend-long field trip every year and purposely brings groups of siblings in order to give parents a break and that the deep gratitude he feels in response is one of his favorite parts of teaching. Mr. Horace stated that he makes five phone calls home every week to share positive news with families about how their child is doing in class. In collaboration with University representatives, two of the teacher-participants joined in outreaching for the first summer program hosted by University by arriving an hour early to school to personally invite parents to the informational meeting as they dropped off their students. Their efforts resulted in one of the highest turn outs I have witnessed at the school, with over 70 students' families represented.

Though the teachers at Addams made genuine efforts to welcome parents and caregivers, the teachers who had been at the school the longest shared that it was always challenging to engage families, especially over the past several years. One of the primary ways that two of the teacher-participants measured their parent involvement was through their numbers at parent-teacher conference night. Ms. Lulu shared in the baseline interview that she had not seen much support from parents, and that "The most I've ever seen is 14 at a parent conference or back-to-school and it seems to have dwindled by the end of the year, I only saw 7 last time". In the fourth and final interview, Mr. Thurgood shared, "We have very [particularly] poor parent participation in back-to-school and parent conferences. I think I got, last open house I think I had four or five parents. That's ridiculous". In fact, the last focus group with the veteran teachers took place directly before the open house that he mentioned, and the group went up until the event began because they all shared that, "no one's gonna show up tonight...parents aren't gonna come, they didn't even know". The school administration tried organizing student work showcases and

having food at the conferences and back-to-school nights to increase attendance in the 2016-2017 school year, but it did not yield significant results.

Positive efforts were made at Addams to continue to engage families, as well as to increase the quality of the events that they attended. For example, University has a project devoted to supporting parent learning and engagement, and the partnership was able to secure a grant to support the project in increasing parent engagement over the course of two years. Through the parent engagement grant, members from University worked with leaders at Addams in the spring of 2017 to partner with an organization that mentors girls in Science in a fun after-school program and creatively use that time to also engage parents who would have otherwise stayed away from the school while waiting to pick up their children. Another representative of University's parent-focused program partnered with Mr. Hernandez to host a series of family nights centered on either literacy or mathematics practices. When asked, "what has changed in the way that parents and families have been engaged, and have you noticed an authentic effort from different constituents of the school to engage them?", all five teachers responded that they noticed a change. Examples they shared of an effort to engage are an increase in flyers or "circulars" sent home, Connect-Ed[14] calls, people passing out flyers personally, a new school-technology platform, and meetings to engage parents and families. Based on the interviews, however, the teachers could not think of any events by name or particular efforts off hand. In light of his own inability to remember specifics, Mr. Puphf reflected in the final interview, "I just can't remember them off hand, it's kinda frustrating. So, and if I can't remember them, perhaps they're not as profound as they should be".

[14] Connect-Ed is the messaging system used by the school and district to send mass communication to families and school staff.

Mr. Puphf's comments about parent engagement, though he stated early on that it is "at a level he has never seen before" also highlight missed opportunities for the school to authentically engage parents in a way that gives them more representation at the school. Shortly after the statement he made in the previous paragraph, he questioned whether or not there had been opportunities for parents to engage with the accreditation process, and shared, "so the involvement for the parents, and again if I can't give these concrete examples then we gotta sure that up". Mr. Thurgood also shared that, "now with the school site council and local leadership council, parents are always welcome, we just don't get too many that want to". From my observation, there had been little-to-no parent representation on the design team, at the accreditation process PDs, and governance council meetings that I attended through January 2018.

Despite the challenges with the historically persistent low parent and family engagement at Addams, the partnership with University provided opportunities and key people that made an authentic and recognizable effort to turn it around. The school hired a new community representative who is a parent of a former student, who was mentioned by several of the participants as being someone who made a positive impact as a liaison between other parents and the school, and that according to one teacher, "She's very cool. She's easy going for the parents to come in and talk to, she handles them really well". She also helped to advertise school events and organize the monthly Breakfast with the Principal, as well as helped maintain a professional and welcoming environment with parent volunteers at the school entrance. Dr. Manela, the director of University's community school initiative, is another person that was recognized by the teachers as someone at the school who is doing a "good job of trying to engage the parents and trying to bring them into the fold and kinda welcoming them to the school". Taking on the

enormous effort to organize the summer program and recruit families to participate, Norma personally placed hundreds of phone calls and texts to build positive relationships between parents and the school. With these more grassroots efforts of connecting with parents personally rather than through mass communication, authentic parent and family engagement is slowly being built with families at Addams.

Conclusion

This study captured the first two years of school-university partnership and the accompanying organizational change approach toward a university-assisted community school model. In this chapter, the teachers at Addams shared their perspectives on the changes that took place since the partnership was initiated, which includes the partnership development and initial planning time (from fall 2014 – spring 2017) as well as the implementation year (summer 2017-spring 2018). Teachers appeared to have experienced the most change in two areas of schooling addressed by the community school pillars that being: curriculum that is engaging, culturally relevant and challenging, and an emphasis on high quality teaching.

Changes in curriculum development are in large part credited to structural changes planned by the design team and implemented in the 2017-2018 school year. One of the most prominent changes was in Addams' schedule, which implemented an additional PD day per week. Teachers in this study reflected on the additional PD day as one of the most valuable changes because it gave them more time to collaborate around curriculum and instructional decisions, and it provided more time for them to work with University's content coaches. The time and space to talk about instruction and working to tailor it to student needs helped teachers feel that they were becoming more student centered, which some teachers felt was an important aspect of an emphasis on high-quality teaching. These findings align with the literature on

organizational change, which highlights that ample time for peer-to-peer interaction and collaboration around new initiatives is a requisite for organizational learning that leads to successful change (Bolman & Deal, 2013; Fausk & Raybould, 2005).

Despite significant changes observed and described by the teacher-participants, they felt little-to-no effects of the partnership in their classroom experience within the time period of this study. Similarly, teachers saw little change in the areas of wraparound supports and extended learning opportunities, authentic parent and family engagement, and positive discipline practices. Although there were planning and initial programming efforts in all three areas, it is likely that the time period of this study was not sufficient for the organizational changes to come to fruition and produce outcomes strong enough to impact the classroom. The findings in this chapter speak to the difficulty and uneven development of implementing change in schools, as well as to the need to study the impacts of reform (or lack thereof) on the classroom. Over the time period that this study took place and even in the year prior to it, there were countless hours dedicated to the partnership between Addams and University to create collective learning, change structures and to bring resources to ensure its success – the account of the teachers in this study demonstrates that the building blocks for organizational change were in place, but the journey to transformation of the school culture and classroom experiences had only just begun.

Chapter Seven: Discussion and Implications

This study is focused on the implementation of the community school strategy through the perspective of the teachers at the Jane Addams - University Community School (Addams). Through the three-year organizational change process, teachers experienced productive transformation and inclusion as a result of some the changes that were implemented through the partnership between Addams and University. In the previous two chapters, I shared findings from two primary research questions that sought an understanding of how teachers at a developing university-assisted community school experienced transformation based on the six pillars of community schooling as well as how they experienced inclusion throughout the change process. I begin this chapter by discussing and offering insight into the study findings, while I also seek to connect my findings to concepts in my theoretical framework around community schools, community-oriented teachers and organizational change in schools. I continue the chapter by sharing study implications and limitations, and end with suggestions for future research to build on this critical and timely study.

Discussion of Findings

In this section, I discuss the most salient findings from my study and the ways in which the findings connect to and extend the theoretical framework. The first set of findings centers on the structural shifts that took place at Addams that allowed more time and space for teachers to engage productively in the organizational change process of becoming a university-assisted community school. The second set of findings focuses on how the hopes that veteran teachers in this study expressed for the role of teachers at Addams may suggest that several of the veterans view themselves as being or wanting to become community-oriented teachers. The third set of

findings is broken into two parts linked to community schools. The first part extends the discussion of the lead-partner agency (LPA) and ways in which their strengths should be matched with the most pressing needs of the school with whom they seek to partner. The second part discusses the potential usefulness of learning about and understanding the community school movement more broadly, and how it may hinder change not to apply tools that have been created to support the community school development and implementation process.

"Need[ed] a Shot of Espresso" –Structural Shifts Provide Support through Organizational Change Process

At the beginning of the partnership process – an organizational change for all faculty and staff at Addams – planning required a large amount of time and energy from members of the design team, as well as from teachers, if they were to stay informed and provide substantive input. The challenge, however, was that structural changes did not take place to support the increased amount of deliberation that was necessary for teachers to be engaged in the first stage of planning. Organizational change theorists argue that requisites for successful change are: a.) ample time must be set aside for everyone ideas and concerns from everyone involved to be heard, b.) information must be accessible consistently and without barriers, and c.) decision-making processes should be clear and understandable (Bolman & Deal, 2013; Fausk & Raybould, 2005). The application of the requisites for organizational change can be difficult in schools because there are too few occasions for teachers to partake in additional meetings or learning without increasing the demand on their schedules. Further complicating the case for teachers at Addams as well as teachers at many urban schools, many of them were already exhausted by the demands of their jobs prior to the proposal of the partnership.

Over the course of this study, teachers regularly spoke about the exhaustion they or their colleagues felt from their jobs as well as the need or desire to isolate oneself from other influences at the school. For example, Ms. Lulu shared that she was “so exhausted from the teaching part of it” that she did not feel she had the capacity to take part in the partnership planning. Similarly, Mr. Puphf shared that many teachers “don’t do that!” and that they are too “spent” by the end of the day with regards to engaging in decision-making committees prior to the partnership. Mr. Thurgood shared that one of the benefits about being at a school like Addams is that as long as your class is not disruptive, “you didn’t get bothered”. Mr. Horace’s statement helped to clarify why it is beneficial not to be bothered when he said:

> to maintain that longevity, you have to sort of like almost put yourself in somewhat of a cocoon and be like, even though there’s chaos all around you, your world is on point, you’re tight, you’re organized, you’re being effective, you’re doing what you need to do.

Mr. Horace, who has spent most of his twenty-plus year career at Addams, developed a mechanism of isolating himself from most of what occurred at the school in order to not become overwhelmed by the school environment and the lack of structure and quality instruction that he witnessed over the past decade.

The exhaustion and need for isolation that teachers shared about their experience at Addams speaks to the larger context of urban schooling described in chapter one of this study, wherein many teachers burn out prematurely due to a number of factors including lack of support and resources, inability to contribute to decision making, and discipline issues with students, amongst others. Some of the teachers at Addams seemed to have learned to preserve themselves from burnout by abstaining from extracurricular activities or from voicing their opinion in school matters, but the need for such habits presented a major challenge to the requirements for their engagement in the organizational change process. Trying to explain her own sense of exhaustion,

Ms. Melis shared, “I do want to know, I just need like, I don’t know, a shot of espresso”. Ms. Melis explained that she and other teachers had the desire to be informed about what was happening at the school but that it was difficult to muster the energy at the end of the day to discuss the particulars of the partnership. It appeared that many of the teachers needed some kind of boost – a metaphoric shot of espresso – to give them the motivation for re-engaging outside of their classrooms and confidence that it may be worth the energy spent.

The structural changes that took place in the 2017-2018 school year served as the sort of boost that teachers needed to re-connect to schoolwide decision-making and to reach outside of their classroom to collaborate with one another and with University representatives. The addition of another professional development (PD) session per week was perhaps the most significant structural shift that provided time for the organizational learning. The additional PD not only impacted teachers’ perception of teaching and curriculum development at the school, but also provided valuable time to engage with colleagues, to ask questions about changes and to provide feedback about what was happening at the school. The extra time was a large contribution to teachers being able to successfully complete their accreditation application, co-organize dozens of field trips, and develop strong relationships with their University content coaches. It is not to say that the extra PD’s were all perfect, as teachers expressed some frustration at meetings about the lack of prior-notice of what was to be discussed, about meetings not starting on time, and of the desire to work more within department or grade level rather than on required tasks such as accreditation. However, from the account of teacher-participants and in my own experience in the meetings, the change in the PD schedule was a catalyst for much needed energy, creativity and a desire to collectively tackle challenges during meetings.

The change in the PD schedule was a strong example of a transformative structural change and “collateral investment” that enhanced channels for communication and organizational learning (Bolman & Deal, 2013). Several of the pillars of community schooling were enhanced by this structural shift, including: culturally relevant and engaging curriculum through time and space to collaborate with colleagues and university leads; an emphasis on high-quality teaching by doubling the amount of time per week that was dedicated to improving teacher craft and connection to the school community; and inclusive school leadership by allowing teachers to be informed about what was happening at the school and to even make or influence decisions. Although these changes were quite new at Addams and only yielded preliminary and anecdotal evidence of positive outcomes at the school thus far, the steps taken toward implementing the community school strategy align with studies on schools who have successfully implemented an organizational change (Sanders, 2016; Shogren et. al, 2015).

The impact of the shift in PD schedule suggests that it may have been beneficial to implement the change a year sooner in the partnership process. Early on, several teachers shared that they did not feel that the partnership process was transparent and that those who were able to participate in the design team were “handpicked”. Teachers also shared, as mentioned above, that they were often too exhausted to partake in non-required meetings and reading documents that would have provided them with a deeper understanding of the partnership and what they were agreeing to do in the creation of the partnership proposal. The requisites for successful organizational change (additional time for collective learning, free-flowing information, and clear decision-making processes (Fausk & Raybould, 2005)) shed light on reasons why teachers may have felt that the process was opaque and somewhat exclusive. Teachers’ perceptions of the process may have been much different if there was an additional hour per week during the

critical planning months of the 2016-2017 school for teachers to discuss and develop a collective understanding of partnership and the decisions that needed to be made for the autonomous school proposal. More specifically, teachers would have had more time to engage with members of the design team, or the design team meeting could have possibly even taken place during one of the weekly PDs so more teachers could have participated.

"Hijacked" time. The concept of teacher's time being "hi-jacked" is a sub-finding to this section that speaks to the reality of how demands on teachers' time impacts progress toward becoming a community school (CS). This study cannot substantiate nor debunk the argument coming from CS literature that teaching in a CS actually frees up teachers to focus more on teaching, but it does demonstrate that it may not be the case for teachers during the implementation process. As highlighted through chapter five and six, the creation of meaningful and sustainable change in a school that has been struggling for over a decade is challenging work that requires a great deal of time, consideration and resources. In addition to time being spent on improving the school directly, teachers talked about how they were required to develop content for the accreditation application. All of the teachers who participated in the final interview and focus groups mentioned the accreditation process likely because it took multiple months to complete the application, and several more to organize the corresponding documents, practices and spaces. As it was described in the study, the accreditation "hi-jacked" a lot of the recently-added PD time that could have been used to focus primarily on collaborating around their own practices rather than documents for outside review. The new teacher focus group also mentioned how much extra work and personal time the process required of them, which added to an already full plate as first year teachers. The teachers at Addams were committed through the

accreditation process because they knew it was beneficial for their students, but it certainly did not lessen their workload during the community school implementation process.

Tapping into Veteran Expertise: Supporting Community-Oriented Teachers

Scholars argue that community-oriented teachers must build relationships with colleagues as a community of practice in order to continually produce growth in their teaching practice (Kohli & Pizarro, 2016; Murrell, 2000). For teachers who have committed to teaching long term in urban schools such as Addams, connecting with colleagues in a community of practice also serves as a protective factor against the often heart-breaking realities that accompany teaching children in underserved communities. Veteran teachers at Addams often expressed the desire to partake in and support other teachers as members of a community of practice, and were energized by the opportunity to have more PD time so that they could engage collectively with one another. The addition of more PD time as well as the expanded governance structure allowed time and space for teachers to exercise another quality of community-oriented teachers, which is to advocate on behalf of their students (Kohli & Pizzaro, 2016; Murrell, 2000).

While the changes at Addams described in this study presented additional opportunities for teachers to exercise their voice and partake meaningfully in decision-making at the school, several of the veteran teachers still highlighted areas where they were "never tapped into". A deep understanding of their teaching context and of the needs of their students is an asset that community teachers (CTs) use to "give back" (Murrell, 2000), illuminating that this concept of being "tapped into" spoke to a deeper need from some of the teachers' perspective to fundamentally impact the quality and content of instruction and school environment at Addams. For example, Mr. Horace explained that he did not feel tapped into because he viewed PDs hosted by University and in general as not tailored to the needs of the schools because they did

not consult with teachers enough about what they need. The veteran teacher focus group also spoke about the desire to serve as mentors for new teachers, or at least have the opportunity to help them set up structures and routines that would position them for success in their classrooms. The CT Framework argues that "learning how to teach is a matter of increasing co-participation of novice teachers in the culturally competent practice of more accomplished urban teachers (Murrell, 2000)". The veteran teachers at Addams seemed to intuitively understand the need for such co-participation, believing that their many years of Addams-specific insight would likely help new teachers develop a productive classroom space.

What this section together with the previous section raises is that schools can take action to support teachers in developing or maintaining their stance as a CT. Rearranging the school schedule was a crucial step taken by leaders at Addams that caused teachers to feel more included in the decision making and the creation of a schoolwide instructional program. In addition to taking bold steps like these, schools should actively engage their veteran teachers in having a meaningful influence. Engaging veterans meaningfully could take the form of teachers creating and hosting professional developments for their colleagues or even for some to serve as consultants for curriculum and program development. Structures for collective learning led by teachers create the opportunity for the "passing of the torch" that Mr. Puphf envisioned, where veteran teachers can see themselves as continuing their commitment to their school community by supporting the next generation of educators. Empowering teachers who have been dedicated for multiple years is beneficial for schools who want to be responsive to the community and who hope to have strong leadership throughout the campus. It is worth noting that in urban school environments where isolation has become a mechanism for longevity and where teachers already

have prior experience that their time and effort may likely bear no fruit, actively engaging veterans is not the same as a blanket announcement that people can volunteer if they wish.

Community Schools: Lead Partner Agency Qualifications and Applying Literature in Partnership Process

In the previous two sections, I discussed the importance of implementing structural changes that allow space for organizational learning to take place and for empowering longstanding members of the faculty to be community-oriented teachers and leaders. This section builds onto that argument and speaks specifically to the implementation of the (CS) strategy. It is critical to not only have proper structures and communication channels in place for organizational learning to take place in CS implementation, but also to have a set of criteria for the LPA and learning around the larger community school movement.

University as the Lead Partner Agency. The community school partnership model developed through the acknowledgement that schools alone do not have the capacity nor should they have the responsibility to address the myriad challenges that plague urban communities (Dryfoos, 2005; Lubell, 2011; Quinn, 2005; Zeller-Berkman, 2012). Rather, multiple agencies can link together to provide an integrated service plan that synergistically supports students' health, well-being and civic engagement while immersing them in a rigorous and stimulating academic environment**.** The Children's Aid Society National Center for Community Schools, who is credited with starting the lead-partner agency model of community schools, explains that the LPA "brings a core set of competencies that enhance and complement those of the school (Lubell, 2011)". This study extends community school literature by highlighting ways in which the selection of the LPA impacts the extent to which a school and its community's immediate needs can be addressed.

The partnership between Addams and University was proposed for a number of challenges that Addams faced as the home school in a competitive school choice context in an underserved urban community. One of the primary challenges identified by the participants in this study was the lack of qualified, prepared and committed teachers on the faculty. The veteran teachers repeatedly lamented the "canon [size] hole" in the faculty, that there was a constant churn of substitute teachers in and out of classrooms, and argued that one of their highest-priority needs was to recruit a strong group of core teachers who "want to be here". Because the faculty was so extremely under-staffed, it was challenging early in the interview series for teachers to identify school-wide examples of the pillars of community schooling. Teachers shared that emphasis on high quality teaching, pillar two, was often stifled by the need to establish basic classroom management and discipline structures. As Mr. Puphf stated, developing curriculum that was engaging, culturally relevant and challenging, pillar one, was "difficult to do here because we only have one teacher basically per subject, per grade level". The teachers who were committed to Addams believed that they needed a steady group of colleagues in order to provide structure that would allow for high-quality, engaging instruction for each student in every classroom, as well as to enhance their own practice through collaboration and collective problem-solving.

The university's partnership was led by their School of Education, and was therefore well positioned to support Addams in strengthening its teaching faculty and instructional program. The findings from this study demonstrate that this effort was well underway. The most visible result of the partnership with regards to the faculty was the ability to recruit eight first-year teachers from University's urban schools focused teacher education program. For the first time in several years, the 2017-2018 school year began with a faculty full of permanent teachers. The collective effort to strengthen the faculty, however, began before the new teachers arrived.

During the 2016-2017 school year, leaders from University hosted eight professional development sessions and spent time with Ms. Oaks, who was the instructional coach at the time, to develop supports for their new curricular focus. University representatives also co-hosted and financially supported the summer buy-back days that new and veteran teachers in this study identified as a significant in laying the foundation for the 2017-2018 school year. Throughout the 2017-2018 school year, I observed University content coaches meeting regularly with Addams faculty, spending time in classrooms, and providing particular support to new teachers throughout their first year.

Although the interventions mentioned in the previous paragraph were not all immediately successful, they highlight the fact that University was able to quickly respond to the dire needs that faculty and staff at Addams identified. The partnership with University was a direct reason for the recruitment of dedicated and highly-qualified new teachers, and for ongoing professional learning that would strengthen the instructional system and begin to turn around sustained low academic performance. This result highlights the fact that Addams and University were well paired for implementing the community school strategy together because the need of the school met the strength of University as the LPA.

This study found the least amount of growth at Addams in the area of positive discipline practices, the fourth pillar of community schooling. It was not, however, an explicit goal of the partnership to address the discipline program directly. Rather, as laid out in chapter four, the position paper and autonomous school proposal stated that Addams and University would collectively improve the school culture by enacting a college-going culture. The principal also had a vision of improving the school climate by providing mentorship and wraparound supports to meet student's social-emotional needs. Perhaps asking teachers what changes had taken place

in the area of discipline was the incorrect question for a study on this partnership because of the goals that were in place. On the other hand, the frustration teachers expressed in the interviews with regards to discipline suggests that University as the LPA may have benefited from enlisting other university partners and/or community-based agencies to address discipline in a more direct fashion. The findings in this section suggest that LPAs in community school efforts should be selected for their ability to address areas of highest need at the school since their strengths are most likely to be the first to manifest results. For the areas that LPAs are unable to meet, the lead-partner model of community schools calls for organizational strategies that allow the schools to leverage community resources, including other partners, that could be pulled into the fold early on to meet imminent needs (Lubell, 2011).

"What *IS* a Community School?" In my final interview with Mr. Thurgood, I asked him what would be the responsibilities of an ideal teacher in a community school, and he turned the question back on me, asking, "Well what is a community school? What *is* a community school? That's my question to you". Mr. Thurgood's question underscored the fact that teachers, as well as administrators and some university representatives were not well versed in community school (CS) literature or philosophies early on in the partnership process. More dedicated time may have been required to educate Addams and University members about the community school movement on top of the more indirect opportunities that were presented during the planning process. Such opportunities included visitation to CS1, reading articles posted on the Google Drive, and through a community schools convening that took place at University during the last month of the study. As mentioned in chapter four, by not having a clear understanding of the national landscape of the CS movement, many teachers felt ambivalent toward partnership because they primarily viewed University's other school as a point of reference. Bolman & Deal

(2013) describe that a major hinderance to organizational change is insufficient organizational learning, wherein employees (faculty members in this case) feel anxiety or ambivalence due to a sense of lacking preparation of knowledge of required skills.

The leaders on the University side deepened their understanding of the community school literature throughout the implementation process. Of particular note, university partners conducted a historical case study of Addams' reform history to better understand the needs and strengths of the community—a key recommended element of the change process. This case study was used to create a visually engaging research, practice, policy brief that situated Addams within the national community school movement and was widely distributed throughout the school and community. Notwithstanding these and other efforts to connect Addams' faculty with the broader community school movement and literature, it was clear that faculty needed more time and resources. For example, the design team might have consulted resources created by organizations such as the Children's Aid Society, the Coalition for Community Schools, and the Netter Center for Community Partnerships that would have helped guide the implementation process (Harkavy, Hartley, Axelrod Hodges & Weeks, 2013; Frankl, et al., 2016; Lubell, 2011). These resources may have assisted in setting up a realistic timeline, conducting strengths and needs assessments, providing teachers with concrete examples of the kind of school they hoped to create, and preparing for challenges they may face in providing sufficient time for collective learning to occur.

On a more philosophical level, teachers at Addams may have benefited from understanding that the CS movement is a nationwide and even global strategy that has emerged to combat the impacts of poverty, isolation and injustice in communities of color surrounding urban schools. Understanding that there are others in the fight to strengthen neighborhoods schools and that

there are "evidence-based" arguments for the model may have provided a sense of urgency and magnitude for the work that teachers agreed to engage in to tackle the persistent struggle they faced as a school. Like the dynamic, university-assisted model that was being implemented at Addams, CS literature argues that schools are strengthened by working in partnership with outside organizations while empowering local experts like families and community-based leaders to have a voice and to take action in the school for the benefit of their youth.

While several of the teachers at Addams only viewed themselves as situated within one of two of University's community school initiatives, they were in fact taking part in a nationwide movement that is poised to change the nature of education for children in urban schools across the nation. As several of the participants in this study highlighted, teachers are on the frontlines of working with students and often serve as the bridge between the families and schools as well as the connection between families and other services. In becoming a community school, it is critical for teachers to learn from other models to understand that their network of support services will multiply and thus their understanding of the community landscape must be strengthened. In learning to navigate these resources, teachers can help their campus to integrate supports, including community school coordinators, that will lessen the need for teachers to be the sole bridge between students and support services.

Implications and Contributions

Implications

The findings from this study have implications for a variety of constituents working in and with community schools who hope to implement the CS strategy for a whole-school transformation. This section addresses implication for how LPAs, teachers, schools of education

and policy makers can support teachers in community schools, because as Mr. Horace argues, “if it can’t be executed in the classroom then nothing is getting done”. The section ends with contributions to community school literature on teachers.

Lead partner agencies. LPAs such as community-based organizations and local universities should match their strengths with schools that have the highest need for them. In this study, University was a viable match for Addams because of their strength in supporting and preparing teachers for urban schools and the need for well-prepared teachers that would have a long-term commitment to Addams. Upon engaging in partnership, the next priority for LPAs should be building partnerships with other community-based organizations to engage the strengths of the community and to fill gaps in service provision. Universities are well positioned to support local schools and the CS strategy because of their access to multiple departments and funding streams on campus, however, universities are often disengaged from high-needs communities and thus may find it challenging to build relationships with community-based organizations. Thus, like University did, it is critical to invest in extended time periods for members of each institution to plan together in both work and celebration in order to develop familiarity, trust and a productive working relationship. Community school coordinators should develop a close working relationship with teachers to first break down barriers and then to enhance program effectiveness through sophisticated engagement of teachers. Finally, it should not be taken for granted that each department at a university or organization has the same understandings and commitment as the department who developed the initiative. Thus, each department should be vetted for fit, cultural relevance, and willingness to engage long term as they are brought into the community to ensure that teachers and community members do not become alienated or disillusioned by inconsistent efforts.

Teachers. Educators who work in a school that plans to engage in partnership-based organizational change toward becoming a community school should take the opportunity to do their own research on the strategy, to develop an understanding of the time frames and required logistics, and to envision how the strategy could be beneficial in their school context. Additionally, it is critical that teachers strengthen their relationships and communication with one another in order to stay abreast of what is taking place at the school and to be able to organize to achieve desired outcomes or to respond collectively if something undesirable takes places. Implementing a partnership-based organizational change, particularly becoming a community school, is a significant opportunity for teachers to shape their school and community. The democratic potential in community schooling stands in opposition to the school reform that all too often simply involves applying a prescriptive model that strips teachers of their autonomy and professionalism. Not only does a partnership bring in additional resources, but also multiplies a teachers' social connections and with it endless avenues for enhancing instruction. Without teacher input, however, partnerships will likely be disconnected from the classroom and the community school strategy will lack the ability to fully integrate into the school environment. Teachers must be prepared to advocate for the needs of their students, themselves, and the communities they serve. The classroom should anchor the pillars of community schooling.

Schools of Education. Schools of Education, especially teacher education programs, must take note of the demands required to implement and maintain a community school. Beginning teachers should come to their new careers with the knowledge of processes such as accreditation, grant writing, and with the understanding of the complexities of developing university and community partnerships. Beginning teachers often develop individual parent outreach plans during their preparation, but these seemed to be somewhat ineffective in a

community such as Addams'. To effect schoolwide change in challenge areas like parent and family engagement, teachers should be prepared for leadership and coalition building with colleagues to initiate change. For schools of education who engage in community school partnerships like University, having the teacher education faculty and staff engaged on campus and learning from and with practicing teachers is a great way to continue to develop cutting edge teacher education. All of the teachers in this study discussed that continually learning is part of what they love about teaching, so it is a benefit that University has a well-developed set of teacher education programs for practicing teachers. As these programs grow and take on more of the community school strategy, they will be a powerful resource for teacher learning as well as in helping to facilitate the implementation of community schools at the classroom level.

Policy makers and district officials. Those in positions to impact budgets and set policies for education should consider the immense undertaking of developing school partnerships that are responsive to a community, while simultaneously transforming school structures and changing a school's culture. Funding should not only include provisions for community school services, but for the time it takes for all stakeholders to be involved during the school year. Although there were occasional stipends available for teachers at Addams who dedicated additional time to planning during the initial two years, many did not feel able to add more to their already full plates. When they were granted extra time together, such as the summer buy-back days, it made a huge difference. One suggestion is to fund schools in their initial planning year to be able to provide all teachers, or at least a voted upon set of representatives, with an additional planning period. The extra time they have available during the school day would allow teachers to collect data, attend partnership meetings, research and visit

other schools, put forth recommendations on behalf of their constituent teachers, and complete required documents such as the partnership and accreditation proposals.

Contributions to Literature on Teachers in Community Schools

What we currently know about teachers in CSs from literature is that wraparound services help reduce the need for teachers to attend to students' out-of-school needs due to the integration of services and additional support staff on campus (Lubell, 2011; Potapchuck, 2013; Quinn, 2005). Fehrer & Leos-Urbel (2015) found recently that teachers benefited from increased time to collaborate with colleagues and partners, a finding reflected in the latter part of this study and in other studies on the conditions for the successful change in schools (Fausk & Raybould, 2005; Sanders, 2016; Shogren et al., 2015). However, what happens to teachers during the planning and implementation processes before wraparound services or schedule changes are implemented? This study begins to fill that gap and demonstrates that the experience of teachers in a developing community schools are far more complex than depicted in most CS literature.

The Community Teacher (CT) framework (Murrell, 2000) is a strong foundation for dispositions that teachers in CSs must have, but it should be acknowledged that school-wide structures must be in place to support teachers' dispositions. If there is not a foundation or a coalition of faculty and staff willing to develop a community orientation at one's school, CTs run the risk of isolation or even burnout from teaching as a profession (Kohli & Pizarro, 2016). This study demonstrates that a school can develop the structures for engagement and even begin to bring teachers out of isolation who used it as a protective factor to maintain longevity.

In addition to community-oriented dispositions, teachers in community schools also need a wide variety of skills for navigating the dynamic, multi-dimensional environment of CSs. For example, teachers in this study had to contribute to several in-depth proposals to formalize their

partnership and to earn local autonomy, for which an understanding of district political systems and grant writing strategies may have been helpful. Teachers in developing community schools will be responsible for piloting many programs, partnerships and curricular models. Thus, teachers must be proficient at evaluating the strengths and needs of the initiative and communicating how they can either be improved to support students more effectively or that they are perhaps not a proper fit. To re-emphasize, community school literature often argues that teachers in community schools are able to simply “focus on teaching”, however, teachers must learn how to navigate far more than just instruction for the community school strategy to come alive in the classroom.

Limitations and Future Research

Limitations

Frame Change. It became clear through the data analysis process that the story emerging from this study was about teachers’ experience of organizational change as their school transitioned from one model to another. I did not go into this study with an organizational theory lens, however. My research questions and corresponding interviews would have likely been strengthened by conceptualizing it as an organizational change case study. Future research should build on this study, as well as Sanders (2016) with a clear focus on organizational change as the field seeks to deepen knowledge on community school implementation.

Study length. This study was conducted over one and a half school years, which is a relatively short time to observe substantive change. The study began less than two years into the initial planning phase of the partnership, and was able to observe the process as they engaged teachers, through the partnership becoming official and the subsequent implementation of the structural changes noted in the study. These were critical events in the organizational change

process of becoming a university-assisted community school, however, the time period was not long enough to observe many of the goals and initiatives come to fruition. Community schools often take three to five years of planning before they are fully implemented, and research shows that outcomes are stronger with the more years of experience schools have with the community school strategy (Fehrer & Leos-Urbel, 2015; Green & Gooden, 2014; Officer et al., 2013; Quinn, 2005).

Site. This is a single-site study that began with a small number of permanent teachers. Also, a distinctive factor of the faculty was that they had extreme levels of experience, where eight of ten new teachers where in their first year of teaching, and nearly all of the veterans had been in the field for 15-25 years. While urban schools across the nation suffer high teacher turnover and often face similar circumstances of implementing school wide reform with a handful of experienced teachers, it presented a challenge to my effort of understanding how a diverse set of teachers experienced the transition from traditional school to university-assisted community school.

Personal bias. As a former teacher, I went into this study with the desire to elevate teacher voice and to deeply understand teachers' experiences as they engaged in school wide transformation. Due to my focus on teachers, this study did not robustly capture the perceptions of other actors that were discussed or even quoted in this study. In addition, because I taught alongside the primary participants in this study, I experienced many of the same emotions and considerations they faced on a daily basis. I consider it an asset to have had the opportunity to experience research in such an inter-connected manor, however, I understand that it may have limited my perception or ability to represent other constituents aside from the teachers in the study.

Future Research

Multi-site study. The findings in this study would be strengthened by evidence of similarities or differences across several sites. While the challenges Addams' experienced over the past two decades are shared with urban schools across the US, each school is still situated within a unique context and the occasion for partnerships arise in myriad ways. A multi-site study would enhance the understanding of teachers' experiences across community schools, particularly by studying schools across the continuum of implementation.

Longitudinal study. Because partnership-based school transformation has such high potential, yet is a multiple year process, a study like this would be enhanced by a longer time period. In the case of Addams, the first five years will be critical for the partnership as the school continues to expand from sixth to twelfth grade. Additionally, University has continued to organize resources to implement with Addams, which will roll out over the next two years. The political moment is catching up with the CS movement as well, as I took note of several community-based organizations and the teacher's union that were advocating for funding of CS's in the local school district, which may change the ways that Addams needs to organize funding or even requirements they need to meet for the community or district. Finally, comparing the outcomes of students who graduated from eighth grade at Addams after completing their entire three years at the school and interviewing them about their experiences versus those prior to the transformation may provide insight into how effective and in what ways all of the changes have been impactful. Measures should also be developed for the transformative impact the partnership has had on the larger Addams' community, because a truly powerful community school should lift up the community as it continues to climb.

Appendix

A.

Adams MS 8 Data Year Summary (2007-2015)

April 21, 2016

Prepared by Shanté Stuart for the Research Working Group

Introduction: In order to understand the history and context of enrollment, achievement, school experience, and attendance at Adams MS, I analyzed publicly available data from District School Report Cards and School Experience Surveys. These data are intended to inform the Adams/University Design Team effort moving forward.

Enrollment: Consistently and rapidly declining from 1298 students in 2007, to 380 students in 2016.

Student Academic Indicators:

- Consistently low across whole school API (between 544 and 575)
- *English* Proficiency (13%-23%)
- *Math* Proficiency (8%-16%) on state exams until 2013.
- *CAASSP* report reports 9% proficiency in *ELA* and 4% in *Math* for 2014-2015.

English Language Learners (ELL) on CELDT Test: While reports do not determine how many ELLs are present in the school by year, their achievement between the years 2008-2009 through 2012-2013 fluctuated between 20% and 37%, 29% on average. Years 2013-2015 asked what percentage of students made progress on the CELDT, which showed greater gains at 30% and 42%, respectively.

Attendance:

- ***Professional attendance*** - Percentage of faculty/staff members with >96% attendance is generally in the upper 50s, with a dip to 45% in 2012-2013, and a peak of 70% in the following year 2013-2014.
- ***Student Attendance*** – Students with >96% attendance ranged from 45%-70%, with an average of 58% between 2008-2015.

Survey Data:

- ***Safety Across Teachers, Parent and Students*** - Perceived differently – from 2008 and 2015, 50%-78% of teachers (67% on average) and 67%-78% of parents felt Adams' campus was safe.
    - Student responses, however, have changed between 70%-75% from 2008-2012, to 51% in 2013, and 31% in 2015.
- ***Student Responses*** – From 2008-2013, 74% to 87% of students surveyed felt that they had an opportunity to learn and/or what they were asked to do in class required a lot of thinking.

Only between 25% and 47% of students thought their campus was clean (question not asked on 2015 version of questionnaire).

- ***Teacher Responses*** – From 2008-2013, between 50%-71% of teachers surveyed felt they were supported in their work and/or they received the help they needed to communicate with parents. From 2008-2013, 65%-82% thought their campus was clean (question not asked on 2015 version).
- ***Parents Responses*** - Between 2009-2012, 84%-88% of parents surveyed felt welcome to participate at Mann, 70% surveyed between 2013-2015 felt welcome to participate.

Demographics Over Time

- **Students with Economic Disadvantage** – Grew steadily from 81% in 2007-2008 to 100% in years 2010-2012; since then has declined yearly to 82% in 2014-2015.
- **English Language Learners** – Percentage of students declined from 23% in 2007-2008 to 16% in 2011, 2012; since then has grown one percent a year to 19% in 2014-2015.
- **Students with Learning Disabilities** – Percentage has increased steadily from 15% in 2008-2009 to 28% in 2014-2015.
- **Students in Gifted and Talented** – Fluctuated between 3% and 5% between 2007 and 2013, then rose to 6% in 2013-2014 and 11% in 2014-2015.
- **Foster Youth** – In the first year of measures for the district to provide more directed support to foster youth, 5% of Mann's population were identified as foster youth.

B.

	Interview #2	**Interview #3**	**Interview #4**	**Veterans**	**New Teachers**
"can't think of anything"/ not enough holistic support			X	X	
Additional field trips	X	X	X	X	X
After school program	X	X	X	X	
Band	X				
Boys mentoring program		X			
Circulars for eye and dental care		X			
Gang reduction/Family support program	X	X			
Homecoming Dance			X		X
June 3rd Event					X
Mental health services for EBD		X			
Mr. Hernandez	X	X	X		

A-G counselor					
Ms. Neart restorative justice advisor	X	X	X		X
No outside services for EBD	X				
Nurse 1x per week	X				
Out of classroom personnel	X	X			
Robotics club on Fridays	X		X	X	
Saturday and parent workshops					
Soccer club			X	X	
Summer program		X			
Trips to University	X	X			
University tutors		X			

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