

The Pennsylvania State University

The Graduate School

College of Education

**A CURRICULAR POLICY FORTY YEARS IN THE MAKING:
THE IMPLEMENTATION OF AN AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY COURSE
IN THE PHILADELPHIA SCHOOL DISTRICT**

A Dissertation in

Education Theory and Policy

by

Felicia C. Sanders

© 2009 Felicia C. Sanders

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

August 2009

The thesis of Felicia C. Sanders was reviewed and approved* by the following:

Dana L. Mitra
Assistant Professor of Education
Dissertation Advisor
Chair of Committee

David Gamson
Associate Professor of Education
Professor-in-Charge, Education Theory and Policy Program

Kimberly Griffin
Assistant Professor of Education

Emilie Smith
Professor of Health and Human Development

*Signatures are on file in the Graduate School.

ABSTRACT

African American students are among the lowest achieving minority groups in the United States public school system. Multicultural education literature argues that such a curriculum could help increase the academic achievement of Black students; however, there is very little evidence of this claim. In 2005, the Philadelphia School Reform Commission mandated that all high school students take a newly developed African American history (AAH) course as graduation requirement beginning with class of 2009, after 40 years of community request for such a course. Through a qualitative case study research approach, and using the theory of social construction of target populations (Schneider & Ingram, 1993) and a framework that explains common impediments to educational policy implementation (Shulman, 1983), this study seeks to examine why the District implemented the AAH course as a graduate requirement, how the District designed the course, and how the course was implemented by social studies teachers.

The use of the theory of social construction of target populations provided a framework for understanding the decisions District administrators made in regards to requiring the course and how they designed the course. The findings from this portion of the study suggest that the District administrators' goals for requiring the course focused on their social construction of Black youth, but the design of the course focused on the perceptions of teachers' strengths and weaknesses. The administrators' assessment of teachers' capacities contributed to a disconnect between what teachers needed to teach the course and what they were provided. Lee Shulman's (1983) impediments to policy implementation provided a framework to examine and explain the challenges teachers experienced in implementing the curricular policy. This dissertation concludes that the Philadelphia community won a political victory in terms of the inclusion of the AAH course in the District's curriculum. However, as a result of the disconnect between the administrators and teachers, the course was implemented poorly and cannot be considered an educational victory.

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT	i
LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
CHAPTER ONE: Introduction.....	1
Problem Statement.....	2
Purpose of the Study and Research Questions	7
Organization of the Study.....	8
CHAPTER TWO: Literature Review.....	10
School Reform.....	10
Multicultural Education.....	13
Intended Effects of Multicultural Education	17
Policy Implementation.....	25
Will to Implement Policy	26
Capacity to Implement Policy	30
Variation is the Norm	33
Conclusion.....	38
CHAPTER THREE: Theoretical Framework	40
Social Construction of Target Populations.....	40
Core Principles of Social Construction of Target Populations.....	43
Education Research & Social Construction Theory	46
Impediments to the Simple Solution	52
Applications to Current Study	56
CHAPTER FOUR: Methodology.....	59
Research Design and Rationale	60
Sample Selection and Access	62
Sampling Strategy	65

Participation Selection and Recruitment	66
Data Collection and Protocol.....	71
Data Analysis.....	73
Threats to Validity	77
Limitations.....	79
Significance of the Study and Methods.....	80
Presentation of Findings.....	81
CHAPTER FIVE: Historical, Political, & Educational Context of AAH Policy.....	83
Community Control in Philadelphia: 1960s.....	84
Learning Communities: 1988-1995.....	90
Children Achieving: 1994-2001	92
The Policy Window is Open: 2001-2005	94
Community and National Response to the Reform.....	99
Conclusion.....	104
CHAPTER SIX: AAH Course: The Purpose, Design, and Vision	106
Social Construction of Black Youth in Philadelphia.....	106
Social Construction of Black Youth in Philadelphia.....	107
Positive Personal Development.....	109
Decreasing the Achievement Gap	112
Providing youth with the best quality education	115
Development of AAH Course and Social Construction of Teachers	117
Administrators' Perception of Teachers.....	117
Textbook Development	121
Curriculum Development	125
Professional Development and Student Learning Outcomes	129
Conclusion.....	134
CHAPTER SEVEN: Policy Implementation from the Perspective of Teachers	138
Inconsistencies among Mandates: Teachers' Perceptions of the Purpose of the AAH Course.....	139
Racial Composition	139
Positive personal development.....	140
Multicultural Education.....	142

Inconsistencies in Purpose.....	143
Limits on Resources, Time and Energy	144
Limits on Teacher Expertise.....	148
Limitations of Working Conditions.....	153
Self-Defeating Mandate.....	154
Policy in Action: African American History Classrooms	158
Classroom management.....	159
Teacher Expectations.....	166
Conclusion.....	171
 CHAPTER EIGHT: Discussion and Implications	 173
Discussion and Summary of Key Findings	176
Policy Goals, Design, and Implementation	176
The Intersection of Curriculum and Instruction	182
Building Capacity: Professional Development	183
Implementation on the Ground Level: AAH Classes.....	185
Policy Recommendations and Future Research	189
Conclusion: Political Victory versus Educational Victory.....	193
 References	 195
 Appendix A: Timeline of AAH course in the Philadelphia School District	 207
Appendix B: Topical Table of Contents of African-American History Textbook.....	209
Appendix C: Interview Protocol for District Officials	212
Appendix D: Interview Protocol for Teachers	213
Appendix E: Interview and Observational Codes	214
Appendix F: Recruitment Materials	218
Appendix G: Consent Form.....	219

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Figures

Figure 3.1. Social Construction and Power to Impact Policy.....	42
Figure 4.1. Conceptualization of Data Analysis.....	77
Figure 4.2. Contextual layers of African American history course.....	82

Tables

Table 4.1. Race/Ethnicity of Students in Philadelphia School District.....	63
Table 4.2. District administrator participants and data.....	64
Table 4.3. Teacher Participant Information.....	67
Table 5.1. History of AAH course in Philadelphia.....	69

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Those who have earned a Ph.D. know that this great feat cannot be achieved without the support of family, friends, colleagues, mentors and of course committee members.

I would first like to thank Dana Mitra, my dissertation committee chair and my advisor for the past four years. She believed in me when I sometimes doubted myself. She has provided me with so many opportunities to grow as a scholar, from working with her on research projects to nominating me to participate in numerous national professional development experiences. She has read this thesis many times and each time has provided me with sound advice on how to “bump it up a level.”

The rest of my committee has also been invaluable in this journey. I would like to thank David Gamson for holding me to such a high standard. It takes time and energy to provide the quality instruction and feedback he has provided me over the course my graduate experience. Kimberly Griffin has commented on almost every page of the thesis, and thus helped me improve it tremendously. I’m very appreciative of Emilie Smith’s meticulous feedback and guidance. She has also presented me with many opportunities to grow as an academic. Shaun Harper also challenged me to defend my work during the proposal defense, and in doing so, helped me believe in my work. I’d also like to acknowledge the College of Education at Penn State and the African Research Center for providing funding to conduct this research.

I would also like to acknowledge my Department, for I have received so much support from so many faculty members. David Baker, Gerry LeTendre, Mindy Kornhaber, and Suet-Ling Pong for all of their advice and for taking the time out of their busy schedules to write letters of recommendation, make phone calls, and forward opportunities my way. Thank you.

To my EDTHP colleagues, I literally wouldn’t have been able to do this without them. CindyAnn Rampersad, has been with me from the beginning—in the TA office. David Perez II has also served as a great source of inspiration and support. I’ve benefited their friendship and their mentorship. My writing group—Talat Ahzar, Larry Boggess, John Collins, and Hilary Knipe—have provided me with a safe place to take chances with my work and to have meaningful intellectual conversations about my research to push it to the next level.

I’ve developed a family in Happy Valley. Dr. Ellis’ mentorship is unmatched. I think I’ve learned more from her actions than I have from our conversations (and I’ve learned a lot from our conversations). Words can’t express how she has contributed to my life. To Ms. Joyce Hopson-King, I probably wouldn’t be here without her and SR0P (summer 2003). She has continued to support me over the years and has brightened my day on so many different occasions. Dr. Catherine Lyons’ presence alone or a simple smile has conveyed to me her level of support and encouragement and for that I am truly thankful.

I owe a great deal to my friends who provided me with a place to stay while I traveled back and forth to Philadelphia collecting data. Thank you to Tiffany Allen, Maria Finger, Aunt Peggy, and Uncle Lue. They made data collection possible and fun. Kristin Nickens and Virginia Quiambao have supported me along the way and have been my dear friends for the past 16 years. Mark Henderson has proofread many papers at the eleventh hour, so thank you.

I owe the greatest debt to my parents and family. They’ve been patient when I’ve had to grade papers or work on my dissertation during holidays, and tolerated my inability to travel home as much as I’d like. Thank you Mom and Rita for reading and editing this entire thesis and thank you Dad for keeping them on track. Most of all, thank you for being my parents and supporting me every step of the way. My brother Tony served as my inspiration to go to graduate school and my sister Akeisha has been my best friend. I can’t wait to call her Dr. Sanders in a few years. I’m so lucky to have shared a childhood with both of them and I look forward to our futures. Finally, I’d like to dedicate this dissertation to my grandparents, Leonard and Marie Sanders and Coleman and Claries Royal. I know I’ve made them proud and it means the world to me

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

No challenge has been more daunting than that of improving the academic achievement of African American students. Burdened with a history that includes denial of education, separate and unequal education, and relegation to unsafe, substandard inner-city schools, the quest for quality education remains an elusive dream for the African American community.

—Ladson-Billings (1994, p. ix)

All, regardless of race or class or economic status, are entitled to a fair chance and to the tools for developing their individual powers of mind and spirit to the utmost. This promise means that all children by virtue of their own efforts, competently guided, can hope to attain the mature and informed judgment needed to secure gainful employment, and to manage their own lives, thereby serving not only their own interests but also the progress of society itself.

—A Nation at Risk, (1983)

Federal, state, and local policymakers and educators have long sought solutions to increase the quality of education and educational opportunities for minority children in the US. In this study, I examined the implementation of a curricular policy that aims to achieve that very goal. The Philadelphia School District passed a resolution in 2005 that requires all high school students to take an African American history course. In this introductory chapter, I provide a framework for the purpose of this study in the “problem statement” section, and then I discuss the purpose of this study, including the presentation of my research questions. Lastly, I provide an outline for the organization of the dissertation.

Problem Statement

African American students are among the lowest achieving minority groups in the United States public school system, and an achievement gap between Black and White students is present at the beginning of their educational careers—in kindergarten (Fryer, R. G. & Levitt, S. D., 2004). The noticeable achievement gap between Black students and their White counterparts has persisted since the 1950s. According to the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) for 2005, only twelve percent of Black students in the eighth grade were academically performing at a proficient reading level, while thirty-nine percent of their White counterparts are at proficient level (“National Center for Educational Statistics”). The achievement gap between Black students and White students is somewhat larger in mathematics. NAEP results suggest thirty-nine percent of White students are proficient in math, and only nine percent of Black eighth graders perform at the proficient level (“National Center for Educational Statistics”).

Researchers provide three types of explanations for the causes of the educational disparity between Black and White youth—institutional factors, individual factors and demographic factors. Institutional causes are related to factors beyond the students’ control, such as tracking, school quality, and teacher expectations. Low-income and minority students are more likely to be assigned to a low-ability curriculum track compared to their White counterparts (Oakes, 1990). Students in lower-ability tracks are less likely to be exposed to high quality challenging curriculum and instruction, which leads to lower academic performance (Oakes, 1990). Furthermore, less experienced teachers are more likely to teach minority students. Darling-Hammond’s research suggests that minority students are “less likely to be taught by a teacher that holds full

certification and a degree in their field and the more likely they are to have entered teaching without certification” (Darling-Hammond, 1999; p. 29), which means students who are perceived to have less academic prowess, are taught by teachers with the least credentials. Teachers of low-income, minority students also have low expectations of their students’ academic abilities (Ferguson, 1998), which can lead to less rigorous teaching . Black children are also more likely to attend schools with fewer resources, which means low quantity and quality of textbooks and other important materials that are essential to the education of children (Kozol, 1991). Of these three examples, students have very little control over the track they are assigned or their teacher, so students are at the mercy of educators to make the best decisions for them. Unfortunately, some educational systems are unintentionally designed to inhibit minority student success.

Individual factors that impede students’ academic achievement are defined as unconscious evaluations of their academic ability. As a result of segregation and inequality, young Black people have underestimated and undermined their achievement. For example, Steele and Aronson (1995) puts forth a theory of stereotype threat that maintains that ethnic minorities perform worse on standardized tests because of a fear that they will validate a negative stereotype of Black people. Signithia Fordam and John Ogbu’s (1986) theory of “Acting White” posits that Black youth’s cultural identity does not include high academic achievement; therefore they do not put forth much effort in school for fear of being labeled “White.” These two dispositions of Black youth are put forth as examples of theories for understanding the large Black-White test gap—either students are fearful of validating negative stereotypes or they are not able to merge two

identities that they feel are in conflict of one another—that of being Black and also being smart.

Other demographic or sociological explanations for the Black-White achievement gap are tied to poverty. Black youth are more likely to be poor than their White counterparts. Since our educational system is set up in a way that a large part of a school district's funding comes from personal property tax, the more property a community owns, the more money is directed towards their children's education. Furthermore, research suggests that there are large differences between how poor/minority families and middle-class/White families arrange their children's lives. Middle-class/White families are more likely and are better able to provide their students with an education outside of the classroom, which includes music lessons, dance lessons, family vacations and other opportunities that are not typical of poor and/or minority families (Cheadle, 2008).

The issue of educating America's Black youth has plagued the United States for more than 50 years. The outcome of *Brown vs. Topeka, Kansas Board of Education* was the first attempt to develop policy to create more equal educational opportunities for Black youth. The landmark case was the first to use psychological research to provide empirical evidence of the devastating impact of racial segregation on Black children's feelings of self-worth and identity. Results from Clark Doll Study demonstrated that Black children, who attended segregated schools in the South, chose to play with White dolls over Black dolls. When asked which doll was "good" or "pretty," Black children chose the White doll; and, when asked which doll was "bad" or "ugly," children chose the Black doll (1939a, 1939b, 1947). The implications of this research are devastatingly

disturbing, especially in terms of how these children in segregated schools viewed themselves and their self-worth.

The outcome of *Brown v. Topeka Kansas, Board of Education* led to the overturning of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which stated that racial segregation of institutions was separate but equal. However, this victory was jeopardized by busing policies that transported Black students to White schools. In some cities, such as Boston, Massachusetts, the busing of students led to violent protests from White parents and community members (Metcalf, 1983). Furthermore, there was very little support integration policies once Nixon became president in 1969. According Orfield and Eaton (1996), Nixon repeatedly declared that mandatory measures to achieve desegregation were unnecessary, and that Congress must stop courts from imposing “complicated plans drawn up by far-away officials in Washington, D.C.” (p.13). He further argues that by the mid 1960s, racial “inequality and race relations” were not pressing issues for mainstream America anymore. By many accounts, public schools are more racially segregated today (Orfield & Eaton, 1996; Orfield, Glass, & Reardon, 1994).

Title I of ESEA of 1965 provided money to schools who serve economically disadvantaged students, of which Black children are overrepresented and racially isolated. In 2001, the most current federal education legislation, No Child Left Behind, mandated that any school that receives Title I money must adhere to the aforementioned policy. The goal of No Child Left Behind is to create an accountability system in order to increase academic achievement of all students, with special attention given to certain populations, such as students with disabilities, racial/ethnic minority students, English language learners, and students from low-income backgrounds. Some have touted this

policy as raising awareness about the achievement gap that exists between many of these groups (Taylor, 2000). Others have argued that this policy is unfunded mandate has undermined the teaching profession through test gaming (Booher-Jennings, 2005) and using test scores as the sole mechanism for evaluating learning is very problematic.

Both of the aforementioned policies have many commonalities. The policies' goals have attempted to increase academic outcomes for minority children, but they have all been met with policy impediments. Busing policies aimed at desegregating public schools was met with very little public will or buy-in to the policy goals. No Child Left Behind which aimed to increase student achievement through teacher accountability and the development of standards has been implemented in a way that some argue has changed the focus of education from learning to the ability to pass a standardized test.

The United States' inability to educate all of their children has led to other disparities between African American and White student achievement. According to the National Center of Education Statistics (NCES), eleven percent of all African Americans between the ages 16 and 24 were not enrolled in high school, nor do they have a high school diploma or high school equivalency credential in 2002 ("National Center for Educational Statistics"). Six percent of the White population fits the same description. Furthermore, a higher percentage of the African American population is unemployed compared to the percentage in the White population. Approximately 11 percent of the African American male population over the age of 16 is unemployed and approximately ten percent of the African American female population over the age of 16 is unemployed, compared to only approximately four percent of the White male and female population over the age of sixteen ("U.S. Department of Labor"). Based on these discouraging

statistics, an urgent need exists for practitioners and policymakers to develop strategies and programs that will increase Black student academic achievement if we expect all US citizens to be able to fully participate in our democratic society.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The Philadelphia School District has included a multicultural education policy in their standardized curriculum for many reasons, one of which is to increase positive personal and academic outcomes. Similar to many large urban school districts, Philadelphia is struggling to educate their students, of which 65% are African American. According to the Alliance for Excellent Education, at least one third of Philadelphia's 60 high schools are included in the 2006 list of "Drop Out Factories," or schools where "the number of seniors is routinely 60% or fewer than the number of freshman three years earlier" ("Excellence in Education").¹

The AAH policy, passed in 2005, requires all students to take an AAH course in their 10th grade year in order to graduate, beginning with the class of 2009. District has labeled this course a required elective, meaning that students have to take the course, but they do not have to pass it, which is not uncommon for other electives in the District. Social Studies teachers will be responsible for teaching the class. The course will take students through the history of Africa, beginning with a chapter on the origins of humanity, and end with a discussion of the status of Blacks in the 21st century.

However, as the education policy narrative demonstrates, any educational or personal outcomes as a result of the African American History (AAH) course will be

¹ Excellence in Education only had data on 34 of the District's 60 high schools. Twenty high schools had fewer than 60% of their freshman class in their senior year and the other 14 schools had more than 60%. The Alliance For Excellent Education argues that "About 15% of the nations high schools [or approximately 2,000] produce close to half its dropouts" (website).

mediated by the implementation of the policy. Prior to an evaluation of outcomes based on the AAH course, educators should take a close look at how the course was designed, including the training of teachers, and how the course was implemented. The purpose of this study was to evaluate the implementation of the AAH course curricular policy in the Philadelphia School District. There seems to be a blind faith in the possible and empirically untested impact of multicultural education. However, before evaluating the impact of such a course or curriculum, the design and implementation of the policy needs to be evaluated. Two research questions guided my first line of inquiry about the AAH course requirement: 1) How did different policy constituents understand the purpose of the AAH course?; and 2) How did District administrators design the AAH course? The second line of inquiry was guided by a third research question: What were social studies teachers' experiences implementing the AAH course?

Organization of the Study

The following seven chapters in this thesis include a literature review, a discussion of the theoretical frameworks, methodology, two findings chapters, and a discussion chapter. The literature review presents information about the purpose and history of multicultural education. Additionally, I present literature that focuses on the educational reform and policymaking as it relates to increasing the educational outcomes of minority youth. Chapter three focuses on the two theoretical frameworks that provide a common language for understanding the findings of this study. The first theory, Scheinder and Ingram's theory of the social construction of target populations helps explain how policy elites develop and design policies for various groups of people. The second theory, Shulman's impediments to policy implementation provides a lens for

understanding why the implementation of educational policies is such a difficult process and may not always lead to its intended outcomes.

Chapter four provides information about the qualitative methodological procedures used to conduct this study. It outlines my choices and justifications for using a qualitative case study approach, including demographic information about participants and the types of data that were collected to answer the research questions. Chapter five provides a case description of the historical and educational context of the Philadelphia School District. The case description begins with the 1967 protest in which African American students demanded the inclusion of an African American history course and culminates with a presentation of the 2005 curricular policy passed by Philadelphia's School Reform Commission.

Chapters six and seven present the findings from my three research questions. Chapter six addresses the District administrators' reasons for developing the course and how they designed the course. Interview data from the six District administrators are presented. Chapter seven addresses the third research question, which examined the implementation of the curricular policy. Data from twenty teachers are presented here, along with observational data from the three teachers' classrooms. The last chapter of this thesis, Chapter eight, combines the findings about the District administrators' purpose for implementing and their design for the course with the teachers' experiences teaching AAH in order to provide a critical analysis of how the course was implemented. I end this section by providing policy recommendations for how the District might achieve their policy goals in the future.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

The issue of improving America's public schools has long plagued the United States' educational system. A review of the history of school reform presents a pattern of cyclical reform efforts that have encountered the same impediments as the current reform agenda is experiencing—namely, challenges regarding implementation (Tyack & Cuban, 1995). This review begins with a discussion of school reform in general and then transitions to a discussion of one particular reform movement, multicultural education, which is a curricular reform effort designed to increase the achievement gap and provide quality education to minority youth in the 1960s. In that section, the literature pertaining to its history, the purpose of the reform, and studies pertaining to the impact of multicultural education will be presented. The last section focuses on policy implementation, which is one of the most important components of the policy process and school reform. The challenges that impede the successful implementation of educational policy will be addressed in that section. Overall, the purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate that policy implementation mediates the intended outcomes of an educational policy or reform.

School Reform

Education reformers have attempted to solve many of America's social problems within the school walls. For example, during the Industrial Revolution, some children and adolescents, especially immigrant youth, preferred to work in the factories and textile mills instead of going to school (Carlton, 1982). A large portion of youth that neither attended school nor worked, just wandered the streets, creating juvenile delinquency

issues for many urban cities. It was during this time that schools turned away from the rote memorization exercises that bored students, and developed an individualized curriculum that would engage more youth. Another example of society turning to education to solve social problems comes from the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s. Thurgood Marshall and other civil rights activists began their struggle for equal opportunity at the school level. In the American society, the education system is viewed as one of the most essential public goods in the United States, seen a mechanism for change and the foundation of “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

While education is viewed as a public good, Americans have varying ideas of how to define the public good of education. For that reason, policymakers have struggled to implement policy that satisfies the multiple and sometimes competing purposes of education that have developed over time. Some of these multiple purposes include socialization (Gracey, 1972), preparing youth for democratic participation (Dewey, 1938), inculcating literacy (Hirsh, 1985), decreasing inequality and preparing youth for the work force (“A Nation at Risk”). However, one of the most important lessons learned from education policy and reform is that “policy can’t mandate what matters” (McLaughlin, 1987, 1991); policy can only act as the change agent for providing youth with the best educational opportunities. Policymakers are hard pressed to develop a policy that satisfies the varying assumptions of the purpose of education. For example, *Brown v. Board of Education*, sought to end unequal educational opportunities for Black youth through the integration of youth. It was impossible for the Supreme Court to mandate that all children receive equal educational opportunities, for that is an ideal, not a tangible resource. However, policymakers could develop a policy that would in theory

result in equal educational opportunities through integrated schools. As a result of the legal ruling, a very contentious bussing policy was instituted in some cities, with the most notable bussing policies in Little Rock, Arkansas. Even in the 21st century, the United States is still searching for the best way to educate low income and minority youth in order to help them rise above their current circumstance, a proposition that goes hand-in-hand with the American dream; however, the current No Child Left Behind legislation was also unable to mandate what matters, high educational quality of all students.

A review of the history of school reform presents a pattern of cyclical reform efforts that have encountered the same impediments—namely, challenges regarding implementation (Tyack & Cuban, 1995). However, this major finding has not discouraged countless efforts focused on improving the education system. Since the 1950s, many education policies and reform efforts have focused on increasing the quality of education provided to minority and low income students. In an analysis of education reform from the 1970s to the late 1980s, O’Day and Smith (1993) concluded that the greatest decrease in the achievement gap between Black and White students, and advantaged urban students and disadvantaged students, occurred between that 20 year span as a result of social policy and educational reform focused on curriculum and instruction. However, the momentum surrounding the increase in Black and low income student achievement during the 1971-1988 quickly regressed as a result of lessened social policies and a new reform agenda which stemmed from the 1983 report “A Nation at Risk” (O’Day & Smith, 1993). According to Lee (2002), the achievement gap between basic skills decreased between the 1970s and 1980s but the gap between ethnic minorities at the advanced skill level increased during the 1990s (p. 10). Scholars agree that it is

extremely difficult to develop policy that has a meaningful and sustained impact on the core of schooling—curriculum and instruction (R. F. Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988; McLaughlin, 1991; O'Day & Smith, 1993; Tyack & Cuban, 1995)—the portion of the education system that has the largest impact on student achievement. Furthermore, a single reform's life span may be too short to even provide evidence of its promised impact on student achievement, before it is forgotten and policymakers and educators have moved on to the next reform.

The tension within education reform stems from one component of the policy world—implementation. Policy implementation has even been referred to as the “black box” (McLaughlin, 1991). Historically, policy analysts were unfamiliar with how local practices, beliefs, and traditions effected the outcomes of well intended and assumedly well designed policies, but it became apparent that there was not a direct relationship between policy “inputs” and school “outputs” (McLaughlin, 1991, p. 144). Furthermore, McLaughlin (1991) argues that “implementation dominates outcome” (p. 147) and there are many factors that contribute to the implementation of a policy. Therefore, an outcome is directly affected by the implementation. Teachers, who are often responsible for implementing educational policies, bring myriad of experiences and beliefs to each classroom, and therefore no policy will be implemented the same way by every teacher. An examination of the implementation of a policy is instrumental in understanding its outcomes.

Multicultural Education

Multicultural education has long been held as a curricular policy that could have a positive impact by increasing the academic achievement of African American students;

however, there is no evidence that multicultural education will have any academic impact. Proponents of multicultural education, such as James Banks and Cherry Banks (2001) define multicultural education

as an educational reform movement, and a process whose major goal is to change the structure of educational institutions so that male and female students, exceptional students, and students who are members of diverse racial, ethnic, language and cultural groups will have an equal chance to achieve academically in school (p. 1).

Asante (1991), another advocate of multicultural education argues that Black students would benefit from a multicultural course about their history in Africa as well as in the United States. The underlying assumption is that through the exposure to this rich information would enlighten Black youth about their accomplishments and rich history in the world which would in turn increase their academic achievement in school.

Multicultural education was developed out of the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, in which women and ethnic minorities were fighting for equality in all aspects of the American society. This struggle included representation in the public school curriculum and in academic programs in institutions of higher education. According to Ravitch (1983),

...black students began in the mid-1960s to seek a campus version of 'black power.' Black students [in institutions of higher education] organized to demand such things as programs in black studies, more black faculty and administrators, increased black enrollments, special admissions for unprepared students, and separate black dormitories (p. 210).

There were similar protests in which African Americans vied for historical representation in the public school curricula. The civil rights movement presents a history of the hard fight for multicultural education in urban cities across the country. In 1963 in Boston, school officials developed a multicultural education program to educate their poor black youth about prominent African Americans in an effort to increase their self-esteem and provide them with “cultural enrichment” (Nelson, 2005, p. 34). Around the same time, New York City community leaders and parents demanded the teaching of “Negro history” in their public schools, and a similar struggle was being played out in Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Dougherty, 2004; Perlstein, 2004). As previously noted, the city of Philadelphia was also involved in a similar battle with African American students and the superintendent of the district’s schools. Advocates of multicultural education have looked to this curriculum to increase educational opportunities for Black students.

Almost forty years later, scholars still assert that multicultural education is an important aspect of urban school reform. For example, Anyon (1991), the author of *Ghetto Schooling: A Political Economy of Urban Educational Reform*, argued that Black youth do not have the knowledge of prominent historical and present day Black leaders. She further maintains that teachers should also be well versed in this historical tradition in order to provide Black inner-city youth with the highest quality of education. Still other scholars have noted that Black youth have showed an interest in learning about their history. In a study of oppositional attitudes towards school of Black students in a majority African American middle school, Ford and Harris (1996) found that Black students were more interested in school when they learned about their culture and prominent African Americans in history.

In a response to the demands for multicultural education from African Americans and women and other ethnic minorities, multicultural education has taken on many different forms. According to Sleeter (1996), there are five different multicultural education traditions. Teaching the Culturally Different is a form of multicultural education that attempts to increase academic achievement through the development of “culturally compatible education programs” (Sleeter, 1996, p. 6). The Human Relations approach “aims toward sensitivity training and teaches that ‘we are all the same because we are different’ and the third approach’s goal is to “redesign schooling to make it model the ideal pluralistic and equal society” (Sleeter, 1996, p. 6). This approach is simply called multicultural education. The fourth approach, “Education that is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist, teaches directly about political and economic oppression and discrimination, and prepares young people to use social action skills” (Sleeter, 1996, p. 6).

The fifth multicultural education approach is employed by the Philadelphia School District, which is the focus of this study. Sleeter (1996) refers to this typology as the “Single Group Studies.” Single Group Studies focuses on one particular cultural group and teaches youth about this group’s long-lasting and continuous oppression, as well as their history and contributions to the world. According to Hilliard, Payton-Stewart, and Williams (1990) “the goal of African and African American curriculum infusion is to provide information that will assure that students are presented with a more total truth about the human experience” (p. xxi), a right that many multicultural education advocates feel that African American students have been denied.

Intended Effects of Multicultural Education

Proponents of multicultural education argue that it will serve many purposes for minority youth, and more specifically African American students. Asante (1991) argues that “African Americans who are often as ignorant as Whites about African achievements adjust their attitudes about themselves once they are exposed to new information” (p. 270). He maintains that White Americans are more likely to be accepting of the other cultures once they are exposed to multicultural information and perspectives. Furthermore, Ginwright (2004) notes this type of curriculum can help liberate Black students from a Eurocentric mind frame and find pride within their race and heritage, while accepting other cultures.

Studies have reported that African American students would be more interested in school if they learned more about their history and culture. In Fordham and Ogbu (1986) “chestnut” article, *Black students’ school success: Coping with the “burden of ‘Acting White’*, the authors discuss the oppositional culture of Black students in an inner city school in Washington, D.C. Students reported that they are more engaged in learning when they learn about prominent African Americans. In another study of oppositional attitudes of Black students in a majority African American middle school, the authors found that

Most students expressed a desire to learn more about Blacks and other racially and culturally diverse groups. For instance, more than three in four students found school more interesting when they learned about Blacks, and almost two in five of the Black students reported that they are tired of learning about White People in school (Ford & Harris, 1996, p. 1149).

Ford and Harris (1996) assert that Black students need a curriculum that “affirms their self-concepts and racial identities” (p. 1149).

Multicultural education advocates assert that this curriculum will have two effects on Black youth. The first proposition maintains that multicultural education will increase the self-esteem of Black students which will lead to increased academic achievement (Asante, 1991; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986, Giddings, 2001; Ford & Harris, 1996). The underlying assumption is that multicultural education will increase self-esteem of Black students by teaching them about their long history in the world, which is not often taught in schools. Multicultural education can expose Black youth to the scientific accomplishments and philosophical beliefs of Africans and African Americans which will increase Black students’ evaluations of themselves and their abilities.

The second proposition posits that multicultural education will help Black students develop a healthy Black identity which will lead to increased academic achievement (Ford & Harris, 1996; Sleeter, 1996; Carter & Goodwin, 1994).

Multicultural education scholars believe that the American education system does not help Black youth foster a positive Black identity. Black youth are not represented in the curriculum and they are only taught that their history in America begins and ends with slavery. If Black youth were taught about the rich history of African and the history of African Americans in the United States, they would develop a healthy Black identity which would lead to high academic achievement. Research suggests there is a positive correlation between a racialized identity that has pride for one’s race and academic achievement (Smith, Walker, Fields, Brookins, & Seay, 1999), but there is no research that supports or negates the premise that multicultural education can lead to a more

positive Black identity. These constructs, self-esteem and Black identity will be discussed in further detail in the following sections.

Self Esteem. Since proponents of multicultural education claim that such a curriculum will increase the self-esteem of Black students, it is important to define self-esteem and how adolescents evaluate themselves. According to Harter (1993) self-esteem is defined as “the level of global regard that one has for the self as a person” (p. 88). People use many indicators to evaluate themselves and usually only evaluate themselves based on a certain criteria that they deem important in their lives. Hence, self-esteem is multifaceted and there are many domains that make up one’s global self-esteem. Some of these domains include “scholastic competence, athletic competence, social acceptance, physical appearance, and behavioral conduct” (Harter, 1993: p. 89).

African American youth tend to report high levels of global self-esteem, which is an overall assessment of how a person rates themselves according to what they find important in people’s lives. Furthermore, on global assessments of self-esteem, Black students report higher levels of self-esteem than their White, Asian, and Latino counterparts (Greene & Way, 2005). However, there are many domain specific dimensions of self-esteem that deserve careful interpretation when explaining the self-esteem of Black adolescents. For example, Black youth tend to rate themselves higher on certain dimensions of self-esteem, such as interpersonal relationships, but lower on levels of academic self-esteem (Hare, 1987). The goal of multicultural education is to increase self-esteem of Black students by teaching them about their long history in the world, which is not often taught in schools. Proponents of multicultural education have not fully examined the multifaceted complexities of self-esteem and should focus their attention on

academic self-esteem, since this dimension of self is somewhat weaker than others.

Academic self-esteem was also found to be a better indicator of academic behavior, than a global measure of self-esteem (Rosenberg, Schooler, Schoenback, & Rosenberg, 1995).

Black Identity. Education policy studies scholars are most familiar with Ogbu's discussion of Black oppositional identity. Fordham and Ogbu (1986) studied Black students' oppositional identity, in which the authors argued that as a result of the African American's caste-like status in the United States, Black youth have developed an identity that is in direct opposition to the mainstream American values. Fordham and Ogbu (1986) maintain that Black adolescents perceive that a job ceiling exists and that the educational system is not a viable solution to move out of their lower status. For that reason, African American students do not put forth the effort to achieve academically in school, and they accuse their high achieving Black peers of 'Acting White.'

However, issues of identity development date back to Erikson's (1968) work on adolescent identity development, and Kenneth Clark and Mamie Clark (1939a, 1939b, 1947) pioneered the studying Black identity, when they examined the effects of segregated schools on young Black children. The Clark studies can be characterized as an examination of Black identity that focuses on preference of their own racial group or that of the dominant White society. Since the Clarks' initial study of Black identity, psychologists and sociologists have developed definitions of Black identity which are more complex and multifaceted than what has been historically referenced. Research suggests that ethnic/racial identity is a developmental process. For example, Phinney (1989) posits three stages of ethnic identity: diffusion/foreclosure, which is an adolescent who has given some thought about their ethnic identity; moratorium stage, which is

defined as a student who has explored what it means to be of their particular ethnicity, but still unsure of what it means to be of that ethnicity; and achieved stage, when an adolescent has explored, understands, and accepts their own ethnicity.

While Phinney's (1989) work has focused on the rainbow of races and ethnicities of American youth, other scholars have solely focused on the identity development of African Americans. The Nigrescence theory of racial identity development also proposes a developmental model (Cross & Vandiver, 2001). Cross and Vandiver (2001) posit that African Americans go through various stages of racial identity, and they might even go through these stages multiple times throughout their life span. The eight stages of Black identity theorized in the Nigrescence model range from the Pre-encounter miseducation, which typifies a Black person who buys into superficial and stereotypical depictions about Black people, to the internalization multiculturalist stage, which typifies a Black person "whose identity fuses or reticulates linkages between three or more social categories or frames of reference" (p. 376).

Smith and Brookins (1997) have developed a multifaceted definition of Black identity that encompasses four distinct dimensions instead of stages, which is referred to as the Multi-Construct African American Identity Questionnaire (MCAIQ). Social orientation is defined as the adolescents' desire or tendency to interact with people of their same ethnic group. Appearance orientation is a measure of adolescents' esteem about their physical features and the attitudinal subscale measures the youth's beliefs in stereotypical depictions of Black people. The final dimension Black identity is referred to as cooperative values, which is a measure of "the degree to which youth like to work with others" of their own race (p.369).

Research on racial/ethnic identity suggests that Black identity is related to a long list of social and academic outcomes. Smith, Atkins, and Connell (2003) concluded in a study of racial-ethnic pride of fourth grade students, that students who encompassed more racial pride were also more likely to be high academic achievers. Smith et al. (1999) suggest that ethnic identity influenced Black youth's academic achievement and prosocial attitudes. In a study of African American middle school students, Constantine and Blackmon's (2002) research suggest that students who encompassed a more Eurocentric view of ethnic-racial socialization tend to report lower values of academic self-esteem.

Opponents of multicultural education have argued that self-esteem is not a valid indicator of minority academic achievement. Ravitch (1990) argues that other ethnic youth, such as Asian Americans, report lower levels of self-esteem than their White counterparts, but outperform Whites academically. Her rationale is that Asian American parents inculcate their value for high academic achievement in their youth, and Black youth could benefit from that same encouragement from their families. This assumption also inexplicitly eludes to cultural values that impact one's racial identity. So one central question remains: why should education policymakers care about self-esteem and Black identity? Ravitch has made a similar mistake as other multiculturalists who have not fully examined the many facets of self-esteem. If one takes a closer examination at the self-esteem literature, there is research that suggests that the dimension of academic self-esteem is a significant indicator of academic behaviors (Rosenberg et al., 1995).

Furthermore, research suggests that there is a relationship between ethnic identity and academic achievement (Smith et al., 1999; Oyeshiku Smith, Levine, Smith & Dumas, 2009). Kao (2000) conducted focus groups with students from various racial/ethnic

groups including African American, White, Asian, and Hispanic. The results suggest that students from all racial/ethnic groups in the school held the same stereotypes about racial academic orientations. For example, 'acting White' was defined by all racial groups as being "well educated," "studious," and "in honors classes" (p. 414). However, 'acting Black' was defined by all racial groups as being "bad in academics," and "less likely than Whites to be in honors classes" (p. 414). The Black students in the study argue that "others see them as less intelligent" (p. 414). Not only do Black students define 'acting White' as being highly academically inclined, but other racial groups held negative stereotypes about African American students. These responses point to a serious problem. This dilemma is not just about the Black family inculcating a value for high academic achievement, as Ravitch (1990) argues, but youth of all races believe that Black youth are academically inferior. The goal of educators of all levels, from teachers to policymakers, is to develop strategies to educate all children, especially disadvantage youth. Providing Black youth with a multicultural education class that is aimed at increasing self-esteem and helping students develop a positive Black identity is just one unexplored possibility.

Multicultural education has also been included in discussions of standards based reform. Standards based reform is a systemic approach to increasing the achievement of American youth through the development of common standards that all students should be able to achieve. This reform movement proposes the development of curriculum and instruction strategies that will help students reach the content standards for their grade level. The underlying assumption behind standards based reform is that America's educational standards have been set too low, and, therefore there is a significant achievement gap between White/Asian American youth and Black/Latino youth.

Furthermore, the United States as a whole is performing at a lower level than other industrialized countries. O'Day and Smith (1993) argue that:

The legitimacy and effectiveness of a systemic curricular approach will ultimately rest in the ability of the system to establish challenging curricular goals while striking a creative balance between the common culture and needs of the whole society on the one hand and the diverse perspectives, needs, and histories of subgroups and individuals on the other (p. 294).

Even in a climate of high curricular and performance standards for children, multicultural education is viewed as a necessary component of the reform effort. O'Day and Smith (1993) view multicultural education as a mechanism for providing subgroups with an equal chance for achieving at a high standard.

Though the relationships between self-esteem, ethnic identity and pride, and academic achievement are well evidenced in the psychology literature, the empirical evidence as to whether multicultural education can achieve its proposed goals is somewhat limited. In an experimental study of the effect of an Afrocentric course on African American eighth graders, Lewis, Sullivan & Bybee (2006) found that all the course's goals were met in the experimental group. For example, results demonstrated that the course improved students' "communal orientation, school connectedness, motivation to achieve, and overall social change involvement compared with the control group" (p. 18). However, other research on the effect of such curricula are mixed. Hudley (1997) found very mixed results of the effect of a multicultural education course, but she argues that the results could be due to the small sample size and the exploratory nature of

the study. Furthermore, in a study of an Afrocentric education reform movement in a high school in Oakland, California, Ginwright (2004) concluded that there was no increase in academic indicators used to evaluate the program. These indicators include high school enrollment, GPA of college prep courses, drop out rate, suspension rate, percentage of students going on to college, the number of students taking the SAT, and the number of graduates. More evaluative research of this nature is needed to fully understand the effects of multicultural education curricula.

Policy Implementation

Developing policies, such as a multicultural education policy can be challenging. Since the first attempt at including multicultural education in the curriculum in the 1960s, there has always been some push back from the community and teaching staff (Countryman, 2006; Dougherty, 2004; Perlstein, 2004). However, implementing policy within schools presents its own set of challenges for educators for many reasons. Most implementation challenges can be traced back to two major themes: will and capacity (McLaughlin, 1987, 1991). According to McLaughlin (1987), the concept of will focuses on the teachers' beliefs of the particular policy intended to be implemented by teachers. Beliefs about the goals of the policy, the anticipated outcomes of the policy, and their beliefs about the methods by which the policymakers propose to achieve these goals are all components of will. The concept of will is largely individual and is influenced by many factors including personal beliefs and school culture. Capacity has an individualistic component as well, such as whether a teacher has the knowledge base to implement an education reform; however, it is also influenced by external forces. Policymakers bear a significant portion of responsibility with regards to providing

capacity-building opportunities for teachers. The following section will address these two major themes in policy implementation—will and capacity—and the intractable challenges they present for education reform.

Will to Implement Policy

Mobilizing people to act in the public's interest is very challenging. Even though many people believe in the possibility of improving the education system for the betterment of the United States (Puriefoy, 2005); the methods by which improvement has been proposed has jaded some, especially teachers (Sizer, 2000; Sunderman, Tracey, Kim, & Orfield, 2004). So much policy talk is directed towards teachers because teachers usually inherit most of the responsibility for implementing educational policies, and policymakers tend to direct policy towards changing the teaching profession. Since many reform efforts have focused on curriculum and instructional practices, the core responsibilities of teachers, it is imperative to policy analysts to understand or examine teachers' beliefs regarding any proposed educational practice that deviates from their traditional roles.

The term “street-level bureaucrats” was coined to refer to those responsible for implementing policy (Weatherley & Lipsky, 1977). Policy is developed at the federal, state, or local level and then policy goals and proposed practices are articulated to teachers through professional development. Even before any directive is disseminated to teachers, teachers begin developing attitudes and beliefs about the policy. Not only are teachers developing their own beliefs about the policy, but they help shape and influence the beliefs of other teachers in their same building. The belief system of a group of people who share common work goals and space is referred to the organization culture.

As research suggests, it is extremely difficult to change the organizational culture of schools. Evans (2001) argues, “at the deepest level of culture there are basic assumptions. These are fundamental underlying shared convictions that guide behavior and shape the way group members perceive, think, and feel” (p. 514). In order to impact meaningful change in the teaching profession, many reform efforts attempt to indirectly infiltrate the culture of teachers, but research suggests that a school’s organizational culture is somewhat fixed and impermeable (Evans, 2001). Policy messages presented to teachers are filtered through their belief systems and have an effect on their will to implement the policy. Researches have attempted to examine the characteristics that make up a strong culture in a school so that these aspects can be implemented in other schools with weaker cultures (Evans, 2001). However, organizational culture, whether weak or strong, is resistant to change. A culture provides its members, in this instance, education practitioners, with a familiar operating structure. The longer the culture exists, the more difficult it is to impact or change (Evans, 2001).

The previous discussion of school culture may be perceived negatively; however, this is a reality of all organizations, and with so many competing ideas about the responsibilities of educators, teachers need a way or a mechanism to determine what is most important and achievable. Oftentimes, policy adds another bureaucratic hoop for teachers to jump through on top of their already hectic work day (Shulman, 1983; Sizer, 2000). For example, Sizer (2000) highlights the multiple challenges a high school English teacher encounters during a typical school day. He had to prepare three separate classes for three different grade levels ranging from 9th grade to AP English, but can only devote ten minutes of preparation time per class. In order to provide his students with

ample opportunity for writing and revision, he could only assign a few paragraphs a week, but must alternate the weekly assignments with each section so that he will have time to provide feedback. The quality of feedback he would like to provide his students is compromised by his teaching load and other responsibilities. Not to mention the constant challenge of providing appropriate individual feedback during class (Shulman, 1983; Sizer, 2000). Horace teaches in a middle class suburban school and he suggests that he knows his job would be much more challenging in an urban district characterized by larger class loads and unruly students. McLaughlin (1991) argues that “for many teachers, policy goals... were simply part of a broader environment that pressed upon their classrooms” (p. 151). Adding another piece of paperwork on top of attendance reports and individualized education reports or trying to include a new pedagogical component, which requires more preparation time, greatly affects a teacher’s enthusiasm about implementing a new educational policy.

Another issue that affects teachers’ will to implement policy is the policy process itself. Many educational policies and reforms are developed through a top-down approach (L. Darling-Hammond, 1990; R. F. Elmore, 1983). Federal, State, and local administrators identify a problem and develop a policy or reform for teachers to implement. Teachers are rarely given the opportunity to participate in the policy development phase, but they are held accountable for its successful implementation. The policy tools used to change teacher behavior also sends a message to teachers about how policymakers view the teaching profession, whether it is through a reward system to encourage teachers to participate or require teachers to participate through mandates and consequences (McDonnell & Elmore, 1987; Schneider & Ingram, 1990). When it comes

to educational policy, teachers are largely ignored until it is time to measure the outcomes of the policy, which tend to shed a negative light on teachers (Shulman, 1983). One could assume that teachers would have meaningful insight to provide policymakers about their profession to assist them in the development in feasible policy initiatives; however, teachers continue to be an untapped resource.

When teachers are involved in developing policy that they are more likely to “buy-in to” the goals of the policy or reform and the policy is more likely to be sustained and impact the core of teaching (Hoo, 1990; Chrispeels, 1997). For example, Hoo (1990), an elementary school principal who discovered a disjointed system of providing one young student with special education services, involved her teaching staff in developing a more logical and less bureaucratic system for students with special needs to receive assistance. The teachers were able to come together and even challenge some of their cultural norms and beliefs to make the services they provide to all students better, while also increasing teaching morale in the school. Another reform effort in the state of California designed to improve their students’ critical thinking and problem solving skills also included teachers in the development of the test items and provided ongoing workshops, or academies, to provide teachers with the appropriate training (Chrispeels, 1997). Though the reform effort was discontinued only a few years after it was implemented due to changes in leadership and low test scores, teachers were still using the pedagogical practices ten years later. Their involvement in the development of the policy greatly influenced their will to implement the policy, and because the “buy-in” was so high, it meaningfully penetrated their core belief system and teaching practices.

Capacity to Implement Policy

The capacity to implement an educational reform or policy is of the utmost concern to policy analysts. As previously mentioned, competing responsibilities between current teaching responsibilities and those proposed by the new reform initiative or policy heavily impacts a teacher's will to implement the policy. However, competing responsibilities also impact a teacher's capacity to implement the policy. Teachers are limited by the quality and quantity of resources available for them to implement policy. These resources include tangible educational tools, such as curriculum, text books, paraprofessionals, and supplemental materials, and intangible resources, such as professional development and instructional support.

One would assume that textbooks, one of the most basic and fundamental requirements of any school classroom, would be provided to all children in any given school. Unfortunately, the reality of many low-income schools is that many children either go without a textbook of their own and/or the textbook is grossly outdated (Kozol, 1991). In 2000, a student sued the state of California due to the low quality and quantity of resources in the state's low-income schools (Jacobson, 2006). Even under the current authorization of No Child Left Behind, policymakers have neglected to provide teachers and students with the most basic educational tools (Jacobson, 2006). Prominent educational scholars, such as Deborah Meier (2002) also note that the of quality resources are necessary to increase achievement.

Another issue regarding teachers' capacity to implement policy is teachers' competence to implement the policy. Shulman (1983) argues that "many teachers may simply be incapable of implementing certain mandates" because they either do not fully

understand the rationale of the policy or they do not have the skill set required to implement the policy and professional development has failed to address the training of teachers adequately” (p. 491). A policy might require teachers to learn a wide range of new instructional practices or curriculum. Even where buy-in or will is high, the charge of learning new curricula or pedagogy can be difficult and time consuming. The implementation of a policy, especially a curricular reform, requires quality training and continued instructional support for teachers.

An example of the interplay between high buy-in to a policy and lack of capacity comes from David Cohen (1990). In an article titled “A Revolution in One Classroom: The Case of Mrs. Oublier,” Cohen (1990) describes Mrs. Oublier as an energetic young teacher in a lower-middle class school who embraced a mathematics reform in the mid 1980s in the state of California. Mrs. Oublier agreed that her pedagogical practices were more traditional and that she believed that teaching math “for understanding” through concrete examples would improve her students’ mathematics skills. However, Mrs. Oublier’s implementation or execution of the new math program contradicted some of the core features of the curriculum. Cohen (1990) points out that the curriculum “argues that understanding how to arrive at answers is an essential part of helping students to figure out how mathematics works—perhaps more important than whether the answers are right or wrong” (p. 313). In spite of the curriculum’s goals, Mrs. Oublier unknowingly reverted back to a very traditional method of addressing students’ answers to math problems. She accepted correct answers by making note of them on the board and rejected incorrect answers; but, students were not given an explanation on why answers were right or wrong. Cohen (1990) argues that “the teacher used a new mathematics curriculum, but

used it in a way that conveyed a sense of mathematics as a fixed body of right answers, rather than as a field of inquiry in which people figure out quantitative relations” (p. 313).

Cohen (1990) also points out that Mrs. Oublier attended a workshop and she had the same curriculum materials in which she was evaluated against by Cohen. However, there was no evaluation of the training Mrs. Cohen received. It is unclear how many training sessions were made available to math teachers and whether there was a venue for her to seek further support in implementing the curriculum. In order to seek assistance, Mrs. Oublier would have to be aware of her shortcomings in implementing the new math curriculum. One of the major challenges in implementing educational reform is teaching teachers (R. F. Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988). Providing quality professional development in order to increase the capacity of teachers is essential if any positive educational outcome is desired and professional development cannot be a one shot deal. Educational experts suggest that any real educational outcome cannot be measured for at least five years after its implementation (O'Day & Smith, 1993), so providing ongoing assistance to teachers can make a big impact over the course of that time frame.

The previous discussions about will and capacity are not meant to imply that these two important aspects of policy implementation manifest in isolation. It is possible that teachers do not believe in a certain school reform initiative and they do not have the capacity to implement the reform. In a study of Baltimore, Maryland's attempts to reform their public schools during the early 1990s, Stone (1996) found that teachers neither believed in the proposed method of improving the city's schools, nor did they have the capacity to do so. The evaluation described Baltimore's schools as being “afflicted with a ‘culture of complacency’ and low expectations” (Stone, 1996, p. 13). The report further

stated that the educational system was focused on protecting the jobs of unqualified teachers. Proposals to move low-performing teachers out of the Baltimore school system were made and those that wanted to stay would have been provided with intense professional development to increase performance (Stone, 1996). However, no reform was actually implemented at that time because the Baltimore school system helped create a middle class in the county. If these teachers were forced out of the district, there were no promising jobs readily available for low-performing teachers in surrounding districts. The culture of the teaching staff, their ineffective teaching methods, and the fear of the loss of job security made reform in the city very difficult during that time.

Variation is the Norm

Considering that education policy implementation greatly depends on individual teacher will and capacity, the implementation of policy varies from classroom to classroom and from school to school. Teachers' beliefs in a certain policy vary and their knowledge of how to implement the policy varies; furthermore, they may not have the appropriate resources to implement the proposed reform at the school level or the district level. There are two factors that contribute to the variation in policy implementation. The first factor is related to the organization of the U.S. educational system, which has been described as a loosely coupled system (R. F. Elmore, 1983; McLaughlin, 1991; Weick, 1976). The second factor is related to the challenge of bringing educational policies to scale, which is described as a deeper, more meaningful implementation of policy (Coburn, 2003; R. F. Elmore, 1996).

The main characteristic that hinders the uniformity of policy implementation is the exact variation upon which the U.S. educational system is founded. Weick (1976)

argues, “by loose coupling, the author intends to convey the image that coupled events are responsive, but that each event also preserves its own identity and some evidence of its physical or logical separateness” (p. 3). For example, schools are distinctively different from chain fast food restaurants because one may be about to travel around the country and find the same menu items at a McDonald’s restaurant, whether it be in Idaho or New York. However, you can travel even from city to city within the same state and find that schools provide very different course offerings. Though the purpose of schools is to educate youth, schools are small, independent institutions within the larger system that develop different rules, course offerings, and reforms based on their consumer. The unit of analysis in Weick’s (1976) work includes the federal, state, local, and school level institutions, or even within a school, the administrative staff is loosely coupled with teachers and students. This type of system allows the various organizational structures within the educational system to work efficiently, are uninterrupted by changes in the other coupled systems, and “fosters perseverance.” Weick (1976) argues that a loosely coupled system makes “localized adaptation” easier and allows local school districts to cater their services to a diverse student population (p. 6).

More succinctly, a loosely coupled system fosters variability and institutional culture. Teachers have their own system that they operate and to a certain degree have autonomy over the decisions they make in the classroom. When policy is proposed at the federal, state, or local level, this type of system makes transfer of the goals of the policy more difficult because the job functions of teachers and policymakers are weakly connected. Therefore, policymakers may propose policies that are outside of the capabilities of teachers because their daily responsibilities are so vastly different.

Furthermore, there are advantages and disadvantages to local adaptation of a policy. It is advantageous when local school districts and teachers are able to adapt policy to meet the needs of their students. For example, if a reading reform requires teachers to spend at least 45 minutes of guided reading instruction per class, it would be acceptable for a teacher to spend 30 minutes on reading instruction and save 15 minutes for alternating reading groups, if the teacher has a high achieving reading class. The teacher may also have a small class size compared to other school districts. However, if a teacher in a low achieving school district with a larger than average class size would propose the same adaptation, it may have a negative impact on an already low achieving group of students. The challenge in adapting policy to meet the local needs of school and classrooms is discerning when adaptation is beneficial or detrimental to the goals of the policy. Ms. Oublier's classroom is a case in point (D. K. Cohen, 1990).

Weick (1976) also argues that a loosely coupled system is able to "isolate its troubled spots and prevent them from spreading" (p. 7). For example, the dysfunctional educational system in Baltimore did not spread to other school districts because of the United States decentralized education system (Stone, 1996). The Baltimore case also provides support for Weick's (1976) argument that a loosely coupled system "fosters perseverance" because the Baltimore school system has been plagued by the same issues for many years. Stone's report was presented in 1996; however, Baltimore's education system has not improved since then (Raymond & Raymond, 2008). Elmore (1983) also argues that "lack of central control allows pockets of incompetence to develop and remain essentially immune from discovery" (p. 358). Perseverance helps maintain negative school cultures that do not embrace change and innovation and positive school

cultures. Again, Baltimore's isolated school district developed a system of protecting and promoting unqualified teachers. These criticisms of a loosely coupled system are not meant to suggest the centralization of the US educational system, but to highlight the challenges in implementing policy and explain the variation in policy implementation.

Bringing Policy to Scale

Bringing a policy to scale encompasses some of the components of policy implementation that have been discussed above, but it also provides a framework for understanding how other components of successful policy implementation and what that means. Coburn (2003) defines scale as "the spread of reforms not only to multiple teachers, schools, and districts,...but also sustaining change in a multilevel system characterized by multiple and shifting priorities" (p. 3). This description of scale describes a more meaningful and deeper level of implementing a policy. It is not only a measure of the amount of teachers, schools, or districts who are participating in the reform effort, but the quality of their participation on an individual level and an organizational level. Furthermore, scale is more than a superficial participation in the activities of the reform or policy, but a genuine belief in the goals of the policy and an authentic change in classroom practices.

Coburn (2003) hypothesizes four dimensions of scale: depth, sustainability, spread, and shift of ownership. Depth addresses the core of teaching and the extent to which the reform has changed the pedagogical practices and the teacher's interactions with students. In the case of Ms. Oublier, she would not have reached the desired level of depth with the math reform because she continued to engage her students in her traditional manner of only acknowledging answers as right or wrong, and not providing

her students with explanations for their answers or asking students to explain how they arrived at a particular answer. Sustainability involves the long-lasting implementation of a reform or policy. Teachers bear their part of the responsibility by adhering to the policy guidelines, but districts also have a responsibility to provide teachers with ongoing professional development or support and resources. In a district with high teacher turnover, sustaining a policy might be one of their biggest challenges. Districts also have the responsibility of providing teachers with enough training to become fully acquainted with a reform effort, before ending the district's or school's involvement with the reform. Spread, the third component of scale, is one of the most complex dimensions. It includes a measure of how many districts and schools have implemented the reform or policy, but it is also an evaluative measure of how the reform has spread within districts, schools, and classrooms. Coburn (2003) argues that spread at the school level would include aspects of the reform becoming "embedded in school policy and routines" and within the classroom level, spread would also mean that aspects of the reform would trickle into other parts of the teachers work day, not specified in the reform (p. 5). The last component of scale, shift in reform ownership, refers to the "buy-in" or acceptance of the policy on the part of the street-level bureaucrats. Educators would not only implement the policy, they would also believe in the goals of the policy. Shift in reform ownership also signifies a change in school culture because the reform has become entrenched in their daily work. Previous research suggests that shift of ownership can be enhanced when teachers are involved in the policy development process (Chrispeels, 1997; Hoo, 1990).

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the existing literature regarding school reform and the challenges associated with education policy implementation. Using policy implementation as a conceptual lens, this dissertation research plans to examine the implementation of a multicultural education policy in an urban district. It is imperative to examine the implementation of the multicultural education policy because many prominent scholars believe in the transformative effect of such a curriculum; however, there has been little research on the outcomes of multicultural education on the academic outcomes of Black youth. Furthermore, the research that does exist provides a limited evidence to support the major assumption that multicultural education has a positive impact on student achievement (Lewis, Sullivan & Bybee, 2006; Hudley, 1997; Ginwright, 2004).

The ultimate goal of educational reform is to increase academic achievement. As previously mentioned, it is not as simple as developing some inputs, such as resources or a new curriculum, and waiting to evaluate the reform's outputs. There is an entire middle ground that consists of individual teachers with their values, in schools that develop their organizational beliefs and cultures, within districts, and the various levels continue to add layers onto a seemingly complicated institution. The real challenge of implementing policy is changing the smallest unit, teachers. Elmore (1996) argues that "the core of schooling—defined as the standard solutions to the problem of how knowledge is defined, how teachers relate to students around knowledge, how teachers relate to other teachers in the course of their daily work, how students are grouped for purposes of instruction, how content is allocated to time, and how students' work is assessed—

changes very little” (pp. 301-302) due to educational reforms. Furthermore, there are multiple layers of change that scholars argue need to occur in order for the “core of schooling” to be changed or for educational reform to be taken to scale (Coburn, 2003; R. F. Elmore, 1996).

The major gaps in the multicultural education literature are that there has not been an examination of the implementation of a multicultural education curriculum or clear research on its effects. For example, it is unclear why such a course did not produce positive outcomes in the Oakland Public Schools (Ginwright, 2004). However, the answer could lie in the implementation of the course. In order to better understand the outcomes of the multicultural education requirement in the Philadelphia Public Schools, the District’s goals for the course and their decisions around the development of the course will be examined. Teachers’ experiences teaching the African American history (AAH) course will also be instrumental in examining how the course was implemented.

CHAPTER THREE

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework used to develop an explanation for why and how the AAH course was developed draws from Schneider and Ingram's (1993) theory of the social construction of target populations and Shulman's (1983) impediments to policy implementation propositions. In this chapter, I will provide a definition for social construction theory of target populations and how this political science theory has been used in other studies, which will be followed by examples of how it has been used in the education policy literature. Then I will discuss how teachers and students have been socially constructed in the education policy literature, as teachers and students are the two main target populations in the AAH course requirement. The next section of the paper examines Shulman's (1983) five propositions about the impediments of implementing education policy. Finally, I will provide a more in-depth presentation of my research questions and how these two theoretical frameworks will help explain the findings of this research.

Social Construction of Target Populations

Social construction of target populations theory posits that society has developed typologies of groups of people and those characteristics impact all aspects of the policy process. Schneider and Ingram (1993) argue that, "The social construction of a target population refers to (1) the recognition of the shared characteristics that distinguish a target population as socially meaningful, and (2) the attribution of specific, valence, symbols, and images to the characteristics"(p. 335). Though most people in society hold the same social constructions for a particular group, these constructions can become

problematic when public officials develop policy that targets a certain group. The policy process and the social construction of a target population often determine “who gets what and why.”

Figure 3.1 provides a combined diagram of Schneider and Ingram’s (1993) four social constructions of target populations. The theory puts forth four categories of target populations based on a group’s political power and whether the group has a positive or negative social construction. The advantaged group is perceived as positive and powerful. They are considered good, intelligent, and important contributors to the welfare of the country. Policies directed at the advantaged group tend to provide more benefits than burdens. Since this group is also perceived to wield a lot of power in the political process, elected officials develop policies that will benefit this group so that they can secure their political future. Thus, the advantaged group has more control over whether they are burdened or benefit from policies. Examples of groups that fall into the advantaged category are the elderly, business, veterans, and scientists. The government may develop a taxation policy that provides tax breaks for small business owners because they are perceived to be providing an important public good to country—job creation.

Figure 3.1. Social Construction and Power to Impact Policy

		Construction	
		Positive	Negative
Power	Strong	<p>Advantaged Burdens: High control; undersubscribed Benefits: High control; oversubscribed Examples: The elderly, business</p>	<p>Contenders Burdens: Some control; symbolic and overt Benefits: Low control; sub rosa Examples: The rich, big unions</p>
	Weak	<p>Dependents Burdens: No control; oversubscribed Benefits: Low control; undersubscribed Examples: Children, mothers, disabled</p>	<p>Deviants Burdens: No control; very oversubscribed Benefits: No control; very undersubscribed Examples: Criminals, drug addicts</p>

Contenders, the second category, are socially constructed as negative and powerful. They are perceived to only be concerned with their self-interests. Since contenders have a negative social construction, politicians tend to publicize the policy burdens (symbolic and overt) that are imposed on this group in order to maintain their good standing with their positively constructed constituency and discretely develop policies that will benefit (sub rosa) this group. They are perceived to have little control over influencing policy that will benefit them, but have more power over deflecting policies that could burden them. Examples of contenders include rich people, big unions, minorities, cultural elites, and the moral majority. According to Schneider and Ingram (1993), “Policy tells them [contenders] that they are powerful, but they will be treated with suspicion rather than respect”(p. 342).

The third category of target populations is called Dependents. Children, mothers, and the disabled tend to fall into this category. They are perceived to have little power but

are positively constructed. People tend to have sympathy for groups that fall into this category, though policies directed at them tend to present more burdens than benefits, and they have little power over impacting policies that are directed at them. When policies are developed to benefit them, dependents usually have to go through a bureaucratic process that results in some sort of labeling process, which can be demoralizing. Schneider and Ingram (1993) argue that the labeling of poor families in order for them to receive government assistance can often be a humiliating process.

The last category is Deviants and they have a negative perception. Policies directed at deviants tend to overburden them and there are essentially no benefits. They are also perceived to have no power or influence over the policies directed at them. Schneider and Ingram (1993) argue the deviants are more likely to experience punitive policies, even when there is no evidence to suggest that this type of policy is more effective than a policy that has a benefit attached to it, such as jail time for drug addicts as opposed to rehabilitation services. Deviants tend to be criminals, drug addicts, communists, flag burners, or gang members.

Core Principles of Social Construction of Target Populations

Elected officials' social construction of target populations can inform every aspect of the policy process, from proposal to design and implementation. Schneider and Ingram (1993) argue that the types of policies that appear on a politician's agenda often correlate with their election cycle. Their political success often impacts how policy is framed and therefore implemented. Policy framing is a reflection of how target populations are socially constructed and weighs heavily on the public's opinion of the importance of policy. In an attempt to measure the impact of policy framing on the level of support for

low-cost, subsidized housing in a predominantly White, affluent, American suburb, Goetz (2008) concluded that people were more supportive of subsidized housing if the issue was framed as “lifecycle housing” instead of “affordable housing.” Lifecycle housing was a term a developer used to “acknowledge that people’s housing needs, and their abilities to meet those needs, change as they make their way through the lifecycle (p. 223).

The slow response of public officials to develop prevention policy is further highlighted through Keeler’s (2007) examination of the development of AIDS policy. Keeler (2007) argues that it was not until a teenage boy named Ryan White, a hemophiliac, contracted the AIDS virus through a blood transfusion did the federal government develop prevention programs. According to Keeler (2007), the social construction of Ryan, an innocent teenager, allowed the government to begin allocating funds to HIV/AIDS prevention, which was more prevalent in gay men and injection drug users at the time, two populations with deviant social constructions. The author further posits that the dominant perception of the HIV/AIDS as a disease primarily associated with gay men and injection drug users has further slowed the response to preventing the spread of the disease to heterosexual women and children. Furthermore, Nicholson-Crotty and Nicholson-Crotty (2004) argue that since HIV/AIDS was associated with deviant target populations—gay men and injection drug users—the national public policy response has been very slow. The prevention of the spread of AIDS/HIV has been even slower in prison because of prisons’ deviant social construction. Criminals are considered to be undeserving, therefore preventive measures are not warranted.

Policies can also change or reinforce the social construction of target populations. For example, in an attempt to help minorities who were less likely to be eligible for small business loans, the government developed the Economic Opportunity Act (Anglund, 1998). Policymakers' descriptions of the target population, minorities in impoverished cities, changed from a disadvantaged construction to a more positive construction: "the target population, while sometimes referred to as the socially, culturally, and economically disadvantaged, became minority enterprise"(p. 43). The social construction of people in poverty tends to be a negative. Policymakers continued to positively frame the policy as a mechanism by which all Americans can reach their full potential. Some of the language policymakers used to frame the Economic Opportunity Act was, "a chance for 'the dignity that accompanies self-reliance and self respect'a 'self help approach'" (Anglund, 1998, p. 43). The policy language was used to redefine or revalue the role of minorities from a negative construction to a positive construction.

Though the Economic Opportunity Act attempted to change the social construction of poor minorities, Jordan-Zachery (2008) argues that the War on Drugs has led to the negative construction of urban Black women. According to Jordan-Zachery (2008), the War on Drugs was initially designed to break down large scale drug operations, but has resulted in the incarceration of many "small time users" like Black women. She further argues that the negative social construction of urban Black drug addicted mothers ignores the powerlessness of the Black woman in urban areas. She further argues that the negative construction of Black women who are addicted to drugs, has resulted in the unequal medical treatment of pregnant and parenting Black women, for they are not deserving.

Social constructions of target populations can also determine who benefits and who is burdened by public policy (Goetz, 2008; Houston & Richardson, 2004). Policies that are targeted at positively constructed groups are more likely to include benefit this group and those with negative constructions are more likely to be burdened by policies, even when the policy has no empirical evidence of changing the desired behavior. For example, Houston and Richardson (2004) argue that even though preventive measures have been introduced to deter drinking and driving, those convicted of this crime are more likely to receive jail time or mandatory fines than rehabilitation services, even though there is no evidence to suggest that such policies decrease the level of drinking and driving incidents.

Social constructions of target populations have important implications for how policy is developed and implemented. The previous discussion of how social constructions of target populations has impacted various target groups in welfare, AIDS/HIV, crime, housing, and business policies is an example of the robustness of such an abstract concept on individual lives. The next section will focus specifically on how the social construction of target populations has been applied in the education policy literature.

Education Research & Social Construction Theory

This frame also helps us understand education policy. Though Schneider and Ingram (1993) argue that children are considered dependents—socially positive, but no political power—the education policy literature makes a clear distinction between the different categories of students. In terms of education policy, the four target populations put forth by Schneider and Ingram (1993) take on a new meaning for the U.S. education

system because it is a microcosm of society. Where students would typically be categorized as children, who would allocate them to the “Dependents” target population, students could be broken up into all four quadrants in terms of race/ethnicity, disability, language, geographic location, and socio-economic status.

The funding structure of public education has impacted the social construction of students and provides an example of the delineation between advantaged and disadvantaged target populations, highlighting who benefits and who is burdened by education policy. The funding structure of public education is designed in such a way that it benefits students from middle class families and burdens low income urban/rural families (Murray, Evans, & Schwab, 1998). Since local property taxes are the main source of financial support for the U.S. education system, communities where families are able to afford property are able to generate more money to support their schools at lower property tax rates. However, since low income urban families and rural communities are less likely to be able to afford property, they are usually taxed at a much higher rate and are still unable to generate the type of financial support middle class families can generate. The funding structure presents justification for the different social construction of students from middle class families. Students from middle class families are more likely to be considered Advantaged or Contenders, and low income families are more likely to be considered Dependents.

The education policy literature that focuses specifically on the social construction of target populations tends to focus on minority, low income, or disabled students (Gayles, 2007; Itkonen, 2009; Stein, 2001). Itkonen (2009) examined how the social construction of disabled students affected the special education policy decisions the of

federal government. She concluded that when the stories of students with disabilities were socially constructed in a hopeful manner, that they were more likely to win their cases, but when students were socially constructed as having psychological differences from other students, parents and special education groups were more likely to lose their cases. Stein (2001) examined how the social construction of students who received services under Title I impacted their teachers' educational expectations of those students. Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) provides federal money for schools who serve a high proportion of students from low income families. The term "Title I" became a label for rambunctious misbehaving students from poor single-parent homes.

Our social construction of urban Black students wavers from dependents to deviants. Some have described Black youth as angry (Wells & Crain, 1997), oppositional (Fordham & Ogbu, 1986), and having a poor work ethic (Kao, 2000). These types of Black student dispositions would satisfy the deviant target population. Others have described Black youth in a manner that suggests their lack of power has been the main cause of their circumstance, not their personal choices (Anyon, 1991; Kozol, 1991; Stein, 2001). The latter description of Black students fits more with the Schneider and Ingram's (1993) dependent category.

Our social construction of Black youth, especially Black males, as deviants has led to the unequal implementation of Zero Tolerance laws. Minority students, especially African American students are more likely to be suspended or expelled from school than their White counterparts (Keleher, 2000; Skiba, 2000; Verdugo & Glenn, 2002). Keleher (2000) included a story of two students in his testimony that demonstrates the racial

disparities associated with the implementation of zero tolerance policies:

Martin, an African American high school student in Providence, Rhode Island, offered to help his teacher dislodge a stuck diskette from his classroom's computer. But when he pulled out his keychain knife to help release the disk, he fell afoul a Providence's "zero tolerance" rules, which mandate automatic exclusion for any student who brings a "weapon" to school. Would Martin have been suspended if he were White? Maybe. On the other hand, a White student in Danville, Vermont was neither suspended nor expelled when he explained that he'd brought a loaded shotgun to school because it was hunting season (p. 3).

I argue that because our social construction, Black males are perceived to be violent and impulsive (deviants), and school districts are more likely to give the harshest punishment when considering discipline under Zero tolerance policies.

In terms of who is burdened and who benefits from education policy, race provides another poignant example. Wells and Crain (1997) examined the experiences of Black students who participated in an optional desegregation initiative in St. Louis, Missouri. Suburban districts were able to voluntarily participate in the desegregation policy that included the bussing of inner-city Black youth to the majority White suburban schools in the surrounding areas. In terms of benefits, districts received monetary incentives to participate in the desegregation plan. These incentives included "\$60 million in 1994, and more than \$450 million total since the plan began in 1983." According to Wells and Crain (1997) the districts that participated were able to use these funds to hire new teachers and create new programs "—resources that benefit White suburban students as well as Black city students" (p. 74). However, the target population,

Black inner city youth, endured long bus rides, ridicule by White teachers and students, and the burden of negotiating their dual lives as a suburban high school student from a very impoverished Black neighborhood. There were many students who succeeded, but many students also returned to their urban neighborhood schools. Though many view integration as a public good where everyone benefits from exposure to diversity, the urban students were more burdened by the integration policy by far.

Furthermore, those who have negative social constructions, target populations in the disadvantaged and deviant categories, tend to believe the social constructions that others hold for them. In a study of the academic aspirations of high school youth based on race and ethnicity, Kao (2000) found that Black and White students associated high academic achievement with being “White” and poor academic achievement with being “Black,” suggesting that minority youth do not perform well in school because it is not part of their social construction. In this particular school, Black and Hispanic students were more likely to be in the lower level courses and White and Asian students were more likely to be in honors courses. Steele and Aronson (1995) concluded that Black students performed significantly worse than White students when they were informed that the test was a measure of their academic ability opposed to a test non-diagnostic psychological test, suggesting that Black students performed worse than their White counterparts because they feared confirming a stereotype that White people are more intelligent than Black people. Spencer, Steele and Quinn (1999) found that women performed worse than men on a math test when they feared confirmed gender differences in math ability. Social constructions are so powerful that they can cause target populations to believe them to be true.

What is our social construction of teachers, those who are charged with the responsibility of educating youth and implementing school reform initiatives? No one has specifically dealt with this issue, but some generalizations can be garnered from the education policy literature, especially in regards to how policies have been developed to change how teachers teach. As Schneider and Ingram (1993) posit, there can often be competing social constructions of the same target population, and that is definitely true in the case of teachers. Some authors point to the social construction of teachers as overworked and overburdened by their competing responsibilities as a teacher (Sizer, 2000), while others point to their inability to implement policy (D. K. Cohen, 1990). One overall theme in the social construction of teachers is that they play a very powerful role in the implementation of policy, which assumes that they have strong political power (Chrispeels, 1997; D. K. Cohen, 1990; L. Darling-Hammond, 1990; Evans, 2001).

Within the last twenty years, the teaching profession has come under great scrutiny. Calls for more accountability, which began in the 1980s, led to the implementation of No Child Left Behind. Still unsatisfied with the U.S. educational ranking in comparison to other developed countries and the continued disparaging standardized tests scores, policymakers have called for Performance Pay policies, which would pay teachers based on their performance in the classroom. Michelle Rhee, the Chancellor of the Washington D.C. Public Schools, is attempting to remove teacher tenure because she feels that it is a system that protects ineffective teachers. In a *Newsweek* interview with Michelle Rhee, the interviewer stated that, “She [Michelle Rhee] is angry at a system of education that puts ‘the interests of adults’ over the ‘interests of children,’ i.e., a system that values job protection for teachers over their

effectiveness in the classroom. Rhee is trying to change that system” (Thomas, Conant, & Wingert, 2008). She has proposed a probation period for all teachers to essentially prove what they can do, and if they meet her standards, they would earn a very healthy pay increase. The social construction of teachers is such that they are ineffective and only motivated to perform their jobs to the best of their ability if there is a monetary award.

Teachers’ social construction fits well within Schneider and Ingram’s definition of Contenders. Contenders are characterized as “powerful but negatively constructed, usually undeserving” (p. 335). The education policy literature acknowledges their powerful role in the classroom and in implementing policy. Teachers are a necessity in the education system and they make the final decision about what to do in their classrooms, to ignore new policy initiatives or to abide by them to the best of their ability (Chrispeels, 1997). Though they have this power, which is increased by their Union membership, they also have negative constructions. Much of the education policy has focused on reforming the teaching profession (Tyack & Cuban, 1995), which creates a constant burden for teachers to relearn how to teach or learn new material to teach. Similar to other Contenders, teachers are more likely to be burdened by policy instead of receiving benefits.

Impediments to the Simple Solution

Though the social construction of target populations theory will help explain how policy elites, or in this case Philadelphia School District administrators, developed policy and designed curriculum based on their constructions and perceptions of students and teacher, another framework will help explain the implementation of the AAH from the teachers’ perspective. Social studies teachers in the District are charged with the sole

responsibility of implementing the course, based on the resources and training provided to them by the District. Lee Shulman (1983) has put forth a model that explains the impediments to policy implementation. This model focuses more on teachers because they are usually responsible for implementing educational policies that aim to make change in the classroom.

Shulman (1983) does not provide a name for this model, though the section of the paper in which the model is discussed is called “Impediments to the Simple Solution.” In this section of the book chapter, he puts forth five propositions to explain “the possible reasons for encountering difficulties when attempting to implement policy-based solutions to general problems of teaching and learning” (Shulman, 1983, p. 490). The first proposition titled inconsistencies among mandates, maintains that policy mandates “may be incompatible because policies may be designed for conflicting purposes or the manner in which a policy is implemented may carry unintended consequences that dilute the very results the mandate was designed to achieve” (p. 490). For example, state accountability testing policies that began in Texas with the Texas Accountability System created a culture in some schools that encouraged “test gaming” or teachers who focused more attention on students they could move to the proficient category as opposed to students who were further away from reaching a proficient level in reading or math (Booher-Jennings, 2005). The Texas Accountability System was the model for the No Child Left Behind Act which has resulted in teachers teaching the test instead of teaching for mastery of skills.

The second proposition maintains that impediments to policy implementation occur when policies require an “aggregate of time, energy, or other resources that are

simply unavailable to the teacher or school” (p. 490). Shulman (1983) argues that policies often increase the amount of responsibilities for teachers, and never eliminate tasks or functions to make their jobs more efficient. Issues of capacity are of great concern when implementing policy. Sizer (2000) presents a story of an overworked teacher with limited time to properly prepare for classes, provide proper feedback during class, and provide meaningful feedback on homework assignments. Oftentimes, policies add additional responsibilities to teachers’ hectic schedules. Data driven instruction requires the frequent assessment of students’ proficiencies, team meetings to learn how to analyze and interpret student data, the interpretation of the data and then the revision and development of lesson plans to reinforce information or concepts students struggled to grasp the first time around. Though there is high buy-in regarding data-driven instruction (Kerr, Marsh, Ikemoto, Darilek, & Barney, 2006), it does add additional responsibilities for teachers.

Limited teacher expertise is the third proposition put forth in this policy implementation theory and it also addresses the issue of teacher capacity. Shulman (1983) argues that teachers are in a field that requires the least amount of education out of similar professions. Furthermore, at the time of the publication of this article about one-sixth of the typical four year undergraduate program in teacher education is devoted to pedagogical subjects per se, with the rest appropriately assigned to liberal arts plus major and cognate education in the subjects taught. Though more than twenty years have passed since the publication of this book chapter, teacher education remains a burning issue. As new policies and curriculum are introduced, teachers’ capacity to implement policy is a concern. Teachers often lack the capacity to implement policies such was the case in the

inclusion of a new math curriculum in one classroom (D. K. Cohen, 1990) and the use of data to inform instruction in three urban classrooms (Kerr et al., 2006).

The fourth proposition posits that impediments to policy implementation stem from the working conditions of teachers. Shulman argues that teachers' unique working environment requires them to report to a complex hierarchical bureaucratic structure ranging from department heads to principals, and much of their job responsibilities are dictated by district and school level policies. Teachers have very little control over who they teach and what they teach to students. According to Shulman:

The increased emphasis on controls from above, on the remote control of teaching via policies promulgated at vast distances from the squeak of the chalk and the grinding of the pencil sharpener, attempts to create a different environment from that traditionally associated with the world of professionals in general, and the life of classrooms in particular (p. 492).

Furthermore, teachers usually are not part of these policy conversations. Research suggests that teachers are more likely to support educational policies if they are meaningfully involved in the development and design of educational policies (Chrispeels, 1997; Firestone, 1991).

The last proposition focuses on the self-defeating mandate. According to Shulman (1983), "The mandating process itself may be self-defeating, may be carried out in a manner that increases the likelihood that it will not be implemented as intended" (p. 492). Some have argued the desegregation policies resulted in their own defeat because of White flight (Farley, Richards, & Wurdock, 1980). In the case of desegregation policies, the citizenry and possibly schools lacked the will to implement the bussing policies. The

most current federal education legislation, No Child Left Behind, is being touted as a self-defeating policy for many reasons. One argument posits that the many unintended consequences, including school/teacher focus on passing the test instead of revising the previous curriculum to make it more rigorous, has undermined any benefits of the policy (Hirsh, 2004). Hess and Finn (2007) argue that the NCLB's goal of 100% of all children reaching a proficient level in math and reading is admirable, but unachievable and consequently self-defeating. Desegregation policies and NCLB are considered self-defeating because "these [policies] involve situations where the manner in which a desired end is communicated carries with it the seeds of its own failure"(Shulman, 1983, p. 492).

Applications to Current Study

Social construction of target populations provides a unique lens to help explain how different policy constituents in the Philadelphia School District understand the purpose of the AAH course—my first research question. In this study, the various constituents in the Philadelphia District administrators are the policy elites who have the power to develop new policies for teachers to implement and students to comply. Policy elites tend to be more loyal to their constituencies, or those with positive and powerful social constructions, this framework will also help inform what role the Philadelphia community played in supporting the AAH course or hindering its development and implementation. The social constructions of the target populations guided the decisions they made about whether to include the course in their District curriculum, and this first research question was imperative in understanding their decisions about designing the curriculum.

The second research question in this study is: how did the district develop the AAH course? The district relied on social studies teachers to implement the policy or teach the course. The district administrators' social construction of teachers impacts the development of course materials and the type of professional development that was offered to teachers focusing on the AAH course. Their social construction of teachers helped the district decide what the teachers needed from them to teach the course. The development of the course also provides another dimension of social construction of the target population—African American high school students. The social construction of African American students is important because it provides information about why the District developed the course and decided to make it a graduation requirement.

The third research question is: How did the district's social construction of teachers and students impact teachers' capacity to implement the course? The District's social construction of teachers helps explain why the district made the decisions it made about developing the course, but Shulman's impediments to policy implementation helps explain the implementation of the policy. This framework aided me in the development of the interview protocol for teachers and allowed me to narrow my examination of the implementation of the course around the five propositions. Teachers' experiences teaching the course, including their perceptions of the professional development and materials, are another important piece of evidence that can help explain how the district's social construct of teachers impacted how the course was developed. Observational data will also provide evidence of how the district's design of the course impacted its implementation. Little research has focused specifically on policymakers social constructions of those responsible for implementing policy, which is an important

determinate of the quality of implementation, especially in terms of education policy. Furthermore, there has been limited research focusing on how policy is developed to change the social construction of a target population from one construction to another. The use of Shulman's propositions about implementation impediments will be a useful framework to give voice to teachers' experiences implementing the AAH course.

CHAPTER FOUR

Methodology

This chapter provides a justification and a description of the methodological approach I employed in this study. I first discuss the research design and the rationale for my approach, followed by the sample selection and how I gained access to the district and the participants. Next, I provide information about the participants included in the study and how they were recruited. Data collection procedures, analytical procedures, issues of validity, limitations of the study and the significance of the methodological procedures will also be discussed.

The purpose of this study was to examine three specific questions about the African American history course in the Philadelphia School District:

- 1) How do different policy constituents in the Philadelphia School District define the purpose of the course?
- 2) How was the AAH course designed, including curriculum materials and professional development?
- 3) How did the District's development of the course impact the teachers' ability to implement it?

A qualitative research design was the most appropriate methodological approach because I was interested in examining the experiences of multiple policy actors in a certain event in a very specific context. Exploratory case study was the most appropriate qualitative approach because I was interested in examining the actual event within a specific and unique context. As I embarked on answering the three research questions listed above, Schneider and Ingram's (1993) theory of target populations emerged as a theoretical

framework to help explain the actions and decisions of the Philadelphia School District throughout the AAH course policy process. Shulman's (1983) propositions about impediments to educational policy implementation was also useful in explaining teachers' experiences teaching the AAH course.

Research Design and Rationale

The purpose of this research was to understand how the African American history course was implemented in the Philadelphia School District. Maxwell (1996) proposes four reasons for employing a qualitative research design:

- 1) To understand the meaning, for participants in the study, of the events, situations, and actions they are involved with and of the accounts that they give of their lives and experiences;
- 2) To understand the particular context within which the participants act, and the influence that this context has on their actions;
- 3) To identify unanticipated phenomena and influences, and generating new grounded theories about the latter;
- and 4) To understand the process by which events and actions take place (pp. 17-20).

My research questions incorporate these four tenants of qualitative research designs outline by Maxwell. I have collected data to understand the participants' (administrators and teachers) meaning or purpose of requiring the AAH course (reason #1); to understand the participants' (teachers) experiences teaching the AAH course (reason #2); to understand why the course was included as a graduation requirement (reason #3); and understand how the course was designed and implemented (reason #4).

A case study approach may have multiple purposes. The researcher's goal may be to explain a certain phenomenon or explore a phenomenon in order to provide more of a

purely descriptive analysis. According to Yin (1989), the goal of an exploratory study is to develop pertinent hypotheses and propositions for further inquiry (p. 17). The purpose of this research project was exploratory. According to Tellis (1997) “In *exploratory* case studies, fieldwork, and data collection may be undertaken prior to definition of the research questions and hypotheses. This type of study has been considered as a prelude to some social research. However, the framework of the study must be created ahead of time.” The overarching research question was how did the Philadelphia School District implement the AAH course graduation requirement? However, I have developed three other imbedded research questions to fully answer the larger question. This research was developed as the prelude to understanding the academic and psychological impact of a multicultural education course, though the impact of the AAH course is not addressed in this study.

According to Yin (1989) “a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and in which, multiple sources of evidence are used” (p. 23). The focus of my research investigates a contemporary phenomenon which is the implementation of an AAH course during the 21st century, with no real boundary between the AAH course and the Philadelphia School District using multiple data sources, which will be described below.

Yin (1989) suggests that identifying the unit of analysis in a case study can be a challenging process, especially when the focus of the research is “about decisions, programs, the implementation process, or organizational change” (p. 31). After careful consideration, I have identified the Philadelphia School District as the unit of analysis in

this study. I have employed a single-case study approach, which includes multiple levels of policy actors in varying capacities. District administrators who were in charge of proposing and developing the policy were interviewed; teachers were interviewed, and teachers were observed.

However, this unit of analysis is also a limitation of my research. The multiple policy actors from varying levels of the School District convolute the findings to a certain degree, especially in the case of District Administrators, because not all administrators were included and some declined my invitation to participate. By identifying the School District as the unit of analysis assumes that it is monolithic system, however the system is made up of different constituencies with varying roles and ideas. The interview data from District administrators only reflects the opinions of this group of participating administrators and not the entire District, though all those at the District level who were interviewed played a role in the development of the policy or the development of the curriculum or both. Information about administrator participants is provided below.

Sample Selection and Access

The Philadelphia School District is the only school district in the country to require that students take an AAH course in order to graduate. Other school districts may offer a similar course, but the graduation requirement is unique. My interest in the implementation of the AAH course in Philadelphia stemmed from the fact that this district was the only district to require such a course and therefore my only case option.

School District Description

The Philadelphia School District is a large, urban school district, serving approximately 163,000 students. There are 284 schools in the District, not including

charter schools: 176 elementary schools (some schools are K-5 and some are K-8), 29 middle schools, 62 high schools, 17 alternative education schools, and 28 privately managed schools. The District also has 63 charter schools that serve approximately 32,000 students. The District employs 10,000 teachers and 280 principals (“The Philadelphia School District”). Seventy-six percent of the School District receives free or reduced lunch. Table 4.1 provides information about race and ethnicity of students in the School District.

Table 4.1. *Race/Ethnicity of Students in Philadelphia School District*

Race/Ethnicity	Percentage of Students
African American	61.2%
Hispanic	17.6%
Caucasian	13.3%
Asian	6.2%
Native American	0.2%
Other	1.6%

Students in Philadelphia are struggling academically. All students in Pennsylvania are required to take a series of standardized tests throughout their matriculation through public education. Since the focus of this study is a curricular policy aimed at the high school students, I will highlight the standardized test scores at the high school level. High school students are required to take the Pennsylvania State Standards Assessment (PSSA) in the spring of their 11th grade year. The PSSA assesses students’ proficiency in math and reading. In 2007, 35.1% of students in Philadelphia scored at the proficient level in reading, compared to 65.4% of students in the rest of the state. The trend in math

proficiency is similar with 31% of Philadelphia students scored at the proficient level, while 53.7% of students scored at the proficient level in the rest of the state. No Child Left Behind requires schools, districts, and states to report test scores of groups that have historically struggled academically. Those groups include: racial/ethnic minorities, English language learners, economically disadvantaged students, students with disabilities, and migrant students (“School Matters”). Table 4.2 provides information for all of the categories mentioned above for 2007. Gender information is also included.

Table 4.2. *PSSA Scores for Special Groups for 2007²*

Student Category	Reading Proficiency	Math Proficiency
All Students	35.1%	31.0%
Asian/Pacific Islander	53.7%	70.3%
American Indian/Alaska Native	44.5%	40.0%
Black	29.8%	23.9%
Hispanic	26.1%	22.8%
Multi-Racial	31.8%	34.3%
White	60.0%	51.7%
Female	40.0%	32.9%
Male	30.1%	29.2%
Economically Disadvantaged	28.2%	25.1%
English Language Learners	13.0%	34.7%
Students with Disabilities	6.4%	4.4%
Migrant	25.9%	62.9%

²School Matters: <http://www.schoolmatters.com/schools.aspx/q/page=dl/did=1350/midx=GradeJ11>

Sampling Strategy

The main sampling strategy I used for this research was purposeful sampling. According to Krathwohl (1998), “purposeful sampling is most often used in qualitative research to select individuals or behaviors that will better inform the research regarding the current focus of the investigation” (p. 172). Since the focus of this research was to examine the implementation of an AAH course, two main policy actors were included in this study—Philadelphia School District administrators and social studies teachers who teach the AAH course. The administrators who participated in the study played an important role in either advocating for the curricular policy or in the development of the course, including the training of teachers. In order to figure out which District administrators were involved in the AAH course development, the snowball and purposeful sampling strategies were also used. A District Administrator who also played a very important role in the development of the policy and course played a very integral role in providing me with information about the other key policy actors.

Purposeful sampling was the only sampling strategy used to identify teachers for the study. It was important to understand the experiences of teachers with varying experience in the teaching profession and teaching the AAH course. Teachers from magnet schools and neighborhood comprehensive schools were included in the study. There were teachers from very large high schools, schools with more than 2,000 students and smaller schools with only 315 students. The Philadelphia School District’s largest student population is African American, and there are significant populations of Asian, Latino, and White students in the school district as well. Some schools are more racially diverse than others and some are almost 100% African American, and so I sought to

include teachers from those schools as well. There are also very large high schools with more than 2,000 students, and smaller schools with only 315 students. I sought to include teachers from homogenous and heterogeneous racial student populations, as well as teachers from both large and small high schools. Three teachers were also selected to participate in observations of their classrooms and I also sought to ensure that those three teachers were representative of the diversity of the school. The race/ethnicity and gender of the teachers were not necessarily a concern, but Black and White teachers and male and female teachers were included in the study. Teacher and school information can be found in Table 4.4 below.

Participation Selection and Recruitment

This study included 26 participants—six District administrators and 20 teachers. All administrators played a role in either the development of the policy and/or the development of the curriculum. Table 4.3 provides information about the administrators who participated in the study, including a pseudonym, their position in the District at the time of the policy and course development, and the type of interview—whether over the phone or in person. Interviews were conducted in person when possible and over the phone, using a digital phone recorder. One administrator in particular, Tahirah Jordan, acted as a liaison with some administrators and teachers. She aided me in contacting teachers for observations and administrators for interviews. Two administrators, Elizabeth St. Patrick and Alicia Hampton, requested to be interviewed together with Ms. Jordan. These interviews were conducted in person. Ms. St. Patrick and Ms. Hampton's request to be interviewed with Ms. Jordan presents somewhat of a group-think environment in the District. It is possible that the administrators wanted to ensure that

they adhere to their “District mantra” or it could have been a sincere desire on their part to ensure that they provided me with the most accurate information. This group interview presents another limitation in this study. In addition to this group interview, Ms. Jordan was interviewed two additional times over the phone.

Table 4.3. *District administrator participants and data*

	Pseudonym	Position in School District	Type of Contact
1.	Tahirah Jordan (<i>liaison</i>)	Head Curriculum Coach for Social Studies and African American Studies	2 phone interviews; 1 group interview in person
2.	Elizabeth St. Patrick	Associate Superintendent	1 group interview in person
3.	Alicia Hampton	Deputy of Secondary Reform	1 group interview in person
4.	Katrina Riddick	School Reform Commissioner	1 phone interview
5.	Anthony Booker	Chief Academic Officer	1 interview in person
6.	Rafiqah White	Director of Curriculum Projects	1 interview in person

Three District administrators who were invited to participate in the study did not for various reasons. I was not able to secure a time to talk two administrators. The third administrator felt that she could not add any valuable information since I had already spoken to the key policy actor in her opinion. I attempted to convey the need for her input in the study, even if she did not provide new information, for one of the purposes of qualitative research is to understand the shared experience of different people. However, I was unsuccessful in encouraging her to participate.

Table 4.4 provides information about teachers and their schools. In regard to the gender of the teachers, 13 males and seven female teachers were included. Six Black teachers and 14 White teachers were included. Fourteen teachers taught at neighborhood comprehensive high schools, three taught at magnet schools, and three teachers taught at

a special focus school (two of which came from the same school) .³ Participants' teaching experience ranged from two to thirty years, with the average teaching experience being 10.4 years and the median being 7.5 years.

³ Special focus schools are schools that provide career specific training to students, but also must meet the same academic standards as the neighborhood comprehensive high schools.

Table 4.4. *Teacher Participant Information*

#	Type of School	Years Taught	Years Taught AAH	Gender	Race	School Racial Composition	Math Proficiency	Reading Proficiency	School Size	Free/Reduced Lunch
1	Comprehensive	25	4	F	Black	98.4% Black	33.7%	51.7%	494	85.5%
2	Comprehensive	25	3	M	Black	88.8% Black; 1% White; 3.1% Asian; 6.8% Latino; 0.3% Other	15.2%	18.8%	617	85.4%
3	Comprehensive	3	3	M	White	97.6% Black	6.2%	20.9%	1215	74.0%
4	Special Focus	7	4	F	White	62.7% Black; 23.9% White; 1.3% Asian; 9.8% Latino; 2.3% Other	69.1%	75.4%	560	57.2%
5	Magnet	13	4	F	White	29.2% Black; 44.8% White; 17.4% Latino; 2.3% Other	99.1%	100.0%	1211	43.3%
6	Comprehensive	6	2	F	Black	97.6% Black	26.3%	38.0%	293	74.1%
7	Comprehensive	15	3	F	Black	83.5% Black; 11.7% White; 1.5% Asian; 1.9% Latino; 1.3% Other	12.2%	17.0%	904	62.3%
8	Comprehensive	15	2	M	White	34.3% Black; 41.1% White; 11.3% Asian; 12% Latino; 1.3% Other	40.3%	37.2%	2071	50.7%
9	Magnet	3	2	M	White	79.1% Black; 2.9% White; 9.1% Asian; 6.9% Latino; 2% Other	86.1%	84.2%	594	51.2%

10	Magnet	3	2	F	Black	79.2% Black; 5.4% White; 8.5% Asian; 6.9% Latino	76.8%	76.8%	331	62.1%
11	Comprehensive	2	2	F	White	99% Black	4.0%	10.0%	401	84.4%
12	Comprehensive	10	1	M	White	54.8% Black; 1.4% White; 6.9% Asian; 34.1% Latino; 2.9% Other	14.1%	19.5%	874	84.0%
13	Comprehensive	2	2	M	White	98.2% Black	8.2%	14.0%	913	84.0%
14	Comprehensive	3	3	M	White	70% Black; 5.6% White; 18.3% Asian; 5.2% Latino; 0.9% Other	25.9%	15.0%	1175	84.9%
15	Comprehensive	30	7	M	Black	97.5% Black	17.5%	17.4%	315	58.2%
16	Comprehensive	5	3	M	White	60.5% Black; 1.1% White 7.7% Asian; 29.6% Latino; 1.1% Other	17.4%	14.9%	964	84.5%
17	Comprehensive	5	2	M	White	46.1% Black; 30% White; 5.4% Asian; 17.9% Latino; 0.7% Other	20.1%	32.6%	1765	61.2%
18	Special Focus	8	3	M	White	96.8% Black	6.0%	7.5%	1325	85.2%
19	Special Focus	17	3	M	White	96.8% Black	6.0%	7.5%	1325	85.2%
20	Comprehensive	11	1	M	White	97.2% Black	20.0%	17.6%	836	84.1%

The twenty teachers who were included in the study come from nineteen different schools in the District. It was difficult to make contacts with teachers because of their busy work schedules. As I was in the process of recruiting one of the last few teachers, a teacher from one of the special focus high schools mentioned that he was standing with another teacher who teaches the AAH course and actually passed him the phone so that I could request his participation in the study. Teachers were recruited at professional development seminars and by cold calling schools and requesting to speak to a social studies teacher that taught AAH.

Data Collection and Protocol

There were four phases of data collection in this study. Phase one focused on interviews with district administrators and phase two focused on interviews with teachers. Interviews with district administrators and teachers were the primary source of data regarding implementation of the African American history course. Both District administrators and teachers were interviewed using an open-ended semi-structured interview protocol. According to Yin (1989), interviews “most commonly, are of an open-ended nature, in which an investigator can ask key respondents for the fact of a matter as well as for the respondents’ opinions about events” (p. 89). Follow-up questions were asked when I felt that I needed further information about their beliefs or behavior. Of the six district administrators interviewed for this study, only one administrator was interviewed more than once. This administrator played the most important role in the development of the course. Interviews with District administrators focused on their purposes for requiring the course and the intended effects. These interviews also focused on understanding the decisions administrators made in designing the course, such as

choosing the textbook, and their plans for professional development. The length of the interviews with district administrators ranged from 15 minutes to an hour. This is a large range simply because some administrators were more forthcoming with information and some did not have much time to talk. The longest interview was conducted with the three district administrators at the same time, so it was important that everyone was able to provide their input.

Teachers were interviewed once about the professional development they received from the district, the quality of resources provided to them to teach the course, and their perceptions of the effect the curriculum has had on their students. Teachers also were asked to discuss the degree to which they felt the course was needed in the district's curriculum. The three teachers included in the observation phase of data collection were interviewed at least twice. The second interview focused more on their classroom environment. The teacher interviews in general focused on the teachers' experiences implementing the curriculum, from professional development to actually teaching the course. The length of the initial interview and the follow-up interview was approximately 25 minutes.

The third phase of data collection focused on classroom observations of three teachers. I spent approximately one week in each teacher's AAH classrooms. During the observation, I focused on the teacher and the students' behavior. More specifically, I focused on the techniques and activities teachers used to facilitate learning and engage their students. I also focused on how the students responded to the teacher's techniques. I typed all of my field notes on my laptop. The length of the observation varied because of the length of the class period. Two schools were on a 50 minute-period schedule and one

school was on a 90 minute-block schedule. In total, I conducted 33 hours of classroom observation. During the observations, my role varied from classroom to classroom. I sat in the back of classrooms in order to be “beige,” or not disrupt the classroom atmosphere. However, in one particular classroom, the teacher requested that I assist with classroom activities, and so I was more of a participant-observer in that classroom. At times during the classes, at least one student would ask a question about who I was. After the ice was broken I did interact with the students, but only to gauge their level of engagement in the class or if the students asked me questions.

The fourth phase of data collection focused on collecting documents that provided me with more information about the course. Fifteen newspaper articles provided information about the development of the course, the course’s long history in Philadelphia and the community’s response to the graduation requirement. I was also able to obtain a course textbook and the curriculum guide, which provided the day-by-day schedule of what teachers were supposed to teach their students. The curriculum guide also provided teachers with the suggested activities. During classroom observations, teachers provided me with a copy of the students’ assignments when appropriate. For example, if the students’ were to answer questions after reading a chapter or take a test, the teacher also provided me with a copy of the questions or a copy of the examination.

Data Analysis

As with all qualitative data analysis, the data analysis was a recursive process in that interview protocols were developing initially based on background literature, but as data was collected, it was continuously analyzed and the data collection strategy was revised until no new information emerged or saturation was achieved (Merriam, 1988).

Once there was no need to collect more data, a more isolated data analysis process begins. Yin (1989) suggests that this process should be twofold. First, one must choose an analytic strategy, whether it be relying on the theoretical propositions that led to the study or developing a case description, which is a method of organizing a descriptive case study. Then the researcher should use their mode(s) of analysis, which include pattern-matching, explanation building, or time series analysis (Yin, 1989, pp. 109-120).

I used the theoretical propositions strategy to guide my analyses. The theoretical propositions come from my conceptual framework, which is a guide for understanding policy implementation within the multiple layers of an urban school district. The major components of the framework are discussed in chapter 3, but will also be readdressed here. The propositions I yielded from the policy implementation literature include:

- 1) In developing an educational policy that will require teachers to gain new knowledge or develop a new skill to implement the policy, the district must A) provide capacity building opportunities for teachers to gain the new knowledge or skills and B) provide adequate and appropriate resources to teachers to implement the policy.
- 2) There are two factors that affect how teachers implement policy. The first is capacity, or the extent to which teachers have the knowledge, resources, and time to implement a policy. The second factor is “will” or the extent to which teachers have bought-in to the goals of the policy.
- 3) The District’s role or the policy making institution and the teachers’ role or those responsible for implementing the policy will greatly impact the outcomes of the policy. Implementation trumps outcomes.

These three propositions guided the development of this entire project, from the development of interview protocols to the analysis of the data.

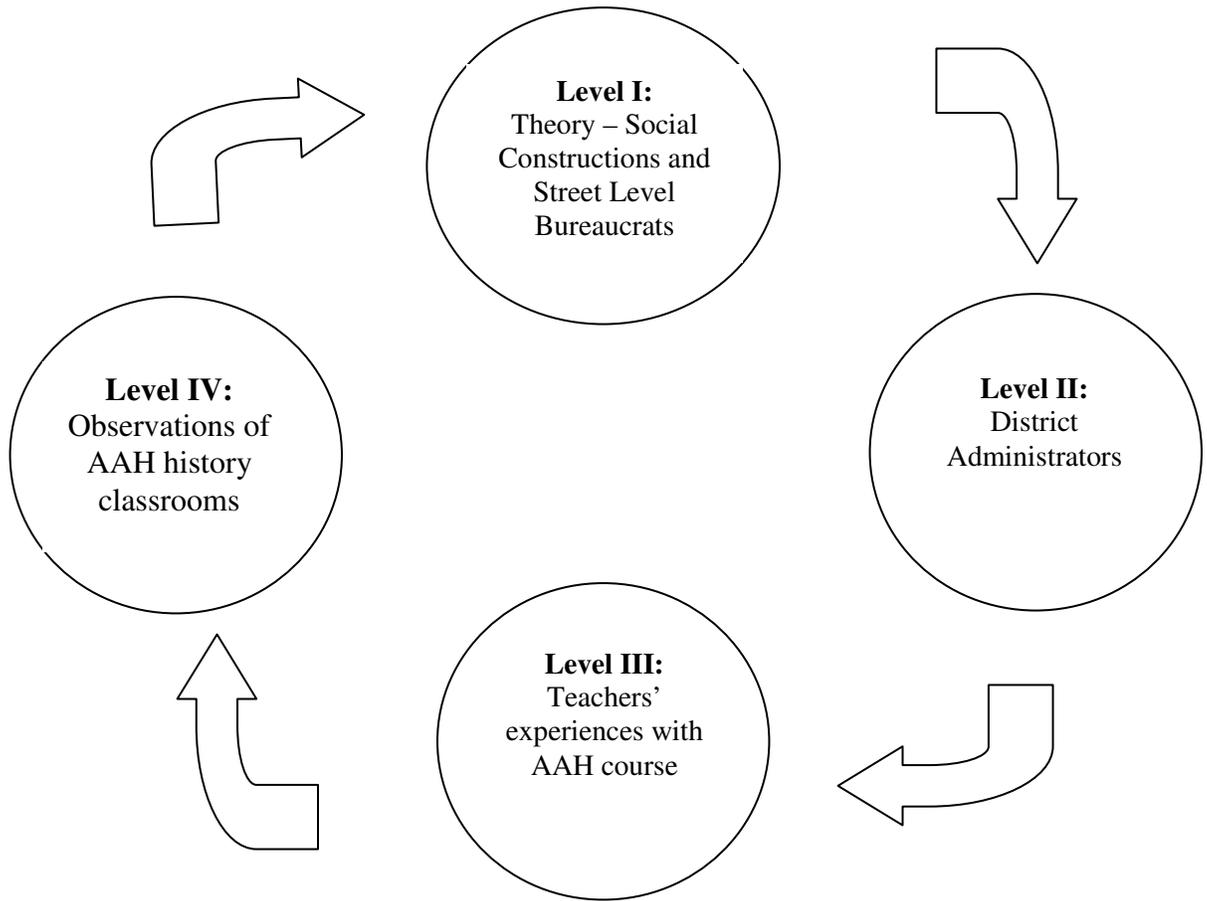
Exploratory case study designs are inductive in nature and data analysis involved scrutinizing sources in order to achieve three goals (Malen, Croninger, Muncey, & Redmond-Jones, 2002). The first goal is to “identify prominent patterns as well as exceptions to the patterns.” This process was conducted separately for the district level interviews and the teacher level interviews. However, Yin (1994) does not provide strategies for identifying patterns in the data. For that reason, I relied on a grounded theory data analysis approach to identify prominent patterns in the data. The first step in this process is open coding. Strauss and Corbin (1998) define open coding as “[t]he analytic process through which concepts are identified and their properties and dimensions are discovered in data” (p. 101). This is somewhat of an exploratory process by which the investigator begins to systematically organize and label aspects of interviews and field notes that speak to the research question. Line-by-line analysis was conducted initially, in an attempt to thoroughly analyze the data. Strauss and Corbin (1998) argue that “doing line-by-line coding is especially important in the beginning of a study because it enables the analyst to generate categories quickly and to develop those categories through further sampling along the dimensions of a category’s general properties” (p. 119).

The next step in the data analysis process is axial coding. This is a process of putting the fragmented categories developed during the open coding process, back together around a central theme or themes. Straus and Corbin (1998) describe axial coding as the process in which “categories are related to their subcategories to form more

precise and complete explanations about phenomena” (p. 124). The third stage was selective coding. In this stage, the researcher starts to develop answers to the research question(s). Strauss and Corbin (1998) argue that selective coding is the process of integrating and refining categories.

The final stages of case study data analysis required me to “lay out ‘chains of evidence’ that supported, contradicted or qualified emergent themes and interpretations” (Malen et al., 2002). Then I “developed narrative accounts of the participants expectations of and experiences” with the development and implementation of the African American history course (Malen et al., 2002, p. 115). The Figure 4.1 below demonstrates how theory and data were used to answer the research question.

Figure 4.1. Conceptualization of Data Analysis



Threats to Validity

Threats to validity are of great concern in any type of methodological approach to studying a certain phenomenon. According to Merriam (1988), in case study research, “it is important to understand the perspectives of those involved in the phenomenon of interest, to uncover the complexity of human behavior in a contextual framework, and to present a holistic interpretation of what is happening” (p. 168). In order to accomplish this goal, researchers should take great care to ensure that their methodological approach does not compromise their findings. I included the following strategies in my methodology to increase the validity of my data. The first strategy was triangulation,

“using multiple investigators, multiple sources of data, or multiple methods to confirm the emerging findings” (p. 169). I was able to triangulate my data by using multiple data sources, which included interviews with district administrators, interviews with teachers, multiple classroom observations, and the inclusion of documents. Merriam (1988) also suggested that multiple observations is a strategy to help validate data, which I was also able to accomplish. My peers also commented on my findings. They helped me to clarify some of the arguments, resulting from the collected data.

Merriam (1988) suggests that the “researcher’s biases, assumptions, worldview, and theoretical orientation” should be clarified at the beginning of the study (p. 170). At the beginning of this study, I was very aware of my personal beliefs about the inclusion of an AAH course. As a high school student in a majority White suburban environment, I felt that issues of race and the history of African Americans were always difficult issues to discuss in class and I was not well versed in the history of African Americans. As an undergraduate student at Hampton University, a Historically Black University, I was introduced to African and African American history and it helped me to understand myself a great deal. It was a very formative experience for me. As a graduate student, once I learned of the Philadelphia School District’s AAH course requirement, I was really excited to examine the implementation of the course and the effect it had on Black students. Though I was very supportive of the course requirement at the onset of my study, I did not let these feelings interfere with my data collection. I feel that I was still able to critically examine the implementation of the course and, through the previously mentioned validity strategies, provide the most legitimate and justifiable presentation of the data in this study.

Limitations

There are three main limitations in this study. The first limitation of this study concerns the time frame in which the classroom level observations were conducted. The only feasible time that I could leave school and spend a month in the Philadelphia school district was once my graduate courses ended in May 2007. The Philadelphia public schools still had more than a month left in their school year. However, by the end of their school year the attention span of the students was minimal and the teachers were probably drained of their energy to fully engage their students. During one particular observation, a student asked the teacher if he was going to give them work during the last week of class. As part of the examination of the implementation of the course, classroom observations were supposed to provide me with information about the daily activities and engagement level of students in those classes, but the lack of engagement of students and teachers at the end of the year greatly comprised that assessment. Even though students' are expected to learn during the last month of school, the culture of the American educational school system is one that looks forward to the summer break. The onset of warm weather in Northern States also inhibits the students' attention span.

The second limitation in this study concerns the lack of student voice in the implementation of the AAH course. Initially, I proposed to include interviews with students regarding their experiences in the AAH course, along with a pre and post assessment of students' academic self-esteem and Black identity as a result of the AAH course. However, the proposed study was too large to include in this dissertation and therefore I made the decision to focus on the implementation of the course from a district perspective and a teacher perspective. Students' voices should be included in policy

research because they do have some valuable insight about how to fully engage them in a classroom setting. Future research should focus on the students' experiences in these classes, their assessment of their level of engagement, and whether they perceive any advantages of including the AAH course in their curriculum.

The last limitation of this study was the sampling strategy used to recruit District Administrators for the study. Snowballing was the main sampling strategy used to identify key policy players in the development of the curricular policy and the course. However, snowballing can limit the recruitment of key policy players by relying on participants to provide advice about who should be included in the study. If there was a lack of cohesion among District Administrators about the purpose of the course or how the course was developed, the use of the snowball strategy could have inhibited my ability to identify those policy actors and include their opinions and experiences in this research.

Significance of the Study and Methods

Policy implementation plays a vital role in achieving its intended outcomes. In the case of Philadelphia, the implementation of the African American history course will greatly affect the student outcomes. This study will deepen our understanding of policy implementation in an urban school district. In the US educational system, teachers play one of the most important roles in policy implementation. Interviews with Philadelphia high school social studies teachers will provide information about the support they are receiving from the district to provide students with a high quality course and also the feasibility of achieving its intended outcomes. School district officials will provide information about why they designed the policy in the manner in which they did, and

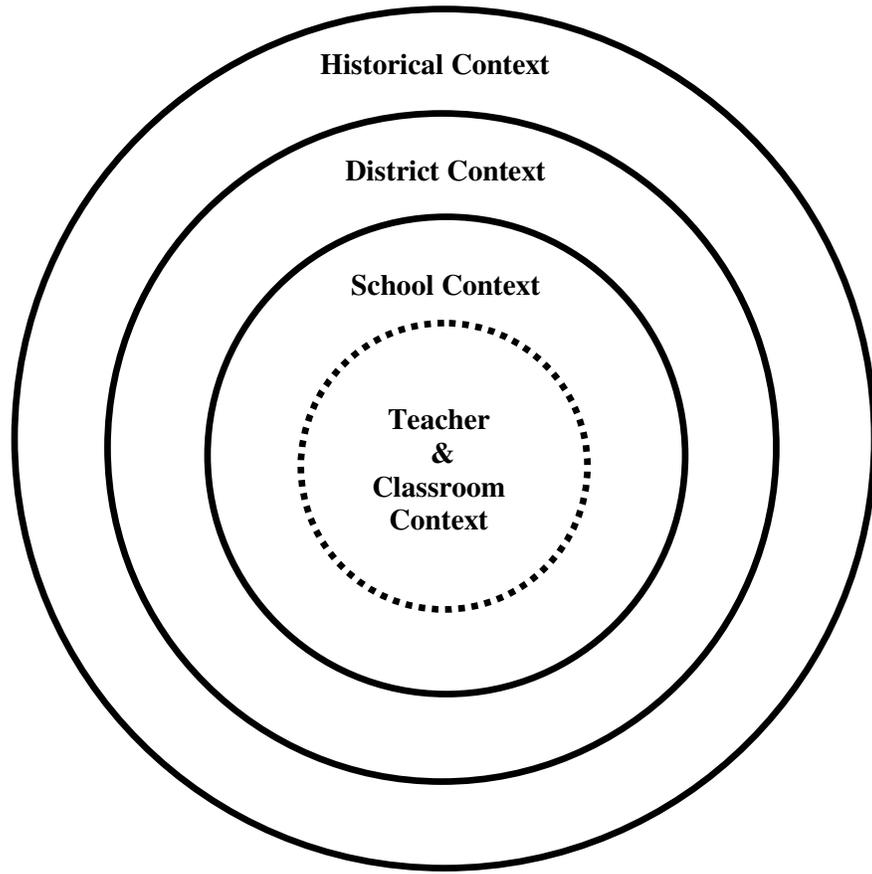
their desired outcomes. The opinions and actions of teachers and district level educators play a vital role in the policy process and the how this history class will affect Black students in the district. Furthermore, this study will help inform other school districts that are searching for strategies to increase academic outcomes of African American youth. Currently, Philadelphia is the only district in the country with an African American history course graduation requirement. Through the use of multiple data sources, which include district administrators, teachers, classroom observations, and documents, I plan to present a unique policy story of the implementation of the first required African American history course.

Presentation of Findings

The focus of this dissertation is to understand the development and implementation of the African American history course. However, in order to answer my research questions, it was necessary for me to collect data from the multiple layers of the curricular policy. Chapter 5 focuses on the historical context of the curriculum. Chapter 6 focuses on District level administration and the district level policymakers who developed the policy and the curriculum. Chapter 7 focuses on high school social studies teachers who are responsible for implementing the course, which highlights school level context and classroom level context. Figure 4.2 provides a visualization of the multiple contextual layers of the African American history course. The “School Context” is included in the diagram below; however, there is no specific chapter or research question that directly addresses school context. School context is relevant in terms of demographic information about the high school, including the racial makeup of the school, achievement levels, and socio-economic levels. The “Teacher & Classroom Context”

circle has a porous outline because the unique culture of the “School Context” has an impact on the “Teacher & Classroom Context.”

Figure 4.2. Contextual layers of African American history course



CHAPTER FIVE

Historical, Political, & Educational Context of AAH Policy

To deny a child a proper education is to deny him the right to learn; to leave out the history of his people is to deny him the inalienable right to exist.

--The Journey: African American Studies in Philadelphia

The Case of Philadelphia

On February 16, 2005, the Philadelphia School Reform Commission (SRC) unanimously passed a resolution that required all high school students to take an African American history (AAH) course as a graduation requirement. However, the narrative of AAH in the Philadelphia public schools began almost 40 years prior to the 2005 resolution. The purpose of this chapter is to provide the historical and current context of the curricular policy and to address a series of policy decisions that led to the (AAH) requirement. There are two important time periods leading up to the development of the AAH policy: 1960-1968 and 1988-2005. This chapter also speaks to the civic capacity of the Philadelphia community and their involvement in affecting the education policy agenda. As this chapter will demonstrate, the Philadelphia community has been very active in the education of their youth and have advocated for an AAH course for a long time.

The first time period began in the 1960s during the Civil Rights Movement when many African Americans requested more input in the education of their youth. As in many urban districts across the country, the Philadelphia school system was in social turmoil during the 1960s. Racial tensions were at a boiling point due to cultural

misunderstandings from a largely White teaching base and a majority Black student body (Countryman, 2006; Dougherty, 2004; Perlstein, 2004).

The second time period spans 1988 to 2001, when the Philadelphia public school system was in turmoil again after many failed attempts at increasing the educational opportunities of the predominantly African American school district. By many accounts, at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, poverty, drug abuse, high incarceration rates, and lack of social resources had taken a toll on the Black community, especially large urban school districts. Other educational disparities such as segregation, teacher quality and school finance have presented obstacles to providing students with an equitable education (Anyon, 1997; Wells & Crain, 1997). Education administrators attempted many different approaches to providing a quality education to their majority Black student body in Philadelphia, and in 2005 they revisited the possibility of a culturally relevant curriculum.

The last section of this chapter examines the current political context of the curricular policy. Some interview data is included to discuss the key policymakers' opinions about how they were able to garner the support to include the AAH course as part of the District's graduation policy. I will also address the timeline for which the course was developed and the community and national reaction to the development of the graduation requirement. However, I begin this chapter with an examination of Philadelphia's history of school reform in the 1960s.

Community Control in Philadelphia: 1960s

The 1960s are characterized as a time of racial tension throughout the United States of America, especially in the nation's largest urban school districts in the North

(Countryman, 2006; Dougherty, 2004; Nelson, 2005; Perlstein, 2004). Many African Americans had grown pessimistic from White Americans' resistance to racially integrate public schools and they wanted to focus on improving the schools their children were currently attending. This new educational reform changed from integration to *community control*, which is defined by African Americans' interest in becoming more involved in the decision-making and day-to-day operations of the school system. African Americans in New York, Milwaukee, and Philadelphia began social movements to increase their participation in their neighborhood schools by requesting the hiring of more Black teachers and inclusion in decision-making meetings about curriculum (Countryman, 2006; Dougherty, 2004; Perlstein, 2004). Blacks in New York and Milwaukee proposed easing student-teacher relationships by increasing the numbers of Black teachers in the schools. In Philadelphia, students expressed their concern over the lack of culturally relevant curriculum in the school district. African American high school students wanted to learn more about their African heritage and have more input in their curriculum. Other complaints against the Philadelphia School District ranged from the lack of opportunities of Black youth to attend the premier feeder vocational schools to the prohibition of wearing African garb to school. Students and community members organized demonstrations to protest their dissatisfaction with the school system and to demand change.

The summer of 1967 in Philadelphia was characterized by protests and demonstrations, with record numbers of African Americans taking to the streets (Countryman, 2006). Fear of rioting increased among political figures and police officers after riots in Newark and Detroit in July 1967 (Countryman, 2006). The mayor's decision

to appoint a new police commissioner who was charged with the responsibility of nullifying the “Black militancy and street crime” contributed to the confrontational and volatile tone of Philadelphia (p. 231). For example, a small incident between a local store owner and a Black customer turned into a riot with the presence of 500 helmeted riot police in a Black South Philadelphia neighborhood. The perceived show of excessive force by police officers led to a series of rallies and protests. The local government’s fear and the Black community’s rallies and protests against excessive police force led to a series of orders and injunctions to prevent the organization of a group of protestors on street corners throughout the city, which led to more rallies and protests. This pattern continued through the summer and into the fall of 1967.

By the end of the summer, many high school students had gotten involved with the Black Power Movement in Philadelphia (BPUM). BPUM assisted high school and junior high students in forming an association of leaders, who would continue to spread and articulate their message to their classmates. According to Countryman (2006), the first student walkout was on October 26, 1967. Fourteen hundred students from Gratz High School participated in the walkout and their demands included:

Courses and assemblies on Black history taught by Black teachers, changes in the school dress code that would allow them to wear African clothes, hats, and jewelry, improvement in the quality and reductions in the price of school food, easing of school discipline, and, reflecting growing opposition to the war in Vietnam, a halt to military recruiting in the school and the requirement that students salute the American flag during school assemblies (Countryman, 2006, p. 236).

The students walked out of the school that day and did not attend school the following day either. As a result of their protest, the school administration allowed the students to wear African garb to school. The students no longer were required to recite the Pledge of Allegiance, as long as they provided evidence that it violated their religious beliefs (Countryman, 2006).

Mark Shedd was hired as the District Superintendent in 1967 to handle some of the student unrest in the city's schools. He was recruited from the Englewood, New Jersey School District because he had been successful in easing the racial tension between students and teachers (Countryman, 2006). Once he arrived in Philadelphia, he enrolled his children in the city schools, which suggested to the Philadelphia community that he was their ally. However, according to Zimmerman (2002), Mark Shedd was unprepared to handle the large student protests: "The voices of students were heard loud and clear on college campuses at least four years ago [but] most of us in basic education failed to read the signals clearly," said the [Philadelphia] School Superintendent Mark Shedd, "and bang, the student rebellion has crept downward in age group" (p. 120).

Though Shedd was aware of the growing racial tensions between the school district and the community, he had not expected the many protests that occurred during the 1967-68 school year. Protests, walkouts, and rallies continued until district administrators and community leaders agreed to meet to address and attempt to resolve the unrest in the public schools. The final protest occurred on November 17, 1967, when 3,500 students walked out of Philadelphia high schools with another list of demands: "...the addition of Black history courses taught by Black teachers, the assignment of Black principals to Black schools, increased Black representation on the school board,

exemption from the requirement to salute the flag, and the removal of police and non-teaching assistants from all schools” (Countryman, 2006, p. 225). According to Countryman (2006) and Essoka (2005-06), Shedd met with community members, while students protested outside of the school district office. Shedd agreed to grant many of their requests.

According to many accounts, the student walkout and protest at the School District building was peaceful (Countryman, 2006; Essoka, 2005-06). The students were jovial, posing for the TV cameras and chanting Black power statements, such as “beep, beep, bang, bang, boom, boom, Black Power” (Countryman, 2006, p. 224). A small police force was present, partly because they were not expecting such a large student turnout. However, at some point during the protest, a male student began running on the tops of parked cars. When police attempted to arrest the student, others surrounded the officers to prevent the arrest. Police Commissioner Rizzo ordered police to physically stop the students’ disruptions and police were permitted to use their clubs. A female student was badly beaten when she attempted to free the teenager from the grasp of the police officers and the protest quickly turned from a peaceful, picnic-like atmosphere, to a bloodied mob of teenagers and police officers (Countryman, 2006; Snyder, 2005c). By the end of the day, approximately 30 Black students and adults were treated for injuries, 12 police officers also required medical attention, and 57 people were arrested for their involvement in the protest (Countryman, 2006, p. 227).

According to Essoka (2005-06), the violent results of the protest prompted the administration to take action, even though Countryman (2006) argues that the school district was ready to meet the demands of the youth before the violence erupted. It is

unclear why the protest turned violent after the students' demands had been met. Possibly, the student who began to jump on cars was celebrating a victory and the police were attempting to prevent him from damaging property. Countryman (2006) argues that Shedd did take action to meet the demands of the Black community, which resulted in strained relationships with the White community, especially the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, the Philadelphia local branch of American Federation of Teachers. Shedd allowed students to form Black student organizations in the school and created action committees comprised of parents, youth, teachers, and administrators in order to encourage collaboration. He also mandated that African American history be incorporated in the curriculum. Shedd also hired an African and African American Curriculum Specialist and a resource center for African and African American history (Essoka, 2005-06, p. 1).

Even though it seems the Philadelphia high school students were successful in getting their demands met, the history course was never fully implemented throughout the Philadelphia public schools. Snyder (2005c) reports that once Frank Rizzo, the police commissioner who had been at odds with the Black community, became mayor in 1972 he fired Shedd and no further efforts were made to implement the AAH course comprehensively throughout the District. Rizzo served two terms as mayor of Philadelphia, from 1972 to 1980. As of 2005, only 10 out of 60 high schools had an African American history course included in their social studies curriculum.

The state of the Philadelphia School District is less documented from 1972 to 1988. It is unclear whether the superintendent, who followed Shedd, instituted educational reforms that African Americans felt were equitable and no longer felt the

need to protest. An alternative explanation for the lack of information about the Philadelphia School system is that Mayor Rizzo's superintendent of schools did not institute any policies or reforms focused on African American youth. The African American Curriculum Specialist position was not expunged by Rizzo, so maybe the presence of someone in that position was enough to pacify the African American community. Curriculum was developed and there were African American history courses in the Philadelphia school district, but not comprehensively. It was not until 1988 that information about the reform initiatives in the Philadelphia School district reemerged in the educational literature.

Learning Communities: 1988-1995

By 1988, the educational agenda was focused on high school reform. However, the reform agenda was set by the Philadelphia education community and not the African American community. The national educational reform agenda was focused on accountability at all levels of the educational system, but especially for teachers who were responsible for increasing student achievement. Student achievement in Philadelphia had become a major issue. According to Christman and Macpherson (1996), "In 1988, only half of Philadelphia ninth graders in comprehensive high schools moved into tenth grade; the rest repeated or left school" (p. 1). In addition to the high drop-out rate, the Philadelphia school district was running two separate educational systems. High achieving students attended the district's magnet schools and everyone else attended the district's comprehensive neighborhood school system. Christman and Macpherson (1996) argue that, "...neighborhood comprehensive high schools, particularly those serving minority populations in poor communities, had become

‘schools of last resort’ representing the bottom tier of Philadelphia public education” (p. 1). The city’s comprehensive high schools were in dismal condition and student underachievement had reached an all time high.

Instead of the African American community demanding change, as was the case in the 1960s, the voice for high school reform during the late 1980s came from the Pew Charitable Trust (PCT), a non-partisan organization that produces research and advocates for policy in the public’s interest. The PCT provided the School District with the guidance to reform the city’s comprehensive high schools into Small Learning Communities (SLC), with two main goals: “ to create small learning environments where intimacy, coherence, and consistency might make good education possible; and school-based management/shared decision-making (SBM/SDM) aimed at moving the locus of decision-making closer to the site of teaching and learning” (Christman & Macpherson, 1996, p. 1). The small learning communities would allow teachers to get to know a smaller group of students on a more meaningful level and it would also encourage more interaction. The SLC would also encourage collaboration between a small group of teachers who work with the same group of students.

The reform initially focused on ninth grade students because they were perceived to be the most at risk for dropping out of school. According to Christman and Macpherson (1996), passing rates and retention rates of ninth graders in SLC schools increased and the district decided to bring the reform to scale by requiring all schools and all grade levels to implement the reform. There were small successes and Christman and Macpherson (1996) highlight five schools that were able to achieve meaningful change within their SLC. However, as the SLC went to scale, passing rates of students declined.

The reform movement experienced other impediments too, such as a decreased funding of education from the state, and a teacher's union who was pessimistic of reform. SLC is another example of a failed reform effort due to issues of capacity and will. An unstable governing body due to frequent superintendent changes over the course of the six year SLC experiment also contributed to the reform's limited impact. The fourth superintendent arrived in 1994 with a new reform agenda that did not include SLC.

Children Achieving: 1994-2001

After six years of the SLC, the district was almost in the same situation as pre-SLC in 1988. "According to the Philadelphia Inquirer, half of all students had failed the state's reading and math tests, half of ninth graders had failed to earn promotion to 10th grade, and a quarter of all students were absent on any given day" (Christman & Macpherson, 1996, p. 216). Once David Hornbeck was hired as the new head of the Philadelphia School District, he immediately implemented his version of urban systemic reform (Boyd & Christman, 2003; Christman, 2001). The theory of action of Hornbeck's Children Achieving was to provide adequate resources to schools and to develop a professional development program that improved teaching. His policy also included a right for the school district to reconstitute failing schools, which included replacing the entire teaching and administrative staff (Christman, 2001, p. viii). Hornbeck's Children Achieving was a large urban district's first attempt at systemic reform and Hornbeck envisioned an ambitious set of goals to turn around Philadelphia's struggling schools.

As goes the story of urban school reform, Hornbeck's Children Achieving was met with many impediments. The first major issue was lack of funding. As Hornbeck rolled out his reform agenda, the State Government revised their school district funding

formula, which decreased the amount of money the state provided to the district for education. According to Travers (2003), as Philadelphia was

confronted with ongoing (\$200 million plus) deficits in projected district budgets and Superintendent Hornbeck's threat to adopt an unbalanced budget if the state did not provide sufficient funding to Philadelphia, in 1998 the Pennsylvania Legislature passed a takeover law, Act 46...that allows the state to take over control of financially troubled school districts and was specifically written with Philadelphia in mind (p. 2).

As a result of their financial concerns, Hornbeck was not able to fully implement all portions of Children Achieving in all schools, and received a great deal of criticism for not providing all schools with the same resources and quality of education (Boyd & Christman, 2003).

In addition to Hornbeck's financial impediments, he faced another detrimental reform impediment—lack of buy-in. Hornbeck planned to reconstitute failing schools and put an end to teacher seniority, which in Hornbeck's opinion, protected low quality teachers. He also wanted to extend the school day and the school year, and pay teachers for performance (Boyd & Christman, 2003). The Philadelphia Federation of Teachers fought Hornbeck's requests, which resulted in a contentious relationship between Hornbeck and the teachers, the very people he needed to make meaningful and long-lasting changes in student achievement. His decision to reconstitute one of the city's failing high schools resulted in a student walk-out and teachers and community members alike were outraged by his decision.

The Policy Window is Open: 2001-2005

After the public fallout between David Hornbeck, the teacher's union, high school students, and community members, the Philadelphia School District lacked the cohesiveness to transform the dismal educational conditions. According to Travers (2003),

While there was an upward trend in the scores in the District overall during the Hornbeck years, and subsequent analysis has shown that District scores increased at a faster pace than the mean increases across the state, the absolute scores were still quite abysmal, as was the drop out rate for students in many middle and high schools in the district (p. 3).

The continued low test scores in a political environment that advocated for accountability based on test scores prompted the Pennsylvania State Legislature to pass the Education Empowerment Act in 2000. This law gave the state the power to take over any school district if PSSA scores did not increase over three years (Boyd & Christman, 2003; Travers, 2003). According to Boyd and Christman (2003), Hornbeck resigned in protest of the State's threat of taking over the school system.

Act 46 and the Education Empowerment Act laid the groundwork for Pennsylvania to take over the Philadelphia School District and implement the largest experiment in privatization in the country (Boyd & Christman, 2003). More important to this research, the State takeover also led to the formation of a new school district governance structure, which in turn laid the groundwork for the AAH course. Governor Tom Ridge was instrumental in beginning the state takeover process, but he was appointed by President Bush to Assistant to the President of Home Land Security in

2001. Governor Ridge's Lieutenant Governor, Mark Schweiker, took over and continued the state takeover process. Instead of a school board and superintendent structure, the new governance structure consisted of a five member School Reform Commission (SRC), headed by a CEO of the district. The State Legislature stipulated that the Mayor's office was allowed to appoint one member to the SRC and the Governor was allowed to appoint the other four members (Boyd & Christman, 2003). Governor Schweiker faced much criticism from community members, students, and teachers who feared that only one member on the SRC reflected the city and Philadelphians would not be fully represented in the educational decision making (Risner, 2003; Travers, 2003). Governor Schweiker compromised and granted Mayor Street with power to appoint two SRC members instead of one.

Mayor Street appointed Sandra Dungee-Glenn and Martin Bednarek to the SRC. Dungee-Glenn turned out to be a key policy actor in the mandatory AAH course. According to Essoka (2005-06) Glenn began working on "a focused African and African American History course..." (p. 1), as soon as she was appointed to the SRC. She was also able to gain the support of the other four School Reform commission members, including the current Chairmen of the SRC, James Nevel, who was appointed by Governor Schweiker. As a result of Dungee-Glenn's convincing, the members voted unanimously to develop the required course (Snyder, 2005a). Dungee-Glenn also met with many community groups, of which she was also a member. Some of the organizations included the Black Caucus and the NAACP. Other grassroots organizations supported the development of the course as well.

Dungee-Glenn had garnered much support from the community. Prior to becoming a SRC member, Dungee-Glenn was appointed to the Platform Committee of the Democratic National Convention in 1996 and to the Credentials Committee in 2000 ("The School District of Philadelphia," 2009). According to Moore (2005), the Coalition of Education Advocates, a local organization in Philadelphia, was also involved in the movement to begin the dialogue of a comprehensive African American history course. The Coalition of Education Advocates collected 25,000 signatures on a petition requesting the implementation of an African American history course. Parents were also actively involved in the development of the initiative. Other grassroots organizations actively supported the initiative. Many community members attended the SRC's meetings and planning sessions that focused on the initiative and planning of the course.

The development of the course mandate began in 2002 when Paul Vallas, Sandra Dungee-Glenn, and the other SRC members were appointed the governing body of the school district, as a result of the state takeover (Essoka & Whitehorne, 2005-06). Vallas and Dungee-Glenn met with local community members and advocates of an AAH course to discuss the development of a comprehensive course and then subcommittees were developed to begin working on the course. However, due to budget constraints in 2003, the African American Studies Department eliminated staff positions. The District repositioned that particular department within Curriculum and Instruction. This perceived status demotion of the AAS department caused some tension between the community and the District because there was a real desire to see a comprehensive course implemented and the District's decision to reduce the African American Studies Department was viewed as a step in the wrong direction.

Though the dissolution of the African American Studies Department was viewed as a step in the wrong direction, the District hired a new person, Dana King, to become the Lead Academic Coach for Social Studies and Cultural Studies. She became a very key player in the development of the course and providing professional development to social studies teachers. With King's assistance, the development of the course continued. After three years of planning and almost 40 years of waiting, on February 16, 2005, the SRC put forth a resolution that stated all students would take an African and African American history course in their 10th grade year, as a graduation requirement beginning with the graduating class of 2009.

When the SRC voted to include the AAH course as a high school graduation requirement, one Administrator stated that they received full support from all five Commissioners. All of the District administrators who were interviewed for the study stated that the School Reform Commission was very supportive of the development of the AAH, even when some people in the community were not in favor of it. For example, when asked if there was any resistance from the SRC to include the course as a graduation requirement, Administrator #1 stated, "No, it was unanimous. It was so funny, all these men said, 'yes sir.'" She further argued that:

Community groups have been fighting and having this conversation every four years, every time there's a new superintendent, we want Black history taught in school. So what happened was when you had someone on the reform commission like Commissioner [Dungee-]Glenn who was an advocate for cultural studies and is concerned about the academic achievement of African American children, it was almost like a

concession, it was like they didn't have a choice because they said it was a resolution or mandate passed in '69 that nobody enforced.

Another Administrator stated that:

This wasn't easy. This is one, we got some hate mail about. I didn't think our filters would let some of the bad words come through on the e-mail, I thought we had some of that stuff censored but they got through anyhow. This was a courageous time. We went into this with three Caucasian SRC members who were very brave and courageous. I know they all received push-back from their constituents as to a question in their desire to do this. And they were very brave and they did it anyhow. You had a courageous commission, you had some courageous dedicated seniors at the top. Paul [Vallas] was very deeply invested. I was invested.

After 40 years of the AAH's ebbs and flows in the Philadelphia education discourse, a newly structured governing body decided to develop a course that would be implemented comprehensively throughout all of the School District's high schools. In 2004, the District began to create lessons around AAH for students in K-5 and the comprehensive high school course. During the 2004- 2005 school year, the District developed the mandate for the comprehensive course and piloted the course in three of the high schools. According to Essoka (2005-06), in 2005, the course was implemented throughout all 60 high schools in the District and "almost 4,500 students in 150 classrooms elected to take the course..." during its first school year. Appendix A provides a timeline over of the AAH course's history in the Philadelphia School District from 1967-2005.

The AAH course is required for all high school students in order to graduate, beginning with the class of 2009. Though at the time of the development of the policy, students only had to take the class, but they did not have to pass the course (this issue is discussed more completely in chapter six). It was designed for students to take in their 10th grade year. The AAH course begins with a section on “The Birthplace of Humanity,” which focuses origin of the human race and the evolution of ancient African civilizations, and ends with a chapter on “African Americans in the New Millennium,” which focuses on prominent African American leaders in various capacities, such as Oprah Winfrey and Henry Louis Gates, and prominent Black institutions like religion. Appendix A provides a copy of the table of contents of the textbook used for the course, “African-American History.”

Community and National Response to the Reform

This section provides more contextual information about the AAH course. It will address the community’s and the nation’s response to the development of the course. The Philadelphia School District’s decision to include the African American history course in their graduation requirements is novel, in that they are the first school district in the country to do so. Other school districts may offer a similar course as an elective, but not a graduation requirement. The distinctive nature of the requirement has created some criticism of the course. Even though many community members supported the implementation of the mandatory AAH course, some opponents of the course were very vocal in expressing their disdain for the curriculum policy.

Some of the criticism of the course focused on a perceived mismatch between the need to increase the achievement of Black youth in the city and the importance of an

AAH course. One of the most outspoken opponents of the course is Republican John Perzel, Pennsylvania State House Speaker. Perzel openly expressed his disapproval of the course to the Philadelphia Inquirer: “I would like to see them master basic reading, writing and arithmetic...Once we have them down pat [sic], I don’t care what they teach...They should understand basic American history before we go into African American history” (p. A01). He also requested that the School Reform Commission reconsider their position on making the course a graduation requirement.

Other criticisms focused on the histories of other ethnicities that are left out of the curriculum. Chester Finn, President of the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation, stated his opinion of Philadelphia’s decision to include the AAH course as a graduation requirement in the Foundation’s newsletter:

A founding principle of the republic is protecting minorities from the excesses of majority rule. The School District of Philadelphia is majority Black. Everyone else is a minority. Yet who is protecting their interests? Why are they and their heritages being discriminated against? One imagines families of Mexican, Trinidadian, Irish, Korean, and Bangladeshi backgrounds asking why the school system is "privileging" its African-American students' heritage and neglecting their own (Finn, 2005-webpage).

Nicholas Torres, the President of the Congreso de Latinos Unidos agrees with Finn. Torres argues that “we live in a community that is Latino American and African American. I think it’s shortsighted of the [Philadelphia] School District to mandate one and not mandate the other...” Thus, many of the opponents of the mandated history

course disagree with this policy because they feel it marginalizes the historical experiences and contributions of other races and ethnicities.

The graduation requirement component of the course served as another source of disdain. Snyder and Mezzacappa (2005) point out in the Philadelphia Inquirer that “many districts offer the [African/African American history] courses as electives” (p. A01). The authors add, “Philadelphia parent Miriam Diaz, who has two children in the district, one of whom will be affected by the new requirement, wishes Philadelphia would do the same: Offer choices, not mandate a course on one group” (Snyder & Mezzacappa, 2005, p. A01). According to the Philadelphia Inquirer, even one member of the SRC regrets his decision to require all students to take the course:

Martin Bednarek, who is from the Northeast, where some of the loudest critics live, said he would not favor another mandate and did not want the African American history course required, although he did not oppose the move: “I would have preferred to have it remain as an elective and monitor how many students took the course,” he said (Snyder, 2005a, p. B01).

Miriam Foltz, the president of the Home and School Association at the Baldi Middle Schools in the Northeast was also quoted in the Philadelphia Inquirer: “Are they seriously telling us that our kids won’t graduate without this course? What an insult!” (Snyder, 2005c).

The last set of criticisms came from those who question the effect of an African American history course on the achievement and self-esteem of Black youth. Critics argue that single-race history courses or African American history courses tend to distort

or embellish the history of those groups in order to make youth feel good about themselves. A columnist for *The Philadelphia Inquirer* wrote:

So the argument goes, greater awareness of their history will build self-esteem and lead to improved academic performance... Unfortunately there's little to no proof that any of this is really true. On the other hand, there's plenty to suggest that an inflated view of his or her capabilities may short-circuit a student's drive to learn more. One example is found in the result of a recent international survey of academic achievement, in which American students rank in the bottom half in math but think they're very good in the subject, while their Asian counterparts score high on the test and low on self-esteem. Building competency, it turns out, may be far more effective than stroking ego (Eisner, 2005, p. C01).

People of this train of thought are concerned that a history course will not increase academic achievement and feeling good about oneself can not replace the importance of building skills and competencies. Others are concerned that the goal of increasing self-esteem will lead curriculum developers to represent African American history positively, but inaccurately. Diane Ravitch, an education historian, cautioned the Philadelphia School District that "this history should be taught accurately and based on the best scholarship, not ideology or politics" (Snyder & Mezzacappa, 2005, p. A01). For example, Ravitch states that the fact Africans owned slaves should not be omitted when discussing African civilizations and the Transatlantic Slave Trade.

The course has also received praise from native Philadelphians and other prominent African American figures because they believe that the African American

experience has been left out of the school curriculum and it is an important story that should be included. Bill Cosby, a native Philadelphian, was quoted in the Philadelphia Weekly challenging the viewpoints of the policy's opposition:

I love the people who say it's going to separate people more and more. They are clearly afraid. So what's to fear? The fear is that the stories told would be the first time for many people...that African Americans have been thought of seriously as having participated positively in history (LaBletta, 2005-06, p 27).

Furthermore, The Reverend Jesse Jackson and Maya Angelou have also been quoted in newspaper articles supporting the accomplishment of the School Reform Commission (LaBletta, 2005-06; Woodall, 2005). The NAACP and the National Alliance of Black Educators have had positive things to say about the mandatory course. Mark Morial, the President and CEO of the National Urban League argued publicly that, "this isn't a brief for 'division.' Rather, it's a frank acknowledgement that we can't honestly face our present and our future until we've honestly faced our past"(LaBletta, 2005-06).

According to Snyder and Mezzacappa (2005), "Mayor Street called the new requirement a 'welcome change'" and Paul Vallas, the CEO of Philadelphia public schools, has also openly expressed his support of the SRC's decision (Moore, 2005).

Four years after the passing of the African American history course, it has made a fairly smooth transition into the school district though there was some initial resistance. No evidence exists that suggests otherwise. It is no longer the cover story in the Education section of the Philadelphia Inquirer. One last headline of the new curricular policy read, "Black history mandate eases into Phila. Schools," on February 18, 2007

(Snyder, 2007). She argues that even critics of the curriculum have come around to accept the course.

Conclusion

After 40 years, the dreams of 3,500 protestors in 1967 have been realized. The mandatory AAH course has fulfilled the demands of a community of people who have been vying for adequate and accurate representation in the curriculum of Philadelphia public schools. The 40 years that spanned between the request of the AAH course and the development of the course, demonstrate a very different African American Youth. In 1967 student protestors demanded representation, but in 2005 the requests for an AAH course came from community organizations, arguably the same people who participated in the 1967 protest. The voices of the Philadelphia adolescence in the 21st century were not mentioned as a group vying for this curriculum, a drastic change from the social climate of 1967. The history of the AAH course and other educational reforms in the Philadelphia School District demonstrate that students were once empowered and played an active role in their education and now the School District, the African American community, and other community organizations are the sole advocates of this initiative.

The challenges the Philadelphia School District is faced with are drastically different from the challenges of the 1960s. As the course was implemented, the District was struggling with a high drop out rate, a high leadership turn over rate, financial issues, and the state take over of the city schools. However, it was these very conditions that allowed the AAH course to finally be comprehensively implemented throughout the District. It was not until there were many failed initiatives to rebuild and reform the education in the city, that a new District leadership structure was able to push the course

to the top of their reform agenda and commit approximately one million dollars towards the development of the course.

There was mixed response to the reform, which adds an additional layer to understanding the implementation of the course. Though many people feel that AAH is an important, yet largely ignored component of the history of the world and the United States, there were also many critics of the course as well. Critics believe that such a course values AAH over other cultures, who also played an important role in the fabric of the United States. Other concerns stem from a common criticism of AAH, and that if the goal of the course is to increase self-esteem and cultural pride of African American youth, that the course will likely embellish the role of Africans and African Americans and vilify those of European decent. This concern actually reemerges during the discussions of the development of the course with District administrators.

In the next chapter, I will examine the District's AAH policy, which provided the official justification of the AAH graduation requirement. Interviews with district administrators will also be used to explore the District's arguments for the need for the AAH. Interviews with district administrators were also analyzed to understand how they developed the course and trained teachers.

CHAPTER SIX

AAH Course: The Purpose, Design and Vision

One of the things that we feel or sense is that if young people see themselves as valuable, if they see that they have made a contribution and that they continue to make a contribution, then they can rebuild themselves in the communities, that they won't be just this level of self-hatred

—Administrator, Philadelphia School District

The purpose of this chapter is to examine why the Philadelphia Public School District decided to include the African American history course as a core piece of their high school curriculum and how the course was designed. Using the social construction of target populations as a lens to analyze the administrator's responses, the curriculum materials, and the AAH Policy, I argue that administrators targeted three specific groups in the District in order to achieve multiple goals: African American students, and to a lesser extent non-African American students and teachers and administrators. However, the design of the course reflected the administrators' social construction of teachers. I begin this chapter by examining why the administrators justified the development of the course and then I focus on the development of the course.

Social Construction of Black Youth in Philadelphia

The main reason for implementing the required AAH course was to change the social construction of a target group that had been socially constructed as disadvantaged, with little political power. Research suggests policy elites have used policy to redefine target populations in other social policy contexts, such as economic policies for minority small business owners (Anglund, 1998) or the impact of the War on Drugs on the construction of Black women (Jordan-Zachery, 2008). Administrators, or the policy

elites, sought to change the social construction of Black youth and empower them by requiring everyone in high school take an AAH course. Administrators gave three different reasons for requiring the course, and all involved providing benefits to African American students. In the following section, I will address each reason District administrators provided for the requiring the AAH course. These reasons include: 1) positive personal development of Black youth; 2) decreasing the achievement gap; and 3) providing the best quality education to African American students. I first begin with the District's social construction of Black youth.

Social Construction of Black Youth in Philadelphia

The framing of the AAH policy provides the first insight into how Black youth in Philadelphia are socially constructed. The following is the "Resolution" or the District policy, which provides the District's justification for requiring the AAH course. The District begins the Resolution by referring to the 1968 Resolution Mark Shedd initiated after the 1968 protests.

WHEREAS, On December 23, 1968, the School District of Philadelphia in an effort to address the academic and cultural needs of its African American students, initiated a program of staff development on African Heritage and African-American History in order to provide teachers and students with the knowledge and perceptions necessary for their better understanding of the vital role that people of African descent have played in the past, present and future.

The policy is framed in such a way that they used the 1968 unfulfilled promise of an AAH course as justification for requiring the course now. The District pointed to African

American high school students who in 1967 were unsatisfied with their educational experiences in school. They felt that their academic and cultural needs were not being met because teachers did not understand the experience and past of African American students. Furthermore, African American students were searching for their own cultural education and understanding.

The District has partly framed the issue of requiring an AAH course as a need to fulfill the 1968 promise, but their student population of the 21st century is very different from the students who participated in the 1967 protest. The social construction that Countryman (2006) puts forth is a group of students who were empowered to make change and take an active role in their education. Arguably, the students of 1967 could fit into the Contenders category put forth by Schneider and Ingram's (1993) theory of the social construction of target populations. They had a negative construction, but had the political power to impact the education agenda. Though the AAH course that was promised to them was not implemented comprehensively throughout the District, some Philadelphia schools did include the course in their rosters. As mentioned in the previous chapter, a department of African and African American studies was developed and the director of that position created curriculum materials and assisted social studies who taught the course. By 2005, about 10 high schools actually had the course on their rosters.

What happened to Black youth in Philadelphia from 1968 to 2005 to make the District fully implement the AAH course? According to District administrators, every few years, community members and activists reignited their request to comprehensively develop an AAH course, but they did not mention that these requests included student voices. The purpose of this chapter is not to examine the decline of Black youth activism,

but the District administrators' responses about their purpose for the course. Their responses reveal a stark contrast of the social construction of Black youth in 1968 to the construction of Black youth in 2005, when the graduation requirement was implemented. The following sections will address the constructions of Black youth that administrators provided to justify the inclusion of the course.

Positive Personal Development

One of the main reasons the administrators decided to develop the required AAH course was to help the students develop a positive sense of self. The positive development of self does not only include self-esteem, but also a positive perception and understanding of their culture. Positive personal development means an increased perception of their ability as an African American youth and this purpose is identical to the reasons proponents of African American history or multicultural education courses believe minority groups should be exposed to culturally relevant curriculum (Asante, 1991; Banks & Banks, 2001; Ford & Harris, 1996; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Spencer, Noll, Stoltzfus, & Harpalani, 2001). Two District administrators provide examples of why the course should be implemented:

Administrator #1: One of the things that came out of the discussion, I mean in research too, is that when children are not acculturated in their own history and culture that there tends to be, you know, the thing you were talking about, the self esteem issues, how they approach education, I mean there's a whole lot of literature on that.

Administrator #3: A key focus I think, it's important that our youngsters see themselves in the development of this nation and really understand the

power of the people that preceded them. And really work with that as, and being able to speak on it, to be proud of it, understand that it's part of where they come from. Frequently we [the School District] don't do that well, I think, and that was at least one of the goals we had as we set out to do that work.

The responses from the two administrators reveal components of the social construction of Black youth as justifications for requiring the course. By describing what the youth need, the administrators also describe what the students are lacking. They believe that self-esteem is tied to culture and that Black youth are lacking the knowledge about a culture of which they should be proud. Administrator #3 mentions there is a lack of understanding of the power of African and African Americans, and so one of the purposes of this course is to give them the knowledge of their cultural history in order to develop their self-esteem, racial pride and empowerment.

The two administrators above describe the importance of the course as a need for self esteem and cultural pride. However, another administrator argues that there is a more urgent need for the AAH course, almost an issue of life and death.

Administrator #5: We had the need in the city to do it... We have a backdrop in Philadelphia where we have Black on Black crime. Our murder rate was through the roof as it is now. And we had a group of kids that are asking kind of who are we and where do we come from. You can't look at the numbers to see that most of the kids look like me [African American] in our schools. There was really a firm commitment on my part, I think on the commissioner's part, on Paul Vallas' [former

District CEO] part that we could get our kids to better understand who they are and then get the other kids to understand who these children are. We would mitigate some of the challenges that present themselves every day.

Administrator #5 highlights a more deviant social construction of African American youth who live in environments riddled with violence and crime. He argues that a better understanding of self and their culture could counteract the negative or deviant social construction of Black youth in the city. Another administrator made a similar statement in Philadelphia's local educational periodical. Sandra Dungee-Glenn stated, "There's nothing to ground kids," she states. "The only messages about Black existence are negative media images"(Essoka, 2005-06, p. 13). Instead of Black criminals as an example of the dominant social construction for Black youth, African American students could look to Malcolm X "as a model for literacy." According to Administrator #1 Malcolm X's "life reflects how one teaches oneself by extensive reading. I mean he was reading like a book a day, so we were thinking about how to create sort of a curriculum piece that would allow students to understand his life that way." As the data from District administrators demonstrates, the goal of the course was to reconstruct Black identity to help students identify with more positive aspects of their heritage instead of the negative aspects of urban Black communities.

The social construction of Black youth that developed in these conversations is one that varies from disadvantaged to deviant. The administrators argued there is a need for the course because Black youth do not know who they are or where they come from, which leads to low self-esteem and lack of cultural pride. These descriptions paint

somewhat of a helpless portrait of Black youth, a description that fits best within the disadvantaged category. As Administrator #5 posits, the purpose of the course was also to counteract the deviant construction of Black youth and African Americans in general as violent criminals. Though he did not specifically describe the Black youth as criminals, he believes that youth are mired with violent images in their neighborhoods, as evidenced by the murder rate, which at the of data collection the city was averaging one murder per day and by the month of May there were approximately 150 murders. His hope was to prevent the students from identifying with the deviant social construction and elevating them to a construction with more power or more self-determination.

Decreasing the Achievement Gap

Another disadvantaged social construction emerged in administrators' discussions of the purpose of the course, which focused on the achievement gap between White and Black students in the District and nationwide. The achievement gap justification for the course positions Black youth in a disadvantaged category because it takes the blame away from the students and puts it squarely on the school system, which includes the administration and teachers. This argument characterizes students as powerless, but hopes that the exposure to a culturally relevant course could move them into a more powerful, self-determinant social construction.

The first place the achievement gap argument appeared was in the AAH Resolution or policy. The policy framed part of the problem as follows:

WHEREAS, the School Reform Commission recognizes that the goal of 1968 resolution has not been fully realized, and that the concerns related to academic achievement addressed by this resolution remain a concern in

2005, and in an effort to close the largest academic achievement gap in the District...

It is important to note that the AAH course was part of a larger initiative to standardize the curriculum, so the administrators did not believe that this course alone would close the largest academic achievement gap in the District, but interview responses revealed that they believed the course could result in positive academic outcomes. One administrator argued that they were able to pass the course because the Philadelphia community was dissatisfied with the quality of education their African American students received and thought that the AAH course could be a possible solution. Another administrator argued that the increased self-esteem of students as a result of the course would in turn increase academic outcomes. In other words, as they change the way they have socially constructed themselves, they will do better in school. According to District administrator # 6, "It was the time to do it, in that if we were trying to move the District to improve the academic achievement of all students, that this particular content she [Dungee-Glenn] thought would enhance that achievement for African American students." There was a perception in the District that the youth needed something different. Administrators believed that these students had long been deprived of the educational experience the inclusion of an AAH course could provide students and that they deserved it. The focus on academic achievement and providing them with a service that the administrators felt they had been denied was about moving them from a disadvantaged group to an empowered group.

The issue of the achievement gap was framed in a slightly different way by another administrator. He argued that one of the main causes of the achievement gap is

teachers' and students' expectations of students' academic ability. He felt that the course would increase teachers' expectations of Black youth and Black youth's expectations of themselves.

Administrator #5: I believe a large portion of achievement gap is around a person's expectations. It's around a system's expectations of groups of kids. And it's around children's expectations of themselves. I'm of the belief and wish we could have got the course to a place earlier, that if you have and hold yourself in high regard there's a very likelihood you will achieve at higher levels...For me as I move forward I think those are issues that could be, we can't say we've solved those issues for the fact that we have this African American history course but I think it's certainly value added. But there has to be very strong fundamental reforms that are very targeted in a laser way to do some of those things [decrease the achievement gap].

Neither this administrator nor the others felt that the course would decrease the achievement gap alone, but they felt that it was a step in the right direction. They felt that the students and teachers have bought in to the social construction of Black youth's academic ability, which is Black youth achieve at low levels. The assumption is that the exposure to more accurate information about African and African American history could change everyone's social construction of the African American students in a way that would change their expectations as well.

Administrators framed the low expectation argument as a lack of respect for Black students' educational abilities on the part of Black students and their teachers.

Administrator #6 stated the purpose of the course was

To increase the level of intellectual respect that Black students have for their own capabilities and that their counterparts of other ethnicities as well as their teachers have for the contributions of African American folk in this country and in Africa.

The Resolution also stated that the purpose of the course was to increase the intellectual respect: "Ensure that all students and teachers gain the intellectual respect for children of African descent through the infusion of African and African American history and culture in the total curriculum, grades PreK-12." This administrator's comments highlight a desire to move the disadvantaged group to a more positive social construction.

Providing youth with the best quality education

The overarching theme that emerged about the District administrators' purpose for the AAH course was to provide Black youth with the highest quality of education, which for the administrators included AAH. There was an assumption that this disadvantaged group had been denied the "inalienable right" to the exposure to the type of education they deserved. On the inside cover of the curriculum guide is an essay about "the journey" to the development of and the need for the AAH course. The essay was written by Dana King, a District administrator who played a vital role in the development of the course. Dana King argues that,

The purpose of education is to reinforce the desire to learn and grow. To deny a child the proper education is to deny him the right to learn; to leave

out the history of his people is to deny him the inalienable right to exist. To deny non-African-American children the truth of other people's historical and cultural experiences is to deny that child the truth about the total human experience (The Philadelphia School District African -African American History Curriculum).

Administrator #1 echoed King's remarks in an interview. She stated that:

In terms of our goals and objectives, one is to provide our students with the best academic experience and I'm saying that in general terms because I think what we emphasize in the conversation about African American studies is that it's only for African American children and it's about self-esteem, no. When we're talking about the best academic experience we can offer our children, then you have to include cultural studies.

The way the purpose of the course was framed in the section of the Resolution and the administrator's response above demonstrate that the administrators believe the purpose of this course extends beyond what is possible for African American youth through the exposure of the material, but that the purpose of the course is to change everyone's perception of Black youth so that all can receive the best educative experience and provide a more diverse and rich learning experience for all students. Their purpose is a District wide reconstruction of the perception of Black youth and through this transformation they will have the same educational opportunities as other students.

The District administrators hypothesized that as a result of the exposure to AAH, the social construction of Black youth would change from a disadvantaged construction to a more empowered construction through the development of a positive self-esteem,

increased racial pride, and higher educational expectations and outcomes. Administrators strongly believed that if they were to help change the circumstance of Black youth, they had to provide them with the best educational experience, which for them includes AAH. The next step in understanding the purpose of the course is to understand how the course was developed. The next section in this chapter addresses how the social constructions of key policy actors impacted the development of the course.

Development of AAH Course and Social Construction of Teachers

The social construction of target populations is used in this section of the paper to understand the administrators' perception of teachers and how they have defined teacher's use of curriculum and textbook in the classroom. The social construction theory focuses on more abstract characteristics of target populations; however, the theory is used here to demonstrate how policymakers define target populations and how those characterizations impact policy development. The administrators' perception of teachers as textbook dependent and the need for an academically rigorous course guided the decisions the administrators made about developing the AAH course. The section begins with a discussion of the development of the course and the administrators' perception of teachers. Then I will address how the course was developed, including the textbook, curriculum, and course materials. Finally, I will present the findings that focus on the professional development the District provided for teachers and the administrators' ideal AAH classrooms.

Administrators' Perception of Teachers

The development of the AAH curriculum came at the heels of the development of a standardized curriculum for the entire District—kindergarten through twelfth grade. In

2002, the District began to create a standardized K-12 curriculum for all their subjects. As a result of the high mobility rate of students in the District, students were constantly transferring from one school to another and the District needed to ensure the students would not miss pertinent information after transferring to a new school. The District also wanted to ensure that all students in the District had access to the same rigorous curriculum. Administrator #2 argued that the District always had curriculum, but she posits that the new curriculum will help to create instructional accountability and expose all students to a rigorous curriculum. She credits No Child Left Behind for providing the District with the impetus to take a critical look at their curriculum:

As much as people can fuss about No Child Left Behind and we sure would love to have all the funding to go with it, but the good part about it is it has raised expectations for all districts in this Commonwealth, everywhere, but in this Commonwealth we have suburban districts and we have Philly, you know. I'll let it go at that...so No Child Left Behind has said you can no longer act like you don't have the steel cannons of the world in your school; you do. And you do have some responsibility to move all youngsters so I think that's been the plus of the NCLB...We have youngsters who look a certain way, or move, who have the right to equal access to high rigor curriculum content.

The District curriculum team began to have conversations about what role curriculum plays in the classroom. A consensus existed among administrators that there is a misunderstanding about the role curriculum and textbooks play in the classroom and that teachers are too dependent on the textbook. They argued that teachers and districts

often confuse textbooks for curriculum and that textbooks are narrow in their presentation of content, especially social studies. In their opinion, curriculum can help ensure that teachers have the right resources to expand their own knowledge and allow them to teach information that is not prescribed by the textbook. One District administrator argued that the District had “a thousand flowers blooming” and that “if you walked into the city schools...and we have 265 now, but you could see 260 different programs going on, all because it was delivered through a textbook.” The District’s intention was to streamline the educational services they provided to students. They encouraged variety and creativity in the teaching profession, but what students learn should not vary from school to school or classroom to classroom. As the District administrators began developing curricula for the District, they were adamant about developing curricula that teachers could use regardless of the textbook used in the classroom.

The administrators referred to curriculum as the “guardian angel” in the classroom. According to Administrator #2, the core curriculum ensures that students do not suffer academically as a result of the high mobility rate and teachers’ textbook based instruction.

Very frequently people believe that curriculum is a textbook, and that’s not the case. And at least, I’ve been in the District for 35 years and in my 35 years it’s the first time in the last five that we have a core document that we recognize as curriculum. We have curricula in each content area and the textbook is only the delivery mechanism. And that’s a real change in mindset because heretofore if you looked in and they said what is your curriculum and they’d go Harcourt or McGraw-Hill. We’re like, that’s a

textbook...But when you have a curriculum, it becomes the *guardian angel* to what it is because it's incumbent for you to choose the best method of delivery of the content.

They were adamant that teachers would be able to use the core curriculum with any textbook. The textbook would not determine instruction. The term “guardian angel” was a reoccurring theme throughout their discussion of curriculum development, especially discussions about the development of curriculum for the AAH course.

Research provides evidence for the District administrators' perception of teachers' dependence on textbooks. According to Solomon (2003) and Ball and Cohen (1996), commercially published curriculum materials, including textbooks, greatly inform what teachers teach and how they plan their lessons. Solomon (2003) argues that “When teachers choose or are assigned, they often accept the text as their curriculum. The text then constrains and controls knowledge and teaching” (p. 42). She maintains that textbooks are too narrow in their presentation of subject matter. She further argues that teachers rely on textbooks because it eases the demand of creating curriculum themselves. Solomon (2003) also argues that teachers do bring their creativity and ingenuity into the classroom, but textbook tends to be the driving force behind curriculum. Ball and Cohen (1996) posit that commercial curriculum materials are usually adopted by districts in the hopes that it changes what teachers teach and how teachers teach, but the commercial materials, including textbooks, have little impact on changing instructional practices.

The administrators' perception of teachers is such that they are too dependent on textbooks. The administrators were not blaming teachers for a wide range of variation in

classroom content from school to school because the District did not have a standard curriculum. However, they did believe that some of the variance was due to the dependence on textbooks as curricular guides. Their view of textbook dependent teachers contributed to the development of the AAH course. The next section will demonstrate how the course was developed and how the administrators' characterization of teachers guided some of their decisions, beginning with the textbook.

Textbook Development

The development of the AAH course began with a textbook, though administrators had serious concerns about the quality of information presented in social studies textbooks and their perceived teachers' dependence on textbooks to develop curriculum. The AAH District team began the process of developing the course with the textbook because there were no high school African American history textbooks available. Administrators began by examining college level textbooks that could be revised to meet the needs of high school students. Administrators had sincere concerns about the type of textbook they should choose. They revealed that it was difficult to find a textbook that met their standards for the course requirement. The three main issues they considered were the reading level of the textbook, the required background knowledge of high school students in order to understand the content in the text, and the validity of the information presented in the textbook:

We have thousands and thousands of books that could be used at the collegiate level, that teachers can bring in their classroom and create lessons from. What has not been done, or had not been done until recently is the creation of a high school text to combine that scholarship, a

comprehensive book, high school text, for teachers and students that would allow them to be able to do what you do in high school, which is different than college...high schools are not coming with background information to inform the text (Administrator #1).

Administrators were committed to finding an appropriate text that would meet the needs of students and teachers at the same time. Their discussion around their standards for a high school text led them to the examination of many different collegiate textbooks. They searched for a book that laid a historical foundation for students and did not assume that students came in with the same degree of background knowledge as college students and a textbook that could be reduced to a reading level of high school students.

Administrators stated that during the past decade, authors had written textbooks that could be edited to meet the needs of high school students. District administrators decided on a college textbook written by three historians. They worked with the authors of the textbook to ensure that their students could read the book:

So what has been done, the last probably ten years are the creation of collegiate textbooks that could be reduced to high school text. The Hine book was one of those books, and so when the mandate was passed there was a collegiate text, but I said our students will have difficulty reading this. Most of our students, a lot of our students can't read the collegiate text, and I said so we need to create a high school text. So we worked with them and looked at some of the changes in the language (Administrator #1).

Administrators did not clarify whether the District's concern was ensuring that the textbook reading level was appropriate for high school students in general, or for high school students in Philadelphia. A large disparity existed between the reading level of 11th graders in the Philadelphia School District and the state average reading level. The reading proficiency level of 11th graders in Philadelphia is 35.1% compared to the state average of 65.4%.⁴ It is an anomaly that the District administrators did not mention this disparity. This oversight may actually speak to the administrators' lack of knowledge of what students need because they are too removed from the classroom (Shulman, 1983). In the next chapter, teachers identified the appropriateness of the reading level of the textbook as a criticism of the text.

The last concern District administrators had about the textbook was the validity of the information presented in the book. Their main concern was that AAH would be presented from a Eurocentric perspective, resulting in the reinforcement of the same stereotypical assumptions about Africans and African Americans. The District administrators worked with the textbook authors and the publishing company, Prentice Hall, to revise the book so that it presented the history in a less stereotypical way:

We saw the first run of the book and we went back and corrected it and even me, the African American history newbie, saw references in a book that was written for African Americans and by African Americans and still it was the same stereotypic millionaires, the basketball player, Oprah Winfrey. So we asked that those kind of things be taken out so that we kind of strayed away from the typical notion that the only way to make money is to be in entertainment (Administrator #6).

⁴ School Matters (<http://www schooldatadirect.org/>)

Another Administrator stated:

They did have some errors in there—that happens in textbooks. So we [other administrators] fixed some errors, but no publishing company, most people don't have the knowledge of the people that were in that room that we're presenting...See, very few people have that level of knowledge, so they create a basic textbook that people can understand and identify with. [Sarcastically, she states that] most people have an understanding of African American history—they came from West Africa, we're slaves and then free and so that's what textbook companies are going to do... But we're dissatisfied with all textbooks. No textbook has gotten it right. Not just our history, history in general (Administrator #1).

Administrators were able to make some of the necessary changes to the textbook. They were fortunate to work with authors and a publishing company that was flexible and willing to meet their needs. Administrators stated that they chose this textbook because it had enough primary source documents included in the book, that the curriculum team could include alternate resources to allow teachers to challenge the author's interpretation of the documents or show an alternative perspective. Some of the primary source documents included the Emancipation Proclamation, the 13th amendment, and letters and essays from prominent people in history. In developing the curriculum for the AAH course, they developed a curriculum that would help the teachers challenge some aspects of the textbook that the administrators were still not quite satisfied with by providing them with contrasting views and a bibliography of resources for teachers to reference.

Curriculum Development

It was very important to District administrators to develop the curriculum guide because of their belief that teachers are too dependent on textbooks. After coming across so many inconsistencies within the text, they knew they needed to give teachers an alternative perspective to extend their knowledge. According to Administrators #1:

Teachers are so textbook dependent. And if they weren't textbook dependent, they could bring in that knowledge in the classroom, but they believe the textbook is correct as well... That's why our curriculum is so important, because the curriculum we created goes beyond any textbook that's ever been done. I try to enforce to the teachers, you must use that curriculum. If you don't use the curriculum, you're just going to fall into the same trap.

Again, the District administrators spoke of curriculum as the "guardian angel," which implies that teachers' adherence to the curriculum ensures proper implementation. They feel that textbooks cannot be the only source of information teachers use in the classroom because the textbook industry is designed primarily to make money through meeting the needs of a broad and varied population of students.

According to administrators, one specific concern was the Eurocentric presentation of AAH history. They did not want teachers to fall into the trap of presenting the conventional historical story of African Americans. For example, administrators found the textbook authors' analysis of a poem written by Phillis Wheatley in the late 18th century problematic. Wheatley was African, brought to America to be a slave at a very young age. Even though she was a slave, her owners taught her to read and write and

even sent her to London, where her first book of poetry was published. However, the District administrators took issue with the portrayal of Wheatley in the text. In the example that follows, I provide a poem by Wheatly, preceded by the textbook authors' analysis of her work, and then a poem that the District included to challenge the textbook authors. These poems and the authors' interpretation were also the topic of one of the AAH professional development seminars.

Wheatley was an advocate and symbol of the adoption of White culture by Black people. Before her marriage, she lived almost exclusively among White people and absorbed their values. For example, although she lamented the sorrow her capture caused her parents, she was grateful to have been brought to America:

'Twas mercy brought me from my Pagan land,
Taught my benighted soul to understand
That there's a God, that there's a Savior too:
Once I redemption neither sought nor knew.

(Hine et al, 2006; pg. 120).

Gregg Carr, who co-led this particular professional development, argued that even though Wheatley posited that she is thankful she was brought to America, the reality of her situation was that she was a slave, and did not have the freedom to write the type of poetry she wanted. The curriculum team provided teachers with another poem written by Wheatley in the complimentary module:

Should you, my lord, while you peruse my song,
Wonder from whence my love of Freedom sprung,

Whence flow these wishes for the common good,
By feeling hears alone best understood,
I, young in life, by seeming cruel fate
Was snatch'd from Africa's fancy'd happy seat:
What pangs excruciating must molest,
What sorrows labour in my parent's breast?
Steel'd was the soul and by no misery mov'd
That from a father seiz'd his babe belov'd:
Such, such my case. And can I then but pray
Others may never feel tyrannic sway?

Phillis Wheatley, To the Right Honourable William, Earl of Dartmouth

1772 (Curriculum Guide, pg. 204).

By providing teachers with another poem, they provided teachers with another dimension of Wheatley's life work, and possibly an alternative view point about her perspective on being brought from Africa. It is not to negate what is in the text, but to challenge the information by giving another evidenced perspective. According to Administrator #1, "what we say all the time is that the textbook really hasn't been written," and that is why they revised the textbook and developed the curriculum companion guide. Their concerns about the textbook centered around teachers' possible dependence on a textbook that represented AAH from a Eurocentric frame. Part of the District administrators' vision was that teachers use the curriculum guide as their main source for planning their lessons and only use the textbook, along with the bibliography of websites, as references to enhance their knowledge and instruction.

The District worked with university professors from across the country to develop the textbook and the curriculum materials. Administrators had a goal of developing an academically rigorous AAH course. According to one Administrator, their goal was to develop a course that was beyond reproach:

I think the way this course was developed, the level of scholarship that went into it, the type of internal and external review, because one of the things we were very concerned about, there were some concerns about the importance of this course, the need for it, making it mandatory, requiring all students to take it, but wanting it to be above reproach in regards to the academic content. There was a great deal of effort put into making sure that the facts were solid facts and it was well researched and well supported (Administrator #4).

A great deal of work that went into the development of the course, from revising the textbook to developing the curriculum materials. As the Administrator mentioned, there were concerns that opponents of the course would attack the academic integrity of the course. Critics have accused the courses like Philadelphia's AAH course as a course that embellishes facts in favor of creating a false caricature of the African American experience so that Black youth will feel good about themselves (Ravitch, 1990; Stout, 2001). However, the administrators' focus on the academic rigor and compounded with their perception of teachers who are too textbook dependent framed their decisions about training teachers to teach the AAH. The next section will examine the type of professional development teachers were provided.

Professional Development and Student Learning Outcomes

A reoccurring theme that emerged through the conversations about the development of course and the curriculum was the teacher's ability to critique history and their ability to help students critique history. Administrators did not want teachers to be married to the textbook as their main source of information. Their desire for students and teachers to be able to have sufficient content knowledge to critique history manifested itself in two ways: 1) the type of professional development that was provided to teachers; and 2) their overall learning outcomes for students.

Professional Development. The administrators' desire for teachers to have content knowledge drove the type of professional development, or capacity building activities, the District provided to teachers. A large portion of the professional development that was provided to teachers focused on content knowledge. According to Administrator #3, many times they felt that teachers did not have the content knowledge to teach the course:

And I don't want you to leave out one key component in your research, [Administrator #3] alluded to it, about our training for teachers. The African American history course, many of our teachers never took the course, so they're having experience of learning the course as they're teaching it. And so the professional development has been very important.

For that reason, the professional development was more content based than pedagogically based. Professional development began the spring of 2005. Professional development was also offered during the summer months of 2005 and Saturday sessions were offered twice a month during the fall semester of 2005. The District invited prominent African and African American history scholars to teach the seminars. I attended one professional

development seminar, where they had two speakers on that particular Saturday morning. Approximately 30 teachers were in attendance and sitting around a large U-shaped table. The seminar was supposed to begin at 8:00 am and end at 12:00, but the first presenter did not begin until about 9:00am. The first, a professor of Egyptology, taught a lesson about the beginning of civilization and the world wide debate about the origin of people. The professor showed a video about another Egyptologist's discoveries of African artifacts, we read a short article, and then the professor and the teachers engaged in a discussion. The second speaker discussed contradictions within the constitution regarding race and citizenship. These two professors encouraged questions, and of the 30 teachers who were present that morning, about three stayed after the session was over to further their discussions about the two topics. Teachers, who attended workshops voluntarily, seem very interested and engaged in the material being presented.

The District administrators felt that teachers were very engaged in the professional development and the courses they developed for teachers was a point of pride for them. According to Administrator #3:

As a matter of fact, I think she [Administrator #1] gets the highest numbers of teachers attend her professional development. They come out in droves. And I think it's because it's new for them. They're learning something; they're really excited about learning something different and maybe they do know the overall US history. They don't know it from the context of what it's like about an African and an African American, and so they come out in droves. We have a hard time getting teachers to come out

to professional development. We don't have a hard time getting these teachers to come out...So it's been wonderful.

District administrators believed that teachers are engaged in the professional development and are learning pertinent information that they will need to teach their courses. There was a sense that social studies teachers are well versed in US history, but they have never been formally exposed to an Afrocentric or African American perspective of history, which contributes to the District's focus on content professional development.

The District did develop one pedagogical tool for teachers to use which would facilitate in the examination of important aspects of history and allow teachers and students to apply different lenses to understand people and cultures from the past. Gregg Carr, one of the authors of the curriculum and the framework, "The Categories of Human Institutions," provides a description of the framework in the curriculum guide.

There are a variety of ways of organizing how to examine the human experience. If we establish a definition of human culture as the concepts, practices and materials that people have created to live and to interact with themselves, others and their environment, we can search history for answers to the framing questions outlined above in an ordered process"

(pg. 14).

Those six categories included the examination of social cultures of the people being studied, their governance, systems of thought or the ideology of the people, science and technology, movement and memory, and cultural meaning-making systems, which included that examination of music, art, and narratives, ect. of the people. Gregg Carr

argued that this framework could be used to study any population of people at any time throughout history.

Student Learning Outcomes. Administrators were very adamant in their belief that the unique aspect of the AAH course is that it is a required elective, but in all other aspects would not be different from other social history courses—the content is different, the requirement is unique, but it is held against the same standards as other courses in the District. When the District wrote the curriculum, they wrote it against the Pennsylvania State standards and they included the standard teaching techniques for all social studies courses in the State. These teaching strategies are called the Pennsylvania State “Before, During, and After Reading Strategies,” and they focus on increasing reading proficiency. When asked about pedagogy and teaching strategies, Administrator #1 stated that:

I want to see what I would want to see in any classroom, so let’s clarify that. It’s not just that classroom. In all classrooms we want to see our students engaged, we want to see our students think about the world differently, interact with each other and the teacher, so whatever instructional practices the teacher is using that engages the students in higher order thinking, and that they’re not only valuing the information, but they see themselves connected to that information. So whether it’s science or math or literacy, social studies, African American studies, that they actually are engaged in that knowledge.

Administrator #2 also echoed Administrator #1’s remarks about pedagogy in the classroom:

I think the way we really gauge good instruction is the level of student engagement and performance at that time. And really I think for us to be able to ensure that students leave with the skills to be able to ask smart questions, to really be able to separate opinions and facts, to really be able to have a conversation, that they're problem posers, as well as being able to answer questions, but being able to pose questions of each other, of your teacher... Effective teaching is really the level of engagement of students...

District administrators made it very clear their hope was that teachers are able to figure out how to engage their students. They acknowledge that students need a certain level of lecture and that the teacher may be the main mechanism for which the students learn, but there should also be room for other activities and it is up to the teacher to decide what works best for their classroom.

The District administrators also mentioned the need for teachers to be able to critically analyze history. One of the reasons they provided teachers with a bibliography of resources was so that teachers would not be married to the textbook and find outside information to present multiple perspectives in the classroom. They also provided an alternative perspective to some of the information presented in the text, such as the two poems by Phillis Wheatley cited previously. In the previous section of interview data, the administrators identified skills that they wanted their students to gain from their social studies courses and those were: "the ability to separate opinion from fact, the ability to pose problems, and ask and answer smart questions." These skills were some of the learning outcomes they hoped students would gain as a result of their social studies

courses and they leave it up to the teachers to decide how to develop these skills and engage their students at the same time. It is important to note that teachers are provided with professional development around pedagogy that is specific to their academic field.

The District administrators were asked to describe what their ideal classrooms looked like and after discussing their goals for all classrooms and more specifically social studies classrooms, they highlighted some of the interesting activities certain teachers initiated in their classrooms. Administrator #1 highlighted activities at two magnet schools and one comprehensive high school. Magnet School A had a History Fair, similar to science fairs and students presented their local history projects at school. This particular history teacher had students research an aspect of Philadelphia history and students were able to interview locals who were involved in some of the civil rights movement activities during the 1960s. Magnet School B developed a partnership with a local radio station where they are able to present some of their research on Black Philadelphia. The last high school, Comprehensive High School C developed a two year project, which they planned to commemorate the 1969 protest where students attempted to rename their school after a prominent African American leader. They hope to secure a historical marker to commemorate the protest and to name their school library after the leader.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to examine why the Philadelphia School District developed the AAH course graduation requirement and how the course was designed. Through interviews with District administrators, they revealed a need to change the social construction of Black youth in their city schools. They believed that the AAH course

could help students develop a positive sense of self, including a sense of racial pride and less self-hatred. The District administrators also believed that the course could work towards decreasing the achievement gap, by reframing Black youth's identity and changing the District's academic expectations of them. Finally, the administrators argued that AAH is part of a quality education that all students, regardless of race should be taught.

The administrators' purpose for requiring the course coincides with the literature about the purpose of African American history. For example, Ford and Harris (1996) assert that Black students reported being more interested in school when they learned about Black people. Anyon (1997) also posits that African American history should be an important part of the curriculum in a majority African American school district so that students can identify with their school. Other proponents of such courses also argue that the exposure to African American history will have a positive impact on the students' personal and academic development (Banks, 2004; Ford & Harris, 1996; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; Sleeter, 1996)

The administrators' perception of teachers continues the narrative of a contentious relationship between teachers and education policymakers (Sunderman et al., 2004; Tyack & Cuban, 1995) and highlights policymakers enduring challenge of developing policy that has a meaningful impact on what teachers do in the classroom and student learning. Teachers have been socially constructed as Contenders, those with political power, but negative social construction. In the case of the Philadelphia School District, they developed new curriculum materials for all subjects, including the AAH course because they felt that teachers rely on textbooks to determine what is taught in their

classes. Administrators believed that textbooks, especially history textbooks, provide a narrow presentation of information, which leads to an incomplete representation of people and events. As a result of this negative perception of how teachers determine what to teach, they developed curriculum materials that they feel will allow teachers to move beyond the textbook and provide students with broader presentation of course material.

Another, more subtle, perception of teachers also existed among District administrators. This characterization of teachers held by administrators maintained that teachers have low expectations of Black youth and they hoped that the course would increase the intellectual respect of African Americans (Anyon, 1997; Delpit, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1994). Anyon (1997) argues that an important component of a teacher training program for teachers who will teach urban youth should include the development of “respect for cultural and social diversity, and for the contributions of all groups to the development and functioning of our society” (p. 176). However, the Philadelphia School District may be the first to include African American history in their curriculum in order to change teachers’ expectations of students. There is also no evidence to suggest that the exposure to this curriculum will induce teachers who have low expectations of youth to change their opinions of their students’ educational abilities.

In terms of providing teachers with training around the AAH course, the District decided to focus on content based professional development instead of pedagogical professional development. The administrators’ basic argument was that teachers do not have the content knowledge to teach AAH, but they do know the best ways to engage their students. The administrators felt that the professional development seminars were very well attended and that teachers appreciated the speakers and the topics. In regards to

the administrator's ideal classrooms, they hoped to see students and teachers engaged in a variety of activities, from lecture to project based assignments. The District did include optional activities for teachers to use and suggested reading activities from the Pennsylvania Department of Education, but there were suggested teaching strategies unique to the AAH course. Teachers had full autonomy over how to teach the course material. The purpose of the AAH course was to change the social construction of Black youth; however, the decisions the District made in developing the course, including the development of the curriculum and the textbook, were based on the administrators' perception of teachers.

The two basic assumptions of teachers, that teachers are not knowledgeable in AAH and teachers are too textbook dependent, helped the administrators determine what teachers needed to teach the course. Interview data with teachers and classroom observations are used in the next chapter to address how these two perceptions of teachers impacted the implementation of the AAH.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Policy Implementation from the Perspective of Teachers

Change where it counts the most—in the daily interactions of teachers and students—is the hardest to achieve and the most important, but we are not pessimistic about improving schools. We think it difficult and essential, above all for the educationally dispossessed. To do this requires not only political will and commitment but also an accurate understanding of schools as institutions.

—David Tyack & Larry Cuban (1995, p.10)

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the implementation of the course through the experiences of teachers. Shulman's (1983) five propositions about implementation impediments help explain teachers' experiences and limitations in implementing educational policies. Shulman developed this framework so that all parties involved in educational policy have an understanding of the complexities of the teaching profession and the common pitfalls during the implementation process as it relates to teachers, who are usually responsible for implementing policy. The five propositions are as follows: 1) Inconsistencies among mandates; 2) Limits on resources, time, and energy; 3) Limits on teacher expertise; 4) Limitations on working conditions; and 5) The self-defeating mandating.

I argue that the administrators' perception of teachers led to a chasm between what teachers actually needed to teach the course and what was provided to them, based on teachers' narratives. Classroom observations revealed that the culture of each classroom limited the opportunities for students to engage in AAH, further adding evidence to the argument that the relationship between district or the policy elites and the teachers (those responsible for implementing educational policies) creates a mismatch between what the District believes teachers need to implement policy, what teachers

think they need to implement policy, and the realities of the teaching profession.

Teachers' opinions about the purpose of the course, their experiences with the course materials, their opinions about professional development, and observational data will be discussed.

Inconsistencies among Mandates: Teachers' Perceptions of the Purpose of the AAH Course

Similar to the District discussions of the purpose of the AAH course, teachers' opinions about the purpose of the course were very multifaceted. Based on their responses, three themes developed in the data about what the purpose of this course was. The first theme focuses on the racial composition of the school and the surrounding community. The second theme focuses on the importance of providing an important perspective about American history that is often left out of the social studies curriculum and the last theme focuses on the personal development of African American students as a result of the AAH. There was one glaring difference in between teachers' and administrators' discussion of the purpose of the course—the administrators' belief that the course will also change teachers' expectations of students and the fact that teachers did not mention the issue of teacher expectations at all. The teachers' opinions of the purpose of the course and the difference between teachers' responses and administrator's responses are discussed.

Racial Composition

Seven of the twenty teachers included in this study felt that this course was implemented as a graduation requirement because African American students are the largest racial/ethnic student group in the district. For that reason, they felt that it was a

natural fit in their district's curriculum. For example, Teacher #6 stated, "Well if you are teaching African American kids, they should know a little bit about their history" and Teacher #14 stated that, "My opinion, it is a good course to have, because even though only 13% of the population is African American [in the United States], in the city of Philadelphia it's over 50%..." Teachers felt that the demographic makeup of the student body was one of the purposes for the development of the course. Teacher #5 also mentioned the 1967 protest and that the course was promised to the community as a result of the racial tensions in the city during that time and Teacher #8 mentioned that there was still a strong push from the African American community to include the course in the curriculum. Teachers' opinions about the purpose of the course fell into this category because of the emphasis they put on the racial composition of their students and the teachers' perceived involvement of the Black community, which is very similar to the administrators' purpose of the AAH course.

Positive personal development

Many teachers also mentioned that the purpose of the course was to provide African American students with a specific type of personal development—very similar to the administrators' belief that the course could impact students' personal development. Teachers stated that the purpose of the course was to increase African American students' self-esteem and to also give them a sense of self-respect, pride, perseverance, and to engage them in the material. Teacher #5 stated that, "I think some of their [the District] motivation comes from the Afro-centric school of thought that African American and Africans have achieved great things in the past and it will be inspiring to them [Black students]." In terms of self-respect and self-esteem, Teacher #16 stated that:

It's [the purpose] clearly stated in the Philadelphia District. We want students to have a much better sense and a proud sense of the importance of African Americans' contributions to our world, to our culture, to our country, so the kids have a much deeper knowledge and sense of self-esteem because of the teaching of African American history.

Teachers were under the impression that either they themselves or the district believed that exposure to African American history would have a direct impact on the way they view themselves.

Only one teacher mentioned that the purpose of this course was to teach students how to persevere through hardships. Teacher #2 stated that:

This course is actually providing the revelation that hard times have always been. If the child could get the message that one's life is rooted in struggle; one's life, the human life is designed to face adversity; if the child can get the message that human life is designed to face opposition; if the child can get the message as Fred Douglass said, that without struggle there is no progress; if the child can get the message that one cannot want the ocean wave without the roar, one cannot want the harvest without the plow, one cannot want the rain without the thunder; if the child can get that message, then this course, African American history, will serve its purpose.

Teacher #2's response is another example of some teachers who believed the purpose of this course was to provide a type of positive personal development. They did not mention

how self-esteem, or self-pride, or perseverance would directly impact their lives, but I believe the importance of these dimensions of the self is implied.

Multicultural Education

Other teachers believed that the purpose of this course was to provide an alternative perspective to the common Eurocentric-American history narrative. They believed that this course was a step in becoming more multicultural, becoming more inclusive of other races, and increasing everyone's knowledge base about AAH, regardless of race. For example, Teacher #3 stated, "There's been a movement recently towards so much more inclusion of all races, all ideals, all religions, all sexes, and giving everyone a different spin on history that you and I read when we were growing up in the textbook and I think that's part of it." Teacher #7 stated that "In my opinion the purpose of the course is to make sure that all students, whether they're Black, White, Asian, regardless of their ethnicity that they understand and comprehend the importance of Africa and of African American history and how African Americans contributed to the American society." Teacher #11 echoes the opinions of the other teachers:

I think the purpose is to give a more multicultural perspective on American history in general and also at the same time make students more aware about some of the things that African Americans have gone through from the origins of humanity in Africa to current day.

These responses demonstrate that teachers also felt the course went beyond educating only African American students, but that all students had a vested interest in learning about other cultures. Again, these teachers' opinions of the purpose of the course were very similar to that of the District administrators.

Inconsistencies in Purpose

The three themes that developed in the teachers' discussion of the purpose of the course do have some similarities with the purpose district administrators discussed. However, the district was of the opinion that teachers also needed to be educated about AAH. One district administrator commented that Black youth and their teachers often believe the negative stereotypes about African American students. One of the purposes of the AAH articulated by administrators was to break down some of those stereotypes by learning more about the history of Africans and African Americans. Though District administrators believed that teachers would benefit from this course as well, teachers did not mention that as one of the purposes of this course. If teachers' low expectations of African American students were of concern to District administrators, they did not address this concern with teachers. This inconsistency in the purpose of the AAH course suggests that the policy will not be implemented in a way that will achieve one of the District's goals for including the course in their curriculum.

The District may have framed the policy in two different ways so as to not offend teachers and to increase their level of buy-in to the curricular policy. The District's social construction of teachers posited that teachers sometimes have low expectations of students. One of their goals in requiring the AAH course was to change teachers' expectations of students by increasing the intellectual respect for African Americans by exposing them to the accomplishments of African and African American people. According to Schneider and Ingram (1993), policy elites carefully craft policy in such a way that takes into consideration "the extent to which others will approve or disapprove of the policy being directed toward a particular target" (p. 335). If the district had

publicly framed the policy in a way that included their perception of teachers' expectations of Black students, teachers may have felt attacked or blamed for Black students' poor academic achievement and become more resistant to the policy. The District only mentioned teachers' low expectations and the need for all, teachers included, to gain an intellectual respect during interviews and in the "Resolution"—a document which the teachers may not review. However, the purposes outlined in the beginning of the curriculum guide did not mention the intended impact the course would have on teachers. The lack of discussion around this purpose for the policy may severely inhibit the accomplishment of this goal.

Limits on Resources, Time and Energy

Another component of teachers' capacity to implement policy are the resources with which they are provided. With the development of the new AAH course, resources play an important role in the teachers' ability to teach their students the new information. Teachers were specifically asked about the resources they received. As was mentioned in the previous chapter, the district was very satisfied with the amount and quality of resources they were able to provide teachers. Overall, teachers were generally pleased with the resources they received, which included textbooks, curriculum guide, primary source documents on-line resources, chapter outlines, and transparencies. However, they did have some criticisms of specific parts of the resources they received, especially the textbook.

The general opinion of the resources teachers received for the AAH course was positive. Teacher #7 stated that, "I think that being that this is the first go round for this particular curriculum, and it's a new textbook created for our purposes, I think the

resources were good...I use everything. The website, the primary source documents, the transparencies, the test generator, I use it all.” Another teacher stated that, “I think the school district has done a very good job as far as supplementing the materials needed to teach the AAH course. We have everything.” Teacher #8 also praised the district about the quality of resources provided to him:

See notice that book (core curriculum guide), isn't that interesting. I was telling you, everything is right there for you. As far as the class work, like I said yesterday, I've never had such a prepared course. They did a good job. You can see it's not adhoc. It's thought out and they have some ideas about what they want people to understand. It makes it easy for the teacher. It doesn't excuse you from doing work and bringing in information, it gives you a good framework to work from, that's what makes this course so easy, and all the resources they have.

Other teachers commented that the district was generous with the resources and that the amount and quality of resources they received suggests that the district invested a lot of time into developing the materials. Only two teachers had an overall negative opinion of the resources. These two teachers felt that the resources were right out of the book and they did not add any depth to the course, and another teacher commented that the district did not provide them with concrete activities they could use in the classroom.

Teachers also specifically addressed the three main staples of the AAH course, which were the textbook, the primary source documents, and the curriculum itself. Nine of the twenty teachers mentioned that the textbook was too advanced for their students' reading level. Teacher #14 stated that:

Well my criticism of the students and of education is that they're not reading at the level that they should. The textbook is a very good textbook; the only problem with it is it's a college textbook. Sometimes I have to reread a partial paragraph to understand it; it's above a tenth grade level.

It's at least twelfth grade and I think it's beyond that.

Teacher #14's statement exemplifies the sentiments of the other eight teachers who feel that the students are not at a tenth grade reading level and that the book is too advanced.

Teacher #1 stated that she approaches the textbook issue as providing the students with a challenge, but does acknowledge that the book is above their reading level. She said that she tells her students, "You can do it; you can read it." Five teachers did not mention the reading level of the book and two teachers felt that the book was generally a good text.

One magnet school teacher, Teacher #5 stated that the book was below her students' reading level.

While discussing the difficult reading level of the textbook with Teacher #1, she stated that the district never intended for the teachers to use the textbook as more than a resource in the classroom, and should not be the primary mode of instruction:

Dr. Lewis [a university professor involved in the development of the curriculum] was the one that kept stressing to us, he said these kids, he said this is a college book. He said no wonder your kids are having a hard time using this book because it's a college book. He said you're supposed to use this for reference. So that's what I do, I just use it for reference, and just do my own thing. I like to get on the computer and go through all the African history. I go to African history websites and then African

American history websites. And just download anything that I can use and bring it into the classroom.

Teacher #1's discussion of how the district intended teachers to use the textbook echoes the opinions of the district administrators in the previous chapter. They feel that teachers can be too dependent on a textbook and the district administrators stated that teachers need to understand that a textbook does not equal curriculum. It is possibly that the discussions of how teachers should use the textbook occurred in the professional development and teachers who either did not know about the professional development, did not attend the seminars, or were not able to attend the seminars may have missed that information.

Teachers were also concerned about the reading level of the primary source documents. Generally, teachers felt that they were an important component of the AAH course, as did the district. For example, Teacher #8 was particularly pleased with the volume of primary documents they received:

Every chapter has source documents. They give you *Brown vs. Board of Education*; there is a brief from there. *Plessy vs. Ferguson*, there was the opinion from there. There's Benjamin Banneker's letter to Thomas Jefferson, Phyllis Wheatly—her poetry. You know all kinds of different resources, John Brown's last statement. There's all types of different good resources and it's mainly source documents.

Though they were pleased with inclusion of the documents, they felt that the reading level and/or the level of background knowledge the documents assumed the students possessed was too advanced. For example, Teacher #3 stated that, "I use the primary

source documents. I actually use them as projects and we analyze them, but the reading level is really very advanced in some of those documents.” During one of the classroom observations, Teacher #3 requested the students read and answer a few questions about W.E.B. DuBois’ *Talented Tenth*. Teacher #3 mentioned that the fact that it was written in the 1920s, during a time when people spoke and wrote differently than we do now, the students found it difficult to comprehend the material. Despite that concern, teachers felt that it was important to include primary documents in the discussion of history, especially documents from people who had generally been ignored.

The concerns about the resources provided to teachers highlight the difficulty of implementing policy with limits on resources, time, and energy. Teachers were generally pleased with the quantity of resources they were provided, which included overheads, primary sources documents, and textbooks. However, the quality of some of the resources was issues for some teachers. Their criticisms of the resources greatly impact the implementation of the course. The textbook seemed to be the most pressing issue concerning the resources. However, teachers were unaware of how they were supposed to use the textbook in the class, which leads to the third impediment to the implementation of the policy—limits on teacher expertise.

Limits on Teacher Expertise

The main purpose of professional development is to increase the teacher’s knowledge base and ability to teach their students (R. Elmore, 1997). With the creation of the AAH course, the Philadelphia School District created professional development for their social studies teachers, who were responsible for teaching the course. Since the social construction of teachers led the District to believe that they needed content

knowledge in order to teach the course, the professional development was dominated by the District's desire to teach the teachers AAH. Though many teachers felt the professional development was beneficial, there were also many teachers who felt that the professional development was lacking. The professional development that was provided to teachers presented a disconnect between what the District thought the teachers' needed based on their social construction of teachers and what teachers actually needed to teach the class. The following section presents the findings of teachers' experiences with professional development.

The professional development began the summer of 2004 with weekly seminars. The district elicited the help of university professors to teach the workshops. They also went on field trips to African American museums. The workshops during the school year were usually held on Saturday mornings at the District office, and university professors and those involved in developing the curriculum presented workshops based on the topics teachers were to cover the following week. The following is a description of Teacher #18's experience and opinion of the professional development:

When they first introduced it as a mandatory elective...they had a man from Temple University...he's an Afrocentric [professor] and a very knowledgeable man, and he did a whole course the summer before we began it. It was good. It gave a lot of knowledge to people who hadn't taught the subject before, a lot of things that are not your typical African American history points, so that was good. Since then, there has been a woman, Dana King, who has kind of developed a program that has

provided a lot of professional development both school sponsored and she makes us aware of a lot of things in the community that are available.

Other teachers had positive experiences with the professional development as well. Teacher #10 stated, “There is a training that all instructors have to go through before teaching the course, and it’s pretty comprehensive, to lay down the groundwork, the foundation, just so the teachers can have an understanding and knowledge beforehand and also during the instruction.” Teacher #3’s opinion of the professional development is as follows: “It seems like there really seemed to be not only throwing money behind this, but also putting a lot of energy and ideas into African American history.” Overall, teachers appreciated the more nuanced AAH information that was presented to them and the academic nature of the professional development. The cultural activities in the community, such as classes on hip-hop and jazz, were also considered as positive aspects of the AAH professional development.

One could argue that for the purposes of implementing a new course, and more specifically the AAH course in the Philadelphia School District, that the development of capacity should have been twofold: increasing the AAH knowledge of teachers and providing teachers with information on how to present this knowledge in their classrooms. Teachers who attended the professional development all felt that their knowledge base was increased and they appreciated the academic nature of the seminars. However, the teachers questioned the practicality of the information presented to them and they felt that they could have benefited from professional development that was also pedagogical.

For example, Teacher #5 described her experience with the professional development as very engaging, but no real practical importance:

Generally what would happen is [the District] would have really interesting speakers. There's a gentleman from Temple whose name I can't remember. Dr. Lewis spoke a lot. I mean Dr. Lewis is phenomenal, I can sit and listen to him talk for hours at a time, but you don't walk away with OK, on Monday I'm doing this, on Tuesday I'm doing that, you just get inspired and intellectually stimulated. So they were helpful, I learned a lot, but, and I haven't been able to go to one for a while. I don't know if they're more concrete now than they were, but I have a feeling that they aren't having seen, having gone to this professional development on Friday, which was just, again, really interesting, but it was really just Dr. Lewis kind of extemporaneously speaking about different subjects related to the course and to the African American experience.

Teacher #20 stated that, “[A]s far as the nuts and bolts of how you were going to present the information, what the main emphasis of the course should be, [there was] none of that.” Teacher #11 stated that the professional development was designed to prepare teachers for the upcoming week, so two weeks prior to the date teachers were supposed to cover a certain topic, the district would provide some professional development around that topic. She argued that, “It’s not very organized. It’s the same every year. This is the general problem with PD [professional development] in the school district, is that it’s not really practical. It’s not really something that you can just take into your classroom and use.” Though it seems that the teachers who attended the professional development

benefited from the content knowledge, they still did not feel the seminars were helping them create lessons to teach their students.

In addition to teachers' opinions about the lack of pedagogical professional development, most teachers felt that they had a basic background of the African American experience and that they have learned a lot along the way. They felt that their college courses had trained them well and the course has exposed them to a more nuanced American history through an African American lens. For example, Teacher #18 stated, "I had an awful lot of common knowledge. I didn't have anything more than what was a lot of general knowledge that people already have. I have learned as I'm teaching the class an awful lot of things along the way." While teachers stated that they have learned a great deal from teaching the course, teachers did not express a sincere need for content knowledge, as compared to their sincere desire for pedagogical professional development.

In conclusion, the district's methods of building capacity for their teachers was unbalanced in that they attempted to increase teachers' content knowledge, but did not provide them with concrete pedagogical information to help them implement the course. It is also important to note that administrators made it clear to me that they want teachers to have the flexibility in teaching their students. The course is somewhat prescriptive in that they provide teachers with a timeline of the subjects to be covered in the course throughout the school year. Can the course be taught like a traditional history course? If the goal of this course is to simply expose all students to information that has been historically left out of the curriculum, then traditional teaching strategies might be enough. However, if this course was designed to meaningfully impact the lives of African

American students, then traditional pedagogy may not be enough to create the desired outcomes.

Limitations of Working Conditions

The second criticism of the professional development was something that Teacher #11 hinted at, which is the meetings were disorganized. The disorganization is something I also observed during the one professional development meeting I attended. The disorganization stemmed from the meetings not beginning on time and running late. This criticism was especially relevant to the seminars that were held on Saturday. For example, Teacher #5 stated that “I went to one last year on Malcolm X, but it started like an hour late and I have two kids and it was just getting rolling at 11:30, quarter of twelve, but I had to leave at noon, and that’s been kind of a frustration.” The seminar that I attended also started late. They had two guest speakers, one professor who discussed some aspects of ancient Africa and another professor who discussed certain aspects of the US Constitution. However, the African presentation comprised most of the time allotted to seminar, but the content that related most to the time sequence of the curriculum was the discussion of the US Constitution. I met Teacher #8 at that particular professional development seminar, and during our interview when we discussed the professional development, he referred to that particular meeting. He stated, “I was so mad. The guy was interesting; he really knew his stuff about Egypt. But I did that already [covered the material with his students]. I wanted to hear Greg Carr’s stuff and he ran out of time.”

Often times many aspects of the teaching profession are outside of the control of teachers (Shulman, 1983). Though teachers showed up for professional development, some teachers felt that it was poorly organized in terms of punctuality of presentations

and the quality of the material presented at the workshop. This criticism of the AAH professional development exemplifies the lack of control teachers have over the training they receive to implement policy. Teachers are at the mercy of the policy elites in terms of receiving training about how they should implement policies that have been dictated to them.

Self-Defeating Mandate

The last component of Shulman's (1983) impediments to policy implementation posits that some policies are self-defeating in that "it may be carried out in a manner that increases the likelihood that it will not be implemented as intended" (p. 492). The main example of the undermining of the intended outcomes of the AAH policy through its implementation comes from teacher participation in professional development. Teachers are required to attend a certain amount of professional development and those professional development credits can be earned by taking classes or attending district provided professional development. So the Social Studies teachers who are required to teach the AAH course were not required to attend the series of professional development seminars that they developed. For that reason it is important to note that the teachers who attended the professional development did so voluntarily to a certain degree.

Nine of the 20 teachers included in this study had positive experiences with the professional development they received. However, not all of their experiences were purely positive and the other 11 teachers either did not attend AAH professional development, did not know if any professional development was being offered, or had significant criticisms of the AAH professional development.

Five of the teachers in this study had not received or attended any professional development for the AAH. I would like to make the distinction between teachers who have not received professional development and teachers who had not attended any professional development, because one teacher was not aware of any AAH professional development and some teachers were aware of the meetings, but did not attend. The only teachers who did not receive any professional development had only been teaching the course for 1-2 years (though some teachers in this category had attended or were aware of professional development), and teachers who had not attended the professional development had been teaching the course for three years. All teachers who had been teaching the course for at least three years (n=11) had either attended professional development or were aware that some professional development had been provided. Teacher #19, who has taught the AAH course for three years, stated that: "I know there was some professional development and I did not go. I'm hoping you can talk to [Teacher #18] because I know he did." When Teacher #14 was asked what type of professional development was provided to him, he stated, "As far as teaching African American history, very little, very little. I'm even trying to think specifically if there was anything. No, there was not." However, it is unclear whether Teacher #14 was echoing the sentiment of other teachers that there was no professional development focused on how to teach the course or whether he is of the opinion that there was no professional development for the course at all.

The other three teachers, who had not received any professional development, were not aware of whether professional development was even being offered. Teacher #4 and Teacher #5, both who had attended some of the professional development, stated that

there were more sessions when the course was just being rolled out and there are less opportunities for teachers to attend. Teacher #4 was of the opinion that budget constraints may have slowed down the meetings and Teacher #5 believed that the District had just become too overwhelmed because they were offering meetings every Saturday. It is possible that the District has not reached out to teachers who have just begun to teach the course, two years after it was implemented. When Teacher #12, who has only been teaching the course for a year, was asked if the District was still providing professional development, he stated that, “I do not know specifically. I have not heard of anything recently, but I also really haven’t looked up anything recently. I haven’t needed to take any additional credits at the moment.” Teacher #17, who has been teaching the course for two years stated that he had not received any AAH professional development, but “they were offering it before they implemented the course. I know they were offering it before to try to ease the transition, but I’m not sure exactly of any of the details of that.” Finally, Teacher #6, who had also only been teaching the course for a year, was not aware of any professional development either.

There were three other teachers who had only been teaching the course for one to two years and had attended professional development for the AAH course. It is interesting that all of the teachers who had at least three to four years of experience teaching the course were at least aware that professional development had been provided. This leads me to wonder whether the District is supporting their teachers who are just beginning to teach the course. A few teachers who are still attending professional development stated that the District AAH professional development has ended and now the professional development is being supported by a “Teach American History” grant.

Only two teachers in the study mentioned the grant and this is how Teacher #15 described the training:

It's open to all teachers at all grade levels. One of the things the American history grant does is it provides in-service for teachers of history with an emphasis in African American history. So, although it's an American history grant, African American history shall be included as part of this American history grant. So we go to lectures, we go to trips, we go to meetings that deal with African American history at that particular time in American history.

There is still some professional development for social studies teachers, and Teacher #15 along with Teacher #19, who also attends the grant funded sessions, feels that AAH is adequately addressed in the Teaching American History professional development, there are still those teachers who are not aware of training at all and they happen to be teachers who are just beginning to teach the course. Teachers who had attended professional development are now of the opinion that it is not being offered anymore.

Though professional development is optional, the data preliminarily demonstrate that teachers who are in their first or second year of teaching the AAH are not even aware of professional development. It is unclear how the District envisioned teachers meeting the goals of the course if there is no professional development on how to teach the course. How does a district ensure that all teachers are trained to implement new curricula if they are not required to attend pertinent training to do so? How does a district articulate their goals and their theory of action to those who are responsible for implementing policy? The mere fact that teachers were not aware that one of the goals of

the course was to change their expectations of students demonstrates the breakdown in communication of goals. Teachers were also unaware of how to use the textbook in class. If not all teachers are required to attend certain professional developments about the teaching of a new curriculum, then the goals and strategies for implementing the new policies are lost—indeed carrying with it its own seeds of failure. It is possible that the relationship between autonomy of teachers and the District’s control of teachers is unbalanced. In the case of the AAH course, the District has required that teachers teach the course (control), but gives teachers a choice as to what professional development to attend and what pedagogical practices they choose to employ (autonomy).

Policy in Action: African American History Classrooms

The observational data demonstrate that teachers needed instructional strategies for how to teach their classes and provide evidence for the teacher’s criticisms of the professional development. It also adds to the argument that the policy was self-defeating in that the goals of the policy were contradicted by the strategies teachers developed for handling disruptive behavior, or the lack thereof, and the low expectations for students’ behavior and academic class work, one of the very goals the District administrators hoped to accomplish through the inclusion of the AAH course. The first part of this section focuses on how teachers balanced teaching AAH, while managing their students’ behavior. The second part focuses on teachers’ expectations of their students’ academic work and behavior. These data suggest that even though teachers had the content knowledge, they were unable to achieve the District’s goal of engaging students.

Classroom management

Students in all three classrooms exhibited disruptive behavior. Students frequently came to class late, asked to leave class, talked to friends, and threw paper. Other times students screamed at one another, slammed doors, and teased classmates. Students also occasionally slept through class. The amount and level of disruptions varied from classroom to classroom, but all teachers made decisions about how to manage classroom interruptions. Ms. Allen's AAH class at Woodbridge High School will be the first classroom to be discussed. Students at Woodbridge High School were from one of poorest areas in the city. This school was smaller than the other two and the student population was 100% African American. Ms. Allen has been teaching AAH for four years and has been a teacher for 25 years. The following vignette demonstrates Ms. Allen's struggles with student behavior.

***Ms. Allen—Woodbridge High School.** At 8:30am Ms. Allen begins her 1st period class. [Woodbridge High School received special permission to start their school day later, so that students would have more time to get to school on time. Advisory begins after the 1st period class.] Ms. Allen begins, "Class, the reason why I asked you to read "I Too", by Langston Hughes is because...Remember when I asked you all if you were racist [the class doesn't respond] and you all said no. I said that everyone has some racism in them, well Langston Hughes' "I Too" is our introduction to racism. We are going to read "I Too" and we are going to define racism." [There are 7 students and one student aid in the class—5 boys and 2 girls.] "David, take your hoodie off." Ms. Allen begins to discuss Jim Crow laws and asks the class if they think they had Jim Crow laws in Philadelphia. Some students say yes; some students say no. [That was the end of the conversation. Every time she begins to discuss the lesson, she corrects a students' behavior.] The student aide is slumped over her desk and Ms. Allen asks her, "What is wrong with you?" [She came into class late and is now slumped over her desk. Apparently if seniors need credit hours to graduate in their senior year they can either do a senior project or become a student aid.] The student aide mumbles something that is inaudible. Ms. Allen asks the class if they thought any other students were going to show up. The student aid and Ms. Allen argue about why students come to class late and Ms. Allen asks her to leave the class. In the meantime, some students are reviewing the poem and others are chatting with their neighbors.*

Kenyon, a male student in the class, asks Ms. Allen if Langston Hughes was gay and Ms. Allen responds that she doesn't know. The question has piqued the entire class' interest and now Kenyon is looking at me to see if I know the answer. I respond that Langston Hughes was gay.

Kenyon: How did you know that?

Felicia: I don't think he tried to hide it, he might have written about it.

Kenyon: See we need a real teacher who knows what she's talking about [Ms. Allen looks at me and chuckles out of embarrassment, then redirects the class' attention].

Ms. Allen: On the piece of paper I'm passing out I want you to answer this question: What is Hughes' message to White America in this poem? [She tells the class that she is passing out loose leaf paper and all work will be collected this week, she is collecting grades.] Students are sitting quietly, but it isn't clear whether they are working on the assignment or not.

At 8:47, another student comes into the class. Ms. Allen complains about having to repeat herself to late students. Ms. Madden, the principal, comes over the PA system to inform the instructional staff that all students need to be in their uniforms, that no student should be in the hallway 30 minutes after class has begun without a pass, and students are not permitted to wear t-shirts with bad language or inappropriate jokes. Her next comment was directed at the students at large: "Do not come to school and then change out of your uniform."

At 8:51, Ms. Allen says, "Let's get busy. Ok class, how do you define racism?" She asks the class if she is moving too fast, a few say no. She is interrupted by two students having a conversation. "You know what Marvin, I want you over here." As Marvin is moving to his new seat, he tells Ms. Allen that he was telling Mercedes that he thought Langston Hughes was White. Ms. Allen says to the class, "Listen to what Marvin just said." Then she reprimands Mercedes for talking and continues with her sentence "Marvin, thought Langston Hughes was White." Another student points out the line in the poem, where Hughes says he is "a darker brother." Ms. Allen reads the entire poem out loud.

At 8:55, a female student arrives late. Ms. Allen opens the door, without acknowledging the student, while asking the class "What is Hughes message to White America?" The students try to answer, and she tells them to "write it down, write your thoughts down." [I thought the class was finally going to have a discussion, but she did not allow the students to finish their thoughts.] A minute or so passes with no direction and Ms. Allen is standing at her desk, which is located at the front of room, looking at her textbook. She asks the students to go to the beginning of the chapter to look at the picture on page 590. "These are pictures of people holding signs about the N-A-A-C-P." Ms. Allen says each individual letter in the acronym "N-A-A-C-P". Winter corrects Ms.

Allen by saying, “It’s the N-double A-C-P. They proceed to get into a short argument about Winter’s attitude. Finally, Ms. Allen says, “I stayed up until midnight working on this lesson.” [She sounds disappointed and defeated.] Then Mercedes asks a question:

Mercedes: If I hate Christians, am I racist? (Mercedes is Muslim and wears a white hijab, which is a piece of cloth that covers her head. Her face was not covered.)

Ms. Allen: Mercedes, what racism is? It is the belief that a particular race is superior to another.

Jason: I don’t like when some other races try to act “Black.”

Mercedes: Some Black people try to act White.

Kenyon: You look like the KKK with that white scarf on your head. [Students are laughing and the opportunity to have a meaningful conversation about these things is lost. What does it mean to Black youth to be Black anyway? Isn’t this the purpose of the course—to reconstruct the meaning of “Black?”]

At 9:02, Ms. Allen passes out two handouts; the first gives the definition of racism and the definition of racial discrimination. She reads aloud: “Class, there are all sorts of racism, we don’t have time to talk about them all and you will learn about institutional racism in college. Do you ever think racism will go away?” Mercedes says, “No. Black and White people talk about each other.” Kenyon asks “Ms. Allen, have you ever seen ‘Crash?’ [Crash is a movie about racial tensions in California]. Ms. Allen ignores the question and then she says: “Lets talk about racism in school.” Kenyon responds, “The teachers in this school are racist. Yall went to college and yall think you are better than us. Yall don’t think yall’re Black anymore. [Ms. Allen looks at me and laughs out of embarrassment again, and then moves on.]

The following excerpt from one of Ms. Allen’s class demonstrates her difficulty in teaching her first period class. In keeping with the District administrators’ goal of helping students learn to critique history, Ms. Allen put together a lesson that would allow students to critique one of Langston Hughes’ poems in an attempt to help the students understand a Black man’s experiences with racism in the 1920s. Students in the above vignette asked questions about the material, but it was unclear whether Ms. Allen was too distracted to address their questions or if she felt their questions were disruptive. She also struggled with the classroom disruptions. Ms. Allen was frequently involved in

shouting matches with students. She also frequently asked students to leave the class, and on one occasion she told a student to “get the hell out” and slammed the door behind her. The culture of Ms. Allen’s classroom was very volatile.

The AAH course was self-defeating in Ms. Allen’s classroom because she was unable to teach the material as a result of student disruptions and her inability to address the disruptions without the focus of the classroom totally changing from AAH to student behavior. Though Ms. Allen had 25 years of teaching experience, she struggled daily with student behavior. By the month of April (the time of the observation), she had been with this group of students for four months and the class met everyday because they were on a block schedule. Ms. Allen and her students had enough time to develop classroom norms, whether the norms were healthy or maladaptive. The content professional development was not as useful for Ms. Allen because she was constantly interrupted. Ms. Allen desperately needed strategies for how to control and decrease interruptions in her classroom. Regardless of the content or the curriculum, it was difficult for Ms. Allen to teach under those circumstances and for students to learn.

Mr. Parker, a teacher at Potomac High School, works in a similar school environment as Ms. Allen—all Black and high poverty; however, Potomac High School was much larger. Mr. Parker’s classroom environment was different from Ms. Allen’s classroom environment, though he was teaching similar students. The following vignette demonstrates the stark differences in the classroom structure and Mr. Parker’s interactions with students.

***Mr. Parker—Potomac High School.** At 9:25, the bell rings and Mr. Parker tells the students to get the reading and sit down. [Every class Mr. Parker requires his students to do a pre-class activity, which usually consists of a small amount of reading and answering a few questions. Today, students have to read an excerpt from DuBois’*

Talented Tenth]. Mr. Parker says, “Yesterday you had help and today you have to do it on your own.” A student asks to borrow a pen and Mr. Parker takes the student’s id as collateral so the student will return the pen.

Anthony helps Mr. Parker put his falling poster, back up on the wall, but Mr. Parker tells him to sit down. The student begins to question Mr. Parker’s dismissal of his help by reminding him that he got the second highest grade in the class. Mr. Parker responds, “Yeah, but you were yelling outside of the door.” Anthony asks, How long do we have to do this [assignment], twenty [minutes]? Another student Greg, says, 30. He tells the class that since they have 6 questions that he is going to give them until the big hand hits the 10 (9:50). He tells the class that, “The first two questions are hard, obviously I didn’t write those, I would start with the last 4 questions, the first two questions ask for themes.”

Students begin to ask Mr. Parker questions about the assignment and complain that it is hard. Mr. Parker responds, “If you have any questions about vocabulary, make sure you raise your hand. What is the question asking?” Anthony asks Mr. Parker how many people are in the talented tenth. And Mr. Parker gives him an answer, “about 10% of 11 million people.”

9:37—PA system comes on and a student walks in late. The classroom is cool and air conditioned and there is one window. The students came in and sit down quietly and are doing their work. All but one is working on the assignment. [Only one male student is not working and Mr. Parker informed me that the student is in special education and refuses to work, but comes to school everyday and sits at the table fairly quietly].

Students work on the assignment for the next 30 minutes. They asked Mr. Parker questions about the material. There are 17 students in the class, 4 girls and 13 boys. A group of students are working in a group, two girls and one boy. Mr. Parker later informed me that he allowed the one young lady to work in a group because she can become very unruly, so he tolerates behavior from her that he doesn’t from other students. Even though she was working in a group, she asked Mr. Parker many questions about the assignment and turned it in. The classroom was fairly quiet during the “do now” assignment. Other than students’ questions, there was no other talking.

At 10:11, Mr. Parker collected the assignment, set up the overhead projector in the middle of the classroom, and turned off the lights. He proceeded to lecture about the differences between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois for the next 30 minutes. Every space on the transparency was covered with Mr. Parker’s lecture notes. Only a few students took notes. Those who took notes asked Mr. Parker for the transparencies so they could finish copying the information as he moved on to the next one.

Mr. Parker: What does DuBois believe in?

Students: College education

Mr. Parker: That's right and Booker T. Washington believed in work and money, not the right to vote.

Student: Who do you agree with?

Mr. Parker: I agree with DuBois. I believe in college education.

Throughout Mr. Parker's lecture, he posed questions to students to answer. He found early on that he had to review his lecture notes with students at least three times before moving on to new material. Once the class got through ten transparencies, Mr. Parker gave students a test. Most students responded to Mr. Parker. Other students slept and he woke-up some, but not all of the sleepers. Other than the students' responses to Mr. Parker's questions or students' questions, the students sat quietly.

Mr. Parker developed this technique of reviewing new material three times before moving on to new material because when he first began teaching he said that his students were failing his tests and students reported that he was moving too fast. He also mentioned that students do not study for the tests and so the only way for them to learn the material is for him to review it often. Students were well aware that they should expect a test after the tenth overhead. When asked if he was able to include class discussion into his lesson he responded that:

I want to know what the kids can do by themselves and the other thing is when you put them in groups, the kids start arguing and that leads to fights, it leads to teachers calling you next door saying your class is a little too loud, can you quiet them down a little bit. I do it occasionally. I try to stay away from it. Perfect example this year, I wanted to have a fun activity. I did it with the kids last year; it went really well. We had the kids read African proverbs and they had to make their own Philadelphian proverbs and we had African music going in the background. I mean administration came in and you know I got questioned 'why did you have

music,' but it was a good lesson on paper. Having said that, my 6th period is nuts. One kid made a comment about a girl having two toned hair, she ended up ripping through about four desks, tossing the overhead over, just to get at the kid. She was pregnant, so if she would have gone at the kid obviously, things could have happened. Sixth period would break into arguments and fights, all the time. Finally some of those kids that started that are finally starting to leave.

Similar to Ms. Allen's difficulties, Mr. Parker's challenges were beyond the scope of the AAH. His response points to difficulties with teachers and administration and the distractions that come from an unstructured classroom. Other teachers reported the need to have a regimented classroom to keep the students engaged and on task. Mr. Parker felt the need to create a classroom routine in order to control student behavior. However, he is not able to include creative class activities for students due to the unpredictability of students' behavior.

Both of these teachers provide examples of how their AAH classrooms were structured around student behavior as opposed to student learning—AAH took a back seat. The classroom management styles were very different. During the week of observations of his class, there were very few distractions in Mr. Parker's class and he did not have to send anyone out of the class, unlike Ms. Allen's class. Students knew what to expect when they entered his classroom, they completed the "do now" and often asked Mr. Parker questions about the material. There seemed to be a genuine concern on the part of the students to get the correct answer. Students also responded to Mr. Parker's questions during lecture. However, Mr. Parker's pedagogical approach may have been

contradictory to the goals of the AAH course. The administrators wanted the students to be engaged in class, but they also wanted students to learn how to think critically about history. Mr. Parker used a very teacher-centered instructional approach to control behavior, though it is unclear how this approach would increase their ability to think critically about history.

Teacher Expectations

The second theme that developed in the observational data was the variation in teacher expectations for students' academic work and behavior. The District administrators also mentioned that one of their goals was to increase teachers' expectations of their students. There was variation in teachers' expectations around students' work and academic behavior. Teachers' expectations around students' academic work refers to the teacher's requirement of students to turn in assignments and teachers' expectations around students' academic behavior refers to the teacher's requirement that students fully engage in the classroom activities. The first example of teacher's expectations comes from Mr. Howard's class.

Mr. Howard has taught AAH for two years and has been a teacher for 15 years. Mr. Howard teaches at Hylton High School, which was much more racially diverse than the other two schools, but large like Potomac High School. A large percentage of students were Asian and European immigrants. Hylton also had a smaller percentage of low income students at their school and higher rates of proficiency in math and reading than the other two schools. Students in Mr. Howard's class at Hylton were not as disruptive as students at Woodbridge High School. There were no arguments, yelling or screaming. Furthermore, Mr. Howard allowed more variation in classroom activities than Mr. Parker.

Over the course of the observations, Mr. Howard lectured, required students to complete an individual assignment, and took students to the computer lab to work on a group assignment.

During these lectures, students responded to Mr. Howard's questions and he used students as examples to help them understand the lecture material. For example, while helping students understand the word "appropriate," Mr. Howard walked over to a student and took his iPod: "See kids, I just appropriated Jack's iPod." The topic of that particular lecture was the jazz era and Mr. Howard was discussing how White people appropriated jazz music from African Americans. By the end of this particular class, some students had fallen asleep. He attempted to wake up a few students, but he allowed others to keep their heads down on the desk. Other students discretely chatted with friends or passed notes. A group of six boys who sat in the back of the class threw paper at one another while Mr. Howard's back was turned.

On the last day of observations, Mr. Howard developed a group assignment that required students to write a letter to their future mayor. During the observation period, Philadelphia was in the middle of a heated mayoral democratic primary. It was assumed that the primary would essentially elect the next mayor, since Philadelphia had not elected a republican mayor since 1947. This is how Mr. Howard described the assignment:

I gave them newspapers and I had them break up into groups, and what I wanted them to do was come up with the five most pertinent issues facing the city of Philadelphia today. Each class came up with five issues. Most of them are the same—education, violence, death rate, the murder rate, the

homicide rate—all those things. Then what they had to do was research about the problem. What is the problem, how did it develop? How does it affect certain groups of people in Philadelphia as opposed to others? What are some possible solutions to the problems? Five or six questions, get a paragraph for each one. And then they are going to put it all together and mail it to the candidate.

It is also important to note that during this time, Philadelphia was in the middle of crime wave—averaging at least one murder per day.

On this particular day, the students were headed to the computer lab to combine their sections of the letter into one word document. While in the computer lab, a group of young ladies were playing games on the computers and taking pictures with the cameras located on the monitor. Two other boys were unable to log in to the computers and Mr. Howard offered no assistance in figuring out how to solve the problem and did not provide them with alternative ways of completing the assignment. Only one group of girls turned in a draft of the letter that day, but there were four other groups in the class. Other groups researched information for their letters and surfed the internet for their own entertainment. Mr. Howard stayed at the front of the classroom, though the room was designed in a way that one could observe students' activity on the computers. Mr. Howard provided no guidance or instruction throughout the lab time. I asked to see the letter the female group turned in and Mr. Howard was hesitant in allowing me to read it. He stated that, "This is just a draft, but I usually take them and doctor them up before we mail them."

Students were not informed that the assignment was going to be collected that particular day. The class period was to be used as a working session. However, students were not held accountable for their academic behavior because Mr. Howard was not vigilant in observing his students' activity on the computers. Therefore, students were essentially permitted to use the class period to surf the internet. Two students who were not able to log in to the computers were not given alternative guidance for what to do during the class period, even after asking Mr. Howard to give them assistance. The two students sat quietly, but they were not actively engaged in academic work. It is important to note that students did complete and turn in an in-class assignment that week, which required students to use the textbook to answer approximately 20 questions. The observational data from his classroom suggest that his expectations of students' academic work and behavior may waver.

Ms. Allen's expectations of students' academic work and behavior were also somewhat lacking over the course of the observations. Unlike Mr. Parker's requirement of students to complete and turn in an assignment everyday, Ms. Allen only collected assignments that week because the deadline for grades was approaching. Furthermore, Ms. Allen's contentious relationship with some of her students impacted their interactions when discussing subject matter. For example, because Mercedes, one of the students included in the vignette of Ms. Allen's classroom above, and Ms. Allen had a quarrelsome relationship, Ms. Allen did not give the same academic attention to her as she did her other students. One particular day, Mercedes continuously requested Ms. Allen's attention to help her understand part of Langston Hughes' poem, "I Too Sing America" and Ms. Allen attempted to explain part of the poem to her and then she says,

“I can’t explain it any better and I can’t give you critical thinking skills.” At the end of one class period, Ms. Allen went into the hallway to retrieve her students’ snack from the snack cart that circulates the school and I asked the students if Ms. Allen ever lectures, because most of the observations consisted of guided group activities and one student responded, “no, she is too busy yelling at students in the hallway.” This student’s comment suggests that students also have a low expectation of the quality of instruction. Students responded to Mr. Parker’s questions during his lectures. The stark difference between Mr. Parker’s class and Ms. Allen’s class prompted me to ask a student what the difference was between Mr. Parker’s class and his other classes, and he stated, “In this class you learn. The other classes there won’t be much learning. In this class you do a lot of learning—a lot of history and stuff. In the other class we just would do a little bit and not that much.” Mr. Parker created an expectation that students will learn in his classroom.

These three teachers represent three different methods of teaching urban youth. Ms. Allen struggled the most with student behavior and Mr. Parker structured his class in a way that prevented disruptive behavior. Mr. Howard’s students were less disruptive, but they were not held accountable for fully participating in class. Students were not encouraged to take notes during Mr. Howard’s lectures and some students were left out of the fold of the classroom all together, especially in the computer lab. It was difficult to observe the interaction between teachers, students, and African American history because there were very few exchanges between teachers and students about African American history. These two aspects of the three AAH classrooms—classroom management and teacher expectations—contradicted the goals of the policy. These data suggest that

teachers needed training around those two aspects in order to achieve the goals of the policy.

Conclusion

The findings presented in this chapter demonstrate the disconnect between policymakers and those responsible for implementing policy. The findings also fit within Shulman's five propositions about implementation impediments. Teachers and District administrators reported slightly different purposes for the AAH course. Both teachers and administrators highlighted the need for students to be exposed to AAH, administrators also felt that the course could change teachers' expectations of Black youth. Policymakers may not have fully advertised their purposes for implementing the course because they did not want to offend or blame the very people responsible for implementing the course. Schnieder and Ingram (1993) argue that policy elites often frame policies in a way that will please their constituencies, but in this case, the administrators needed to frame the policy in way that teachers (contenders) would buy in to the purpose of the policy.

Teachers' criticisms of the textbook and the professional development reveal that teachers may know what to teach because they have the curriculum, but they do not know how the District planned for them to use the textbook in class nor did the professional development provide them with information about how to teach the course. According to research, professional development is supposed to merge content with instructional practices in order to affect real change in the classroom (Ball & Cohen, 1996; R. Elmore, 1997). Elmore (1997) argues that teachers in a School District in New York City benefited from professional development that provided teachers with concrete examples

of the District's definition of good instruction. Teachers were allowed to observe "good teaching" and there were professional networks so that teachers further learn and collaborate with other teachers. In the case of the AAH course in Philadelphia, the District administrators' major concern was curriculum and AAH content knowledge, but teachers needed training around the teaching AAH.

The observational data demonstrate how teachers are struggling to teach and engage urban youth. Ms. Allen developed creative and thought provoking lessons, but failed to execute them because she was overwhelmed by student disruptions. The structure of Mr. Parker's class was based on controlling student behavior and he strongly believed that the rigid structure of his classroom was the best way to teach. All of his classes, whether it is psychology, world history, or AAH, were structured in this manner. Finally, Mr. Howard failed to hold his students accountable for fully participating in classroom activities. I argue that teachers needed instructional practices that inherently raised teachers' expectations of youth. Teachers need concrete examples how they can teach their students to achieve and of what their students can accomplish. As a result of the lack of instructional professional development, teachers are mired down and inhibited by their students' unruly behavior, which could also be a result of low expectations from the beginning of their educational experience (Bamburg, 1994; Haberman, 1991).

CHAPTER EIGHT

Discussion and Implications

It's weird how you don't realize what low expectations you have for yourself until somebody shows you what your people have actually accomplished...It made me proud that it--that this stuff exists, and I can pass it down to my children. And it made me a little sad, because I always consider myself so lucky...But when you see that people before you, managed to make it, you feel like, maybe it's your birth right or destiny. And we as Black people don't feel that we're destined to do anything but bad. And when we do good, we're, like, whoa, I'm so lucky. ..If I'd have known this [my history], it would have taken away the inevitability that I was gonna be nothing.

~Chris Rock (The Oprah Show, January 23, 2008)

The United States has struggled to educate Black youth for over 50 years. Brown vs. Topeka, Kansas Board of Education was the first attempt at providing Black youth with a quality education after suffering through a separate and unequal educational system. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1964 and the Coleman Report of 1966 also shed light on the poor achievement of Black students. More recently, No Child Left Behind of 2001 has once again brought the issue of the Black-White achievement gap to America's attention. After many national attempts and countless local initiatives geared towards providing Blacks with quality education, Black youth's achievement still lags behind that of Whites, beginning in kindergarten.

Over the course of this 50 year history of increasing Black achievement, community members and activists of large urban school districts have requested that their schools include multicultural education in their curriculum as an attempt to provide students with a high quality education and increase their achievement. These requests have been presented in ebbs and flows since the Civil Rights Movement. However, few

evaluative studies have provided conclusive evidence of this curriculum's positive impact on Black achievement, in spite of much speculation on the part of multicultural education proponents.

Multicultural education has had a contentious history in the United States (Binder, 2002; Countryman, 2006), but the process of educational change has had a contentious history too (Boyd & Christman, 2003; Tyack & Cuban, 1995). Though educators and policymakers are most interested in changing behavior and increasing academic skills, policy research has demonstrated that *policy implementation mediates outcomes*. In order to fully understand why a policy has failed or succeeded, it is imperative that researchers collect information about how teachers were trained, the quality and quantity of resources provided to teachers to implement the policy, and whether teachers and the education community believe the policy can achieve the proposed goals. The implementation of a multicultural education curricular policy is no different. When the Philadelphia School District implemented a policy that required all their high school students take an AAH course in order to graduate, I believed that it was essential to examine the implementation of the course, prior to even considering evaluating the District administrators' policy goals.

The purpose of this study was to examine the implementation of the AAH course. Only one previous study has focused on the implementation of an AAH curriculum (Ginwright, 2004), though the implementation portion of the study only focuses on teacher buy-in. Though buy-in or will is an important aspect of policy implementation, there are many other factors that should have been considered, such as teachers' opinions

of the training and resources they received to teach the course. The following three core research questions were addressed in this study:

1. How did different policy constituents understand the purpose of the AAH course?
 - How do district administrators, with varying roles, understand the purpose of the AAH course?
2. How was the AAH course designed by District administrators?
 - What were the guiding assumptions that impacted the design of the course, including the development of resources and teacher training?
3. What were social studies teachers' experiences implementing the AAH course?
 - How do social studies teachers understand the purpose of the course?
 - What were teachers' experiences with professional development?
 - What are teachers' opinions of the quality and quantity of resources they received to teach the course?

The first core question addresses the District administrators' justification for developing the course and the goals the various administrators sought to achieve through this course. It also provided a basis to understand how the course was designed, how the District trained teachers, and the decisions they made about the resources they provided to teachers. The second core research question unpacks the decisions the District made about the development of the course, including their decisions about the course resources and the type of training the District provided social studies teachers. The third core research question addresses how the course was implemented by social studies teachers. This question focuses on teachers' experiences teaching the AAH, including their opinions about the quality of resources and training they received to teach the course. A

sub-question that addresses the teachers' opinion of the course was also included to gauge the level of policy coherence between the District administrators and the teachers to assess whether these two groups were operating under the same assumptions.

The findings of this research add to a small body of multicultural education literature focused on the implementation of such curricula initiatives. *Unfortunately, this study has resulted in another story of a poorly implemented educational policy.* This chapter documents the key findings as they relate to the two theoretical frameworks and the existing research on policy design and implementation and teacher quality. It also provides an explanation of the implications of these findings. Finally, I offer four policy recommendations for future educators and policymakers.

Discussion and Summary of Key Findings

Policy Goals, Design, and Implementation

One of purposes of this study was to examine why the Philadelphia School District administrators decided to comprehensively implement an AAH course. The impetus came from the original requests and resolution of 1968. However, at the turn of the 21st century, there was still a large Black community in Philadelphia who wanted to see a course comprehensively implemented throughout the District. According to Ginwright (2004), requests for an Afrocentric curriculum in a West Oakland, California school came from middle class African Americans who lived through the civil rights movement. Similar to West Oakland, groups like NAACP supported the inclusion of AAH in the curriculum and the Philadelphia chapter of the NAACP wrote an Amicus Brief in support of the new course.

The purpose of the course went beyond fulfilling the 1968's unkept promise of developing AAH curriculum. The administrators couched the purpose of the course in a more burgeoning problem among Black youth within their School District: issues of Black identity, self-esteem, school engagement, and academic achievement. The District administrators' main target population was African American students in the School District whom they felt had a negative and powerless social construction, negatively impacting their academic achievement. Therefore, the District administrators developed the course in order to expose them to their rich history in Africa and the United States in hopes of empowering their students to reach their full potential. The administrators felt that Black students held this negative social construction of themselves. The social construction varied from being dependent and powerless to deviancy. Some administrators were concerned that the high crime and murder rate in the District would provide Black youth with criminal role models. The District administrators hoped that as a result of the course, Black youth would change their perception of themselves, feel more connected to the school's curriculum, and become more engaged in school, which would in turn increase their academic outcomes.

The District administrators also discussed a purpose for the AAH course that has not been mentioned in the literature on multicultural education, and that was to increase the teachers' expectations of Black youth. They believed that if teachers were exposed to this curriculum, their expectations of Black students' academic performance would change. Many authors argue that a cultural understanding of students' backgrounds is essential to teaching students (Delpit, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1994), but no one has formally connected cultural understanding to increased teacher expectations. Similar to

the other outcomes the District administrators hoped to achieve through the AAH course (i.e. increased self-esteem, development of a positive Black identity, etc.), the relationship between teachers' cultural knowledge of their students and their expectations of academic ability lacks empirical evidence. However, the purpose of this study was to examine why the District administrators developed this course, and the issue of teacher expectations was one of their reasons.

Ironically, the administrators' purposes for requiring the course did not provide much insight into how the District designed the course and trained teachers. Though the District's target population was African American youth, the administrators' social perceptions of teachers dominated the development of the course. District administrators turned their focus to curriculum and teacher knowledge when making decisions about course development. There was no mention of the social construction of students, self-esteem, or teacher expectations in these discussions.

This issue of considering teachers as the District developed the course is not a criticism of the District, *but the District had an unbalanced perception of what teachers needed, which is one of the first pitfalls in the implementation of the course.* The administrators believed that teachers depended on textbooks to guide their course curriculum instead of developing their own curriculum independent of the textbook. So the administrators developed a curriculum and worked with a textbook company to revise a college textbook to meet the needs of a high school population. Curriculum and textbook development was very important to administrators because they were concerned that teachers did not have the background in AAH to teach the course, and because the District administrators believed that textbooks in general provide a narrow and oftentimes

biased perception of history. The District administrators had these same concerns about the AAH textbook they chose to revise. They felt there was still incorrect and biased information in the text, so the curriculum would be even more important to counteract those perceptions.

Though the administrator believed teachers needed content, teachers argued that they needed pedagogy. Teachers who attended the professional development complained that it did not provide any information around the practical application of the subject matter in class. The professional development seminar I observed focused on the debate over the origin of humanity and whether the ancient art work of Egyptians reflected phenotypic characteristics of Black Africans or White Africans. We read a short story, watched a 20 minute video and had a discussion. But how does a teacher take that information and develop a lesson for high school students? Did teachers have access to the video? Were there passages in the book that teachers could use to develop a lesson? What were the learning objectives associated with this professional development? Could students read the article and have a discussion similar to the teachers in the professional development?

Missing totally from this conversation of administrators' perceptions and teachers' needs, is the issue of increasing teachers' expectations of Black youth. Though the administrators argued that one of their purposes for including the AAH course in the District curriculum was to increase teacher expectations, teachers did not mention this as one of the administrators' purposes. Teachers may be operating under the assumption that this course was designed specifically for students, and they view their role as solely providing youth with culturally relevant courses. They may not have perceived

themselves as a group that could benefit from being exposed to this information as well. Teachers reported that they enjoyed teaching the class and they had learned a great deal from teaching it, but there was not a sense that they *needed* it, too. Furthermore, there was no discussion of how the training of teachers would impact Black students' perceptions of themselves. There was no clear connection between the development of the course, including teacher training, and the intended outcomes of the course, which leads to a lack of policy cohesion and poor implementation.

In terms of the District administrators' vision of what they hoped to see in AAH classrooms, they argued they wanted to see the same thing in every classroom—engaged students, and they believed that teachers knew the best strategies to engage their students. The administrators believed if they armed their teachers with curriculum, that they could do the rest. In terms of design, curriculum and content were the “guardian angels.” It was their belief that a high quality standardized curriculum was the missing link in their District. With the curriculum in hand, teachers could develop creative ways to teach their students and engage students in the class material. However, teacher interviews and classroom observations told a very different story—one of teachers struggling to engage their students.

This study sheds light on the importance of the perceptions of the needs, strengths, and weaknesses of teachers in regards to implementing educational policy. Little research has focused on how the *perception* of street level bureaucrats impacts the implementation of policy. The use of Schneider and Ingram's theory of the social construction of target populations to the evaluation of the implementation of an educational policy adds a unique dynamic to past applications of the theory. The

implementation of other public policies usually does not depend on the capacities of those responsible for the implementation in the same way implementation is dependent upon teachers' capacities. Though the AAH policy was developed in order to meaningfully impact the psycho-social development of Black youth, the perceptions of teachers turned out to be more powerful in the development of the course. Policymakers are encouraged to consider those who will be implementing policy; however, they need a more systematic method of assessing teachers' strengths and weaknesses. Though the administrators' perception of teachers' dependence on textbooks to determine curriculum and their lack of AAH knowledge may have been correct, they failed to address other weaknesses such as teachers' instructional capacity and classroom management capacity.

This study also adds to the body of literature that addresses the contentious relationship between policy elites and teachers (Boyd & Christman, 2003; L. Darling-Hammond, 1990; R. F. Elmore, 1983) . Teachers' experiences implementing the AAH course demonstrates the chasm between what teachers need to teach and what they are provided. As Shulman (1983) argues, much of the teaching profession is determined by building and district administrators. Policy is usually dictated to teachers. He presents a portrait of a teaching force with very little autonomy over their profession. Shulman (1983) also argues that teachers' limited resources, time, and energy can also impede the implementation process. Either the District administrators are unaware of the classroom culture of their schools and therefore unable to diagnose problems in their schools or the observations of these classrooms may reflect a system that has just accepted the status quo. If the latter is true, the administrators may continue to apply a band aid to a brain injury and teachers will continue to provide sub par instruction to their students.

The Intersection of Curriculum and Instruction

The importance of curriculum cannot be understated. Research suggests that teachers often do use textbooks to determine the content of their courses (David K. Cohen & Ball, 1990; Solomon, 2003). However, state and school districts cannot allow textbook companies to determine the curriculum content. The Philadelphia School District was able to develop curriculum for all of their academic subjects, including AAH. They were able to align their materials to Pennsylvania State Standards and decide what they wanted their students to learn at the District level. Local control of schools and the district's abilities to decide curriculum content is one of the foundations of the U.S. educational system.

However, high quality instruction plays an equally important role. Teacher expectations are translated to students by the type of instruction, assignments, and evaluation provided to students, the same way the content of the class material expresses a teacher's expectations. The administrators assumed that curriculum was the most important piece of the AAH course, and they focused most of their attention on the curriculum development and content development of teachers, at the expense of increasing the instructional capacity of teachers. The suggested pedagogical techniques included in the curriculum guide were techniques that any social studies teacher should use. The District administrators also boasted that the "Ways of Knowing" concept chart, developed specifically for the AAH, could be used by any social studies course. The inclusion of pedagogical techniques that transcended the content of the AAH adds to evidence for the argument that the curriculum was the most important piece of this policy.

The Philadelphia case teaches us that high quality curriculum does not equal high quality instruction. Instructional strategies become especially important when districts introduce a new academic subject. Ball and Cohen (1996) argue that pedagogical approaches should be imbedded in curriculum guides. They argue that materials provided to teachers to implement a curricular or instructional reform should reflect both curricular and instructional goals in tandem. In the case of the AAH course, the curriculum guide could have included strategies for how high school students best connect to history. Since teachers were relying on instructional strategies in which they were most comfortable, the District may need to embark on an instructional renewal reform effort for social studies teachers or in all subjects.

Building Capacity: Professional Development

There were other bureaucratic impediments that contributed to the characterization of the AAH course policy as self-defeating. Some teachers did not attend AAH professional development, partly because they were not required to. Teachers mentioned that they had met their professional development requirements. According to Act 48 of 1999, which provides guidelines for the continued professional development of teachers in the state of Pennsylvania:

All certified educators must then complete every five years 180 hours of professional development that is related to an area of the professional educator's assignment or certification and, if the educator is employed by a school entity, complies with their school entity's plan. The 180-hour requirement can be met with six college credits, six credits of continuing professional education course, 180 clock hours of continuing professional

education, or any combination of collegiate studies, continuing professional education course or other programs, activities or learning experiences equivalent to 180 hours ("Act 48 Professional Education Plan Guidelines," 2007).

If teachers had met those 180 hours, were planning to take a college course, or were currently taking a college course, teachers may not have been motivated to go the AAH professional development hosted by the District. The few teachers who knew about the professional development and argued that they did not attend because of the lack of need to complete the 180 hours, said so with a slight hint of guilt or shame in their voices as if they knew it was important, but it was beyond the scope of their personal plans for professional development. The Saturday sessions may not have fit into their personal schedules. A college course held during the week may have been more convenient for their personal lives. Teachers could have also been turned off by District hosted professional development due to the disorganization of those sessions. Though the State Department of education are set up to provide teachers with flexibility in continuing their education in a field that requires its professionals to learn new content, curriculum, instructional practices, and the assessment of student needs. However, the flexibility that Act 48 provides teachers can also inhibit the necessary training teachers need to gain the capacity to implement policy.

The other concern regarding professional development is that teachers, who had only been teaching the course for one to two years, did not have any knowledge about the AAH professional development. By the time these teachers started teaching the course, the District had discontinued their AAH professional development and replaced it with a

grant funded professional development program that focused on social studies in general, with an AAH component. One teacher was very frustrated by the lack of contact she had with the District. She was disappointed in the content of the textbook and the other resources she was provided to teach the course—all issues that were addressed in the professional development. Issues of sustainability are of real concern because there is no entity to ensure that teachers know the content, which was the administrators' main goal in providing professional development (Coburn, 2003).

Implementation on the Ground Level: AAH Classes

The classroom observations added another dimension to the chasm between what teachers need and what teachers were given to teach the course. Since teachers were not given any concrete instructional or pedagogical techniques to use in the classroom, they were left to invent their own process or rely on previously used pedagogical practices. Where some teachers welcome the creative challenge of developing new instructional activities, it can be difficult to begin teaching a new class without any suggestions or advice on best practices to engage the students. There was no professional development around how the teaching of the course could help teachers achieve the District administrators' goal. It is unclear whether the administrators thought the exposure to the AAH material would be enough to change their social construction of themselves or if there were activities that teachers could facilitate in order to achieve the goals.

The observations revealed that teachers struggled to engage their students. Furthermore, two teachers' primary concern was to control student behavior and disruptions and the secondary focus was curriculum and instruction. For example, Ms. Allen was not able to complete lessons without correcting a students' behavior. She

developed lessons that were thought provoking but her execution was negatively impacted by the amount of student interruptions or her inability to correct student behavior. Mr. Parker structured his class in a way that prevented student disruptions, but it also did not allow for the inclusion of a variety of activities for students to engage with the curriculum. Mr. Parker was able to control the classroom environment, but it is unclear whether the students are able to engage in the material in way that will have a positive impact on their self image.

Both the classroom structures of Mr. Parker and Ms. Allen may do more to reinforce social construction of Black youth than to change it. Their teaching practices, although very different, were reactionary and typical of teachers teaching poor students. Haberman (1991) puts forth a framework of the pedagogy of poverty. This framework maintains that there is a certain pedagogical philosophy of poor urban educators that focuses on teacher control over students, rather than educators putting forth a sincere effort to meaningfully engage their students in learning. Haberman (1991) argues that “the pedagogy of poverty requires that teachers who begin their careers intending to be helpers, models, guides, stimulators, and caring sources of encouragement transform themselves into directive authoritarians in order to function in urban schools” (p. 3). Mr. Parker was overwhelmed by the challenge of teaching poor Black students and in response to this challenge, developed a pedagogical ideology that focused on control. He limited his classroom instruction to two main activities, “Do-Nows,” which was a pre-lecture activity, and lecture. Quizzes and tests were interwoven between those two activities. Ms. Allen developed a pedagogical ideology of punishing noncompliance, one of Haberman’s (1991) core functions of urban teaching. If students spoke out of turn,

arrived to class late, or exhibited a negative attitude, Ms. Allen sent students to the principal's office, threatened detention, a call home to a parent/guardian, or a failing grade. These interactions with students dominated the class periods in place of teaching and learning. Instead of treating their minority students like young adults who are wanted and encouraged to come to school, Mr. Parker and Ms. Allen reinforced negative social constructions of poor, deviant Black adolescents.

I was unable to provide an assessment of the implementation of the AAH course because of extraneous and unanticipated events in the classrooms, though the purpose of the classroom observations was to provide information about how the course was being implemented and how the students and teachers were interacting with the information. I relied on three bodies of work that focus on the components of education that minority children and all children need: Sarah Lawrence Lightfoot's (1983) "The Good High School: Portraits of Character and Culture," Lisa Delpit's (1995) "Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom" and Gloria Ladson-Billings' (1994) "The Dream Keepers: Successful Teachers of African American Children." These three authors spent a considerable amount of time in schools conducting observations and interviews to arrive at their suggestions for the best way to educate minority youth.

Another lesson that can be garnered from the observational data is that the curriculum did very little to increase teachers' expectations of students. Delpit (1995) argues that minority and low-income students are often taught less because educators' expectations of students are so low. She points to a story of a fourth grade reading class, where it was apparent that a male student could not read, but there was no intervention or effort to teach him. The teacher argued that even though the student was unable to read,

that she would at least understand the plot of the story (p. 174). During Ms. Allen's classes, there was not much opportunity for learning. She was severely distracted by students' behavior and I argue that she anticipated the disruptions so much so that even the most minor infraction, such as a student talking to his neighbor, was cause enough to dismiss him from the entire class. Ms. Allen created a classroom culture that taught students to misbehave and get kicked out of class, instead of a culture of learning. After disruptions, Ms. Allen rarely returned to the material she was previously addressing. As a result of the interruptions during instruction, planned lessons were never executed completely.

During observations of Mr. Howard's class, there was minimal instruction and interaction between students and the teacher. None of the frameworks mentioned above address what was observed in Mr. Howard's class—namely, very little instruction. Over the course of the observations, Mr. Howard never fully engaged the class for the entire class period. He did lecture from an overhead projector for the first two days. He finished early and students were allowed to sit and chat until class was over. On the third day, students completed a worksheet with about twenty questions and there was no discussion of the answers. Mr. Howard collected the worksheet once students were finished and then they were allowed to sit quietly until class was over. Some students finished the worksheet in twenty minutes, which resulted in 25 minutes of free time. It took other students longer to finish and some students copied answers from their neighbors. On the fourth day, when students were required to work on their "Letter to the Mayor" only one group turned in the assignment, while other students worked intermittently while playing with the computers. The lack of interaction between teacher and students also reflects low

expectations of students or pedagogy of poverty. Mr. Howard did exhibit some of Haberman's pedagogical framework, such as the monitoring of student seat work, coupled with very little teacher engagement. Mr. Howard's classroom is another example of how curriculum cannot ensure teachers' high expectations for students.

Policy Recommendations and Future Research

The findings of this study highlight the challenges of developing and implementing a multicultural educational policy. The following section provides policy recommendations and areas that require further research and development.

- 1. Ensure that pedagogical instruction is coupled with content professional development.*

In a constantly changing educational context, teachers need to stay current with their content and instructional knowledge. In the case of the Philadelphia School District, administrators developed professional development that focused on increasing teachers' content knowledge and not their instructional or pedagogical knowledge. Content is only half of a teachers' job. The other 50% includes classroom instruction and activities. Teachers feel more empowered in the classroom if they have a plan that outlines what to do. When content professional development is not coupled with instructional development, teachers may rely on previous instructional practices that they come to depend on. However, those instructional practices may actually negate the purpose of the curriculum. For example, Philadelphia administrators hoped that their students would learn how to critically analyze and question history as a result of the course. However, armed with content knowledge, Mr. Parker kept the same rigid instruction that he uses for all his classes, whether it be American history or psychology.

2. *Provide teachers with concrete examples of how to provide students with instruction and assignments that reflect high expectations.*

Instructional leaders and district administrators should provide examples of high quality instruction and coursework that reflect high expectations. It also might be effective to allow teachers to observe model teachers, or teachers that exemplify teaching that reflect high expectations. For example, Ladson-Billings (1994) argues that student-teachers who plan to teach in a majority African American school district, should have opportunities to observe culturally relevant teaching. The Norfolk School District in Virginia is an example of how using model teachers can improve achievement. Norfolk School District in Virginia was lauded for their use of data-driven instruction and how teachers worked together to analyze benchmark data from their classrooms (Butler, 2005). If a teacher's students performed poorly on a certain content area or skill, he/she partnered with a teacher whose students performed at the appropriate level. In 2005, this School District won the Broad Prize for Urban Education (Butler, 2005). One school in particular, Ocean View Elementary, has become the face of educational change in the District. In 2008, it was recognized as one of Virginia's 11 schools and one of the country's 380 schools, for nearly closing all of their achievement gaps ("Ocean View Elementary Boasts Blue Ribbon Victory," 2009). *This example was used to highlight the positive impact on improving teaching through modeling pedagogical behaviors that supports a policy's goals, not to highlight the use of data to improve instruction.* District 2 in New York City developed a professional development series that allowed teachers to observe model teachers in order to improve instruction (R. Elmore, 1997), though the hiring of substitute teachers and paraprofessionals to continue the instruction of classrooms where teachers are observing other teachers can present a costly problem.

3. *Negotiate professional development requirements.*

One quandary that has presented itself as a result of this study is how districts include new curriculum or develop new instructional practices without the ability to require teachers participate in professional development. The state decides how often teachers need to take a professional development course and provides guidelines for quality professional development experiences. However, it is unclear whether school districts are able to require teachers to participate in professional development experiences that they feel are essential to implementing new curriculum and instruction. It is probably an issue that is negotiated with the local teacher's union. An anecdotal story provides another example of how a district's inability to require professional development presents implementation impediments. A suburban school district in Virginia adopted new instructional strategies for teaching mathematics in elementary school. As a family friend's daughter was struggling in the math class, the veteran teacher of at least fifteen years advised the parent to hire a tutor because she did not know how to teach math based on the new curriculum and instruction guidelines.

There is an extensive body of research that attempts to measure the impact of professional development on instructional improvement (Desimone, Porter, Garet, Yoon, & Birman, 2002); however, more research should focus on the extent to which teachers participate in professional development to learn newly developed or adopted curriculum and instruction. In the case of social studies, which is not one of the areas NCLB focuses on accountability, issues of instructional capacity may not have been of upmost concern because it is not a state-tested content area. In Pennsylvania, their tested content areas include: math, reading, writing, and science.

4. *Development of or increased classroom management skills.*

In my opinion, the issue of classroom management has been largely ignored in teacher education and especially in regards to classroom management in the high school context. At The Pennsylvania State University, secondary education majors are not required to take a classroom management course, though one is offered for students to take as an elective. In large urban districts like Philadelphia, where many of its students come from low-income families and violent communities, it may be expected that students have behavioral issues. In order for teachers to do their jobs, they need to be armed with strategies for dealing with tough situations. Darling-Hammond (2009) argues that many student behavioral issues stem from teacher's lack of instructional preparation prior to class. For example, in Ladson-Billings (1994) research of successful teachers of African American students, she highlighted one teacher's noteworthy classroom: "Rossi's fast-paced, challenging mathematics leaves no room for off-task, non-instructional behavior. The message that the classroom is a place where teachers and students engage in serious work is communicated clearly to everyone" (p. 124). This teacher was compared to a student teacher named Walsh: "Walsh's students did not take him seriously. Walsh's students set their sights on disrupting his lesson; they were learning not to learn" (p. 124). Whether the problem is a teacher's inability to manage disruptions or their poor class preparation, more teacher education programs and professional development should focus on the best ways to balance controlling behavior and empowering learners.

Conclusion: Political Victory versus Educational Victory

The Philadelphia School District is the only district in the country that requires all of their students to take an AAH course in order to graduate. Looking back on the history of this course, one could argue that this was an important political victory for the African American Philadelphia community. After 40 years, an AAH course was implemented comprehensively throughout the entire District. However, as a result of the glaring differences between goals of the course, course design, and course implementation, I argue that the course cannot be considered an educational victory. Administrators failed to develop a policy that adequately addressed their purposes for requiring the course. Furthermore, without instructional professional development, teachers may be doing more to reinforce aspects of Black youth culture than help to develop a group of young people who see themselves positively.

This case study does more to highlight the struggles of implementing policy in large urban districts than it does to inform the field about issues of multicultural education. Issues of institutional culture, whether the focus is on relationships between teachers and administrators or teachers and students, continue to play an important role in policy implementation. Capacity to implement policy is also an important consideration. Policymakers need to develop a strategy to gauge which capacities they should develop when implementing new policy and the best method for increasing/developing capacities. The importance of developing a coherent policy, in which the policy's goals match the capacity building activities for street-level bureaucrats, is also a significant factor.

This research also acts as a cautionary tale to those interested in examining the impact of a multicultural course or curriculum. Proponents highlight how this course

could help to engage students and help them develop a positive Black identity and self-esteem, which could also produce positive academic outcomes. However, those same proponents ignore the importance of the impact of policy implementation in fully understanding policy outcomes. The importance of translating policy into a design that includes the appropriate training of teachers and results in a meaningful change in classrooms (i.e. curriculum and instruction) remains a challenge for educational reform.

References

- A Nation at Risk (1983). Retrieved August 2, 2009 from <http://www.ed.gov/pubs/NatAtRisk/intro.html>
- Act 48 Professional Education Plan Guidelines. (2007). Retrieved May 11, 2008, from http://www.teaching.state.pa.us/teaching/lib/teaching/ACT_48.docNEW_New.pdf
- Alliance for Excellent Education. Retrieved June 1, 2009, from [http://www.all4ed.org/about the crisis/schools/state and local info/promotingpo wer](http://www.all4ed.org/about_the_crisis/schools/state_and_local_info/promotingpo wer)
- Anglund, S. M. (1998). How American core values influence public policy: Lessons from federal aid to small business, 1953-1993. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy and Administration*, 11(1), 23-50.
- Anyon, J. (1991). *Ghetto schooling: A political economy of urban educational reform*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Anyon, J. (1997). *Ghetto schooling: A political economy of urban educational reform*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Asante, M. K. (1991). Multiculturalism: An exchange. *Controversy*, 60(2), 267-276.
- Ball, D. L., & Cohen, D. K. (1996). Reform by the book: What is-or might be-the role of curriculum materials in teacher learning and instructional reform? *Educational Researcher*, 25(9), 6-8, 14.
- Bamburg, J. D. (1994). *Raising expectations to improve student learning*. Washington, DC: Office of Educational Research and Improvement.
- Banks, J. A. (2004). Multicultural education: Historical Development, Dimensions, and Practice. In J. A. Banks & C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education* (2nd ed., pp. 3-29). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Banks, J., & Banks, C. (2001). *Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives* (4th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Binder, A. (2002). *Contentious Curricula: Afrocentrism and creationism in American public schools*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Booher-Jennings, J. (2005). Below the bubble: "Educational triage" and the Texas Accountability System. *American Educational Research Journal*, 42(2), 231-268.

- Boyd, W. L., & Christman, J. B. (2003). A tall order for Philadelphia's new approach to school governance: Heal the political rifts, close the budget gap, and improve the schools. In L. Cuban & M. Usdan (Eds.), *Powerful Reforms with Shallow Roots: Improving America's Urban Schools* (pp. 96-124). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Butler, C. K. (2005). Success in the city: A once troubled urban school system is lauded for blazing a new path to academic progress [Electronic Version]. *U.S. News & World Report*. Retrieved May 16, 2009 from http://www.usnews.com/usnews/edu/articles/051003/3district_4.htm.
- Carlton, D. (1982). *Mill and Town in South Carolina, 1880-1920* Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press.
- Carter, R. & Goodwin, A. (1994). Racial identity and education. *Review of Research Education*, 20, 291-336.
- Cheadle, J. E. (2008). Educational investment, family context, and children's math and reading from kindergarten through third grade. *Sociology of Education*, 81(1), 1-31.
- Chrispeels, J. H. (1997). Educational policy implementation in a shifting political climate: The California experience. *American Educational Research Journal*, 34(3), 453-481.
- Christman, J. B. (2001). *Powerful ideas, modest gains: Five years of systemic reform in Philadelphia Middle Schools*. Philadelphia: Consortium for Policy Research in Education.A
- Christman, J. B., & Macpherson, P. (1996). *The five school study: Restructuring Philadelphia's comprehensive high schools*. Philadelphia: Research for Action.
- Clark, K. & Clark, M. (1939a). The development of consciousness of self and the racial identification in Negro preschool children. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 10, 591-599.
- Clark, K. & Clark, M. (1939b). Segregation as a factor in the racial identification of Negro preschool children: A preliminary report. *Journal of Experimental Education*, 8, 161-163.
- Clark, K. & Clark, M. (1947b). Racial identification and preference in Negro children. *Readings in Psychology*, 169-178.
- Coburn, C. E. (2003). Rethinking scale: Moving beyond numbers to deep and lasting change. *Educational Researcher*, 32(6).

- Cohen, D. K. (1990). A revolution in one classroom: The case of Mrs. Oublier. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 12*(3), 311-329.
- Cohen, D. K., & Ball, D. L. (1990). Relations between policy and practice: A commentary. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 12*(3), 249-256.
- Constantine, M. & Blackmon, S. (2002). Black adolescents' racial socialization experience: Their relations to home, school, and peer self-esteem. *Journal of Black Studies, 32*, 322-335.
- Countryman, M. J. (2006). *Up South: Civil rights and black power in Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Cross, W. & Vandiver, B. (2001). Nigrescence theory and measurement. From the *Handbook of Multicultural Counseling, 2nd* ed. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Darling-Hammond, L. (1990). Instructional policy into practice: "The power of the bottom over the top". *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 12*(3), 339-347.
- Darling-Hammond, L. (1999). *Teacher quality and student achievement: A review of state policy evidence*: Center for the Study of Teaching and Policy: A National Consortium, 1-48.
- Darling-Hammond, L. (2009). Clark Seminar: Opening Keynote Speaker. In F. C. Sanders (Ed.). San Diego.
- Delpit, L. (1995). *Other People's Children: Cultural Conflict in the Classroom*. New York: The New York Press.
- Desimone, L. M., Porter, A. C., Garet, M. S., Yoon, K. S., & Birman, B. F. (2002). Effects of professional development on teachers' instruction: Results from a Three-Year Longitudinal Study. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 24*(2), 81-112.
- Dewey, J. (1916). *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education*. The Free Press: New York.
- Dougherty, J. (2004). *More than one struggle: The evolution of Black school reform in Milwaukee*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Eisner, J. (2005, June 26). A caveat on teaching 'goog' history. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.

- Elmore, R. (1997). *Investing in teacher learning: Staff development and instructional improvement in Community School District #2, New York City*. National Commission on Teaching & America's Future.
- Elmore, R. F. (1983). Complexity and control: What legislators and administrators can do about implementing public policy. In L. S. Shulman & G. Sykes (Eds.), *Handbook of Teaching and Policy* (pp. 342-368). New York: Longman.
- Elmore, R. F. (1996). Getting to scale with successful educational practices. In S. H. Fuhrman & J. A. O'Day (Eds.), *Rewards and Incentives: Creating Educational Incentives that Work* (pp. 294-329). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Elmore, R. F., & McLaughlin, M. W. (1988). *Steady work: Policy, practice and the reform of American education*. Paper presented at the National Institute of Education, Santa Monica.
- Erikson, E. (1968). *Identity, youth, and crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton & Compan, Inc.
- Essoka, Y. (2005-06). New course grew out of years of struggle. *Philadelphia Public School Notebook*, pp. 1, 13.
- Essoka, Y., & Whitehorne. (2005-06, Winter). Philadelphia's African and African American history mandate: A timeline. *Philadelphia Public School Notebook*, pp. 14-15.
- Evans, R. (2001). The culture of resistance. In *The Jossey-Bass Reader on School Reform* (1 ed., pp. 510-521). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Farley, R., Richards, T., & Wurdock, C. (1980). School desegregation and white flight: An investigation of competing models and their discrepant findings. *Sociology of Education*, 53(3), 123-139.
- Ferguson, R. F. (1998). Teachers' perceptions and expectations and the black-white test score gap. In C. J. a. M. Phillips (Ed.), *The Black-White Test Score Gap* (pp. 273-317). Washington, D.C.: Brookings.
- Finn, C. (2005). From Checker's desk: Compulsory African history? [Electronic Version]. *A Weekly Bulletin of News and Analysis from the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation*, 5. Retrieved June 16 from <http://www.edexcellence.net/gadfly/index.cfm?issue=197#a2352>.
- Firestone, W. A. (1991). Merit pay and job enlargement as reforms: Incentives, implementation, and teacher response. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 13(3), 269-288.

- Ford, D., & Harris, J. (1996). Perceptions and attitudes of Black students toward school, achievement, and other educational variables. *Child Development, 67*, 1141-1152.
- Fordham, S., & Ogbu, J. U. (1986). Black students' school success: Coping with the "Burden of 'Acting White'". *The Urban Review, 18*(3), 176-206.
- Fryer, R. G. & Levitt, S. D. (2004). Understanding the Black-White test score gap in the first two years of school. *The Review of Economics and Statistics, LXXXVI* (2), 447-464.
- Gayles, J. (2007). Race, reward, and reform: An implicative examination of the Florida School Recognition Program. *Educational Policy, 21*(3), 439-456.
- Giddings, G. (2001). Infusion of Afrocentric content into the school curriculum: Toward an effective movement. *Journal of Black Studies, 31*, 462-482.
- Ginwright, S. (2004). *Black in school: Afrocentric reform, urban youth, and the promise of hip-hop cultures*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Goetz, E. G. (2008). Words matter: The importance of issue framing and the case of affordable housing. *Journal of American Planning Association, 74*(2), 222-229.
- Gracey, H. L. (1972) Learning the student role: Kindergarten as boot camp. In William Feigelman (1993). *Sociology Full Circle: Socializing the child*. Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers.
- Greene, M. & Way, N. (2005). Self-esteem trajectories among ethnic minority adolescents: A growth curve analysis of the patterns and predictors of change. *Journal of Research Adolescence, 15*, 151-178.
- Haberman, M. (1991). The pedagogy of poverty versus good teaching. *Phi Delta Kappan, 73*(4), 290-294.
- Hare, B. (1987). Structural inequality and the endangered status of black youth. *The Journal of Negro Education, 56*, 100-110.
- Harter, S. (1982). The perceived competence scale for children. *Child Development, 53*, 87-97.
- Harter, S. (1993). Causes and consequences of low self-esteem in children and adolescents. In Roy Baumeister (Ed.), *Self-esteem: The puzzle of low self-regard*, (pp. 87-116). New York: Plenum Press.

- Hess, F. M., & Finn, C. E. (2007). Extreme Makeover: NCLB Edition. Retrieved May 8, 2008, from <http://www.aei.org/article/26682>
- Hilliard, A., Payton-Stewart, L., & Williams, L. (1990). *Infusion of African and African American content in the school curriculum*. Chicago: Third World Press.
- Hine, D. C., Hine, W. C., & Harrold, S. (2006). *African-American History*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.
- Hirsh, E. D. (1987). *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know*. New York: Random House.
- Hirsh, E. D. (2004). No Child Left Behind: How to Ace Those Tests. *Hoover Daily Report* Retrieved May 8, 2008, from <http://www.hoover.org/pubaffairs/dailyreport/archive/2827716.html>
- Hoo, S. S. (1990). School renewal: Taking responsibility for providing an education of value. In J. I. Goodlad & P. Keating (Eds.), *Access to knowledge: An agenda for our nations' schools* (pp. 205-221). New York: College Entrance Examination Board.
- Houston, D. J., & Richardson, L. E. J. (2004). Drinking-and-driving in America: A test of behavioral assumptions underlying public policy. *Political Research Quarterly*, 58(1), 53-64.
- Hudley, C. A. (1997). Teacher practices and student motivation in a middle school program for African American males. *Urban Education*, 32 (2), 304-319.
- Itkonen, T. (2009). Stories of hope and decline: Interest group effectiveness in national special education policy. *Educational Policy*, 23(1), 43-65.
- Jacobson, L. (2006). Inspecting for quality: California's lowest-achieving schools are routinely visited by inspectors on the lookout for, among other things, inadequate textbook supplies, dirty drinking water, and evidence of vermin. *Education Week*, 25(16), 22-25.
- Jordan-Zachery, J. S. (2008). A declaration of war: An analysis of how the invisibility of Black women makes them targets of the War on Drugs. *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy*, 29(2), 231-259.
- Kao, G. (2000). Group images and possible selves among adolescents: Linking stereotypes to expectations by race and ethnicity. *Sociological Forum*, 15, 407-430.

- Keeler, R. L. (2007). Analysis of logic categories of people in U.S. HIV/AIDS policy. *Administration & Society, 39*(5), 612-630.
- Keleher, T. (2000). *Racial disparities related to school zero tolerance policies.*
- Kerr, K. A., Marsh, J. A., Ikemoto, G. S., Darilek, H., & Barney, H. (2006). Strategies to promote data use for instructional improvement: Actions, outcomes, and lessons from three urban districts. *American Journal of Education, 112*, 496-520.
- Kozol, J. (1991). *Savage inequalities: Children in America's schools.* New York: Crown Publishers, Inc.
- Krathwohl, D. R. (1998). *Methods of educational and social science research: An integrate approach* (2nd ed.). Long Grove: Waveland Press, Inc.
- LaBletta, J. (2005-06). Mandated African American history draws strong, varied reactions. *Philadelphia Public School Notebook.*
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1994). *The Dream Keepers: Successful Teachers of African American Children.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Lee, J. (2002). Racial and ethnic achievement gap trends: Reversing the progress toward equity? *Educational Researcher 31* (1), 3-12.
- Lewis, K. M., Sullivan, C. M., & Bybee, D. (2006). An experimental evaluation of a school-based emancipatory intervention to promote African American well-being and youth leadership. *Journal of Black Psychology, 32* (1), 3-28.
- Lightfoot, S. L. (1983). *The Good High School: Portraits of Character and Culture:* Basic Books, Inc.
- Malen, B., Croninger, R., Muncey, D., & Redmond-Jones, D. (2002). Reconstituting schools: "Testing" the "Theory of action". *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 24*(2), 113-132.
- Maxwell, J. A. (1996). *Qualitative research design: An interactive approach* (Vol. 41). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- McDonnell, L., & Elmore, R. (1987). Getting the job done: Alternative policy instruments. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 9*(2), 133-152.
- McLaughlin, M. W. (1987). Learning from experience: Lessons from policy implementation. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 9*(2), 171-178.

- McLaughlin, M. W. (1991). The Rand change agent study: Ten years later. In A. R. Odden (Ed.), *The Evolution of Education Policy Implementation* (pp. 141-155). Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Meier, D. (2002). *In schools we trust: Creating communities of learning in an era to testing and standardization*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Merriam, S. B. (1988). *Case study research in education: A qualitative approach*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Metcalf, G. R. (1983). *From Little Rock to Boston: The History of School Desegregation*. Greenwood Press: Westport
- Moore, A. (2005, June 23). Nay to a naysayer on black history. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.
- Murray, S. E., Evans, W. N., & Schwab, R. M. (1998). Education-finance reform and the distribution of education resources. *The American Economic Review*, 88(4), 789-812.
- National Center for Educational Statistics. Retrieved on March 15, 2006 from <http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/>
- Nelson, A. (2005). *The elusive ideal: Equal educational opportunity and the federal role in Boston's public schools, 1950-1985*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Nicholson-Crotty, J., & Nicholson-Crotty, S. (2004). Social construction and policy implementation: Inmate health as public health issue. *Social Science Quarterly*, 85(2), 240-256.
- Oakes, J. (1990). *Multiplying Inequalities: The Effects of Race, Social Class, and Tracking on Opportunities to Learn Mathematics and Science*. Santa Monica: RAND
- O'Day, J., & Smith, M. (1993). Systemic Reform and Educational Opportunity In S. H. Fuhrman (Ed.), *Designing Coherent Education Policy: Improving the System* (pp. 250-312). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Inc. Publishers.
- Ocean View Elementary Boasts Blue Ribbon Victory. (2009). Retrieved May 16, 2009, from http://www.nps.k12.va.us/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=618:ocean-view-elementary-boasts-blue-ribbon-victory&catid=147:september-2008&Itemid=50

- Orfield, G. & Eaton, S. E. (1996). *Dismantling Desegregation: The Quiet Reversal of Brown v. Board of Education*. The New Press: New York.
- Orfield, G., Glass, D. & Reardon S. (1994). The growth of segregation in American schools: Changing patterns of separation and poverty since 1969. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 27(1), 5-8.
- Oyeshiku Smith, C, Levine, D. W., Smith, E.P., Dumas, J. (2009) A developmental perspective of the relationship of racial-ethnic identity to self-construct, achievement, and behavior in African American children. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 15 (2), 145-157.
- Perlstein, D. (2004). *Justice, justice*. New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.
- Phinney, J. (1989). Stages of ethnic identity development in minority group adolescents. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 9, 34-49.
- Phinney, J., Ferguson, D., & Tate, J. (1997). Intergroup attitudes among ethnic minority adolescents: A casual model. *Child Development*, 68, 955-969.
- Puriefoy, W. D. (2005). The education of democratic citizens: Citizen mobilization and public education. In S. Fuhrman & M. Lazerson (Eds.), *Institutions of American Democracy: The Public Schools* (pp. 235-251). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ravitch, D. (1983). *The troubled crusade: American education, 1945-1980*. New York: Basics Books, Inc. Publishers.
- Ravitch, D. (1990). Multiculturalism: E pluribus plures. *The American Scholar*, 59, 337-356.
- Raymond, S., & Raymond, A. (Writer) (2008). *Hard Times at Douglass High: A No Child left Behid Report Card*. In J. Hoffman (Producer). United States of America: Home Box Office, Inc.
- Risner, L. (2003, Summer). Do Philadelphians still have a voice at the school district? Understanding the state takeover of Philadelphia's schools. *Philadelphia Public School Notebook*.
- Rosenberg, M., Schooler, C., Schoenback, C. & Rosenberg, G. (1995). Global self-esteem and specific self-esteem: Different concepts, different outcomes. *American Sociological Review*, 60, 141-156.

- Schneider, A., & Ingram, H. (1990). Behavioral Assumptions of Policy Tools. *The Journal of Politics*, 52(2), 510-529.
- Schneider, A., & Ingram, H. (1993). Social construction of target populations: Implications for politics and policy. *American Political Science Review*, 87(2), 334-347.
- School Matters. (2009). Retrieved June 1, 2009, from <http://www.schoolmatters.com/schools.aspx/q/page=dl/did=1350/midx=GradeJ11>
- Shulman, L. S. (1983). Autonomy and obligation: The remote control of teaching. In L. S. Shulman & G. Sykes (Eds.), *Handbook of Teaching and Policy*. New York: Longman.
- Sizer, T. R. (2000). Prologue from Horace's compromise. In *The Jossey-Bass Reader on School Reform. The Jossey-Bass Education Series*. (pp. 498-509). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Skiba, R. J. (2000). *Zero tolerance, zero evidence: An analysis of school disciplinary practice*: Indiana Education Policy Center.
- Sleeter, C. (1996). *Multicultural education as social activism*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Smith, E., Atkins, J., & Connell, C. (2003). Family, school, and community influences upon ethnic attitudes and relationships to academic outcomes. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 32, 159-173.
- Smith, E. & Brookins, C. (1997). Toward the development of an ethnic identity measure for African American youth. *Journal of Black Psychology*, 23, 358-377.
- Smith, E., Walker, K., Fields, L., Brookins, C., & Seay, R. (1999). Ethnic identity and its relationship to self-esteem, perceived efficacy and prosocial attitudes in early adolescence. *Journal of Adolescence*, 22, 867-880.
- Snyder, S. (2005a, June 12). Forces behind history mandate: Past protests and strong advocate lie behind Phila. schools' decision to require African American history. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.
- Snyder, S. (2005b, June 22). Perzol roils African studies debate. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.
- Snyder, S. (2005c, June 5). Phila. school mandate: African history. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.

- Snyder, S. (2007, February 18). Black history mandate eases into Phila. Schools. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.
- Snyder, S., & Mezzacappa, D. (2005, June 10). African study plan stirs debate: Reaction ran from "its about time" to "not fair". *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.
- Solomon, P. G. (2003). *The Curriculum Bridge: From Standards to Actual Classroom Practice* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Corwin Press, Inc.
- Spencer, M. B., Noll, E., Stoltzfus, J., & Harpalani, V. (2001). Identity and school adjustment: Revisiting the "Acting White" assumption. *Educational Psychologist*, 36(1), 21-30.
- Spencer, S. J., Steele, C. M., & Quinn, D. M. (1999). Stereotype threat and women's math performance. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 36, 4-28.
- Steele, C., & Aronson, J. (1995). Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69(5), 797-811.
- Stein, S. J. (2001). These are your Title I students': Policy language in educational practice. *Policy Science*, 34(2), 135-156.
- Stone, C. N. (1996). *The politics of urban school reform: Civic capacity, social capital, and the intergroup context*. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.
- Stout, M. (2001). *The feel-good curriculum: The dumbing-down of America's kids in the name of self-esteem*. Cambridge: Da Capo Press.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1998). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Sunderman, G. L., Tracey, C. A., Kim, J., & Orfield, G. (2004). *Listening to teachers: Classroom realities and No Child Left Behind*. Cambridge, Ma: The Civil Rights Project at Harvard University.
- Taylor, W. L. (2000). Standards, tests, and civil rights. *Education Week*, 20(11), 40-41.
- Tellis, W. (1997). Introduction to case study. *The Qualitative Report*, 3(2).

- The Philadelphia School District. Retrieved June 1, 2009, from <http://www.phila.k12.pa.us/about/>
- The School District of Philadelphia. (2009). Retrieved March 24, 2009, from <http://www.phila.k12.pa.us/src/glenn/>
- Thomas, E., Conant, E., & Wingert, P. (2008). An unlikely gambler: By firing bad teachers and paying good ones six-figure salaries, Michelle Rhee just might save D.C.'s schools. *Newsweek*.
- Travers, E. F. (2003). *The state takeover in Philadelphia: Where we are and how we got here*. Philadelphia: Research for Action.
- Tyack, D., & Cuban, L. (1995). *Tinkering Toward Utopia: A Century of Public School Reform*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- U.S. Department of Labor. Retrieved on February 12, 2006 from <http://www.dol.gov/>
- Verdugo, R. R., & Glenn, B. C. (2002). *Race-ethnicity, class and zero tolerance policies: A policy discussion*. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association.
- Weatherley, R., & Lipsky, M. (1977). Street-level bureaucrats and institutional innovation: Implementing special-education reform. *Harvard Educational Review*, 47(2), 171-197.
- Weick, K. E. (1976). Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 21(1), 1-19.
- Wells, A. S., & Crain, R. L. (1997). *Stepping over the color line: African-American students in White suburban schools*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Woodall, M. (2005, June 22). Nationally, praise for the decision. *The Philadelphia Inquirer*.
- Yin, R. K. (1989). *Case study research: Design and methods*. Newbury Park: SAGE Publications.
- Zimmerman, J. (2002). *Whose America? Culture wars in the public schools*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Appendix A: Timeline of AAH course in the Philadelphia School District⁵

Date	Event
1967	November 17~ Over 3,500 Philadelphia students walk out, protest at the Board of Education demanding African American history in schools, right to wear African garb, and renaming of several schools for Black leaders. Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo instigates beating of students.
1968	School District mandates infusion of African American history into curriculum. Ad Hoc Committee for the Infusion and Afro-American Heritage created by the District.
1969	Directive announces that “the policy of School District requires every school to provide a well-rounded program of African and Afro-American history and culture for every child as an integral part of his total experience.” Nine-point plan for implementation includes staff development, curriculum reform, course for parents, and production of instructional materials. District creates curriculum specialist position in African and Afro-American Studies. A District instructional aid, <i>The Black Experience in America</i> , states “A history of Africa must start with Egypt, although a few years ago many historians would have defined Egypt as part of the Middle East.”
1970	African American Resource Center created to provide District support to teachers and schools and ensure that African and African American history are embedded in curriculum.
1971	Frank Rizzo elected Mayor; stalls infusion of African American Studies in curriculum by forcing resignation of Superintendent Mark Shedd.
1980s	Black political leadership emerges in Philadelphia with Wilson Goode becoming city’s first Black mayor (1984-1992), Constance Clayton the first Black school superintendent (1983-1994), and Willie Williams the first Black police commissioner (1988-1992).

⁵Revised from Essoka, Yulanda & Whitehorne, Ron (Winter, 2005-2006). Philadelphia’s African and African American history mandate: a timeline. Philadelphia Public School Notebook, 13 (2), p. 14-15. www.thenotebook.com

- 1994 District passes Policy 102, designed “to foster knowledge about and respect for those of all races, ethnic groups, social classes, genders, religions, disabilities, and sexual orientations.” However, African and African American studies are still marginalized in the K-12 curriculum.
- Commonwealth Court Judge Doris Smith rules District is failing to provide equal educational opportunities, appoints expert task force, orders District to present improvement plan.
- 1995 The District pilots *Culture Connection*, interactive cable television classroom with instruction on topics of African and African American history.
- 2002 CEO Paul Vallas and School Reform Commissioner Sandra Dungee-Glenn meet with community advocates to address lack of implementation of African and African American studies. District creates committees to strengthen curriculum and develop proposal for a mandatory course.
- 2003 Culture Connection, District’s cable program supporting African and African American history, stops airing. African American Studies program staff is down to one, and Resource Center is closed.
- African and African Descent Curriculum and Instruction Reform Committee (AADCIRC) and other groups stage commemorative protest criticizing District’s failure to integrate African American studies into curriculum and calling for more African American teachers.
- 2004 District develops African and African American studies curriculum in modules, with Edward Robinson crafting the K-5 module.
- 2005 February 16~School District of Philadelphia passes resolution mandating African and African American history for high school students beginning with class of 2009. Three-part resolution also calls for infusion of multicultural issues across all subjects and implementation of strategies that decrease the achievement gap.
- March~ District pilots African history course in three high schools (Strawberry Mansion, William Penn, and Bartram).
- September ~ Almost 5,000 students enroll in new District African American history course.

Appendix B: Topical Table of Contents of African-American History Textbook⁶

UNIT 1: BECOMING AFRICAN AMERICAN

Chapter 1: Africa

- Section 1: Africa
- Section 2: West Africa
- Section 3: West African Society and Culture

Chapter 2: Middle Passage

- Section 1: European Exploration and Colonization
- Section 2: From Capture to Destination
- Section 3: Landing and Sale in West Indies

Chapter 3: Black People in Colonial North America, 1526-1763

- Section 1: The Peoples of North America
- Section 2: Africans Arrive in the Chesapeake
- Section 3: Plantation Slavery, 1700-1750
- Section 4: The Origins of African-American Culture
- Section 5: Slavery in Colonial America

Chapter 4: African Americans and the Struggle for Independence, 1763-1783

- Section 1: The Crisis of the British Empire
- Section 2: The Declaration of Independence and African Americans
- Section 3: Black Enlightenment
- Section 4: African Americans in the War for Independence
- Section 5: The Revolution and Emancipation

Chapter 5: African Americans in the New Nation, 1783-1820

- Section 1: Forces for Freedom
- Section 2: Forces for Slavery
- Section 3: The Emergence of Free Black Communities
- Section 4: Black Leaders and Choices
- Section 5: War and Politics

UNIT 2: SLAVERY, ABOLITION, AND THE QUEST FOR FREEDOM

Chapter 6: Life in the Cotton Kingdom

- Section 1: The Expansion of Slavery
- Section 2: Slave Labor in Agriculture
- Section 3: Other Types of Slave Labor
- Section 4: Slave Life
- Section 5: The Socialization of Slaves

Chapter 7: Free Black People in Antebellum America, 1820-1861

- Section 1: Freedom
- Section 2: Limits of Freedom
- Section 3: Black Communities in the Urban North
- Section 4: African-American Institutions
- Section 5: Free African Americans

Chapter 8: Opposition to Slavery, 1800-1833

- Section 1: A country in Turmoil
- Section 2: Abolitionism Begins in America
- Section 3: Colonization
- Section 4: Black Abolitionists

Chapter 9: Let Your Motto Be Resistance, 1833-1850

- Section 1: A Rising Tide of Racism and Violence
- Section 2: The Response of the Antislavery Movement
- Section 3: Black Community Institutions
- Section 4: The Changing Abolitionist Movement
- Section 5: Resistance and Nationalism

Chapter 10: The United States Disunites over Slavery, 1846-1861

- Section 1: The Lure of the West
- Section 2: Fugitive Slaves
- Section 3: The Deepening Crisis over Slavery
- Section 4: Abraham Lincoln and Black People
- Section 5: The Election of Abraham Lincoln

⁶Information revised from the AAH textbook used for the course in Philadelphia School District. The exact citation is as follows: Hine, D. C., Hine, W. C., & Harrold, S. (2006). *African-American History*. Prentice Hall: Upper Saddle River (p. xi-xvi).

UNIT 3: THE CIVIL WAR, EMANCIPATION, AND BLACK RECONSTRUCTION

Chapter 11: African Americans and Civil War, 1861-1865

- Section 1: The Civil War Begins
- Section 2: Lincoln and Emancipation
- Section 3: Liberation
- Section 4: Black Men Fight for the Union
- Section 5: The Confederate Reaction to Black Soldiers
- Section 6: Opposition to Black People

Chapter 12: The Promise of Reconstruction, 1865-1868

- Section 1: The End of Slavery

- Section 2: Life After Slavery
- Section 3: The Crusade for Political and Civil Rights
- Section 4: The Radical Republicans

Chapter 13: The Failure of Reconstruction, 1868-1877

- Section 1: Constitutional Conventions
- Section 2: Black Politicians
- Section 3: Protecting Civil Rights
- Section 4: The End of Reconstruction

UNIT 4: SEARCHING FOR SAFE SPACES

Chapter 14: African Americans in the South in the Late Nineteenth Century, 1875-1900

- Section 1: Politics
- Section 2: Disfranchisement
- Section 3: Segregation
- Section 4: Violence
- Section 5: Migration
- Section 6: African Americans and Southern Courts

Chapter 15: Black Southerners Challenge White Supremacy, 1867-1917

- Section 1: Educating African Americans
- Section 2: Church and Religion
- Section 3: Black Troops
- Section 4: Business and the Professions
- Section 5: Music and Sports

Chapter 16: African Americans in the Early Twentieth Century, 1895-1928

- Section 1: Race and Social Change
- Section 2: New Black Organizations
- Section 3: Politics and the Military
- Section 4: Racial Violence
- Section 5: The Great Migration

Chapter 17: African Americans and the 1920s, 1915-1928

- Section 1: Fighting Racism
- Section 2: Black Organizations in the 1920s
- Section 3: Uniting Black Workers
- Section 4: The Harlem Renaissance
- Section 5: Sports

UNIT 5: THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND WORLD WAR II

Chapter 18: Black Protest, the Great Depression, and the New Deal, 1929-1941

- Section 1: The Great Depression, 1929-1933
- Section 2: Black Protest During the Great Depression
- Section 3: The New Deal
- Section 4: The Communist Party and African Americans
- Section 5: The Tuskegee Study

Chapter 19: Culture and Society in the 1930s and 1940s, 1930-1949

- Section 1: Black Culture
- Section 2: Popular Culture for the Masses
- Section 3: The Black Chicago Renaissance

- Section 4: Black Art and Literature
- Section 5: African Americans in Sports
- Section 6: Black Religious Culture

Chapter 20: The World War II Era and the Seeds of the Revolution, 1936-1948

- Section 1: World War II
- Section 2: Race and the U.S. Armed Forces
- Section 3: The Beginning of Military Desegregation
- Section 4: Black People on the Home Front
- Section 5: The Transition to Peace

UNIT 6: THE BLACK REVOLUTION

Chapter 21: The Freedom Movement, 1954-1965

- Section 1: The 1950s
- Section 2: The Montgomery Bus Boycott
- Section 3: No Easy Road to Freedom: 1957-1960
- Section 4: The Movement at High Tide
- Section 5: A Hard Victory

Chapter 22: The Struggle Continues, 1965-1980

- Section 1: Racial Integrations
- Section 2: The Great Society
- Section 3: Martin Luther King
- Section 4: The Arts and Education
- Section 5: Politics
- Section 6: The Rise of Black Elected Officials

Chapter 23: Black Politics, 1980-2004

- Section 1: The Conservative Reaction
- Section 2: Civil Rights
- Section 3: Jesse Jackson and the Rainbow Coalition
- Section 4: Policing the Black Community
- Section 5: The Clinton Years
- Section 6: The Bush Years

Chapter 24: African Americans in the New Millennium

- Section 1: Progress and Poverty
- Section 2: African Americans at the Center of Art and Culture
- Section 3: Religion
- Section 4: Black Identity in the Twenty-First Century

Appendix C: Interview Protocol for District Officials

- 1) Tell me about your responsibilities for the district? How long have you been in that position?
- 2) In your opinion what is the purpose of the African-African American history course?
Self-esteem? Positive Black identity development? Achievement Gap?
- 3) Why is it necessary for this course to be a graduation requirement?
- 4) How did the district prepare teachers to teach the course?
- 5) How long will you offer professional development?
- 6) In your opinion, have teachers bought into the goal of the course?
- 7) How do you plan on measuring the course's success?
- 8) Why did it take so long for this course to be fully implemented throughout the district?
- 9) Who are the major players involved in implementing the history course as a graduation requirement?

Appendix D: Interview Protocol for Teachers

- 1) How long have you been teaching African American history?
- 2) How long have you been a teacher?
- 3) How would you describe your school?
- 4) In your opinion what is the purpose of the African-African American history course?
 - a. Self-esteem? Positive Black identity development? Achievement Gap?
- 5) How was the district's purpose articulated to you?
 - a. Do you feel the district did a good job
- 6) What professional development was provided to the teachers?
- 7) Did the district emphasize any specific teaching strategies or pedagogy to use?
- 8) Is this different from what you do in your other social studies classes?
- 9) Did you have any prior knowledge on the subject before the professional development?
- 10) What is your opinion of the resources the district provided to you to teach the course?
- 11) Do you enjoy teaching the course?
- 12) Do you feel like the black students need the African-African American history course?
- 13) Do you think students of other races need this course?
- 14) Do you think the students enjoy the course?
- 15) Do you think the course is achieving the district's goal? Why or Why not?

Appendix E: Interview and Observational Codes

District Interview Codes:

- I. Purpose
 - 1) 1968 Resolution
 - 2) Increase intellectual respect
 - a) Black students
 - b) All students
 - c) Teachers (increase teacher expectations)
 - 3) Decrease the achievement gap
 - 4) Black on black crime
 - 5) High murder rate
 - 6) Access to specialty courses
 - 7) Demographic Information
 - 8) Develop cultural pride
 - 9) Self-esteem
- II. Background information
 - 1) Job title & Description
 - 2) Role in the AAH course
- III. Mandate Formation
 - 1) SRC Role
 - 2) Pass/fail elective
 - 3) Oxymoron
 - 4) Community involvement
- IV. Design of Course
 - 1) Textbook
 - a) Hasn't been written yet
 - b) AAH still misrepresented
 - 2) Teachers need background information
 - a) Never took a course
 - b) Highest turn out for professional development
 - c) Dependent on the textbook
 - 3) Curriculum
 - a) Guardian Angel
 - b) Access (All students have the right to high quality curriculum)
- V. Goals for Classrooms/Instructional strategies
 - 1) School level projects
 - 2) Class projects
 - 3) Engaged students
 - 4) Not married to a particular instructional technique

Teacher Interview Codes:

- I. Adherence to curriculum
 - 1) Follows curriculum—4, 6, 19
 - 2) No adherence—13, 18, 5
- II. Required Course
 - 1) Yes—1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10, 13, 19 (for teachers)
 - 2) Yes, regionally—14 (but not over other courses), 15, 20 (only where it is pertinent)
 - 3) Yes, but needs to be more inclusive—11
 - 4) Integrate American history--17
 - 5) No, elective—9, 12, 18 (include more histories)
 - 6) No—16 (didn't offer any suggestions)
- III. Experience teaching course
 - 1) Loves it—4, 7, 16, 19
 - 2) Positive—5
 - 3) Likes it—6, 10, 1, 2, 3, 8
 - 4) Great—9
 - 5) Enjoys teaching it—11, 15
 - 6) Neutral—17(likes teaching his courses in general), 18
 - 7) White teachers Teaching AAH—4, 5, 12, 13, 15, 20
- IV. Prior Knowledge
 - 1) No Knowledge
 - 2) The Basics
 - 3) Yes
 - 4) Still learning
- V. Professional Development
 - 1) Good PD—15, 18, 2, 1, 4, 7, 8, 10, 16
 - 2) Unorganized—11, 5, 8
 - 3) No practical—11, 13, 20, 5
 - 4) No Pedagogy—20, 16, 19
 - 5) Didn't encourage debate—16
 - 6) Didn't attend /receive PD—12, 14, 17, 19, 6
 - 7) Doesn't know if they are still offering—12, 17
 - 8) Won't attend future PD—13
 - 9) TAH Grant—15, 19
 - 10) PD has stopped—4
- VI. Purpose
 - 1) Race
 - a) Racial composition—5, 6, 9, 14, 15, 20, 8
 - b) 1967 Protest—5

- c) Political Pressure—8 (pp. 9)
 - 2) Exposure to historical information
 - a) Provide knowledge of AAH for all—7, 10, 12, 14
 - b) Multi-cultural perspective—11, 3
 - c) Tell the story of AA—4, 19, 1
 - d) Provide a non-Eurocentric perspective—4, 17
 - 3) Positive Personal Development
 - a) Self-esteem—4, 16
 - b) Self-respect—16, 18
 - c) Pride—16, 18, 1
 - d) Inspiring—5
 - e) Engage—13
 - f) Perseverance—2
 - 4) Academic Outcomes
 - a) Reading comprehension—4
- VII. Resources
 - 1) General Positive Resources—7, 9, 3, 8, 1, 5, 4, 12, 15
 - a) Generous—5
 - 2) General Negative Resources—11
 - 3) Resources right out of the text—11
 - 4) Not enough supplemental stuff--13
- VIII. Textbook
 - 1) Textbook is too advanced—11, 8, 13, 14, 17, 18, 19, 3
 - 2) Gives students at challenge—1
 - 3) Textbook is too basic—5
 - 4) Textbook is bias—6
 - 5) Textbook is good—15, 7, 4
 - 6) Magnet school teachers (didn't mention it)—10, 9, 12, 16
- IX. Primary Source Documents
 - 1) Too advanced—4, 18, 3*
 - 2) Good—14, 19, 8, 1
- X. Curriculum
 - 1) Curriculum sequence is awkward—5, 3, 14, 12, 17
 - 2) Too wordy, not specific enough—14
 - 3) Not bias—14,
 - 4) Is biased—8, 6

Observational Data Codes:

- I. Student behavior
 - 1) Arrived on time
 - 2) Arrived tardy
 - 3) Sleeping/head down
 - 4) Talking
 - 5) Yelling/Screaming
 - 6) Arguing
 - 7) Passing notes
 - 8) Throwing paper
 - 9) Taking notes
 - 10) Answering questions
 - 11) Asking questions
 - 12) Not participating
- II. Classroom Activities
 - 1) Group Activities
 - 2) Individual Work
 - 3) Lecture
 - 4) Class Activity
- III. Teacher Codes
 - 1) Teacher interactions with students
 - a. Cordial/Respectful
 - b. Argumentative/Combative
 - 2) Classroom Environment
 - a. Chaotic
 - b. Organized/Structured
 - c. Rigid

Appendix F: Recruitment Materials

Script for Permission to request the participation of Philadelphia school officials

Participation of District school officials will be requested over the telephone.

Hello Mr./Ms. *District Official*,

My name is Felicia Sanders and I am a 3rd-year graduate student in the Education Theory and Policy Program at the Pennsylvania State University, University Park Campus. I am very interested in the African American history course that the Philadelphia School District has recently implemented as a graduation requirement. As part of my dissertation research of the evaluation of this history course, I would like to interview you to better understand the policy. All personal identifiers and names will not be recorded or used in the write-up of my research and all information obtained from the interview will be kept confidential. Would you be interested in being interviewed?

If you have any questions, please don't hesitate to call. My phone number is (814) 238-1594.

Script for Recruitment of Teachers

Recruitment of teachers will take place at professional development seminars for teachers organized by the District or over the phone.

Hello, my name is Felicia Sanders and I am a Ph.D. student from Penn State. One of the requirements of earning a Ph.D. is to complete a dissertation, which is a large research project. I have chosen to study the impact the African American history course. An important aspect of the impact the course will have on students is the support the district has provided to you to teach this course. Interviews can take place over the phone or another time at your convenience. If it is ok with you, I would like to record these interviews, but all identifiers will be removed and your real name will not be used in the transcription or the write-up of this data. I may also request to observe your classroom for a week.

If you have any further questions, I can be reached at (814) 238-1594

Appendix G: Consent Form

SIGNED INFORMED CONSENT FORM

The Pennsylvania State University

Title of Project: *Multicultural Education: A Possible Solution to Increasing the Academic Achievement of Black Youth*

ORP USE ONLY: IRB#24696 Doc. #1
The Pennsylvania State University
Office for Research Protections
Approval Date: 07/03/08 JKG
Expiration Date: 02/07/09 JKG
Social Science Institutional Review Board

Primary Investigator Felicia C. Sanders
Graduate Assistant,
Educational Theory and
Policy Program
300 Rackley Building Penn
State University
University Park, PA 16801
PHONE: (814) 238-1594
EMAIL: fcs113@psu.edu

Advisor: Dr. Dana Mitra
300 Rackley Building
Education Policy Studies,
College of Education
Penn State University
University Park, PA 16801
PHONE: (814) 863-7020
EMAIL: dmitra@psu.edu

Research volunteers are being sought to participate in a study being conducted as part the dissertation research of the primary investigator, Felicia Sanders, who is a graduate student in the Education Theory and Policy Program at Penn State. This study investigates the organizational framework of the African-African American history course offered in the Philadelphia school district. The information you provide will allow the investigator to understand the policy framework and implementation of the African American history course.

As part of the project, the primary investigator will conduct an interview session with you on a one-on-one basis, in which the investigator will ask a series of questions, following an open-ended conversational format in which you may respond and provide his/her insight on the topic of interest. Interviews are anticipated to last about 1 hour and the primary investigator may request your time again, at your convenience, for any other follow-up questions that may be necessary to completing my study. Data Collection will begin in May of 2007 and continue through December of 2008.

The information you provide in the interview session will be completely confidential. The primary investigator will not use any real names, addresses or personal identification in the research which may reveal your identity. Pseudonyms will be used in instances where direct quotes would be used to summarize a person's response, idea, belief, or opinion. If you agree to take part in my study, there will be no compensation.

Participation in the study is absolutely voluntary, and you have the option to stop at any time or withdraw from taking part in the study. Your decision not to participate in the study or to withdraw from the study will not result in penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. You can ask any questions about this research, and may also decline to answer any question. If you do agree to take part in this study, the primary investigator, Felicia Sanders, will be the only person conducting the interviews. The primary investigator will also take notes and the interviews will be digitally recorded to assist me in checking my notes at a later time.

Per Federal regulations, research records, including signed informed consent forms and recordings, must be kept for a minimum of three (3) years after the study has been closed and will be stored on a password protected computer. The Primary investigator will have access to these recordings. The digital recordings will be destroyed as soon as the interviews are transcribed, which will be completed by June 2008. Penn State's Office for Research Protections, PSU's Social Science Institutional Review Board and the Department of Health and Human Services may review records related to this research study.

Furthermore, there are no known discomforts or risks as a result of participating in the research study and participation in the project would allow you to benefit from reflecting on your own experiences with the African American history course. Please contact Felicia Sanders at (814) 238-1594 with questions, complaints or concerns about the research. You can also call this number if you feel this study has harmed you. Questions about your rights as a research participant may be directed to Penn State University's Office for Research Protections at (814) 865-1775.

You must be at least 18 years of age or older to participate in this research project. Please sign both copies of this form. You will be given a copy of this consent form for your records and the other is for the Principal Investigator to keep for her own records. Thank you for your assistance.

Please check one: I agree to have the interview recorded I do not agree to have the interview recorded

Participant Signature

Date

Primary Investigator

Date

VITA

EDUCATION

Doctor of Philosophy, Education Theory and Policy The Pennsylvania State University – State College, PA. (2009)

Bachelor of Arts, Psychology, magna cum laude Hampton University – Hampton, VA. (2004)

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Academic Coordinator: McNair Scholars Program, Penn State ~ 2008 - Present

Editorial Board Member: Education Policy Analysis Archives ~2007 – 2009

Graduate Assistant: Office of Graduate Educational Equity~2007 – 2008

Intern: American Federation of Teachers, Educational Issues Division ~ summer 2007

Research Assistant: Dana Mitra, Assistant Professor, Education Policy Studies ~2006 – 2007

Teaching Assistant: EDTHP 115: Education in American Society ~ 2004 – 2005

Project Team Leader: Youth-Adult Partnerships, The Pennsylvania State University ~April 2006

Co-Director: Summer Research Opportunities Program (SROP) ~ summer 2005, 2006, 2007

GRANTS & FELLOWSHIPS

Africana Research Center Research Grant, 2007, Africana Research Center, Penn State, \$1,500

College of Education Alumni Research Initiative Grant, 2006. One of ten recipients of a research grant from The Pennsylvania State University's College of Education, \$600.

Ford Dissertation Fellowship, Honorable Mention, 2006

PEER-REVIEWED JOURNAL ARTICLES

Mitra, D.L., Sanders, F.C. & Perkins, D. F. (forthcoming). Providing spark and stability: The role of intermediary organizations in establishing school-based youth-adult partnerships. *Applied Developmental Science*.

Sanders, F. C., Movit, M. M., Mitra, D. L., Perkins, D. F. (2007). Examining ways in which youth conferences can spell out gains in community youth development and engagement. *LEARNing Landscapes*, 1, pg. 49-77.

PRESENTATIONS

Felicia Sanders (2008). *From policy to practice: African American history in Philadelphia*. Annual University Council for Education Administration Convention, Orlando, FL.

Dana Mitra, Felicia Sanders & Daniel Perkins (2008). *Shifting responsibilities: The role of community-based organizations in educating youth about civic engagement and democracy*. Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York, NY.

Felicia Sanders (2007). *Teachers' Perceptions of African and African American History*. American Educational Research Association, Chicago, IL.

UNIVERSITY SERVICE

President (2007-2008); Education Policy Studies Student Association

Committee Member (2006-2007); Faculty Search Committee, Education Theory and Policy Program

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

American Educational Research Association, 2005-Present

University Council of Education Administrators, 2007-Present