

Hiring and Retention of Staff of Color in a Cape Cod School District

Capstone

Vanderbilt University, Peabody College

Leadership and Learning in Organizations

By David Jordan

Table of Contents

Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	3
Area of Inquiry	3
● Partner Organization	3
● Problem of Practice	5
Research Synthesis	10
● Importance of Teachers of Color in Predominantly White Institutions	10
● Affordances in a Community of Practice	11
● Discourse Models	13
● White Fragility	14
● Teacher of Color Push-Out & Burn-Out	14
Conceptual Framework & Project Questions	15
Data Collection and Analysis Report	17
● Data Analysis	22
Findings and Recommendations Report	30
● Finding 1	30
● Finding 2	31
● Finding 3	33
● Recommendation 1	35
● Recommendation 2	37
● Recommendation 3	38
Conclusion	40
References	41
Appendix	45

Abstract

ABC Public Schools is a school district on Cape Cod. While the region is known for vacationers and retirees, who are predominantly white, the working population (and therefore student population) is continuing to diversify. With a student population that is 59% white, 23% Hispanic, 8.7% Black, and 7.6% Multiracial, there is a staff at the district that is 95% white that does not reflect that same diversity. This disparity has been brought into question by the school committee, wondering if there are any systemic barriers that may be impacting the hiring and retention of staff of color. Research opens the door to the idea that there may be dominant systems and structures in organizations that could limit the hiring and retention of historically marginalized communities. Through the analysis of staff interviews, historical media, and hiring and termination data, this project aimed to explore the ABC Public Schools' approaches to the hiring and retention of teachers of color and the perspectives and experiences of teachers of color in the school system. Findings included an overall importance to community connection, high cost of living is a factor in retention, there was a feeling of alienation and/or pressure to assimilate by staff of color, and there were potential sources of resistance to equity efforts felt by both staff of color and white staff. Recommendations focused on improving the social capital and mentorship of staff of color, building local pathways to teaching among community members of color, and focus intentional effort branding the school system and community as a place that appeals to all.

Acknowledgements

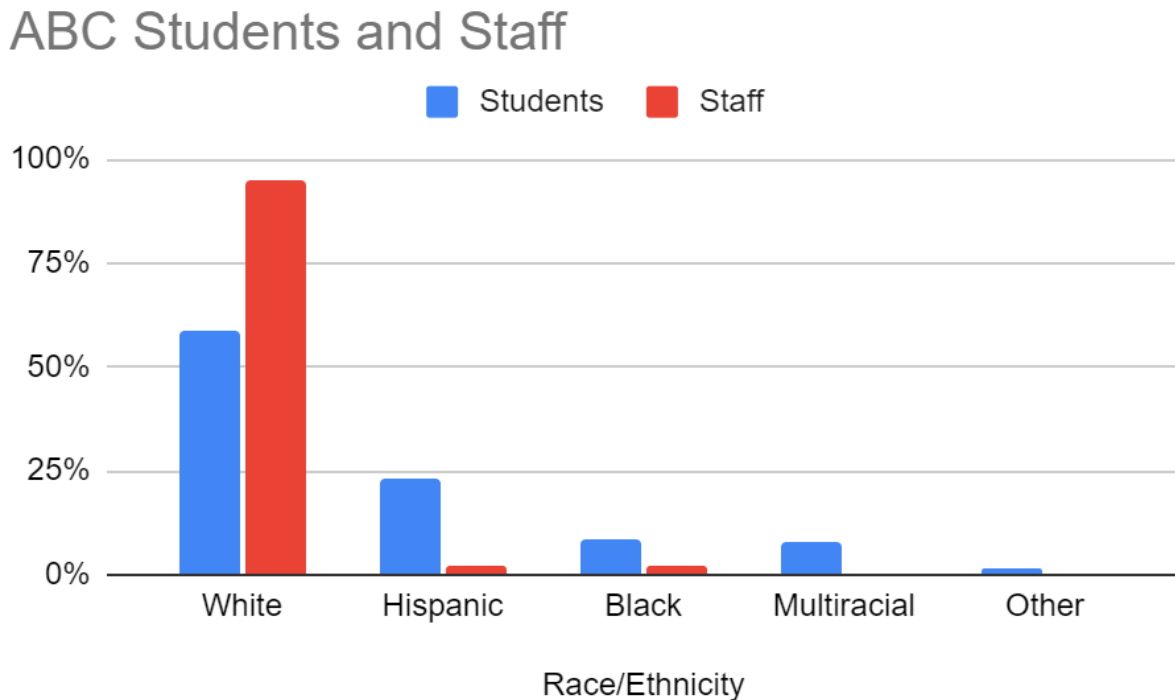
I would like to thank my wife for allowing me to embark on this journey, for supporting me through the highs and lows, and for taking on the heaviest loads of the family. To my children, for your patience and kindness. I am really grateful to have the time back to spend every minute with you all. Thank you to Dr. Eve Rifkin for getting me to the finish line, developing me into a more critical thinker, and for showing me a level of compassion and engagement that all educators should strive for. Finally, to my partner organization, thank you for opening your doors to me and partnering to explore a very critically important topic in today's educational landscape.

Area of Inquiry

Partner Organization

ABC Public Schools (ABC), located in the Cape Cod region of Massachusetts, has a student population that is 59% white, 23% Hispanic, 8.7% black, and 7.6% multiracial. ABC has a teaching population that is 95% white (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2022). Cape Cod is primarily a summer vacation destination and seasonal fishing area. Most of the families in the school system rely on either the tourism industry, or they have moved to the area for retirement. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, healthcare accounts for 17.6% of employment and retail, accommodation, and food services account for 19.7% of employment (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2020).

Figure 1: Student and Staff Demographics



Cape Cod has multiple identities that are sometimes at odds with themselves. Historically, Cape Cod is best known as a summer haven for Bostonians and New Yorkers. It is also known for a vibrant fishing community. Many of the jobs in the area are driven by the season, which could include the influx of tourists during the summer, seasonal fishing employees, and off season luxury home construction/remodeling workers. While there have been recent efforts in ABC and around the country to prioritize equity work, how much of that work is meant to actually tackle systemic change, versus serve as window dressing may be debatable. In a Cape Cod Times article, the local chair of the No Place for Hate Committee praised recent DEI efforts by the school system and community, but expressed concern that active changes to historic systems of oppression still are due for attention.

Geographic segregation due to community median home prices may limit families of color from accessing resources within the community; including proximity to schools, health care, parks, restaurants, and groceries. This is supported by census data from 2019 indicating that the community has greater segregation of race than the state of Massachusetts and that gap is increasing over time, median home prices are on the rise, and neighborhoods within the community that have the greatest diversity also spend the most on rent in relation to their income and are in the least desirable locations (Bureau, 2022).

Problem of Practice

During the superintendent's hiring, the school committee expressed great concern for potential historic and systemic racist underpinnings that could be impacting the hiring and retention of teachers of color in the ABC School District. As part of her first year entry plan, the superintendent was tasked by the school committee to do a deep analysis of hiring practices in the district in order to potentially uncover hidden influences that may be impacting the retention of staff of color. The ABC School Committee and equity action groups expressed concern to the new incoming superintendent that the teachers within the district did not represent the demographics of the students, and claimed based on anecdotal evidence, that the district has struggled to hire and retain teachers of color. When a teaching force is predominantly white, and significantly less diverse than their student population, white middle class norms dominate the educational experiences of students and deny students culturally responsive lived experiences that disrupt cycles of oppression (Borrero et al, 2016).

The school committee is a five-person elected committee made up of current and former parents. This group is responsible for the hiring and firing of the superintendent, district budget,

and the creation of school district policy. The equity action group, a No Place for Hate Committee, stems from the Anti-Defamation League (ADL). No Place for Hate is a program created by the ADL to help communities tackle hate and school climate by providing resources, education, and best practices on holistic community driven action (No Place for Hate, 2023). In ABC, this group consists of community members from organizations including the town council, human rights commission, police department, public housing commission, Cape Organization for Rights of the Disabled, Cape Cod Council of Churches, NAACP Cape Cod Chapter, Cape Sangha Buddhist Community, Islamic Community Educators, Cape Cod Synagogue, Massachusetts Women of Color Coalition, Wampanoag Tribal Community, the LGBTQ community and individual faith-based organizations. The purpose of this group is to address community issues around hatred, bullying, and racism directed at marginalized groups. Action by the group has presented itself in the form of community conversation forums, education workshops for community members, lobbying to local politicians, and participating on strategic planning boards within ABC Schools and town organizations.

Improving the hiring and retention of educators of color at ABC is of significant importance because the presences of staff of color help to challenge dominant and often unconscious mindsets of white educators, white students, and white families which may view improving equity and the outcomes of people of color as a problem as a “them” problem (Borrero et al, 2016). “Them” meaning that the solution is to “fix”/”help” the oppressed through more assimilative structures (Hernández-Johnson, 2021). Instead of addressing the complicated hiring and retention work of school districts, for this inquiry, I will look internally at the obstacles in the system and organization that may prevent sustainable equity and inclusion.

The school district has been immersed in its own equity work for the past two years, with the creation of the No Place for Hate Committee in 2020. This has included an all staff training on anti-racism, outside speakers, partnerships with the Anti-Defamation League, and the creation of a “Family Resources on Racism” website. However, the presence of community members of color in that work is limited according to the superintendent. There is one school committee member who is a person of color, and the prior principal of color who has since left ABC. She has formally identified equity as one of the top focuses for the school year. This will include mandated equity training for teachers. A potential obstacle to working on equity in this district may likely be the lack of diversity and perspective of decision makers. White members may not see or experience obstacles in the system, because the system may be built by them and for them. Consistent with research on the topic, the system and its structures, that of both the town and the school district, may revolve around “white narratives” and could be perpetuating structures of oppression that impact the hiring and retention of historically marginalized communities (Carter et al, 2018).

Evidence of the Problem

The Covid-19 pandemic has exacerbated the educational inequities between white students and students of color that pre-existed even in more stable times (Colvin et al, 2022). ABC suffered a similar fate in that it had higher absence rates during remote learning, and students were more negatively impacted academically as measured by the state standardized assessment as compared to their white peers (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2022). Historically, the high school has a disproportionately low

percentage of students of color completing Advanced Placement courses (*Figure 2*). Students of color also demonstrate high dropout rates relative to their white peers (*Figure 3*).

Figure 2: ABC Advanced Course Completion

Student Group	% ELA	% Math	% Science and Tech	% History	% Arts
White	9.6	48.4	12.3	30	2.7
Black	3.3	8.3	6.7	6.7	3.3
Hispanic	2.8	21.7	9.4	9.4	4.7
Low Income	4.2	22.2	6.2	11.4	3.3

The ABC School District expressed, in the hiring of this new superintendent, that while teacher turnover has been high for all due to Covid, it has been 27% higher for teachers of color. This claim was further analyzed in the data analysis section of the project (*see Figure 5*). Similarly, the superintendent shared that there have been recent examples of staff exiting the school district, citing concerns related to equity in the district.

Decision Makers

The superintendent of the ABC School District serves as the key decision maker, and is responsible for approval of what internal documents can be shared with me, how communication with staff will occur, and with whom findings are shared. My primary contact, however, was the director of human resources and their assistant. Additionally, I will partner with the Anti-Defamation League sponsored No Place for Hate organization as I seek interviews in the community to gain context into the problem of practice. This group includes representatives

from the police department, NAACP, and town organizations that advocate for individuals with a disability, ethnic/racial populations, and the LGBTQIA+ community, and faith-based organizations.

My intention is to illuminate what is happening within the district with regards to the hiring and retention of staff of color. My inquiry will include an examination of the need for systemic change in the organization, the allocation and use of resources, and the creation of culturally sustainable practices and pedagogy.

Why is this inquiry important?

As Hernandez-Johnson et al claim, the “leaky pipeline” narrative of teachers of color in the US is that of what the teachers of color are not doing (“them” problem) versus what are the factors that are systematically perpetuating whiteness in teaching (Hernandez-Johnson et al, 2021). Instead, by addressing the systemic racism complicating hiring and retention work in school districts, I begin to look internally at the obstacles in the system and organization that may prevent sustainable equity and inclusion. Similarly, Massachusetts prides itself for being a progressive and highly educated state, yet it sits in the middle of the pack (26th) among US states in relation to the percentage difference between teachers of color (TOCs) in the public school system versus students of color (Boser, 2011). On a national level, TOCs represent 20% of the public teaching force, yet students of color make up 52% of public education students (Andrews et al, 2019). The Massachusetts data is bleaker in that TOCs make up 6.9% of the public teaching force, and students of color make up 35% of the student population (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2022).

Research Synthesis

The following is a synthesis of literature on the dynamics that may impact inclusion in groups, the importance of diversity within groups, and the affordances and power that white individuals have within predominantly white systems over their peers of color. I then hope to triangulate and crystalize the connections/correlations between affordances/opportunities, discourse models, and social capital in predominantly white communities of practice that may systematically benefit white staff members over staff members of color. These benefits may appear as factors disproportionately influencing the hiring and retention of white staff members over staff members of color.

Importance of Teachers of Color in Predominantly White Institutions

As Borrero, Flores, and de la Cruz (2016) argue, we must learn from teachers of color (TOCs) as we seek to disrupt dominant discourses in teaching and learning. TOCs are essential in reducing discriminatory school practices and bringing more of a critical lens to oppressive systems through both their presence in the institution and in the culturally responsive teaching of their students (Borrero, Flores, & de la Cruz, 2016). Research indicates that TOCs increase the academic performance of students of color, incorporate more culturally responsive practices, create climates of support for students of color (including feeling more welcome), and have high ratings of satisfaction by all students (Andrews et al, 2019). A TOC can foster the development of future citizens who possess cultural humility, cross-cultural relational skills, and the self-awareness to reflect on their own stereotypes and biases (Andrews et al, 2019).

A potential limiter to the perseverance of equity work in predominantly white institutions could be the limited diversity of the staff population. Antonio et al (2004) validated in their

research that prolonged contact with racially diverse others had a greater impact than discussion and training. There is growing research which explores the educational benefits of diversity to white students, which points to increases in cognitive skills, including critical thinking and problem solving due to increased novel and diverse interactions, creating unique ideas from a variety of perspectives and experiences. (Antonio et al, 2004).

Affordances in a Community of Practice

As described by Greeno and Gresalfi (2008) a community of practice (CoP) can be described as members of a collective with different trajectories, where learning occurs through participation in the practices of the community. A school system like ABC, in effect, is a community of practice. Staff may be a part of many different intersecting communities of practice, but there may be a common CoP, with informal norms, that may impact hiring and retention. In order to gain full participation in a community of practice, learners must be in ongoing practice for their identity to be developed, referred to as legitimate peripheral participation. “Newcomers” are seen as those moving toward full participation and “oldtimers” are those at full participation (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Greeno and Gresalfi (2008) use the term “affordances” to describe the access an individual has to the resources, materials, and practices within the activity system. Similarly, the positioning of people as characters in storylines, where their duties, responsibilities, or positions in an interaction have value in their and others’ actions and interpretations of meaning can impact one's success and failure in a situation (Anderson, 2009). In other words, one's position in an interaction may drive others’ interpretation or response to situations. For example, students in school can sometimes carry a label of “gifted” or “learning disabled”. Right or wrong, those labels carry positional value in interactions. A

“gifted” student is afforded the benefit of the doubt and perceived as above other students before an interaction begins. Similarly, a student carrying the label of “learning disabled” may in fact be seen as below others before an interaction even begins. These positions create dynamics in settings that drive how others respond. As Anderson (2009) claims, depending on the situation we are placed in, we can be situated as a specific “kind” of person based on cultural and historical interpretations of past, present, and imagined others. This poses a challenge as individuals attempt to interact across different contexts. As stated by Anderson (2009), “In order to behave in a way that others can recognize as a person of “kind” X who knows Y in context Z, one must first gain access to resources for speaking and acting in those ways and then be effectively seen to “seem” like “kind” X by others”. In the context of staff of color in a predominantly white school, the color of one’s skin may serve as a label, conveying they are a certain “kind” of person as Anderson (2009) claims. This poses a challenge for teachers of color (TOC) in PWIs. They are seen as the “newcomer” regardless of how long they have been there. Whereas a white teacher, even a new one, can be situated as a “newcomer”, allowing access to resources and affordances not available to the TOC. This can cause burnout in TOCs as they work hard to code switch between assimilative behaviors that mimic their white colleagues and their own cultural identities and funds of knowledge (Hernandez-Johnson et al, 2021). I seek to further understand the nature of a predominantly white institution (PWI) as a community of practice where certain individuals have affordances that others do not.

This idea of affordances can be further validated by the seminal work of Tajfel and Turner (1979) in *An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict*, where they refer to “in groups” and “out groups”. In groups where there is no apparent difference between groups, the mere

categorization of groups as either in-group or out-group creates favoritism in the in group and discrimination against the out-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Discourse Models

Lave (1996) indicates that learning effectiveness of an individual is a result of changing participation in a community of practice, which is referred to as legitimate peripheral participation. Thus, their success may often be dependent on where they are situated in the system. Within a community of practice we have discourse models, or unconscious theories we hold that help us make sense of texts and the world. They are simplified, often unconscious and taken-for-granted, theories about how the world works that we use to get on efficiently with our daily lives (Gee, 2006). As Gee (2006) describes, “discourse models are an important tool of inquiry because they mediate between the “micro” (small) level of interaction and the “macro” (large) level of institutions”. Similarly, when eyes are opened to a discourse model, we can see how they serve as simplifications of the world, and that they can often leave out details that may or may not be relevant to various contexts (Gee, 2006). Unfortunately, people are often unaware of these various exclusions (Gee, 2006). Discourse models divide situations into typical and central cases, and marginal and a-typical cases (Gee, 2006). In other words, an individual navigates their day with a self-created mental conceptual model on how interactions should/will occur. This model is what they may perceive as “normal”. Anything that does not match that model must therefore be a-typical. If one then scales that to an entire institution (like a school system) of individuals with similar discourse models, it may make it very challenging for individuals, or groups of individuals, that may not have a similar discourse model to be a part of the organization. Literature on race and organizational theory support this thought (Ray, 2019).

If there were ways to identify and name these limitations, there may be hope for improvement in addressing how they impact equity and inclusion.

White Fragility

White fragility is a hierarchical form of structural oppression, in which white fear and vulnerability blocks natural and system resilience (Walsh, 2018). While both Briggs (1998) and Kaufman and Rosenbaum (1992) point to white community organizations putting up significant opposition to low-income black mobility to predominantly white communities, the efforts and obstacles of TOCs can be much more subtle to notice. Once hired and serving as a new teacher, a TOC is often immediately required to serve as the token diversity representative for the school, being placed in difficult conversations with staff, students, and families as the predetermined advocate for “their” community (Hernandez-Johnson et al, 2021) . This given title connects to white fragility in that it can negatively impact relationships with their peers and their administrators as TOCs are thrust into confrontational situations (Hernandez-Johnson et al, 2021). In these situations the white staff member may demonstrate white fragility, victimizing themselves to an unwanted confrontational conversation with a black staff member. Walsh (2018) argues that while there are significant opportunities and socio-ecological resilience research that would support the idea that equity and inclusion is beneficial to the species, the human species has a blind spot to power, justice, equity, and history in social systems.

Teacher of Color Push-Out & Burn-Out

In the aftermath of Brown versus the Board of Education, a monumental case ending the segregation of schools, was also the greatest (un)intentional blow to the black teaching force in

the US. In the months and years immediately following the decision, nearly 82,000 black educators were deemed unfit to teach white children, with some of the most stunning statistics being that between 1963-1970 50% of black principals in Georgia were dismissed, and 90% and 95% of black administrators in Kentucky and North Carolina, respectively, were eliminated. Additionally, none of the guidelines following the Civil Rights Act of 1964, nor the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, protected teachers of color in any way, and even reclassified the general teaching position common among black teachers in black schools, making them vulnerable to staff reductions (Andrews et al, 2019).

Being a teacher of color can be psychologically exhausting (Hernandez-Johnson et al, 2021). While a TOC is tasked with having the same high academic standards and behavioral expectations of all teachers, they are also responsible for engaging in culturally responsive pedagogy, serving as advocates and mentors for students of color, and as the cultural broker and social reform expert of the school. This pressure to be the “diversity expert” along with traditionally challenging components of being a teacher, serve as a major cause of TOC burnout (Hernandez-Johnson et al, 2021).

Conceptual Framework

For this study, I will use a conceptual framework around situated learning theory in communities of practice, as well as discourse models, to analyze the hiring practices, decision making, and retention influences on educators of color in the ABC School District. I will use the literature on “newcomers” and “old timers” (Lave & Wenger, 1991); and “in-groups” and “out-groups” (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), as it may connect to affordances and discriminatory actions. Gee (2006) will be used to understand discourse models as an oversimplification used

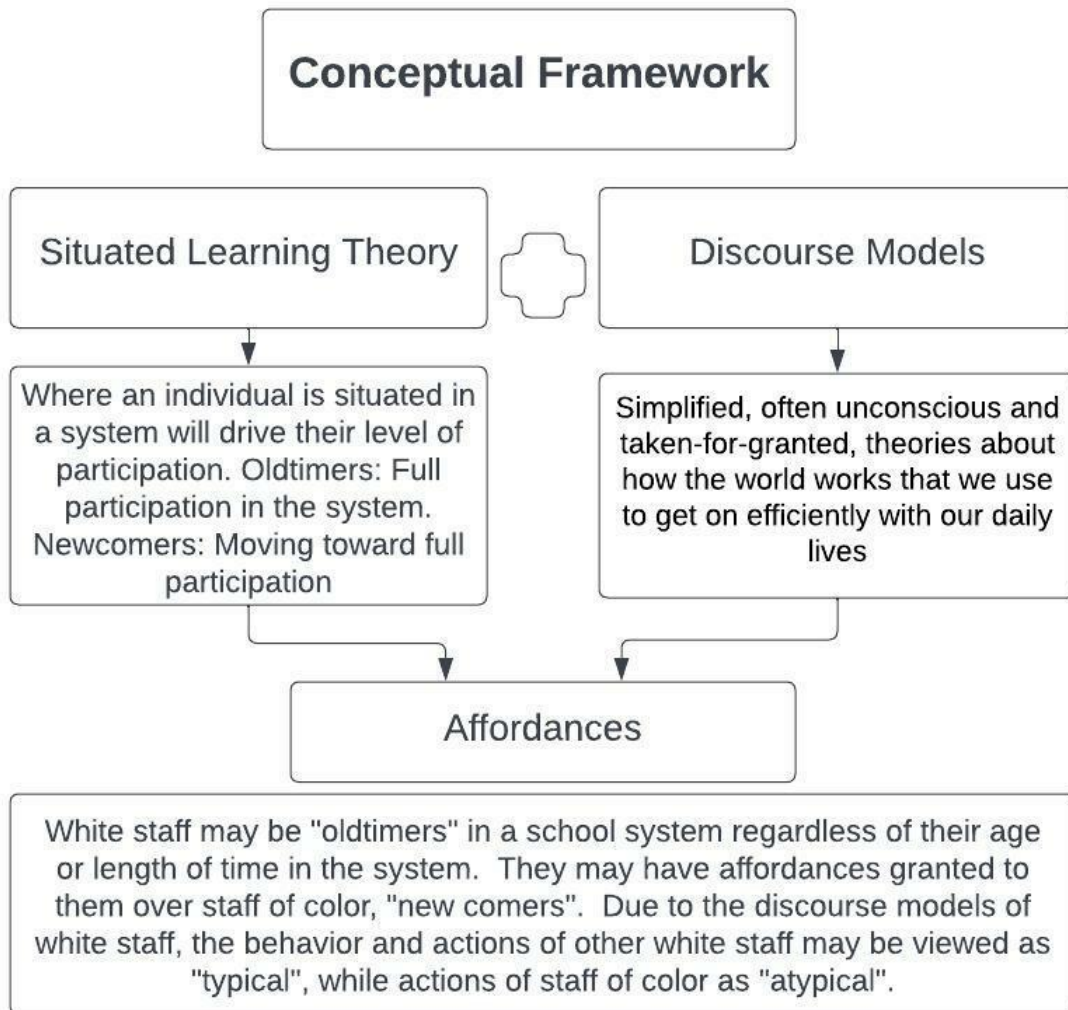
by people in systems that may cause exclusionary, and discriminatory, behavior direction at staff of color (Gee, 2006).

Anderson (2009) literature will aim to link both discourse models and situated learning theory through the idea that actors can be seen as a certain “kind” of person at the start of employment, and to shift how they are seen, requires access to resources and interactions to be seen differently (Anderson, 2009). In this way, I aim to understand if staff of color are “newcomers”, regardless of how long they have been in the school system. Similarly, the white staff members within the school system may have a similar discourse model to each other that may drive unconscious or oversimplified understandings of what is “typical”. This may give white staff greater participation and affordances within the school system.

Project Questions

- How does ABC School District approach the hiring and retention of staff of color?
- What are the perspectives and experiences of staff of color in the ABC School District?

Figure 3: Conceptual Framework



Data Collection and Analysis Report

I collected data through interviews, archival documents, and media. The interviews aimed to provide “focused insight to individuals’ lived experiences; understand how participants make sense of and construct reality in relation to the phenomenon, events, engagement, or experience in focus; and explore how individuals’ experiences and perspectives relate to other

study participants and perhaps prior research on similar topics” (Ravitch & Carl, 2021). Observational field notes were taken in real time during each of the interviews to provide additional contextual data to help triangulate and validate the findings. As I listened to participants, common threads or themes and statements that resonated clearly with the conceptual framework were noted. I also documented my feelings and impressions of the interview to contextualize my positionality and subjectivity in that particular moment.

I was able to conduct interviews with ten participants across different roles within the district. The archival documents and media concerning the district and/or the region that the district is in included an article from the *Cape Cod Times* concerning housing challenges in the region, the district hiring report from 2022, the district termination report from 2017-2022, and an outside analysis of student perspectives on racism in the district completed by the No Place for Hate community action group.

Figure 4: Archival Documents to Conceptual Framework

Archival Documents	Conceptual Framework
<i>Cape Cod Times: Cape's Housing Crisis</i>	ToCs may be more vulnerable to housing costs than their white peers, whose discourse model and affordance granted to them, may see housing cost as a strength of the area
<i>ABC School District Hiring Report for 2022</i>	Linked to Project Question 1, hiring committees may be predominantly white and may have unconscious discourse models that favor the hiring of other “like” staff
<i>ABC School District Termination and Resignation Report for 2017-2022</i>	While illuminating factors that may impact resignation, it may also draw attention to biases of white staff around “typical” and “atypical” employees

While the data collected afforded the ability to unpack components of the project questions, there are many directions that the district could pursue in greater depth to get at a deeper understanding of the project questions. These directions will be discussed in greater detail in the findings section of the paper. Similarly, challenges to the validity of the findings from each data source is discussed in the subsequent sections on interviews, archival documents and media, and findings.

Dialogic Engagement Strategies

I utilized a variety of individuals to review the project at multiple points throughout the process. This included the creation of a peer review team consisting of other individuals in the LLO program that challenged my assumptions and interpretations as I made my way through various stages of my writing. I had participants review draft analyses to validate authenticity. Additionally, I had Vanderbilt faculty mentors assist with the framing of the project, the overall context, and the richness of the project. Lastly, the superintendent of the project's school district reviewed my interpretation of situations and specific contexts as I made my way through the data collection and analysis process. Utilizing my peer review team, I also had them review my coding practices, and provide feedback on the reliability of my interpretations and conclusions. Additional eyes on the interview transcripts provided opportunities to see things that I otherwise may have been closed off to.

Structured Reflexivity Practices

Critical self-reflection is an essential part of the validity of the research. For this project, this included maintaining a researchers journal where I continually reflected on my interpretations, bias, and positionality. Similarly, I had my peer review team and the

superintendent of the district read through my interpretations and provide critical feedback on any challenges, concerns, or wonders they noticed. This hopefully deepened the complexity of my sense making and the situated nature of the project.

Interviews

I selected interviewees from a representative group of educators in the school system, including staff of color and white staff from a multitude of positions. Focusing on the experiences of educators of color in relation to the experiences of white peers, will help to understand potentially underlying affordances, inequities, and norms that impact participation. Educators of color could be “newcomers” to a dominant white community of practice impacting legitimate peripheral participation (Lave and Wenger, 1991).

Strategic Sequencing

Attention to between-methods sequencing were involved in making sure that interview questions aligned to other contextual data sources and observations. Similarly, within-methods sequencing was involved in making sure that questions flowed naturally as supports or follow-ups to prior questions. Questions built in complexity to help the participant warm-up their thinking. This helped with the goals of my project and research questions, by building the capacity of the participant to provide a greater reflection of their thoughts on the questions. When not sequenced well, it can be confusing to the participant, impacting the authenticity and/or depth of their responses. This is consistent with literature on effective and humanizing interviewing (Ravitch & Carl, 2021; Paris & Winn, 2014).

Virtual Interviews

Due to the cautionary guidance around the Covid-19 pandemic, proximity to the site, and convenience for participants, all research was conducted remotely. Interviews were conducted over Zoom, a video conferencing platform, utilizing the recording and transcription functions within the program. While technology-mediated interviews provide the potential for greater participation due to the convenience of being able to do them from wherever and whenever, overcome geographical distances, and cost of travel, there is a relational loss by not being present in the same space to read nonverbal expressions, the potential for decreased trust and comfort development, and possible reduced engagement and attention (Ravitch & Carl, 2021). The interview protocol I developed was informed by the conceptual framework, the literature, and archival documents and media.

Coding

In vivo coding was used as an inductive approach to utilizing themes from the conceptual framework to drive discoveries from the participant transcripts. This was an open coding format, utilizing color coding to highlight segments of the interview data. In a second round of coding, a deductive approach was utilized after all transcripts had been in vivo coded to assess if discoveries in the data matched themes from the literature and/or the conceptual framework in the study.

- Themes/Codes within a specific community of practice
 - Affordances to specific populations/groups
 - “Oldtimers” and “In-groups”
 - “Newcomers” and “Outgroups”
 - School/Community characteristics that help shape/define the community of practice

Archival Documents

Media connected to the high cost of living on Cape Cod was analyzed in relation to the project question: “What are the perspectives and experiences of teachers of color in the ABC Schools?” As an initial starting point, I did a basic internet search through Google of publicly available media on what challenges existed for teachers of color in Cape Cod. Cost of living was a common search result. In reading articles connected to the cost of living, I chose an article of housing because it focused on home ownership on Cape Cod being an increasing challenge for those that make too little money to afford rent or home ownership, and too much to qualify for subsidized housing programs. I speculated that teachers would fit into this category.

Two human resource reports were provided by the district for analysis: *ABC School District Hiring Report for 2022* and *ABC School District Termination and Resignation Report for 2017-2022*. These two reports aimed to help understand the project question: “How does ABC School District approach the hiring and retention of teachers of color?” It also may show assumptions, biases, and oversimplifications that exist in hiring practices and factors that cause staff of color to leave or be terminated, which connect to the idea that discourse models may exist in hiring committees and evaluators that prevent people of color from being hired or retained.

Data Analysis

Interview Data

Ten participants were interviewed from various roles within the district. As indicated in *Figure 5*, this included nine females and one male; six teachers, three administrators, and one community member; and race/ethnicity including seven participants who identified as white and

three participants who identified as black. Additionally, five participants were raised in the area, three participants were married to individuals raised in the area, and one individual was from an area demographically and economically similar to Cape Cod (Carmel, CA).

While an email was sent three separate times over a one month period of time from the central office to the staff in the district, there were only fifteen respondents interested in interviewing. After engaging over email with the fifteen respondents, ten of them participated in an interview. The five individuals who did not participate in interviews were due to a variety of reasons, including disinterest after discussing the process with me, not responding to follow-up emails, and not wishing to have their interview be part of the project after already completing the interview.

Figure 5 Participants

Participants	Race/Ethnicity	Gender	Role in District	Potentially Relevant Detail
Participant 1	White	Female	Teacher	Member of LGBTQ Community
Participant 2	Black	Female	Teacher	From the area
Participant 3	Black	Female	Teacher	Married to local
Participant 4	White	Female	Teacher	From the area
Participant 5	White	Female	Administrator	Prior experience in urban setting
Participant 6	Black	Female	Teacher	From the area
Participant 7	White	Female	Community member	Community action group member
Participant 8	White	Male	Administrator	Wife from the area

Participant 9	White	Female	Administrator	From a similar community
Participant 10	White	Female	Teacher	Husband from the area

Figure 6: Interview Chart

Theme/Code	Sub-Theme/Code	Research Question	Participant	Sample Evidence/Quote
Affordances	Informal Networks	How do the Barnstable Public Schools approach the hiring and retention of teachers of color?	Participant 3	“There are those who have access, and there’s those who don’t because of who their network is in the building.”
Community of Practice	“Oldtimers”/”In Group”	How do the Barnstable Public Schools approach the hiring and retention of teachers of color?	Participant 10	“Almost everyone who is hired, knows someone”
Community of Practice	“Newcomers”/”Out Group”	What are the perspectives and experiences of teachers of color in the Barnstable Public Schools?	Participant 3	“I don’t feel supported or cared, and feel much more alienated than my white peers.”
Discourse Models	Assimilation	What are the perspectives and experiences of teachers of color in the Barnstable Public Schools?	Participant 6	“If you don’t speak or act a certain way, you are looked at differently.”
Community Characteristics	Housing/cost of living/Draw to the area	How do the Barnstable Public Schools approach the hiring and retention of teachers of color?	Participant 4	“You get a lot of staff who work here who don’t need the money, or don’t need to worry about housing costs.”

Community Characteristics	Building Culture	How do the Barnstable Public Schools approach the hiring and retention of teachers of color?	Participant 2	“We used to have staff dinners and luncheons, and people would get together from other departments. We are literally on our own now.”
---------------------------	------------------	--	---------------	---

Archival Documents

Media

Cape Cod Times: Cape’s Housing Crisis

In an article from the *Cape Cod Times*, the author claims there is a potential housing crisis in the area. The following points from the article were pulled due to their potential relevance to the project question: “What are the perspectives and experiences of teachers of color in the ABC Public Schools?”

- Cape Cod is losing 800 households per year with family incomes less than \$100,000 per year
- The rising housing costs are sparking labor shortages in retail, service, and elderly care.
- Particularly vulnerable are those that make too much money to qualify for affordable housing programs, but too little to afford market-rate housing.
- There is resistance from current homeowners to update zoning for higher density housing.

Research by Gabriel Metcalf (2018) supported these findings, indicating that homeowners and local community governments in highly desirable areas like Cape Cod create policy that limits the increase of housing, causing home prices to increase (Metcalf, 2018). Their research

indicates that communities with strong employment opportunities and limited housing, reduces cost to taxpayers and increases revenue to the community (Metcalf, 2018). While many communities may believe in affordable housing in theory, this contradiction exists in most highly desirable cities as suburbs compete with each other, causing affordable housing to be confined to geographically segregated, but commutable, areas near the desirable communities (Metcalf, 2018).

Hiring and Termination History

Two human resource reports were provided by the district for analysis. These two reports aimed to help understand the project question: “How does ABC School District approach the hiring and retention of teachers of color?” The first was the *ABC School District Hiring Report for 2022*, summarized in *Figure 7*. Two date ranges were provided after a discussion with, and recommendation by, the district human resources director. He identified January through June to be the primary hiring season for positions within the district. In analyzing the hiring report from 2022, 70% of the hiring occurred during this window of time. July through September was added because these incorporate last minute resignations and hiring right before the start of the school year, which falls historically in the last week of August or first week of September in the ABC School District.

In analyzing the three largest ethnicities that applied to positions in the district (White, Black, Hispanic) from January 1, 2022 to June 30, 2022, 20% of white applicants, 33% of black applicants, and 29% of Hispanic applicants were hired. From July 1, 2022 to September 12, 2022, 27% of white applicants, 33% of black applicants, and 38% of hispanic applicants were hired.

Figure 7: ABC School District Hiring Report 2022

	1/1/2022-6/30/2022		7/1/2022-9/12/2022	
Candidates by Ethnicity	Applied	Hired	Applied	Hired
Total Applicants	839	231	360	108
Decline to Identify	15	3	7	1
White (Non-Hispanic)	526	102	223	61
Black (Non-Hispanic)	21	7	12	4
Asian	13	3	6	0
Pacific Islander	0	0	0	0
American Indian	2	1	2	1
Alaskan Native	0	0	0	0
Hispanic	28	8	13	5
No Response	234	107	97	36

The second human resources report provided was the *ABC School District Termination and Resignation Report for 2017-2022*, summarized in *Figure 8*. This report was a very detailed report that could have been looked at in many different ways. This could have included assessing termination dates, retirements, and age as it relates to ethnicity. For the purposes of this project, I analyzed the three largest subgroups represented in the report: staff that were Black, Hispanic, or white. While other groups of color, such as Pacific Islanders and Native Americans, could have been analyzed, their sample size was small, which may have impacted the validity of potential findings. The categories of voluntary resignation and termination were analyzed to see if there may be disparities between ethnicities and any relationships to the two

categories and concerns identified by staff of color in the interview data. The “Other” category represents those staff that retired, died, their employment had a term-end date, or they were not reappointed at the end of their contract. As seen in *Figure 8*, the termination rates for Black and Hispanic employees were higher than the “Other” category, 27% versus 18% and 11% and 6% respectively, while white employees were lower at 3% versus 41%.

Figure 8: ABC School District Termination & Resignation Report 2017-2022

Termination & Resignation Analysis 2017-2022			
Ethnicity	Voluntary Resignation	Termination	Other
Black	55% (6/11)	27% (3/11)	18% (2/11)
Hispanic	83% (15/18)	11% (2/18)	6% (1/18)
White	56% (245/437)	3% (13/437)	41% (179/437)

ABC No Place for Hate Analysis of Youth Survey on Racism

In meeting with the chair of the No Place for Hate community action group on Cape Cod, an organization supported by the Anti-Defamation League, I gained access to a youth risk survey analysis that they completed in collaboration with a local university. The conclusions from the report are based on the survey responses of eighty-two students who attended high schools in the area. This included the ABC School District’s high school and public, private, and charter schools outside of ABC School District. The survey consisted of three questions:

1. *Have you directly experienced a racial experience? Racial experiences can be described as any event where you believe race played a role, either positively or negatively.*
2. *Have you witnessed a racial experience as a bystander?*

3. *What is one thing you would like caring or trusting adults to do differently in their response to racism?*

Additionally, their analysis summarized publicly available data on ABC School District's high school available through the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (DESE) Report Card, which is completed for every district and school within Massachusetts.

This data source was chosen to identify possible correlations between the experiences of students of color in ABC School District and the experiences of staff of color to potentially help validate and enrich the findings. This would align to project question 1: What are the perspectives and experiences of teachers of color in the ABC School District?

The *No Place for Hate Analysis of Youth Survey* identified the following areas of concern:

1. Evidence of widespread use of racial and LGBTQ slurs and other inappropriate language directed toward students of color.
2. Evidence of differential treatment, with students reporting that black students are stopped and questioned more often than white students.
3. Evidence that people in charge do not adequately address racist behavior, and/or minimize the significance of the conduct.

In their analysis of the DESE Report Card for ABC School District, the group claimed that students of color and students whose second language is English, are overrepresented compared to the whole population in suspensions, student drop-out rates, and student attrition.

Findings and Recommendations

Findings

Finding 1: Community Connection and Access to Resources

All of the individuals interviewed identified the importance of knowing someone, or having some type of connection to the region, as a primary factor in who was typically hired and retained. Of the individuals interviewed, 9 out of 10 of them claimed that they were hired or were referred to the position because they knew someone in the school system. Similarly, 8 out of 10 of those interviewed were either from the area or married to someone from the area. Interestingly, one of the two individuals not from the area, or married to someone from the area, sought out the area because they came from a similar area and aspired to live in a place like Cape Cod.

One's connection to the area was equally important for staff of color. Participants 2, 3, and 6, all staff members of color, claimed that staff of color that had been in the district for several years, were either from the area or are married to someone from the area. This was also not unnoticed by white staff interviewed. Participant 1 claimed that “black staff don’t stick around very long unless they are from here or married someone from here.” This may pose an interesting connection to situated learning theory, in that how someone is situated in this CoP seems to really matter. While black staff may be “newcomers” in the CoP, being from the area may create access to resources by being from the area that better equip them to navigate the district and Cape Cod discourse model that may exist.

When asked about hiring practices, participant 10 stated “They’re certainly open to people outside of the community, but I think there’s always hesitancy about ‘Are you going to move here?’ It’s very expensive to move here, so let’s look to see if there’s anybody from the

Cape or nearby, or someone we know who has some connection here.” This was further supported by Participant 1 who claimed “It’s about getting the internal candidate or local person, rather than actually looking at an external candidate pool or search.” 9 out of 10 of the participants indicated that some type of regional online recruitment tool was used for job postings, but that knowing someone was the most likely factor in getting an interview and/or hired.

Cost of living came up in several of the interviews and was further referenced in *Cape Cod Times: Cape’s Housing Crisis*. As stated by Participant 4, “Newer younger people or people of color that don’t have strong family ties here can’t afford to live here and never stay. I think they need to look at the long-term feasibility of the pay scale, health care, and cost of living, because you can’t even be in a professional role here, and own or rent a home unless you have another higher income partner.” This may point toward geographic segregation that could benefit white community members who are homeowners, and negatively impact community members of color who rent. Participant 4 went on to say “You get a lot of staff who work here who don’t need the money, or don’t need to worry about housing costs.”

Finding 2: Alienation or Assimilation

Those staff members of color interviewed gave indications of feeling out of place, not included, and either tokenized or expected to represent their race on equity issues. Participant 5 indicated “It’s very difficult to feel that you belong here. I, but particularly staff of color, feel like outcasts”. Similarly, there were feelings of marginalization. Two of the staff of color, Participant 3 and 6, indicated that if you understand the system and don’t rock the boat, you can be successful. They indicated nothing changes, and as staff members of color, they felt they

always were looked on to represent their race. That being said, both indicated that when they stood up for bias against them, they felt alienated by other staff members. As Participant 6 put it, “I don’t feel important or feel valued as a person from a diverse background.” This was further validated by Participant 4, “It’s not a super culturally-sensitive place to work. My friends of color don’t feel they have an equal voice.” This is consistent with Lave and Wenger’s thoughts on legitimate peripheral participation, in that staff of color are seen as “newcomers” that don’t have access to the resources and networks of the “oldtimers” (Lave & Wenger, 1991).

There was also a sense by the staff of color that they had to go above and beyond in comparison to their white peers, and that certain affordances were being provided based on the color of one's skin. For example, participant 6 believed “Teachers of Color have to put themselves out there to get the same level of respect that a new teacher gets.” Participant 2, a black female, discussed growing up adopted to a white family, and not understanding that privilege until she got married and had children with a black husband. How she is treated in public with her husband and kids, is very different from how she was treated with her white parents growing up. She described being able to fly under the radar in public then, versus the feeling of eyes on her and her family now. This is consistent with the literature on discourse models and assimilation, where being seen as typical may grant greater participation and affordances (Gee, 2006). By being a part of a white family, the predominantly white community may have a similar discourse model to each other that may drive an oversimplified understanding of what is “typical”. By contrast, when she is with her husband and kids, she is unconsciously seen as atypical.

The *ABC No Place for Hate Analysis of Youth Survey on Racism* found related findings, indicating that students of color were found to be stopped in the hallways by educators more

often than their white peers. An ABC High School student is quoted in the document, “You’re seen as Black before you’re seen as you.” This was further supported by publicly available discipline data, which indicated that students of color had disproportionately more disciplinary infractions than their peers. This is highlighted in *Figure 9* below.

Figure 9: Student Discipline Data Report All Offenses, ABC HS, 2018-2019

Student Group	Students	Students Disciplined	% 1 Day	% 2 to 3 Days	% 4 to 7 Days	% 8 to 10 Days	% > 10 Days
All Students	1,884	105	1.2	2.2	1.2	0.3	0.6
English Learner	150	9	2.7	1.3	0.7	0.0	1.3
Economically disadvantaged	645	59	1.9	3.4	1.7	0.8	1.4
Students w/disabilities	302	36	1.7	4.0	3.0	1.3	2.0
High needs	880	75	1.8	3.4	1.5	0.6	1.3
Female	973	39	0.8	1.3	1.3	0.3	0.2
Male	911	66	1.6	3.1	1.1	0.3	1.1
Amer. Ind. or Alaska Nat.	9	1					
Asian	37	1					
Afr. Amer./Black	161	18	3.1	4.3	2.5	0.0	1.2
Hispanic/Latino	268	18	1.9	3.0	0.7	0.0	1.1
Multi-race, Non-Hisp./Lat.	79	11	2.5	6.3	2.5	2.5	0.0
Nat. Haw. or Pacif. Isl.	8	1					
White	1,322	55	0.8	1.5	1.1	0.3	0.5

Finding 3: Potential Sources of Resistance to Equity Efforts

Staff members of color and white staff members interviewed indicated there is some resistance in the school system and community to equity efforts. Participant 1, 2, 5, and 7 indicated that the district provided Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion training, but that many were opposed to the work, because they felt what they do in the classroom works. Participant 6, as a teacher of color, struggles with how “white staff state they aren’t biased and quote all of the training they have done, yet they don’t see their bias and the teacher of color feels they need to call it out, which causes the white staff member to get defensive.” There have been two recent high profile superintendent leaves of absence and resignations in the Metro Boston area. Both

individuals are superintendents of color, making similar claims as participant 6 that the districts only wanted surface level equity work, but when they, as a person of color, called out racism, it was frowned upon (Martin & Vaznis, 2023). Interestingly, there was a persistent theme among staff of color that they felt white staff saw them as part of the problem with working with students of color. As participant 3 indicated, “Our brown students are typically the problem students, which makes me feel like they are looking at my whole culture as a problem culture.” Tajfel and Turner (1979) describe this as the “out-group”, where regardless of the actors in the “out-group”, they are seen negatively. Similarly, Anderson (2009) connects it to how someone is situated in the community of practice. How someone is labeled in the community of practice can drive affordances (Anderson, 2009). Two teachers of color have been accused by other white staff for codling diverse students because they were successful in their class. As Participant 3 described, “There is this idea that if a kid from Brazil does well in my class, but fails your class, I am the problem.”

Limitations in the Findings

Reflecting on the validity of the data collected from the interviews, two major challenges were identified. One, the predominance of the individuals interviewed were white females (6/10), and only three of the individuals interviewed were staff of color. This prevented me from answering the second project question: *What are the perspectives and experiences of staff of color in the ABC School District?* While white staff shared their thoughts on what they have heard or observed of the experiences of staff of color, those perspectives and experiences were not specifically shared by staff of color. Second, the predominance of the individuals interviewed (6/10) were from the area or are married to someone from the area. Data could be enhanced with

a greater number of participants, across a more diverse population of staff members. Missing is a greater perspective from staff of color, and white staff, not originally from the area. This may shed a greater light on the reasons why staff not from the area may choose to stay or leave.

Similarly, I was unable to interview staff of color that had resigned or been terminated from their roles within the organization. This addition may have helped to provide greater detail to the project questions.

Recommendations

Recommendation 1: Social Capital Development and Mentorship

A theme began to percolate as I progressed through the interviews linked to finding a sense of belonging. This theme was not limited to just staff of color. Participant 1 stated, “When I was first hired seventeen years ago, there was the acknowledgement that mentoring was important for school culture and retaining in the long term, and that seems to have been abandoned”. Wong and Asquith (2002) claim “Teachers are more likely to remain with a district when they feel strong bonds to a larger community of professional practice and when relationships of mutual respect and trust are built among professionals. Schools benefit from developing teacher networks in addition to one-to-one teacher mentor relationships; information is shared more organically and freely and more interpersonal connections could be created” (Wong & Asquith, 2002).

Finding 2 referred to examples of where staff of color felt alienated, or needed to assimilate to a preestablished norm. There were feelings of marginalization and a sense that one should not rock the boat. As it relates to the conceptual framework, staff of color are being seen as “newcomers” in the community of practice, where their participation is being limited.

Similarly, how the staff member engages in the organization may be seen as “atypical” due to their discourse model.

Efforts could be devoted within the district to building social capital among staff of color. Social capital theory is the idea that the strength of one’s social network and community has a correlation to upward career mobility, one’s health, and one’s educational outcomes (Chetty et al, 2022). As participant 2 indicated, “We are in need of support groups, chances to come together and communicate, in a non-threatening environment.” Similarly, participant 6 stated, “We used to have staff dinners and luncheons, and people would get together from other departments. We are literally on our own now.” While social capital is important for all, it is especially important for staff of color that may lack close similarities both culturally, physically, or economically to their peers. Chetty (2022) claims that friending bias occurs in social spaces that lack diversity, in that when most all of the individuals in a group are similar to each other, there is a bias that limits dissimilar individuals’ ability to integrate into the group. This is improved when the diversity of the group is more integrated (Chetty, 2022). To address this, Chetty (2022) suggests peer mentoring programs and/or internships with intentional integration (Chetty, 2022).

In a community of practice where even a new white staff member may come to the organization with more social capital, due to their ability to navigate the dominant discourse model and be seen as an “oldtimer”, the importance of deliberate social capital building opportunities are essential for staff of color. Opportunities to come together, break down barriers, and help challenge biases. As Gee indicates, People are often unaware of these various exclusions due to their discourse model, but when exposed to these simplifications, can learn and grow past it (Gee, 2006). ABC schools could look into creating mentoring programs that partner staff of color with peers that have strong social capital within the organization. As was discussed

in the conceptual framework, one's participation in a community of practice (CoP) depends on where they are situated. Within a community of practice, there are boundaries of practice that require participants to have a sustained history of social learning to properly engage in the CoP (Wenger et al, 2015). If ABC were to look at mentorship as an apprenticeship of the white community of practice that exists, this will, according to Lave and Wenger (2011), improve staff of color's participation in the CoP, increase their access to resources and affordances, and better situate the staff member in the CoP on the path of being seen as a "old-time".

Recommendation 2: Local Pathways to Teaching

While 95% of the staff are white, 41% of the student population consists of students of color. If the participants' perception that most employees, including staff of color, that are hired and retained have a connection to the district or are from the area, this may pose an opportunity in the future for students of color. Participants 2, 7, and 9 indicated that better efforts could be made to create a local diversity pipeline into the school system within the Brazilian population through early education programs at the high school and community college levels. Efforts could be committed to developing local communities of color by increasing their access to education and future job opportunities in the community that they live in. In this way, the predominantly white community of practice would be taking an intentional approach to building the diversity of the school, versus the passive approach that seems to benefit white applicants that may share a common discourse model to white staff. In this way, it may help ABC overcome an unconscious oversimplification of how it views hiring and retention.

The Massachusetts Partnership for Diversity in Education (MPDE) is an organization with resources to support transitions to teaching for local community members of color. This has

included providing funding, resources, and training to staff of color serving as teacher's assistants, with the assistance of the local district, to transition them to teaching. MPDE has identified that districts that offer alternative paths to teaching can improve the diversity of their staff through this method. Participants indicated that there were past examples where district leadership attended recruitment fairs in Boston focused on staff of color, which resulted in a few hires. This was noted as a positive, but when asked if those individuals stayed long-term, they indicated that they did not. Focusing resources locally on talent development within the diversity of the community, may serve to be more fruitful long-term.

Recommendation 3: School and Community Branding

Participant 6 put it eloquently, "Barnstable is a diverse place, but it isn't advertised as such. We need to educate folks about like who we are and what we do, and the populations that we have". Participant 3 brought to my attention, which I immediately looked up, that the community and school district brand their websites with images of the beach, lobster, sharks, summer living, but very rarely advertise anything that would draw an individual not interested in those things. Sure enough, both region and town websites convey an image that may only draw one type of person's attention (Vacation home owners and retirees). Cape Cod's chamber of commerce website contains images of fishing, the beach, wedding venues, places to shop, and places to play golf (Cape Cod Chamber, 2023). Deliberate attention could be focused on diversifying who the community is advertising to. Similarly, are their resources, shops, food, transportation, and entertainment that appeal to multiple profiles of individuals?

If there is validity to the interview data, participant perception was clear on the value of being from the area or being connected to the area in determining the hiring and long-term

retention of a staff member. This seems to be consistent regardless of race. Therefore, creating an appeal or connection to the area for people of color or of different cultural backgrounds, may create a better anchor to longevity for hired staff of color. School and community websites not only serve as advertising tools for tourists, but also as advertising for potential employees. There is great value in adding diversity of race and culture in local websites. When diversity recruitment advertising is consistent throughout the systems hierarchy, this can have a positive impact in people of color's interest in applying to roles within the organization (Avery, 2003).

Limitations

This organization was selected for convenience because of a prior relationship I have with the incoming superintendent. While she was the assistant superintendent of a school district, I was an assistant principal of the middle school in the district. Since then, she moved on to become the superintendent of another district in the area, where she has utilized me in the past to serve as a mentor to new principals. She has recently become the superintendent of ABC, effective July 1, 2022.

My positionality as a cis gender white male, born into a family with two parents (male and female), both who have advanced degrees, may have an impact on the assumptions and biases I bring to shaping the area of inquiry. Similarly, I have a prior relationship with this superintendent and could be seen as a threat to others in the system. Additionally, I am going into this study believing I may find inequities, blindspots, and opportunities for change in the ABC School District. Thus, I could be susceptible to confirmation bias as I interpret findings.

Conclusion

As I think about the outcome of this project, I do see a connection to a great quote from by Anderson (2009), “In order to behave in a way that others can recognize as a person of “kind” X who knows Y in context Z, one must first gain access to resources for speaking and acting in those ways and then be effectively seen to “seem” like “kind” X by others”. The findings did seem to point toward the conceptual framework on situated learning theory and discourse models where white staff members may be seen as “newcomers”, regardless of how long they have been in the school system. Similarly, the white staff members within the school system may have a similar discourse model to each other that may drive unconscious or oversimplified understandings of what is “typical”. This, therefore, may give white staff greater participation and affordances within the school system. That said, interviewing a greater number of staff of color would be necessary to have a broader understanding of the perspectives and experiences of staff of color at ABC.

References

- Anderson, K. T. (2009). Applying positioning theory to the analysis of classroom interactions: Mediating micro-identities, macro-kinds, and ideologies of knowing. *Linguistics and Education*, 20(4), 291–310. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2009.08.001>
- Antonio, A. L., Chang, M. J., Hakuta, K., Kenny, D. A., Levin, S., & Milem, J. F. (2004). Effects of Racial Diversity on Complex Thinking in College Students. *Psychological Science*, 15(8), 507–510. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0956-7976.2004.00710.x>
- Avery, D. R. (2003). Reactions to diversity in recruitment advertising--are differences black and white? *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88(4), 672–679. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0021-9010.88.4.672>
- Borrero, N. E., Flores, E., & de la Cruz, G. (2016). Developing and enacting culturally relevant pedagogy: Voices of new teachers of color. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 49(1), 27–40. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10665684.2015.1119914>
- Boser, Ulrich (2011). *Teacher Diversity Matters: A State-by-State Analysis of Teachers of Color*. Center for American Progress.
- Bureau, U. S. C. (2022, September 23). *Census.gov*. Retrieved September 26, 2022, from <https://www.census.gov/>
- Xavier de Souza Briggs (1998) Brown kids in white suburbs: Housing mobility and the many faces of social capital, *Housing Policy Debate*, 9:1, 177-221, DOI: 10.1080/10511482.1998.9521290.
- Hotels, events & things to do in Cape Cod. Visit Cape Cod. (n.d.). Retrieved April 1, 2023, from <https://www.capecodchamber.org/>

- Carter Andrews, D. J., Castro, E., Cho, C. L., Petchauer, E., Richmond, G., & Floden, R. (2018). Changing the narrative on diversifying the teaching workforce: A look at historical and contemporary factors that inform recruitment and retention of teachers of color. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 70(1), 6–12. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022487118812418>
- Chetty, R., Jackson, M., Kuchler, T., Stroebe, J., Hendren, N., Fluegge, R., Gong, S., González, F., Grondin, A., Jacob, M., Johnston, D., Koenen, M., Laguna-Muggenburg, E., Mudekereza, F., Rutter, T., Thor, N., Townsend, W., Zhang, R., Bailey, M., ... Wernerfelt, N. (2022). Social Capital I: Measurement and associations with economic mobility. <https://doi.org/10.3386/w30313>
- Gee, J. P. (2006). Discourse models. In *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method* (Chapter 6). New York: Routledge
- Greeno, J.G. & Gresalfi, M.S. (2008). *Opportunities to Learn in Practice and Identity*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press
- Hernández-Johnson, M., Taylor, V., Singh, R., Marrun, N. A., Plachowski, T. J., & Clark, C. (2021). “like where are those teachers?”: A critical race theory analysis of teachers of color who have “left” teaching. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09518398.2021.1956634>
- Kaufman, J. E., & Rosenbaum, J. E. (1992). The Education and employment of low-income black youth in white suburbs. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 14(3), 229–240. <https://doi.org/10.3102/01623737014003229>
- Lave, J. (1996). Teaching, as learning, in practice. *Mind, Culture, and Activity*, 3(3), 149–164. https://doi.org/10.1207/s15327884mca0303_2

- Lave, & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning : legitimate peripheral participation* / Jean Lave, Etienne Wenger. Cambridge University Press.
- Martin, N., & Vaznis, J. (2023, March 31). 'this has been devastating': Wayland is divided over racism allegations after Black Superintendent is placed on leave - The Boston Globe. BostonGlobe.com. Retrieved April 1, 2023, from <https://www.bostonglobe.com/2023/03/28/metro/wayland-superintendent/>
- Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (2022). *School and District Report Cards*. <https://reportcards.doe.mass.edu/>.
- Metcalf, Gabriel. 2018. "Sand Castles before the Tide? Affordable Housing in Expensive Cities." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 32 (1): 59-80.
- No place for hate. No Place for Hate. (n.d.). Retrieved March 15, 2023, from <https://www.noplaceforhate.org/> Our focus is cultural competencies. Massachusetts Partnership for Diversity in Education. (n.d.). Retrieved April 1, 2023, from <https://mpde.org/>
- Ray, V. (2019). A theory of racialized organizations. *American Sociological Review*, 84(1), 26–53. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122418822335>
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin, & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-37). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (n.d.). *2020 home*. U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Retrieved April 30, 2023, from <https://www.bls.gov/opub/mlr/2020/home.htm>
- Walsh, Elizabeth A. (2018) : White fragility as an obstacle to antiracist resilience planning: Opportunities for equity-conscious partnerships, *Journal of Urban Management*, ISSN

2226-5856, Elsevier, Amsterdam, Vol. 7, Iss. 3, pp. 181-189,

<http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.jum.2018.12.005>

Wenger-Trayner, E., & Wenger-Trayner, B. (2014). Learning in a landscape of practice. *Learning in Landscapes of Practice*, 13–29. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315777122-3>

Wong, H. K. (2004). Induction Programs That Keep New Teachers Teaching and Improving. *NASSP Bulletin*, 88(638), 41–58. <https://doi.org/10.1177/019263650408863804>

Appendix I

Important Interview Quotes

Targets from the Literature: *Affordances, Community of Practice, Discourse Models, Community Characteristics*

Theme 1

“Most of the staff of color are from here or are married to someone from here” -Participant 1

90% of participants were hired because they knew someone in the school system.

80% of participants were either from the area, or married someone from the area. One of the two individuals not from the area, sought out Cape Cod because it resembled the community she came from.

“They’re certainly open to people outside of the community, but I think there’s always hesitancy about ‘Are you going to move here?’ It’s very expensive to move here, so let’s look to see if there’s anybody from the Cape or nearby, or someone we know who has some connection here.”

“It’s about getting the internal candidate or local person, than actually looking at an external candidate pool or search.”

90% indicated some type of passive hiring through School Spring was the primary strategy, in combination with word of mouth.

Theme 2

“When I was first hired seventeen years ago, there was the acknowledgement that mentoring was important for school culture and retaining in the long term, and that seems to have been abandoned”. -Participant 1

Participants 2, 7, and 9 indicated that better efforts could be made to create a local diversity pipeline into the school system within the Brazilian population through early education programs at the high school and community college level. These participants, along with others indicated that most of the staff of color, and staff in general, are from the area.

“Barnstable is a diverse place, but it isn’t advertised as such. We need to educate folks about like who we are and what we do, and the populations that we have”. -Participant 6

Theme 3

“Newer younger people or people of color that don’t have strong family ties here can’t afford to live here and never stay.” -Participant 4

“I think they need to look at the long-term feasibility of the pay scale, health care, and cost of living, because you can’t even be in a professional role here, and own or rent a home unless you have another higher income partner.” -Participant 4

Theme 4

100% of the participants of color indicated that they felt alienated even after being there for sometime.

Two of the staff of color (Participant 3 and 6) indicated that if you understand the system and don’t rock the boat, you can be successful. They indicated nothing changes, and as a staff member of color, they felt they always were looked on to represent their race. That being said, both indicated that when they stood up for bias against them, they felt alienated by other staff members. (Assimilation, Newcomers)

“It’s not a super culturally-sensitive place to work. My friends of color don’t feel they have an equal voice.” -Participant 4

“It’s very difficult to feel that you belong here. I, but particularly staff of color, feel like outcasts”. -Participant 5

“We are in need of support groups, chances to come together and communicate, in a non-threatening environment. I don’t feel important or feel valued as a person from a diverse background.” -Participant 6

80% of participants are very concerned about all of the administrator turnover in the district and not feeling supported.

Theme 5 (Discourse Model)

“Our brown students are typically the problem students, which makes me feel like they are looking at my whole culture as a problem culture.” -Participant 3

70% of participants described a white upper-middle class female from the area, or married into the area, who likes the beach, as the person most likely to assimilate into the school system.

Participant 1, 2, 5, and 7 indicated that the district provided DEI training, but that many were opposed to the work, because they felt what they do in the classroom works.

A Black female participant discussed growing up adopted to a white family, and not understanding that privilege until she got married and had children with a black husband. How she is treated in public with her husband and kids, is very different from how she was treated with her white parents growing up. She describes being able to fly under the radar in public then, versus the feeling of eyes on her and her family now.

Participant 6, as a teacher of color, struggles with how white staff state they aren't biased and quote all of the training they have done, yet they don't see their bias and the teacher of color feels they need to call it out, which causes the white staff member to get defensive.

Participants of color feel they have to put themselves out there to gain respect.

Two teachers of color have been accused by other white staff for codling students of color because they are successful in their class.