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Notes from the Editors

Fall 2017 Edition

Welcome to Volume 28 of *Educational Leadership and Administration: Teaching and Program Development: The Journal of the California Association of Professors of Educational Administration (CAPEA).* After a blind and rigorous submissions review process, the editors accepted a set of very strong contributions from a variety of perspectives. The accepted papers look at the current national trend to privatize public education, as well as papers focusing on promising practices and improvement of educational leadership preparation programs.

Volume 28 begins with the article, ***Age of Turmoil: Surging Nativist Populism and Its Possible Impact on Public Education.*** This article explores the rise of nativist populism and the turmoil it creates, negatively impacting public education as well as the social stability of U.S. and Europe. While this article explains the challenges that the American public school system is facing, the next three articles outlines the local responses to this disruptive national and international climate. ***Students Leading Students: An Observational Study of a University Remedial Educational Program*** examines the efficacy of a peer mentoring program for remedial students. ***Model Continuation High Schools: Social-Cognitive Factors That Contribute to Re-Engaging At-Risk Students Emotionally, Behaviorally, and Cognitively Towards Graduation*** describes how policies, programs, and practices transform disengaged at-risk students into graduates. ***From Forty-to-One to One-to-One: Eliminating the Digital Divide and Making Equity Actionable*** shows how the adoption of technology may end up serving as a catalyst for deeper, systemic reforms. The edition ends with reflections on the life of Robert Blackburn in ***In Loving Memory of Robert "Bob" Blackburn.*** Bob Blackburn served as an assistant superintendent in the Oakland School District and as a professor of educational administration at Cal State East Bay. As a champion of social and educational justice, Dr. Blackburn serves a role model in our present social justice work.

This journal would not have been possible without the efforts of numerous people. We, first, thank all of the authors who contributed manuscripts. A very special thank you is offered to the Senior Editors Gilberto Arriaza, Noni Mendoza-Reis and Editorial Review Board Angela Louque, Diane Mukerjee, who worked tirelessly in the review and editing of all submissions. In addition, we would like to thank our co-Presidents Carol VanVooren California State University, San Marcos and Bobbie Plough, California State University, East Bay for their constant encouragement and support. Lastly, this journal would not exist without the support of ICPEL and ICPEL Publications, especially Brad Bizzell, who has been an invaluable member of our team.

To all readers, we hope that the journal will provide an opportunity to expand your insights into the field of school leadership and reflect on your own practice. We, furthermore, hope that this reflection brings you to a deeper commitment to our crucial work for our nation's youth and children.

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Age of Turmoil:
Surging Nativist Populism and Its Possible Impact on Public Education

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Abstract

This examination emanates from the rise in nativist populism across the United States and Europe. Nativist populism is fueled by charismatic leaders who advocate isolationist, neoliberal policies that ostensibly aim to help the economic fortunes of those left behind by rapid globalization; however, these same policies could very well be creating even worse conditions for those individuals, their nations, and the world. One such condition is the state of public education, which plays an integral role in the creation and sustainment of social stability within nations and across the globe. This article explores the rise of nativist populism and the turmoil it creates, negatively affecting public education as well as the social stability of the United States and Europe.

By the time Donald Trump was elected U.S. president in November 2016, much of the world was already reeling from right-wing populist uprising. The June 2016 referendum in Great Britain to leave the European Union ("Brexit") was fueled by nativist populism within the English Conservative Party; and although the nation is still in the European Union, at the time of writing the proposed move is having a negative impact on that nation's economy (Eichengreen, 2016). In France, the National Front party led by Marine Le Pen continues to make inroads into that nation's political power structure (Gow, 2015), while the hard-right parties in Germany (Alternative for Germany), Sweden (Sweden Democrats), and other European nations are gaining momentum. These movements appear to be pulling the fledgling global society toward increased parochialism and nationalism with their anti-immigration stances (Solana, 2016) (see also Appendix A). These could endanger systems of public education in the West as the rising right-wing fringes on the political spectrum wholeheartedly support privatization of the public good. This penchant for privatization may stem from the fear that anything public will be in support of the "other," of people who are not members of the dominant race and culture in those nations' societies—in short, people who do not look like they do (Chomsky, 2016; Giroux, 2013; Kozol, 2006; Rucht & Teune, 2015). Whereas the established conservative parties in the West also support privatization schemes, it is this fear and exclusion of minorities that make nativist populist movements such a danger to the public good, including education policies.

Why Only Right-Wing Populists?

Populists can come from both ends of the political spectrum, but over the past several decades they have been overwhelmingly from the right (Rucht & Teune, 2015; Solona, 2016). Bernie Sanders is an excellent example of a left-wing populist, one who energized young Americans in his effort to win the 2016 Democratic nomination for President.[1] The definition of populism that this article employs, however, is that of "a political philosophy supporting the rights and power of the people in their struggle against the privileged elite" (http://www.thefreedictionary.com/populism). Sanders's movement was driven by a philosophy that fit this definition; however, this article examines nativist populist movements, and Sanders is certainly not a nativist. The onslaught of populism throughout the United States and Europe is propelled by a nativism that has essentially become a rejection of globalization (Rucht & Teune, 2015). Ironically, globalization is the promotion of the free movement of goods and services across national boundaries (Castells, 1998), something supported by the established right-wing political parties and by right-wing populists. What separates right-wing populists from the right-wing establishment is their opposition to the free movement of people, both economic migrants and refugees, across national borders (Solana, 2016), and their support for the building of both figurative and literal walls to keep outsiders out. This rejection of free movement has caused them to be referred to as "illiberals" (Sierakowski, 2016).

A Brief History of Neoliberalism and the Rise of Modern Populism

It is important to examine the concept of neoliberalism in order to grasp the current nativist populist movement. Michael Apple (2004, 2006) describes neoliberalism as an ideology based on the belief that market forces should be the primary guide for both the economy and society. Moreover, interferences by other forces, such as government regulations, should be removed

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[1] Although, unlike right-wing populists, he did not attract many poor people from the dominant culture.

whenever possible as these can and will impede the "perfect" market system. Apple (2004) insists that neoliberalism is the primary force behind school reform since at least the 1980s, when *A Nation at Risk* (The National Commission on Education Excellence, 1983) was published. It is neoliberalism, some believe (e.g., Chomsky, 2016; Reich, 2016) that brought us "The Gilded Age" of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, during which the gap between rich and poor reached its apex in the history of the United States and the modern world. This gap was somewhat narrowed by an onslaught of federal regulations on large businesses, including progressive taxation. These regulations were eased by pro-business administrations that took control in the 1920s, leading to the 1929 U.S. stock market crash and the subsequent worldwide Great Depression (Reich, 2016). Following World War II, a sense of "freedom from tyranny" prevailed in the West (Hoffer, 2014), which led anti–social democratic cabals, such as Ayn Rand's objectivists in the United States, to influence economic policies during the 1950s and the 1960s (Weiss, 2012). In Europe, Frederich von Hayak opposed the Keynesian economic policies of controlled capitalism famously implemented in Roosevelt's New Deal. Von Hayak greatly influenced conservative policies for the next several decades up to this day (Styhre, 2014). Although this anti-regulatory laissez-faire ideology surfaced in the 1964 U.S. presidential race with the Republican nomination of Barry Goldwater, it did not really take off until Margaret Thatcher came to power in Great Britain in 1979 and Ronald Reagan began his U.S. presidency in 1981. This momentum continued through the Bush I, Clinton, Bush II, and Obama administrations (Styhre, 2014; Weiss, 2012).

Neoliberalism has affected U.S. public schools through the adoption of market approaches to school governance and other policies advocated in *A Nation at Risk* and subsequent publications and laws. For instance, Reagan attempted to institute school vouchers; Clinton supported school uniforms, national standards, and testing; and George W. Bush famously enacted No Child Left Behind, which spawned many neoliberal practices in P-12 education (Ravitch, 2013). Also Obama's Race to the Top can be deemed a neoliberal policy in that it uses monetary incentives to entice states to adopt its test-driven agenda (Ravitch, 2013; Tienken & Orlich, 2014).

Modern populism dates back to at least the 19th century in Europe (e.g., pre-revolution Russia) as well as in the United States (e.g., William Jennings Bryan). On the surface, populism can appear beneficial to democracy (or at least, a natural byproduct of it) as it stirs public engagement; but it can and has been problematic in that charlatans or other wrong-headed individuals can lead the masses astray, against their own interests and those of the entire society (Rucht & Teune, 2015). It is a slippery slope from populism to nativism, which is a xenophobic belief defined by Merriam-Webster as "a policy of favoring native inhabitants over immigrants" (http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/nativism). Nativist movements have historically come from the political right and have attempted to keep the power within the dominant culture and race (Chomsky, 2016; Sierakowski, 2016).

A notorious and horrid example of nativist populism is that of Adolph Hitler and his Nazi Party of the late 1920s and 1930s, which promised to "make Germany great again" (see James, 2012). At the same time, Benito Mussolini was attempting to create a 20th-century Roman Empire (http://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/benito-mussolini), and Japanese Emperor Hirohito and his powerful generals were espousing militaristic imperialism, all of which led to World War II (http://www.history.com/topics/world-war-ii/hirohito). Although very few would argue that current populists function at these levels of depravity, their nativist beliefs are similar to those of their infamous antecedents (Baker, 2016). Moreover, they are often led by

charismatic leaders such as Trump, Le Pen, Boris Johnson of Great Britain, and Jimmy Åkesson of Sweden.

Today, Europe is faced with mass immigration from war-torn and economically struggling nations. In 2015, Germany accepted over one million refugees, and tiny Sweden welcomed another 160,000 (World Bank, n.d.). This influx has led to nativist movements most noted being Brexit (Pisani-Ferry, 2016) and spilling over to the United States, where Trump has called for a 55-foot wall to be built along the 2,000-mile border between the United States and Mexico (Bump, 2016)

The anger into which today's nativist populists tap most likely stems from the growing inequality in Europe and the United States (Rucht & Teune, 2015), and this is most keen in the United States and Great Britain (Picketty & Goldhammer, 2014). In the United States, according to the Center for Equitable Growth, the top 0.1% of income earners averaged over $6 million per year in 2014, whereas the bottom 90% averaged just over $30,000 (see Appendix B). The picture is even more dismal if we examine wealth: in 2010, 35% of assets in the United States were held by the top 1%, and only 11% of wealth was held by the bottom 80% (see Appendix C). Employment in the paid labor force is becoming scarcer as "Uber labor" (that is, contract work with no long-term employment and benefits) has increased (Reich, 2016). With this, the social contract between business and labor has been broken. In the past, "what is good for General Motors is good for society" was the cliché dictating that governments should aid businesses first as they will, in turn, take care of their laborers and by extension the masses (Lauter, 2016). Globalization has been blamed for inequality, and nativist populists have pointed fingers both at a vaguely identified elite and at federal governments and their establishment politicians (Atkinson, 2016). Of course, technological change is another factor that causes poorly educated and low-skilled laborers to lose work and be cast out of the middle class; however, such transformation is not found in nativist populists' "lists of blame" (Chomsky, 2016; Lauter, 2016; Reich, 2016). Given these economic conditions, it should be no surprise that the main supporters of nativist populism are men from the dominant culture who have no college education (Sierakowski, 2016).

The Purpose of Schooling: Competing Views

One way the elites targeted by nativist populists are able to remain powerful is to ensure that the masses do not become truly educated (Apple, 2006; Friere, 2003; Giroux, 2014). By being "educated" many, especially critical theorists, mean being able not only to read and write, but also to intelligently and critically examine one's position in society as well as actively work to change one's lot in life (Apple, 2004; Freire, 2003; Giroux, 2014). A schooling system that does not include high cognitive learning (see Bloom, 1956) is one that may only replicate social inequalities whereby the elites continue to learn what is important to be successful in a "learning society," whereas others are relegated to low-level, low-paying employment (Handy, 1995; Reich, 2016; Wagner & Dintersmith, 2015) and powerless stations in societies (Bourdieu, 1998; Chomsky, 2016).

Education critics on the political left (e.g., Apple, 2006; Chomsky, 2000; Giroux, 2013) are quick to point out the seemingly dumbing down of schooling for marginalized populations (in what they believe to be a conscious or unconscious strategy by the elite to hoard power and keep the masses under control). In order to improve their economic status and social standing, and to truly have a participatory democracy as envisioned by Thomas Jefferson (as opposed to

the restrictive model championed by James Madison) (Goodlad, 2004; Rothstein, 2004), the masses must be taught to comprehend the power structures in their society, including their own place in it (Freire, 2003). Most important, the masses should be able to determine how to change their condition as well as the condition of those who are also marginalized (Giroux, 2013). To some degree, the Common Core initiative of the Obama administration supports such learning, but this is done, ostensibly, to create more skilled workers rather than informed and engaged citizens (Ravitch, 2013; Tienken & Orlich, 2013).

If the purpose of schooling is to simply provide the student with basic knowledge that can be learned through rote memorization and other low-level cognitive tasks, then schooling can be (and usually is) mechanized, employing a factory model that fits with the ideals of modernism and Tayloristic organization (Morgan, 1985). Taylorism was a model devised for economic efficiency that too often treated workers as cogs in a machine rather than human beings (Morgan, 1985; Reich, 2016). Businesses and other organizations designed this way could easily replace workers to perform routinized tasks that took little training and low levels of cognition; therefore, workers were expendable and, by the laws of the market, could be paid very little and could be easily controlled (Chomsky, 2000; Reich, 2016).

"Modern" ideological practices force curricula and instructional practices (see Slattery, 2006) into easily replicable formulae and logarithms (Zhao, 2009). Such practices use Taylorist strategies that may be inadequate to produce effective knowledge workers for the global economy and, more important, to ensure that societies have citizens who can thrive in a democratic world (Boboc & Nordgren, 2014; Goodlad, 2004). Postmodern schooling practices are those that are contextual and work at the individual level for the benefit of the many (Nordgren, 2015). Modern practices generalize the needs of learners and assume that everyone needs the same thing at the same time (Slattery, 2006). These practices fit the mindset of the "professionally-oriented new middle class who are committed to the ideology and techniques of accountability, measurement, and 'management'" (Apple, 2004, p. 14). They too often support one common culture, one language, and social Darwinism (Apple 2004; 2006). These beliefs are the hallmarks of nativist populists who support the notions of hyper individualism in a vertical individualistic society where great gaps between rich and poor are readily accepted and even expected (see Triandis, 1995). A multicultural society built with the input of a variety of cultures that have differing and often competing values and beliefs challenges the white Christian cultures that support native populists throughout much of Europe and the United States (Apple, 2004, 2006; Rucht & Teune, 2015; Solana, 2016).

With a focus on workforce skills over the education of the whole person (Wolk, 2011) social reproduction will continue to exacerbate an already unjust system (Chomsky, 2016; Giroux, 2014). Furthermore, workforce skills are devised for the needs and desires of the employers, not the good of society (Apple, 2006; Giroux, 2014). In other words, this is a matter of privileging the private good over the public good. This has a long-term impact on society in that it creates a dumbed-down majority of the populace while the elites remain highly educated, thus reproducing the inequalities that already exist (Bourdieu, 1998; Chomsky, 2016). Alarmingly, all major school reform efforts of the past several decades have focused on improving the economy, not society (Ravitch, 2013; Sahlberg, 2011; Tienken & Orlich, 2013). This highlights a split in worldviews that is now coming to a head with the onslaught of nativist populism (Lauter, 2016). A small minority of people enjoy an elite education in which they learn the soft skills and high cognitive understandings of how the world works that will enable them to obtain and sustain elite positions in society, in addition to high-paying jobs (Handy, 1995). For

instance, it is not the curricula of the Ivy League universities that allow one to obtain an elite education; it is the intangibles that do this (Wagner & Dintersmith, 2015). The networking that is done at these schools and the great reach of alumni are what enables the graduates to be part of the powerful elite for the remainder of their lives and to pass this on to their children. Today, we have a multilevel system of college and universities with differing missions (both explicit and hidden). This system helps to reproduce the inequalities in society not only by offering an appropriate education to those coming from wealthy families (and a select few from the masses), but also by ensuring that the vast majority of the masses obtain a technical education through community colleges, vocational schools, and low- and mid-level public and private institutions (Chomsky, 2016; Rothstein, 2004).

How Modern Populism May Affect Public Education Systems

The public good was the focus of Bernie Sanders's 2016 presidential campaign, in which he championed more government intervention into the lives of citizens to ensure social justice and opposed any doctrine that would directly favor the elite (https://berniesanders.com/issues/money-in-politics/). Trump was in many ways diametrically opposed to Sanders, advocating a so-called trickle-down economy whereby tax breaks would be heaped upon the already wealthy in the belief that they would, in turn, infuse the economy with more money—therefore "trickling down" to the poor through the creation of more jobs (Reich, 2016). Sanders (and, to an extent, Hillary Clinton) rejected this pretense, believing that these tactics would only widen the chasm between the rich and poor (Girard, 2016), as proven by the results of the trickle-down policies employed by the Reagan, Bush I, and Bush II administrations (Picketty, 2014). By supporting wealthy individuals' needs and desires through a reduction in taxes and government regulation, Trump favors the private good over the public good. This fits his persona as an elitist businessman/entrepreneur, one born into wealth and power and educated in elite schools and universities (Kranish & Fisher, 2016). Like any effective populist, however, he has a large number of supporters in the masses who believe that he will help *them*, not himself or those in his social class (Dreher, 2015).

Modern nativist populists have shown a disdain for the experts, whom they and their followers deem to be responsible for the weak economic positions in which many find themselves (Pisani-Ferry, 2016). When experts and the science that supports them are dismissed, a void in certainty is created, a vacuum that can be filled by paranoia that can be easily manipulated by nativist populists. They sway their followers by feeding into their fears, which are often created by an ignorance of facts (Solana, 2016). Education is dependent upon empirical data collected through the scientific method; the opposite to scientifically derived facts is propaganda, the main tool of the modern populist (Rucht & Teune, 2015; Solana, 2016). The type of education that should be the goal of all school educators is one that fosters critical analysis (Wolk, 2011; Zhao, 2009). An educated mass of people could easily see through the nativist populists' rhetoric to understand the fallacies of their message, their bending and re-creating of truth. By feeding upon fears, the nativist populist can control the masses who are not educated to distinguish truth from propaganda (Rucht & Teune, 2015).

If education is to be the path to a better life, then it should be supported as such (Ravitch, 2013). Populists who incite the masses but are only perpetuating an unequal system will not support a public education that allows for the masses to better their lots in life; they will instead advocate the privatization of schooling (Chomsky, 2000; Giroux, 2013; Ravitch 2013). They

point to the government as the culprit rather than identifying the true culprit—that is, the elites and the system they created to sustain their power (Apple, 2006; Chomsky, 2016). Public education without a social justice stance is one in which the masses are taught to merely respect authority and to follow orders. Those in well-funded suburban schools with a large local tax base (and, of course, their own share of wealthy private schools[2]) are educated to think critically and to lead the masses toward changing the system so that it offers justice for all (Giroux, 2013; Kozol, 2006). In poorly funded public schools, economic efficiency takes priority over democratic ideals (Chomsky, 2000); the organizational structures and processes are those of the factory, inspired by a Fordist model of management that relies on a compliant and obedient worker (Morgan, 2006). Focusing on the basics and basing assessment on what can be easily taught (and assessed) without regard to high-cognitive learning such as critical thought genuinely becomes the "value added" for these schools (Zhao, 2009). This "value", ironically, lacks value. It does very little to add to the learner's ability to fully engage in a democracy (Apple, 2006; Girioux, 2013) or, for that matter, the global economy (Wolk, 2011; Zhao, 2009)

In describing the rise of charismatic populist demagogues in Europe, Slawomir Sierakowski (2016) addresses what is happening to schooling in nations under the influence of populism: "The education system is being turned into a vehicle for fostering identification with a glorious and tragic past." So one can logically expect populists to promote nationalism over critical thinking, compliance over dissent, and dogma over science in the schools. This stance, of course, runs contrary to what democracies need in their citizens: thinking individuals who can discern fact from fiction, truth from ideology (Chomsky, 2000; Goodlad, 2004). Sierakowski (2016) also warns of a decrease in funding for the public good under these illiberals: "Only cultural enterprises that praise the nation should receive public funding," he warns.[3] By controlling funding for public projects, including but not limited to education, illiberals can ensure that their ideology and, therefore, their systems of control will be sustained into the future (Sierakowski, 2016).

Apple (2004) asserts that the neoliberal takeover of public education in the United States has led to a push for one common culture, one language, and acculturation into the dominant white Anglo-Saxon culture. Multiculturalism threatens white Christian ideals and values; therefore, Apple and others (Chomsky, 2000; Giroux, 2013) argue that a common culture and language are one of the main objectives of right-wing education policies. Although moderate compared to the agenda of nativist populists, the U.S. Republican Party's education platform includes the following key points (author's comments in brackets):

- Promotion of English First [as opposed to education in a child's native language];
- Alternative interpretation of Title IX and other "cultural" regulations [these, they assert, allow "bureaucrats—and the current President of the United States—to impose a social and cultural revolution upon the American people by wrongly redefining sex discrimination to include sexual orientation or other categories. Their agenda has nothing to do with individual rights; it has everything to do with power. They are determined to reshape our schools—and our entire society—to fit the mold of an ideology alien to America's history and traditions"];

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[2] Lubienski & Lubienski (2013) note that not all private schools are equal. Some are the best performing schools in the nation whereas others are the worst.

[3] The author visited a grant writer at the U.S. Department of Education during the Bush II administration. He was told that in order to have a reasonable chance at receiving a grant from the department, he must partner with a religious organization. He was told, "That's just the way it is in this political climate."

- Support of Christian values [in their words, "A good understanding of the Bible being indispensable for the development of an educated citizenry, we encourage state legislatures to offer Bible in a literature curriculum as an elective in America's high schools"];
- Disempowering of teachers [by promoting an alternative to teachers educated in accredited university programs by urging "school districts to make use of teaching talent in the business community, STEM fields, and the military…. Rigid tenure systems should be replaced with merit-based approach in order to attract the best talent to the classroom" (Republican Platform 2016, pp. 34–35)].

This platform fits nicely into the nativist populists' aim of promoting a monoculture intolerant of other values and views (Sierakowski, 2016). The education platform was accepted by the Republican nominee (Trump) and, if implemented, will further populism, nationalism, and nativism in the United States. Furthermore, this could embolden nativist populists across the world, deepening divisions between nations and their various cultures and increasing the possibilities of internal as well as global conflict (Solana, 2016). Wars, for the most part, are fought by those who are disempowered to increase the power of the elite (Moberg, 2005; Zinn, 1999). Without citizenries that can think for themselves, critically analyze power structures, and remain tolerant of differences while working toward the public good, the world may be doomed to a constant turmoil instigated by the elites to ensure their own power base (Chomsky, 2016; Giroux, 2013). Without public education systems led by a professional teaching force and policies that promote tolerance of differing views, languages, and cultures, nations may be duped by nativist populists who are only concerned with their own interests: mainly obtaining and sustaining power (Rucht & Teune, 2015; Solana, 2016).

A Widespread Concern

Nativist populist movements in the United States and across Europe share certain characteristics, such as an anti-immigration stance, anti-globalization/country-first demands, and support by undereducated native populations who have been marginalized by the neoliberalization of their economies (Chomsky, 2016; Giroux, 2014; Rucht & Teune, 2015; Solana, 2016). Following huge immigration flows and a great increase in the number of refugees pouring into Europe, many nativist populists have risen to power, leading political movements that are gaining influence. In Austria, the support of the populist Freedom Party is at 35% as of 2016 (see Appendix A). This party advocates more privatization of government entities (Schweiger, 2015), which may decimate public schools whose mission is to educate all comers (Kozol, 2006; Ravitch, 2013). Similarly, the People's Party of Switzerland garners 29% of national support in 2016 and also favors an increase in privatization (Rechsteiner, Rieger, & Ambrosetti, 2014).

Great Britain's Conservative Party is moderate but, like the Republican Party in the United States, it must pander to the hard-right nativists within its ranks in a quest for a voting majority (Chomsky, 2016). The party's former leader, Boris Johnson, was the key figure in the Brexit vote amidst cries of limiting or stopping immigration, especially that of Muslims (McShane, 2016). The Conservative Party education platform calls for increasing the number of charter schools and dismantling failing ("coasting") schools only to privatize them (Conservative Party of Great Britain, 2015).

Marine Le Pen is a rising populist figure from the political right who is president of the anti-immigrant, nativist National Front party in France. She is the daughter of Jean-Marie Le

Pen, who led the party for many years. In 2015, the National Front gained over 27% support in regional elections, the highest in the party's 44-year history (Gow, 2015). The party has little focus on educational policies, however, as is made evident by the paucity of education information on its website (http://www.frontnational.com/). Instead, the party's platform focuses on economic austerity and anti-immigration measures. With its dual anti-globalization and nationalistic focus, this party may be the closest equivalent to Trumpism outside of the United States (Astier, 2014).

The final populist movement this article examines is in Germany,[4] where the Alternative for Germany party represents those seeking right-wing policy reforms. Although the party has little support (less than 5%),[5] it is important to include it in this discussion as Germany takes in more refugees than any other country in the West (United Nations Refugee Agency, 2016)—though not as many per capita as Sweden (Government Offices of Sweden, n.d.). The Alternative for Germany party is strongly anti-immigrant, but it also supports more privatization of government and a laser-like focus on the individual and on the private good over the public good (Meyer & Storck, 2015).

In summary, the right-wing nativist populist movements in the United States and Europe have similar education stances, mainly in their promotion of an increasing privatization of the public good.[6] The nativist populists' shared interest in country-first policies and in limiting globalization as well as immigration could have a great impact on the public schooling systems in the United States and across Europe. These policies could segregate populations via privatization schemes such as the promotion of charter schools, thus tearing the fabric of society, to paraphrase Jon Kozol (2006).

Conclusion

The rise of right-wing nativist populism, often led by charismatic leaders such as Trump and Le Pen, threatens to create a world of walled-off nations filled with intolerant citizens living in fear of the "other" (Apple, 2004, 2006; Atkinson, 2016). Its isolationist policies could exacerbate the fear of minorities both inside and outside the national borders, intensifying internal and external conflicts among races, religions, cultures, and nations (Castells, 1998; Chomsky, 2016; Rucht & Teune, 2015). The nativist populists' hyper-right-wing, anti-government stances could further erode public schools through privatization schemes that have been found to promote segregation (Giroux, 2014; Kozol, 2006; Ravitch, 2013), and they could also aggravate tensions among these nations' citizens. As such, these movements can negatively affect the social stability of individual nations and the entire globe, adding great turmoil to a world already apprehensive due to pervasive, increased conflict.

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[4] **[**It is unclear why you are talking about Sweden here, since the footnote refers to Germany. Please insert a sentence to introduce this argument**]** The Sweden Democrats received 13% support in the 2014 national elections, up from under 5% in 2010. The party is led by a charismatic populist, Jimmie Åkesson, who is rabidly opposed to immigration. The party's education platform is quite similar to that of U.S. Republicans, in that it supports a greater emphasis on the Swedish language and more control over teacher quality. True to the liberal Swedish political culture, however, the party is also against charter schools (https://sd.se/wpcontent/uploads/2013/08/inriktningsprogram_skolan.pdf), which were instituted 20 years ago and have become a great sources of national debate (see Wiborg, 2010).

[5] Germany is also home to Pegida (Patriotic Europeans against the Islamization of the West), which has been responsible for great unrest in various parts of the nation and for stirring up great anti-immigrant hysteria (Decker, 2015).

[6] The lone exception may be Sweden, where the Democrats are skeptical of the disastrous experiment with privately operated charter schools (Wiborg, 2014).
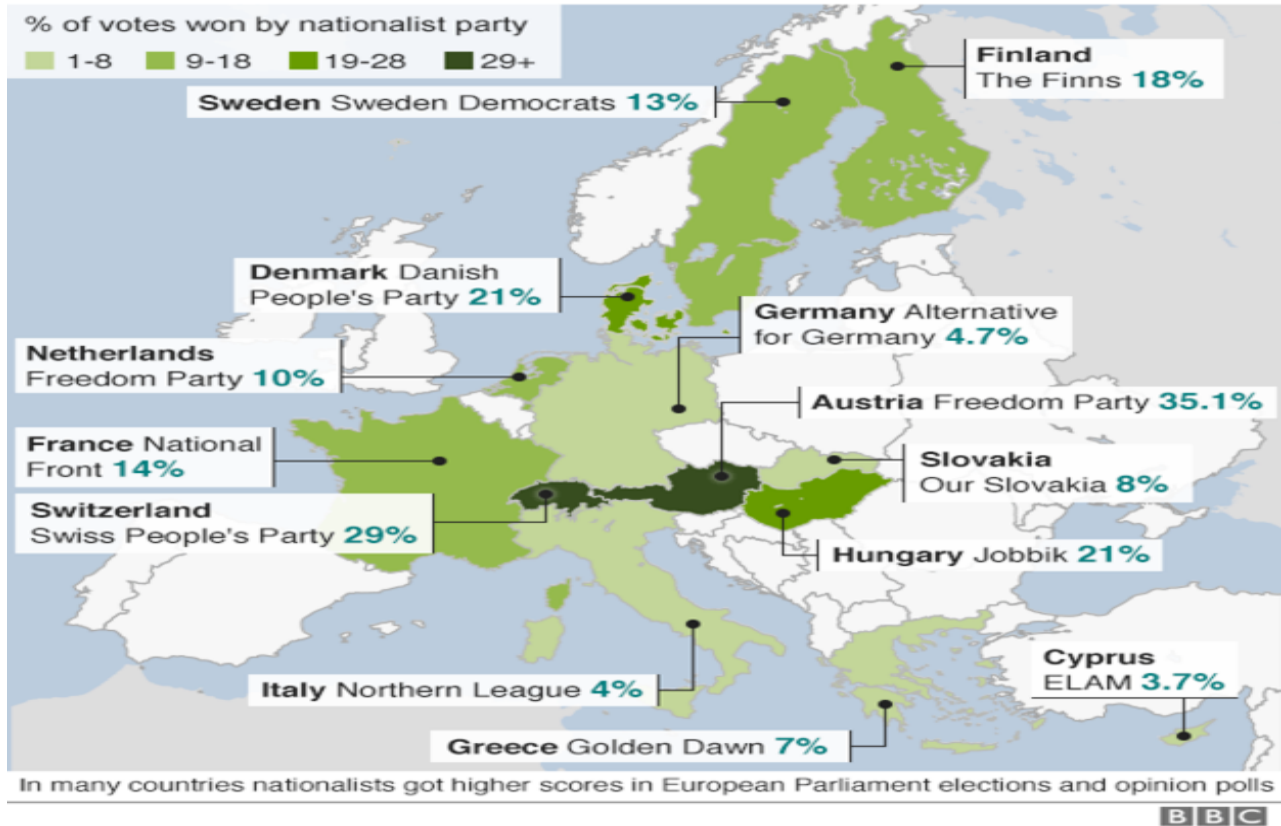
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Rise of Nationalism in Europe: Results of Most Recent National Elections (2016)

Source: BBC News (http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-36130006)

Appendix B

U.S. Average Income, 2014

Category	Income
Bottom 90%	$33,068
Top 10%	$295,845
Top 5%	$448,489
Top 1%	$1,260,508
Top 0.1%	$6,087,113
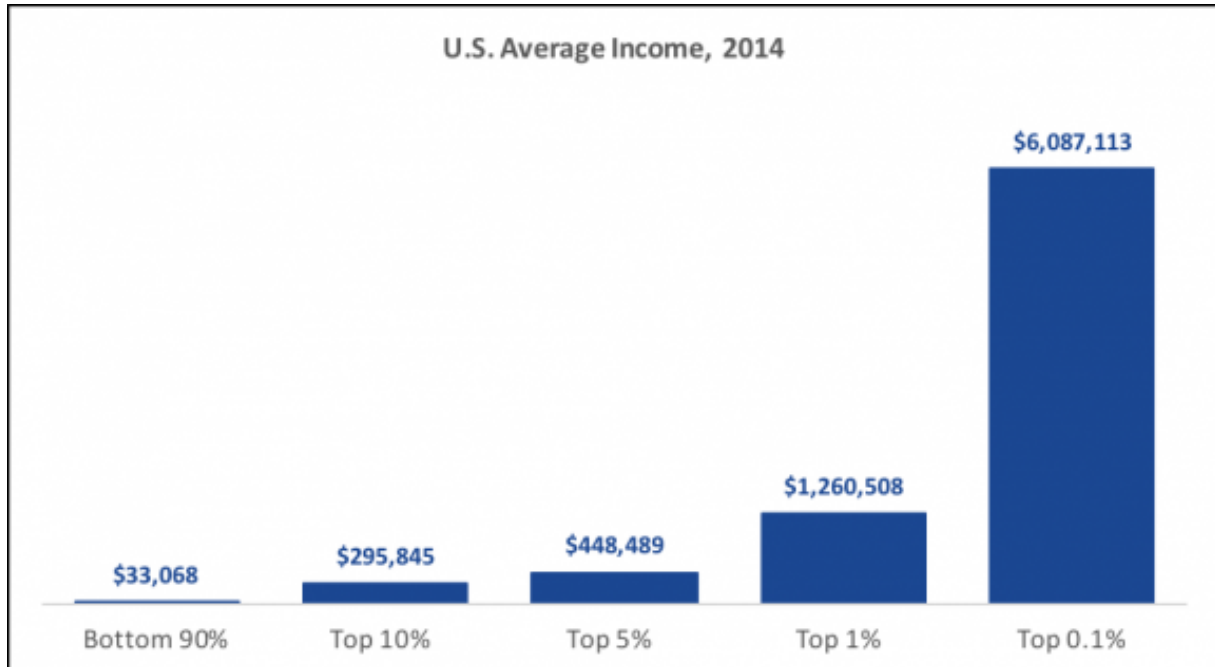
Source: Emmanuel Saez, Center for Equitable Growth, June 2015 (http://inequality.org/inequality-data-statistics/)

Appendix C

Income, Net Worth, and Financial Worth in the U.S. by Percentile, in 2010 Dollars

Wealth or income class	Mean household income	Mean household net worth	Mean household financial (non-home) wealth
Top 1 percent	$1,318,200	$16,439,400	$15,171,600
Top 20 percent	$226,200	$2,061,600	$1,719,800
60th-80th percentile	$72,000	$216,900	$100,700
40th-60th percentile	$41,700	$61,000	$12,200
Bottom 40 percent	$17,300	-$10,600	-$14,800

Note: only mean figures are available, not medians. Note that income and wealth are separate measures; for example, the top 1% of income earners is not exactly the same group of people as the top 1% of wealth holders, although there is considerable overlap. Source: http://www2.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/power/wealth.html.

Model Continuation High Schools: Social-Cognitive Factors That Contribute to Re-Engaging At-Risk Students Emotionally, Behaviorally, and Cognitively Towards Graduation

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Abstract

This three-phase, two-method qualitative study explored and identified policies, programs, and practices that school-site administrators perceived as most effective in reengaging at-risk students emotionally, behaviorally, and cognitively at 10 California Model Continuation High Schools (MCHS). Eccles' expectancy-value theoretical framework was used to gain insight on effective school context that supported at-risk students' developmentally appropriate expectancy for success and task-value beliefs towards graduation. Results indicated that MCHS had significant policies, programs, and practices that transformed disengaged at-risk students into graduates by breaking down the barriers of students' prior negative experiences and formed new expectancy and task-value beliefs through positive learning opportunities.

Researchers across the United States have cited the leading cause of dropping out as a decline in student motivation resulting from disengagement in the educational system (Finn, 1989). California's Model Continuation High Schools (MCHS) are recognized as making a difference for the most disengaged students, and yet little is known about why their specific policies, programs, and practices are successful in re-engaging at-risk students. Considering that continuation high schools are California's premier dropout intervention program (CDE, 2015), it is imperative to examine what critical re-engaging components in MCHS are significant for other schools to consider. This research examined the phenomenon of re-engagement in an effective school context and its developmental influences on at-risk students' beliefs of expectancy for success and task-value towards graduation.

The study was important because there is a current need to close the dropout gap for low economic status and minority students and to increase engagement for all high school students nationwide. The literature revealed a need for greater understanding of successful policies, programs, and practices at continuation high schools and of schoolwide support structures that address not only the cognitive and behavioral challenges of at-risk students but also their psychological, social, and emotional needs. Currently, the literature focuses on the cognitive and behavioral causes of individual academic failure (Marks, 2000; McDermott, Mordell, & Stolzfus, 2001), overlooking the connection between these failures and the power of a developmentally appropriate school context to re-engage at-risk students in the educational process (Eccles & Roeser, 2011; Graham & Weiner, 2012).

Purpose of Study

Given the multifaceted interactions of the school context and the complex developmental needs of at-risk students, this three-phase, two-method qualitative study had a dual purpose. The first purpose was to explore and identify policies, programs, and practices perceived as being most effective in re-engaging at-risk students emotionally, behaviorally, and cognitively at 10 MCHS in California. The second purpose was to build upon Eccles' expectancy-value theoretical framework (EEVT; Eccles et al., 1983) by gaining insight on effective school context that supported at-risk students' developmentally appropriate expectancy for success and task-value beliefs towards graduation.

Research Questions

The following central question guided the study at 10 purposely selected California MCHS:
1) How are 10 MCHS re-engaging at-risk students behaviorally, emotionally, and cognitively?
2) What principles of Eccles' expectancy-value model are evident, if at all, in the identified policies, programs, and practices of the 10 MCHS?

Theoretical Framework

The data were collected, organized, and interpreted through the EEVT framework, which proposes that both social-cognitive variables (expectancy and task-value) are swayed by students' perception of external structures (psychological factors related to school, family, peers, and community) that influence the development of their personal beliefs and affect the outcome of achievement-related choices and performances (Eccles et al., 1983). The social-cognitive

principles of EEVT are associated with five theoretical frames of research—self-efficacy theory, control theory, self-determination theory (intrinsic motivation only), interest theory, and goal theory—which in turn are connected to social-cognitive theory (Rotter, 1982), achievement theory (Atkinson, 1957), and attribution theory (Weiner, 1985). This makes EEVT framework applicable to a qualitative examination of the multifaceted and multidimensional variables for re-engaging at-risk students through the school context (Wigfield & Eccles, 2002; Wigfield et al., 1997).

The multidimensional aspects of EEVT's psychological factors make it difficult to examine re-engagement in a non-longitudinal study. Consequently, the researcher reduced the basic tenets to include only aspects of EEVT that relate to measuring the school context (policies, programs, and practices). Focusing specifically on school context will assist in examining what principles of Eccles' Expectancy-Value Model are evident, if at all, in the identified policies, programs, and practices of the 10 MCHS that contribute to re-engaging at-risk students in the educational process (Figure 1).

Literature Review

When looking at student re-engagement, the literature operationalized three distinct dimensions of engagement: (a) emotional engagement, (b) behavioral engagement, and (c) cognitive engagement (Appleton, Christenson, & Furlong, 2008; Fredricks, Blumenfeld, & Paris, 2004; Newmann, Wehlage, & Lamborn, 1992). Emotional engagement encompasses students' affective relationships with educators and the school as well as the mindset about the policies, programs, and practices developed through positive or negative experiences (Yazzie-Mintz, 2007). Behavioral engagement reflects students' participation or lack thereof in schools (Finn, 1993; Fredricks et al., 2004). Cognitive engagement is the intellectual effort or psychological investment of the student in educational activities (Newmann et al., 1992). All three were seen as important re-engagement mechanisms for at-risk students.
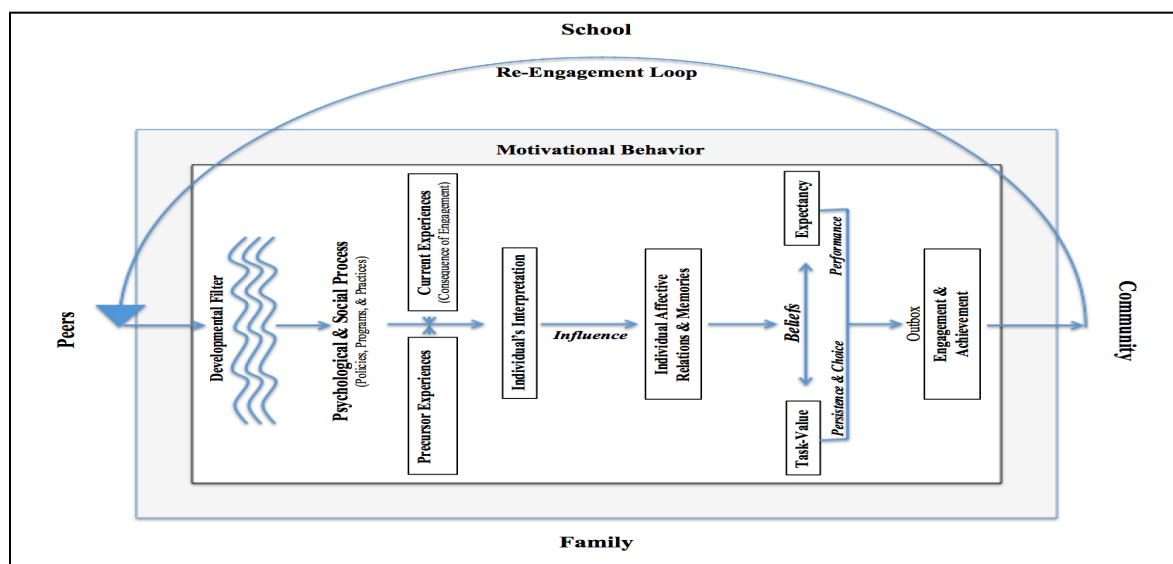

Figure 1. Re-engagement Expectancy-Value Model of Achievement Behavior in Schools

When looking at re-engaging at-risk students in any of the three dimensions of engagement or through policies, programs, and practices, the literature additionally highlighted three basic motivational components that need to be met: (a) competence, or the desire to experience mastery; (b) relatedness, or the desire to interact, be connected, and experience caring from and for others; and (c) autonomy, or the desire to make decisions in one's life (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Eccles & Roeser, 2010; Skinner, Kindermann, & Furrer, 2009). Deci and Ryan (2000) further maintain that these innate needs assist or decrease the students' interpretation and internalization of external experiences into beliefs. Such needs are seen as engagement initiators that foster the internal psychological changes required for engagement to occur, as reflected in Figure 2 (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Eccles & Roeser, 2010; Eccles et al., 1983; Skinner et al., 2009).
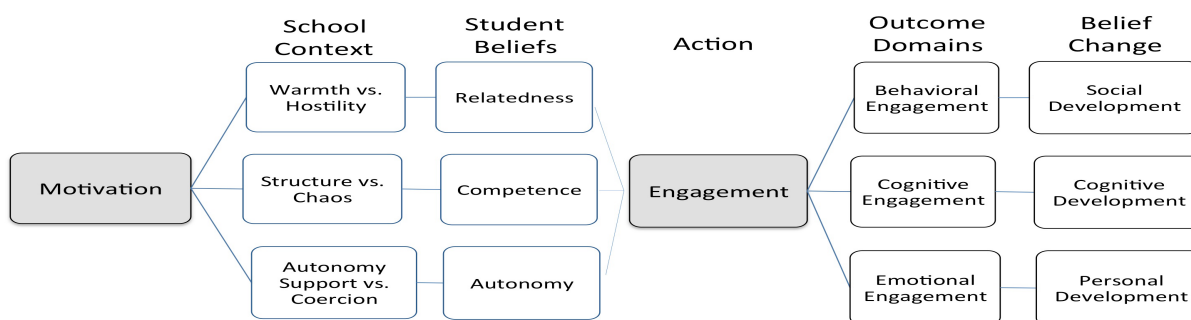

Figure 2. Sources of Engagement

The transformation of the school context in support of relatedness, competence, and autonomy not only addresses the students' basic psychological needs but also identifies a motivational process that produces a sense of self, supporting the EEVT model of student engagement (Eccles & Roeser, 2011; Eccles et al., 1983; Graham & Weiner, 2012). The literature review conducted for this study emphasized how school context can facilitate competency by helping students establish realistic expectations, by being consistent in their policies and practices, and by providing relevant and timely feedback (Hattie, 2009; Skinner, 1995). The literature review additionally summarized how relatedness was developed by involving students in school, engaging them in interesting and fun activities, and linking education to their future aspirations (Connell & Wellborn, 1991). By recognizing students' perspectives and providing opportunity for student initiative and choice, educators can increase the students' feeling of autonomy (Deci & Ryan, 2000). If these basic needs are thwarted through an inappropriate school context, disengagement begins and eventually the student drops out (Higgins, 2007).

There was a clear agreement across the different domains of research that motivation initiates the process to engage and that engagement is needed to succeed in school. However, the limited perspective on the cognitive and behavioral processes in the existing research dictates a problem-focused approach centered on the individual (Marks, 2000) rather than a more constructive psychological and developmental agenda (Eccles & Roeser, 2011). To support the educators' need to understand how to re-engage at-risk students, this study sought to focus on the three dimensions of engagement, examining how schools develop students' values towards graduation, expectancy for success, and the significance of the school context in re-engaging at-risk students.

Methods

The study was conducted in three phases, utilizing two methods. Phase I and Phase III used content analysis, whereas Phase II utilized a phenomenological method. Each phase was designed to delve deeper into the phenomena of re-engagement through diverse perspectives and multiple methods and strategies (Creswell, 2014; Richards & Morse, 2013). The data were collected from twice-awarded MCHS applications from a pool of 81 schools between the years 2009 and 2015 (the awards were given by the California Continuation Education Association in partnership with the California Department of Education). External evaluators were used in all phases to audit the process, intent, clarity, and to construct a reliable representation of the findings (Maxwell, 2005).

Phases I and II collected data on the MCHS to address the first research question and purpose of this study. In Phase I, the initial conventional or inductive content analysis of each site's MCHS application, including statement letters (from a student, parent, teacher, and community member) was used to triangulate policy, program, and practice data and increase the credibility of the subjective analysis of qualitative data in Phase II. The examination of documents allowed the researcher to (a) gather background information on school context, (b) determine implementation levels, (c) gather authentic language from multiple sources, and (d) expand the data to be collected in Phase II (Creswell, 2014; Richards & Morse, 2013).

Phase I utilized a 10-step data analysis process. The researcher first read each application as a whole, then read it again making notes about first impressions. Then the applications were read a third time, and the researcher began coding by initially highlighting key words or phrases indicating re-engagement of at-risk students behaviorally, emotionally, and cognitively. The researcher then made notes about actions, activities, concepts, differences, opinions, processes, or any other information that was seen as relevant to the re-engagement of at-risk students. Next, the application was read a fourth time circling any connection to the development of expectancy or task-value beliefs. The application data coding was bracketed in an attempt to understand the re-engaging policies, programs, and practices from different points of view along the three dimensions of engagement (Creswell, 2014). The researcher then horizonalized the data to discover the range of experiences about re-engagement of at-risk students (Mosustakas, 1994). Quotes from the applications were also gathered to support themes emerging from the coding to allow readers to gain their own conclusions (Richards & Morse, 2013). Finally, the researcher generated an application summary sheet of Phase I data for each site based on the 10-step data analysis.

Phase II used 60-minute semi-structured, open-ended interviews to collect data from 10 site administrators who had at least four years of leadership at the MCHS. The semi-structured interviews allowed the researcher to experience the phenomena more closely and to verify the data gathered in Phase I. The interview scripts included an interview guide and nine prompts addressing the three engagement domains. The purpose of the interviews was to describe the essence of the shared experiences at MCHS in re-engaging at-risk students behaviorally, emotionally, and cognitively (Creswell, 2014). The 10-step data analysis process utilized in Phase I was also used on the transcribed interviews, and data from Phases I and II were combined and reported according to the three dimensions of engagement as supported by the identified re-engagement policies, programs, and practices.

Phase III included a deductive content analysis based on eight theoretical components

(four related to expectancy and four to task-value) of the combined data collected in Phases I and II; this phase aimed at addressing the second research question and purpose of this study. The eight theoretical components were: (a) self-concept of ability to graduate, (b) perception that the task of graduating is doable, (c) healthy attribution for failure and success, (d) healthy locus of control, (e) perceptions of personal importance of doing well on a given task, (f) perceptions of the intentions of the task to accomplish a future goal, (g) immediate enjoyment when performing a task that is intrinsically valued, and (h) ability to overcome negative obstacles, undesirable aspects in a task, or the need to making difficult decisions. Three raters collected data for Phase III and the researcher organized the data into four content analysis summary sheets. These sheets recorded each rater's individual scores for the eight theoretical components—raw data counts entered using a five-point ordinal implementation scale. The five-point implementation scale was developed as an adaptation of the cypress approach for evaluating specific occurrences (McCready, 2013). Fleiss Kappa was then used to evaluate the raw scores (occurrences) on each of the eight theoretical components noted in the MCHS applications and the MCHS administrator interview transcripts. Such evaluation resulted in two different Proportion of Agreement for each school, Proportion of Agreement for each scale category, Inter-Reliability Ratings (IRR), Observed Agreement (P-Bar), Chance Agreement (Pe), and Cohen's Kappa scores for each of the eight theoretical based components. To account for the raters' scoring subjectivity and measure the inter-rater agreement, the researcher calculated Cohen's Kappa scores for each of the eight theoretical components of the transcribed interviews and applications.

Results and Findings

In Phase I, the researcher conducted an inductive document review of the 10 MCHS applications that were awarded, including four statement letters; the results identified 11 policies, 10 programs, and 11 practices that were effective in re-engaging at-risk students emotionally, behaviorally, and cognitively. Even though the policy, program, and practice themes identified diverse exemplary school context components of effective re-engagement, as expressed both through self-reporting and in writing, those components were not in themselves re-engagement initiators and required a deeper look into the school context from the perception of MCHS site administrators, which was done in Phase II.

In Phase II, the 10-step phenomenological analysis of semi-structured administrator interviews revealed eight re-engaging implementation strategies perceived to be effective with at-risk students, based on four emotional, two behavioral, and two cognitive components. First, the MCHS re-engaged at-risk students emotionally by maintaining a welcoming, safe, and clean campus, establishing meaningful and supportive adult-student relationships, providing on- and off-campus counseling support, and frequently celebrating small wins. Second, the MCHS re-engaged at-risk students behaviorally by establishing clear and high expectations for all students and seeking active student participation in educational activities, events, and learning opportunities. Finally, the MCHS re-engaged at-risk students cognitively by providing a structured and adaptable learning environment to meet at-risk students' unique needs and by making sure the students' educational experiences were relevant to their future.

Even though the initial findings of Phases I and II developed a picture of what MCHS were doing within their school contexts, they did not explain whether, or how, the students' beliefs were transformed to promote re-engagement. Thus, the content analysis in Phase III

offered a deeper deductive approach to provide insight into the transformation of the students' expectancy for success and task-value belief towards graduation.

The Phase III findings revealed that two principles of the EEVT (expectancy and task-value beliefs) were evident in all 10 MCHS, at an average exemplary implementation rate of 27% (11 or more occurrences at each site), a progressive implementation rate of 43% (7–10 occurrences), a transitional implementation rate of 24% (4–6 occurrences), and a beginning implementation rate of 6% (1–3 occurrences). The MCHS accomplished this by modifying the school context to break down the barriers of students' prior negative experiences and form new expectancy and task-value beliefs through positive learning opportunities.

Expectancy captures the students' beliefs about their success on a given task, and it was explored through four theoretical achievement ability beliefs (Eccles et al., 1983; Skinner, 1995; Wigfield & Eccles, 2002). The Phase III findings indicated that the strongest expectancy belief component was the development of a healthy locus of control, followed by the perception that the task of graduation was doable (Table 1). Next was the development of self-concept of ability to graduate, and last, but still significant, was the development of a healthy attribution for failure and success. These findings showed how the MCHS are building students' positive self-efficacy and locus of control through their policies, programs, and practices by transforming students' inappropriate beliefs about their achievement levels and abilities into more constructive and appropriate expectancy beliefs.

Table 1

Phase III Expectancy and Task-Value Belief Findings

	Implementation Rate			
Social-Cognitive Components	Exemplary (11+ Times)	Progressive (7–10)	Transitional (4–6)	Beginning (1–3)
Expectancy:				
1. Healthy locus of control	55%	40%	5%	0%
2. Perception that graduating is doable	30%	40%	30%	0%
3. Self-concept of ability to graduate	25%	40%	35%	0%
4. Healthy attribution for failure & success	10%	15%	40%	35%
Task-value:				
1. Ability to overcome obstacles or make difficult decisions	50%	45%	5%	0%
2. Perception of intentions of the task to accomplish future goal	30%	55%	15%	0%
3. Immediate enjoyment when performing intrinsically valued tasks	25%	45%	30%	0%
4. Personal importance of doing well on a given task	15%	55%	30%	0%

Note: Cohen's Kappa and inter-rater agreement were calculated for each component.

School programs and practices that build appropriate expectancies are important because self-efficacy and perceived control over competence are major predictors of engagement and

achievement (Bandura, 1997; Pintrich, 2003; Schunk & Mullen, 2012). In fact, motivation and achievement researchers suggest that the school context should support the building of a mastery-based mindset by progressively developing the level of the challenges the students face, by assisting students in envisioning multifaceted concepts, and by providing them with constructive and timely feedback to overcome inappropriate expectancies (Dweck & Elliott, 1983; Eccles & Roeser, 2011; Wigfield & Eccles, 2002). This was most evident in the mentoring and support programs, adaptable learning environments, and systematic monitoring of student progress observed in the MCHS discussed here.

EEVT's second component, task-value, refers to the qualities of a specific task and how such qualities influence the student's engagement to do the task (Eccles et al., 1983). The Phase III findings indicated that the two strongest components of task-value beliefs were the perceived ability to overcome negative obstacles or make difficult decisions and the perceived intentions of the task to accomplish a future goal (Table 1). Next was the immediate enjoyment when performing an intrinsically valued task, followed by the perception of personal importance of doing well on a given task. These findings show how the policies, programs, and practices at the MCHS are building students' intrinsic motivation, interest, and goal setting to transform their inappropriate beliefs about educational tasks into more constructive, and appropriate task-value beliefs.

Task-value beliefs influence the students' intent and persistence in the given task (Wigfield et al., 1997). The students determine the value of a school-related task in two ways, based on performance in school and on experiences in different school contexts (Higgins, 2007). If the task is useful, thought-provoking, and meaningful to the student, engagement will occur, which in turn will develop positive intentions and values and therefore affect the student's beliefs (Pintrich, 2003; Wigfield et al., 1997). All MCHS developed the students' interest and intrinsic motivation through student activities and events and by providing exploratory career, college, and community service opportunities.

Conclusions

Three conclusions resulted from the analysis of the study's findings. First, at-risk students' re-engagement is most effective when the school context (policies, and practices) provide learning opportunities that scaffold the development of students' emotional, behavioral, and cognitive engagement in a successive loop, beginning with emotional engagement. Positive experiences initiate belief alteration and create an amenable mindset for the change, allowing for an open pathway for experiencing success (Finn, 1993; Fredricks, Blumenfeld, & Paris, 2004). Once this pathway is opened, the desire to interact can be nurtured to enhance behavioral engagement, which encompasses students' effort, persistence, and active participation within the classroom and school context (Bandura, 1997; Newmann et al., 1992; Weiner, 1985). After students become active participants they are ready to begin experiencing effectiveness in their own social and physical environment, leading to cognitive engagement (Bandura, 1997; Weiner, 2007).

MCHS started emotional reengagement during the voluntary intake process, by treating new students with respect and welcoming them into a safe and caring environment. They continued to reengage students by providing individualized support opportunities to immediately address each student's needs, frequently acknowledging the students' progress, and encouraging active participation to holistically develop behavioral engagement in and out of the classroom. Next, MCHS provided a structured and adaptable learning environment for relevant educational

experiences to develop students' cognitive abilities. They created the feeling of effectiveness by monitoring student progress and nurturing "whatever it takes" attitudes to ensure student success and not allow failure.

Second, student engagement is most effective when the school context provides developmental opportunities that build students' self-efficacy and locus of control, altering students' inappropriate emotional, behavioral, and cognitive expectancy for success beliefs about their perceived ability to graduate. Students construct, interpret, and understand knowledge through positive developmental opportunities. When numerous failed attempts form inappropriate beliefs, it causes at-risk students to stop trying, to experience helplessness and low self-efficacy, or to believe that they have a fixed ability. Students with low self-efficacy tend to regard their performance as a measurement of inherent aptitude, and failure as an indicator of intellectual deficits or something out of their control (Bandura, 1997). When students develop this mindset, it modifies their perspective, decreasing engagement (Bandura, Barbararanelli, Caprara, & Pastorelli, 2001; Schunk & Mullen, 2012), and ultimately deteriorating their performance (Dweck & Elliott, 1983). Understanding the actions required provides the crucial foundation for expectancy to succeed and is the regulatory component for students towards their success or failure (Rotter, 1982).

MCHS built students' self-efficacy and locus of control through individualized instruction and support to raise the students' confidence in their abilities. They promoted high expectations and appropriate acknowledgment of success and failure based on the students' efforts, and they had a strong commitment to student success. MCHS also provided clear paths so students would understand how to earn required credits, offered numerous opportunities for active participation, provided individualized support and progress monitoring, and established personal goal setting through advisory and mentoring programs. By supporting the students' personal development of responsibility for their educational outcomes, it allowed students to overcome their learned helplessness and supported their path towards success and attribution retraining.

Third, student re-engagement is most effective when the school context provides choices that build the students' intrinsic motivation and interests, altering their inappropriate emotional, behavioral, and cognitive beliefs about perceived task-values towards graduating. EEVT explains values based on the qualities of a specific task and how such qualities influence the student's engagement to do the task (Eccles et al., 1983). The values of a specific task and their influence on the students' engagement to do the task are key in altering the students' inappropriate choices and lack of persistence (Eccles et al., 1983). The task's value can be developed by providing various opportunities to nurture the students' interest and increase their personal identity by performing the task (Carver & Scheier, 2005; Eccles et al., 1983). The findings supported how MCHS are building students' intrinsic motivation, interest, and future goal setting to turn their inappropriate beliefs about educational tasks into more constructive and appropriate task-value beliefs. All MCHS developed task-values by modifying the school context to support attainment, interest, utility, and cost-value development to improve the students' outcome choices and performance. Wigfield and colleagues (1997) found that value beliefs influence students' intent and persistence in a given task. By supporting the students' interest for future personal goals, MCHS allowed students to build intrinsic motivation and altered their beliefs towards graduation and beyond.

Implications

Practical and theoretical implications resulted from this study. First, the findings can be used to inform school intervention programs and practices that reduce disengagement and dropout as well as policy recommendations that re-engage at-risk students back into the educational process. Second, to better understand the multidimensional aspects of re-engagement, this study conceptualized social-cognitive components of expectancy and task-value to validate and extend EEVT, and it provided an adapted educational model for practical implementation.

Summary

The results of this research suggest that a school context intentionally designed to address the emotional, behavioral, and cognitive aspects of engagement through the development of students' expectancy to succeed beliefs, together with the development of students' task-value beliefs towards graduation and beyond, can lead to re-engagement for at-risk students (Dweck & Elliott, 1983). The genuine importance of this study can be supported by the result of the MCHS's ability to transform disengaged at-risk students emotionally, behaviorally, and cognitively into graduates who seek career and college options. MCHS were able to overcome student obstacles and barriers by creating a school context that supported the right policies, programs, and practices to address their students' diverse needs in the three dimensions of engagement.

MCHS are exemplary sites that have much to share with other continuation high schools looking for successful re-engaging approaches for at-risk students. This research suggests that MCHS had significant policies, programs, and practices that transformed disengaged at-risk students into graduates by developing the students' expectancy for success beliefs and task-value beliefs towards graduation and beyond. The vision of the researcher is for future studies to build upon the presented concepts and share findings with educators who can address the dropout problem and truly guide all students to new heights.

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From Forty-to-One to One-to-One:

Eliminating the Digital Divide and Making Equity Actionable

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Abstract

This article shows how the adoption of technology may serve as a catalyst for deeper, systemic reforms. This article shares a local case of organizational learning in which a midsize California urban school district faithfully acted on a technology goal nested in its strategic plan. Through this experience, the school district demonstrated various organizational behaviors worth considering when implementing a large-scale technology initiative. First, the San Leandro Unified School District (SLUSD) provides evidence of an organization adopting technology and eliminating the digital divide to make the concept of equity actionable for students, families, and staff. Second, this case portrays how the structural, tangible changes brought forth through technology adoption in an entire school district can serve as a foundation for more complex reforms. Third, SLUSD's story exemplifies how sustaining technology success can be attained through an intentional collaborative partnership at the local level.

The Case

Transforming a K-12 school system into an equitable institution presents one of the most vexing challenges to educational leaders. The list of issues to address and of the organizational components to engage may run endlessly. This article only narrates the journey of a local school system in the Bay Area, serving nearly 9,000 students and addressing organizational change focused on technology.

It is a story that began in the fall of 2013. That year, the San Leandro Unified School District found itself in a position similar to that of many midsize urban school districts in the state of California—in urgent need of key systemic improvements while simultaneously embracing some of the most dramatic national and state reform efforts. These mandated reforms included the adoption of the Common Core State Standards, new online state assessments, and the implementation of the Local Control Funding Formula. In 2013, the SLUSD demonstrated limited professional development for both teachers and administrators, a student-to-computer ratio of 40 to one, a generally poor technology infrastructure, and a failed attempt by the district's central administration to build a collaborative relationship with the teachers' union. In addition, as is the case of many urban school districts serving diverse, socioeconomically disadvantaged populations, the school district faced limited funding, despite slight increases in California state revenues.

In order to launch the needed systemic improvements, the school board worked closely with senior central office leaders to develop a strategic plan focused on five goals to be accomplished within a 3-year cycle. Unlike many strategic plans that last anywhere from five to 10 years, the plan developed by the board and district leadership team worked from the tenet that a shorter cycle with actionable, attainable goals would help improve district culture, elevate morale, and yield better outcomes for students. Essentially, we wanted for the SLUSD to experience a sense of success quickly and from there to move forward through deeper, sustainable phases within a continuous improvement cycle.

Technology as a Strategic Goal

In order to gain momentum through visible and tangible changes, while at the same time striving to close the students' opportunity gap, one key goal of the five set forth by the strategic plan consisted of an intentional yet broad goal of overhauling the district's technology landscape. Unlike other systemic reform efforts, technological development delivers more concrete, observable results. In other words, our central assumption was that eliminating the digital divide could provide tangible evidence of what equity looks and feels like in action, beyond empty words.

With this proposed 3-year cycle, it was clear to us that a successful implementation of our theory of change—i.e., achieving a tangible transformation around technology and eliminating the digital divide—would formidably position the district to attain the relational trust, credibility, and respect necessary to implement all the other complex improvements needed to attain equity, which would be less visible and would probably take longer. Consequently, SLUSD developed a laser-like focus on technology.

We assumed that in order to disrupt the existing technological inequities, we had to relentlessly work on enhancements beginning right away in that year of 2013. Technology had historically been a low priority within the SLUSD. Back then, the district did not even have a

technology plan or an allocated budget. The minimal staff responsible for technology was not only overworked, but also in charge of severely antiquated hardware and software systems and platforms. Both Internet bandwidth and Wi-Fi access performed at unreliable low levels and were very limited. And again, we had one fairly outdated computer for every 40 students. We wanted to build a one-student-to-one-computer ratio, and to achieve this goal, changing the old, minimally functional servers and networks was a must.

The Funding Challenge

Since 2013, state policy makers and the government of California provided some restoration of existing funding levels prior to the last recession. This financial support took place in addition to one-time funds allocated to districts across the state. Both funding streams formed the financial basis to launch the latest state reforms, but against a national backdrop in which the state of California still lagged considerably behind in per-pupil spending compared to most states of the Union. As the mandated state reforms permeated the local entities, California educational leaders found they had to prioritize and choose between the long list of programs, initiatives, and unfunded mandates to transform schools.

We chose to address the technology gap even when the money was still seriously limited. Our strategy coincided with top-down state accountability tests that required us to change our assessments from being paper based to being completely online. It was, however, up to each local school district to figure out how to jumpstart funding for technology and how to sustain these efforts beyond the initial adoption.

In our case, at the SLUSD, it would have been difficult to meet state mandates successfully given the conditions outlined above: a ratio of 40 students to one device and sorely poor technological infrastructure. Moreover, we did not have enough funding sources to implement the changes necessary for a systemic upgrade. But most importantly, beyond the state accountability tests, SLUSD knew that without funding for a complete transformation of the district's technology landscape, other changes—outlined in our strategic plan, as well as in other key initiatives—would simply become impossible.

Additionally, we knew that creating equitable outcomes for the SLUSD's culturally and linguistically diverse student population would remain a nebulous concept as long as our limited technology remained intact. If we did not succeed in this systemic change, we would collectively face an insurmountable barrier to joining the 21st century. Too many other aspects of district improvement would be threatened, and even worse, too many excuses for not improving would dominate the conversation. Thus, we determined that the funding challenge needed to be resolved. We and the local community leaders knew that an innovative solution to the funding conundrum—to simultaneously engage the school district's needs and respond to the state mandates effectively—had to take central stage.

A Funding Solution Through Partnership

The district's leadership team swiftly took action as it remained fiercely dedicated to executing the technology goal of the strategic plan. Therefore, we conducted an assessment of exactly what would be needed to implement our vision for technology. Through an intense and expedited program evaluation, the leadership determined that the district could launch a systemic technology improvement plan with an initial five-million-dollar fund. The SLUSD leadership

team learned about the Qualified Zone Academy Bond (QZAB), a program that allowed school districts to apply for funds at a very low interest rate. The program, however, required school districts to demonstrate a commitment to enhance their curricula to better prepare students for college and to better train the workforce through innovation of facilities and technology. Furthermore, the program expected school districts to work with a 10% matching partner supporting the attempted improvements.

In the SLUSD, the QZAB program had the potential to be transformational, and here is why. Timing can instigate change. While SLUSD was learning about the QZAB program and its funding model, the city of San Leandro was facing its own technology challenges. Essentially, we benefitted from this contextual timing. The rapid technology boom centered in San Francisco over the last two decades made this city too expensive and an extremely competitive place in which to live and locate a company. San Leandro, as other surrounding cities in the Bay Area have done, attempted to market its less expensive location compared not only to San Francisco but to Oakland as well. Innovative companies could get more out of their dollars, and at the same time stay closely connected to the industry's networks.

The city of San Leandro possessed another advantage to offer the industry: a long-standing technology software company, OSIsoft, which has served as an anchor of innovation and technology in our city. Equally attractive was the city's 18-mile stretch of broadband network around downtown that provides high-speed Internet. With a global technology powerhouse company nested in the community, and the city's newly laid fiber loop, the school district undoubtedly enjoyed an advantage in its efforts to link up with a partner. We felt that disrupting the patterns of inadequate state funding was clearly within our reach.

With timing on our side, we formed a triangulated partnership between the city, a private sector technology company, and the school district. SLUSD applied for the QZAB funding with the matching support of OSIsoft. The school district received an initial five million dollars needed to launch the technology infrastructure enhancements. In 2013, the SLUSD and the City of San Leandro worked collaboratively to establish a connection to the city's fiber loop. The purpose was having fast, reliable Internet access in every single school. The partnership with the city helped to expedite obtaining permits for the construction projects required for the upgrades. The QZAB funds provided the resources to support the key projects.

Successful Systemic Improvements

By 2016, the SLUSD was experiencing the envisioned success. The infrastructure enhancements implemented across the district included (a) a 10-gigabit connection to the City of San Leandro fiber loop, (b) a Meraki Wi-Fi access point in every classroom, and (c) a 40-gigabyte Brocade internal network.

The district also began to close the digital divide by quickly moving away from the 40-students-to-one-computer ratio to a two-to-one ratio within 18 months of the transformative efforts, until it finally attained the goal of the one-to-one ratio before the three-year deadline. As computers arrived in the classrooms, we simultaneously upgraded the staff's hardware. Since the SLUSD expected students to learn and to create by being digital citizens using technology, we sought for all the school district's employees to enjoy full access to the same world-class standard of digital capacity. All administrators, teachers, and support staff gained access to the new devices, so that the organization as a whole could work more efficiently and effectively in

its instructional delivery, business operations, community engagement, and communication endeavors.

Thus, the SLUSD successfully executed the infrastructure changes and made substantial gains deploying all the devices. At the same time that the district actualized equitable access to technology hardware in all the PK-12 schools, it did the same across programs: general education, special education, and bilingual classrooms. Moreover, the school district formally adopted a blended learning suite of platforms enabling teachers to tailor technology to a variety of purposes. The district also adopted the Google suite for both staff and students. By identifying software programs, piloting them, and then scaling them through a formal adoption process, the district's technology and data teams could now more effectively offer appropriate support to students and to the district's personnel, as opposed to the random, decentralized, and unsupported programs that existed in the past.

Lastly, while the transformations in infrastructure, hardware, and software were being launched, the district engaged the workforce at a higher intensity level than in the past. We carried this engagement for two reasons: First, the technology department became part of the instructional division and was moved out of the business division. This organizational restructuring allowed for programmatic leaders, who better understood both school operations and the classroom, to influence the technology deployment process. Second, the strong proficiency in technology integration of the professional development and curricular team was critical. The district's leadership capacity to integrate technology was broad and deep, rather than confined to a small group of "techies." Indeed, individuals in key positions, even at the senior management cabinet level, showed organizational technology leadership and were thus capable of modeling technology integration in varied ways.

Yet, SLUSD's staff experienced growing pains. The potent, accelerated changes within the organization's technology landscape required the staff to be adaptive and open, and resistance seemed inevitable, even if it would rise and fall. Nevertheless, the district leadership team put systems in place to support the staff, recognizing that resistance formed part of the adoption process. No panicking, no aborting, and no abandoning the strategic focus on technology occurred. Instead, the leadership listened to the existing concerns and made the necessary adjustments to move forward.

Throughout these transformative changes, and beyond the three years they lasted, professional development on technology integration remained a focus for administrators, teachers, and all support staff. On the one hand, instructional coaches supported organizational learning on technology integration across the district. On the other hand, the administrators increased their own levels of proficiency and expertise to better support the staff at the local school site level and to continue to foster a model of leadership. Furthermore, the district initiated the Technology Educator Consultant Program, in collaboration with the teachers' union. This program advocated the notion that teachers learn best from their colleagues. The district selected approximately 40 teachers across all schools to learn all the adopted platforms, so that they would serve afterwards as site experts. Staff would rely on them to deal with day-to-day issues as well as for ongoing professional learning experiences.

Persistence, acceptance, and a willingness to listen to concerns played pivotal functions as the staff wrestled with the changes. Senior management staff modeled the use of technology regularly, thus conveying the idea that everything being asked of the staff was also asked of the organizational leaders. Essentially, everybody stretched, but these practices ultimately helped to build trust and mutual respect among all of us.

In sum, during the 3-year cycle we attained the following:
- Completed all technology infrastructure upgrades;
- Integrated student Google Accounts across the district;
- Improved integration of technology across K-12 classrooms;
- Integrated technology in spaces outside of the classroom, such as offices and facilities;
- Improved use of technology to communicate with parents and the community;
- Purchased devices and a differentiated technology setup that would better meet the needs of the youngest learners in PK-3 classrooms;
- Created a one-computer-to-one-student learning environment for the entire SLUSD population;
- Upgraded technology for various employee groups.

Impact on Performance

It might be premature to claim a direct positive correlation between the technology transformations we produced and improved student outcomes. However, for the purposes of organizational learning, it is worth noting some of the quick wins the district is currently experiencing.

The district's culture has improved. The full execution of the changes in the technology goal and all the associated key initiatives—e.g., infrastructure, hardware, software, and professional development—has laid a phenomenal foundation for deeper transformation. The district now can count on large-scale evidence to prove that when it identifies a goal in its strategic plan, it can certainly implement the change process from start to finish. This simple but important organizational outcome of getting something done provides us with a sense of confidence, accomplishment, and success. SLUSD is benefitting from these qualitative impacts on the organization's culture, which is cemented, let's repeat it, with a stronger sense of trust and mutual respect throughout its ranks.

SLUSD has also demonstrated quantitative progress on California's new accountability indicators. As a district on the move and committed to closing the opportunity gap for its diverse student population, SLUSD demonstrated positive results in 2015–2016. According to the new California dashboard, SLUSD has performed at the yellow performance level for academic progress in mathematics and English Language Arts, for English learner progress, and for suspensions. In terms of graduation rates, SLUSD performed at the green level. Additionally, districts are ranked at the county level according to the number of subgroups in each school district that perform at the lower levels, which are identified as orange and red. This ranking is locally referred to as the equity report. Despite being the most diverse school district, with one of the highest rates of free and reduced-price lunch, the district ranked sixth out of 16 districts in the county on this report. It appears as if SLUSD is beginning to defy the trend of perpetual low performance in high poverty schools.

Now What?

SLUSD may be content with the initial burst of improvement thus far described and therefore may begin slowing down the change process. However, slowing down is exactly what we are choosing *not* to do. Certainly, the district leaders understand that they have mostly achieved technical and structural accomplishments. Wheatley's (2006) framework for change management

describes change as occurring at a deeper, more sustainable level when organizations pay close attention to variables like relationships, information, and identity.

SLUSD has thus far laid a strong foundation focused on tangible structural change; this initial change now positions the district to move to a deeper level of technology integration and adoption. The district may now begin to use technology in its relationships to share information and to build a stronger organizational identity. It now can appropriately ask itself critical questions like the following:

1) What relationship exists between the changes we have made and students' academic performance?

2) How will staff use technology integration to transform educational outcomes for students?

3) How will staff utilize technology to create access to enriching learning experiences that take students beyond the classroom walls?

4) How can technology integration in the district more equitably prepare students for the post-secondary world of college and career?

5) How can technology use shift from a passive fruition to one promoting greater productivity and creativity for students and staff?

SLUSD knows that in order to truly get a return on this massive investment of human resources, fiscal resources, community capital, and time, it will need to integrate technology at a deeper level by answering some of those questions. As Kleiman (2000) states in his outline of the myths about technology in K-12 schools, the idea that "equity can be achieved by ensuring that schools in poor communities have the same student-to-computer ratios as schools in wealthier communities" (p. 6) is simply not true, nor enough of an expectation. Instead, our high expectations emphasize that equity and the elimination of the digital divide occur when a school district like ours implements technology as a tool to promote the competencies highlighted in the Framework for 21st Century Learning (2007), which include critical thinking, problem solving, decision making, creativity and innovation, communication and collaboration, and research and information fluency. We are convinced that this technology integration will manifest in equitable outcomes at the post-secondary level we seek for our historically marginalized students, making them college and career ready.

In sum, SLUSD seeks to systematically implement technology integration, so that students relate to content through instructional initiatives like project-based learning, civic engagement, collaborative work, performance assessment, and personalized learning, through which students can become proficient in the competencies that will make them globally competitive. Lastly, it is through this application of technology in the day-to-day pedagogical occurrences within the classroom and in the district's approach to doing business that SLUSD offers an example of how the tool of technology can transform the educational lives of students and genuinely eliminate the digital divide that plagues so many school systems. Most importantly, this case does really demonstrate how the connections made through meaningful, purposeful partnerships can support school district technology reform efforts in ways unimaginable. In fact, school districts like SLUSD may come to learn that partnerships exist as the long-term, sustainable method for eliminating the digital divide.

Acknowledgments

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Students Leading Students: An Observational Study of a

University Remedial Educational Program

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Cerritos Community College

Abstract

This article provides a unique insider perspective developing leadership at the undergraduate level. A case study approach was used to examine the efficacy of a peer mentoring program for remedial students.

As Rob approaches the training/meeting classroom, his posture emanates an aura of confidence. Standing tall, with a long stride and his head up, he is a student with a mission. The semiweekly meeting is intended to help develop and support the skills of remedial students at Golden State University (GSU). He exemplifies the ideal outcome: a student, once remedial, emerging as a strong peer leader to remedial students entering the system.

Rob has not always been the confident student leader he is today. His confidence is a product of his academic and leadership experiences, not simply a set of traits. His training and practice have brought him to the point where he can effectively utilize his leadership skills to guide his group through the training materials and provide them with the skills they need to master their remedial courses. This article explores such leadership emerging as "a function of the situation" (Allen, 1952, p. 92). It is the type of leadership that often occurs spontaneously in times of crisis or adversity. We find that GSU's remedial education program and its participants have fostered this type of leadership, an accomplishment that many have speculated is impossible to achieve.

In the area of higher education, the potential for perpetuating racial, ethnic, and economic inequality is most often examined from the perspective of student retention and degree completion. As U.S. society becomes more diverse and more integrated within a global economy, it becomes increasingly important that educational organizations prepare persons to participate in a diverse society and workplace (Farley, 2002). For this purpose, it is important that educational organizations develop an organizational climate conducive to nurturing and developing leaders who reflect multicultural values.

In addition to these challenges are the greater issues faced by higher education in the United States, such as the move toward privatization and marketization of the U.S. Department of Education. The 2017 appointment of Betsy DeVos, an advocate for such approaches to education, creates an atmosphere of competition and conflict that does not always benefit the development of leadership among students of color and other marginalized student populations. The values represented in such an approach are often at odds with those of the diverse students who attend institutions of public higher education. Moreover, the move toward privatization and marketization has occurred alongside the adoption of the federal Every Student Succeeds Act of 2015 (ESSA) and California's Local Control Funding Formula/Local Control Accountability Plan of 2013, both of which distort the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson in 1965. Described by Mathis and Trujillo (2016) the goal of the ESEA was to improve resources for states and districts by strengthening "the capacity of our most economically impoverished schools to provide high quality public education" (xvi). This goal has been initially undermined by a move away from support for public education and toward increased test-based regulation and by the minimum basic skills movements of the 1970s which placed a greater emphasis on math, science, reading and history at the expense of art, music, and sex education. In 2001, No Child Left Behind (NCLB) further consolidated a test-based, top-down, prescriptive, narrow, and punitive approach to improving schools (Mathis & Trujillo, 2016). This all culminated in the ESSA, which was signed into law by President Obama in December 2015. This law represents a further move away from the original goal of the ESEA to use federal funding to protect historically underserved students, as it shifted responsibility for these students to the states. Instead of the unattainable Adequate Yearly Progress targets, state sanctions are imposed on underperforming schools. Moreover, the ESSA still follows the model of standardized testing in reading and math (Mathis & Trujillo, 2016). For higher education, the

challenge of developing leadership in this climate requires creativity and an alternative to simply rewarding good test performance.

This research examined the impact of peer-led programs on remedial students. If it is the responsibility of the state and local school system to develop educational leaders, it is essential to examine the potential for various school programs to provide preparation and experience in developing leadership skills. We argue that peer leaders are instrumental in addressing the needs of a multicultural and diverse student body.

There appears to be a wide gap in the literature concerning peer-led approaches to remediation in higher education. A survey of the field reveals that a large portion of the available studies is concerned with the effects of mentoring programs on various achievement metrics (Crisp & Cruz, 2009; Jacobi, 1991). Existing research emphasizes the effects of mentoring and mentoring programs on outcomes related to college success. However, as Jacobi (1991) points out, even though mentoring is widely recognized as having positive effects on student success, finding a common definition of mentoring has proven difficult. Nearly two and a half decades after Jacobi's study, the need case for a common operational definition has not changed (Crisp & Cruz, 2009; Gershenfeld, 2014). For example, parameters used in defining mentoring include the effect of mentoring over rates of college retention and the mentors' support in career planning (Nora & Crisp, 2007; Roberts, 2000).

In terms of the established research on undergraduate remediation, rather than unpacking the strategies and practices involved in the remedial process, existing studies tend to view such process as only one of the many factors that lead toward undergraduate success. In this case, the general consensus operationalizes "success" in terms of whether the students complete the requirements for a transfer or for the completion of a degree program (Bailey, 2009; Bettinger & Long, 2009; Burdman, 2012). Scott-Clayton and Rodriguez (2015) explore other outcomes, including subsequent course grades, skill development, and post-remediation test scores. Additionally, there is a considerable amount of scholarship that examines the effects of remediation among Latina/o students within the context of the larger structural inequalities and challenges they face (Acevedo-Gil, Santos, Alonso, & Solorzano, 2015; Chan, 2013; Contreras & Contreras, 2015; Solórzano, Acevedo-Gil, & Santos, 2013). Despite all the attention paid to remediation-related issues, the spotlight continues to fall on overall outcomes following traditionally established models of remediation.

Previous research on peer-led groups focused on students who did not deal with the remedial process, resulting in disenrollment (Blanc, DeBuhr, & Martin, 1983; Cross, 1996; Mannan, Charleston, & Saghafi, 1986; Scurry, 2003). Although this focus is important to understand how remediation benefits students, it overlooks how student-led study groups require the development and use of student leaders.

Research suggests that several factors facilitate the development of a well-informed, confident, and empathetic leader, including intimate working groups, an atmosphere of challenge and critique of concepts and ideas, problem solving at the student level rather than the instructor level, and student-to-student interaction; such characteristics run against the more common hierarchy in a traditional classroom (Barrow, 1977). Rather than being faceless and insignificant, or just a score on a standardized test, student peer-leaders are likely to feel special as a consequence of the personal, face-to-face relationships they have with their students. Additionally, it is reasonable to believe that the students will be more likely to challenge the authority and the knowledge of the student group leader (their peer) rather than those of a representative of the traditional authority structure (e.g., faculty, staff, or administrator), and this

represents a complete break from the top-down approach. Moreover, challenges from fellow students are less intimidating than those posed by professors and provide valuable experience for peer leaders to articulate ideas. This article examines how the interactions between student group leaders and students contribute to the emergence of a confident and empathetic student group leader.

Executive Order 665

Executive Order (EO) 665, pursuant of Title 5 (California Code of Regulations), was implemented in order to help the California State University (CSU) system contend with "Tidal Wave II" (the children of baby boomers), which would increase the need for additional funding and space (Munitz, 1997). Specifically, EO 665 requires that starting in the 1998 fall semester, all CSU students, including transfer and freshmen students, should display competence in English and math in order to avoid the *remedial* label. However, there are no standardized criteria that define the parameters of a remedial or developmental course (Attewell, Domina, Lavin, & Levey, 2006). In the case of the CSU, students are required to fulfill the ELM (entry level mathematics) and the EPT (English placement test) requirements depending on their success in each subject as reflected by their high school transcripts. This is done by (a) qualifying for exemption from the exams because of courses taken, (b) passing the ELM and EPT examinations, or (c) taking the ELM and/or EPT examinations and, in the event of not passing one of the tests or both, demonstrating competence by passing campus-approved programs or by retaking the exams. Students who do not complete a successful remediation program within their first year may be disenrolled. Reenrollment is contingent upon successful completion of remediation at the community college level. Approximately 80% of CSU students remediate within their first year.

Although well intentioned, EO 665 is not problem free. The Advisory Committee appointed by the Chancellor was comprised of staff and faculty and included no student representation, despite the obvious fact that its recommendations would surely affect students the most. Perhaps an unintended, but nonetheless detrimental, consequence of EO 665 is the denial of university access to students of low socioeconomic status and to those who are the first in their family to go to college. This is because low-income students are disproportionately represented among those who fail to meet the new college entrance requirements established by the executive order. King, McEvoy, and Teixeira (2011) argue that the class-based and racial inequalities reproduced via remediation policies constitute nothing less than a civil rights concern. They find that "high remediation campuses serve proportionally more low-income students and students of color than do the campuses with the lowest remediation rates"; moreover, "these students tend to come from segregated feeder high schools of relatively poor academic performance and high poverty" (King, McEvoy, & Teixeira, 2011, p. 27). These students, in turn, are disproportionately less likely to successfully remediate and, as a result, face a greater chance of disenrollment.

The Student Support Program

The Student Support Program (SSP) at Golden State University serves the population of first-generation, low-income, and disabled students who have scored "remedial" on their competency exams. The SSP is one of the campus-approved programs in which students labeled remedial may participate to successfully complete the remediation process. Admittance to the program is

based on a student's history of low family income, full-time enrollment, and California residency, along with the remedial status resulting from low scores on the ELM and EPT exams.

Although this program has confronted state budget cuts since its inception, it enjoys the highest success rates among the GSU's sister campuses in terms of remediation and graduation (Figueroa & King, 2000). What is of interest here is how peer-led programs have, in addition to addressing the need for remedial education support, helped to develop student leaders among racial and ethnic minority students who were formerly classified as remedial.

Leadership in Student-Led Peer Groups

Allen (1952) explains that leadership can be classified as either structuralist or functionalist. The former perspective views leadership as a "special trait or set of traits, residing within a person as a constitutional part of the personality structure," whereas the latter views leadership as "a function of the situation" (Allen, 1952, p. 92). Harrell and Forney (2000) note that mentoring and role modeling are important to the educational success of first-generation and racial and ethnic minority college students. Student support services can thus lead racial and ethnic minority students to success. As such, it is important that students in mentoring roles within student support services use leadership practices that help remedial students succeed.

The GSU program's mission addresses Tinto's (1987) sociological model that ties college retention not to individual student characteristics but to social solidarity, which fosters academic and social integration on campus. This social networking is especially difficult for "at risk" students, because they are often faced with constraints on their time due to familial obligations in addition to their inadequate training in primary and secondary education. As such, alienation often leads these students to avoid seeking mentorship and tutoring. African American and Latina/o students are more likely to study alone, which results in an inability to get help from fellow students in times of difficulty. This contributes to frustration and the failure to solve learning problems (Farley, 2002). As Garland and Triesman (1993, p. 15) suggest, this "is not a failing of the student; it is their reaction to a hostile institutional climate." Prior research on the matter of retention as a result of individual characteristics has looked at the experience of students who do not face the same adversity as remedial students. Therefore, little attention has been paid to the potential benefits to students that the SSP aims to help not only remedial student but also those who have successfully completed remediation. It does this by providing them an opportunity to act as leaders and positive role models for the remedial students who have come after them.

We argue that GSU's remedial education program provides an excellent model for other schools and universities seeking to empower and educate remedial students. This program creates an atmosphere that addresses the needs of students labeled remedial and also builds leadership among those who have successfully remediated so that they can act as positive role models for this unique population.

Student Leaders at Work: A Case Study

In order to examine the processes that occur in peer-led study groups for peer leaders, we have observed classrooms and administrative offices of the SSP at Golden State University, for a total of five separate classrooms and one workday observed over a nine-week period during the fall quarter. Additionally, the program conducted one training meeting prior to the beginning of the

quarter and four semiweekly meetings during the quarter. In these meetings, the study group leaders meet with team leaders and staff to discuss their experiences and challenges with one another. We have observed each of these training meetings and participated in the training too.

The observations were arranged to accommodate the schedules of the students in various locations across the campus. Each of the class visitations lasted one hour and 40 minutes, with follow-up observations of clerical and administrative staff in the SSP office. Lastly, we conducted in-depth interviews with the program participants, including one student, all five study group leaders, the program director, and a former coordinator of the study group component. These interviews lasted approximately two hours each.

In general, we sorted our observations into four general topical categories: (a) student/ study group leader (SGL) interactions with regard to interpersonal and academic issues, (b) reference to peer leaders' authority and the importance of study group coursework, (c) specific references to state legislation affecting students, and (d) the manner in which peer leaders were able or unable to address each of the previous issues and how this contributed to the emergence of their positions as leaders in the classroom and beyond.

It became clear early in our observations that students developed strong relationships with the SGLs based on mutual respect and trust. In one instance, students took it upon themselves to properly arrange the classroom seating before the beginning of the session in order to receive approval from the group leader. Whenever students had not completed their homework assignments, they appeared to willingly accept the advice from the SGL to avoid the situation in the future. In turn, the group leaders were conscious not to make the students feel punished or judged. In an illustration of the trust between students and SGLs, one student went so far as to ask the SGL what to say when her mother told her that girls don't need to go to college. She wrote the SGL's response down word for word.

Interviews with students and study group leaders included questions pertaining to the relationships between them. When asked how she felt about participating in a peer-led study group, the one student interviewed answered that she felt "good" and noted that she liked the fact that there was no professor there, so that she could participate more freely. "I actually feel like a student and I can say things that don't sound dumb," she said, going on to explain that the class for which she was taking the study group was in a lecture hall with over 300 students. She continued, "Only the really smart people talk in that class, and I've never even talked to the teacher." The SGL expressed similar ideas when he observed that "students get a chance to actually participate in the study group." He went on to add that his personal experience in the classroom—especially in classes like general education, math, and English—had been discouraging. He described his own feelings of inadequacy and discomfort with the setting and the fact that only a very small number of students participated. When asked how his students felt about the small number of people in the group he stated, "What my students have told me is that they like that I am accessible for questions or just to talk to, you know? I've had students talk to me in my office hours about everything, and I do mean *everything*." He provided examples of past discussions about topics as mundane as what students ate for lunch and as serious as experiences with rape and confessions about criminal acts.

The program's training manual and website explicitly state that this is the type of atmosphere desired and required in the study groups. Specific rules of conduct describe how SGLs and all staff who interact with students are to treat them. They are not to do anything that will make the student uncomfortable speaking freely and honestly. Additionally, the training meetings often included troubleshooting sessions in which the SGLs could submit anonymous

accounts of difficult situations they had faced in their interactions with students. Fellow SGLs and team leaders then provided accounts of how they had handled similar situations. Finally, leaflets and flyers were circulated regularly that provided students with information on different on-campus programs and talks that would help them navigate the university bureaucracy. One advertised talk focused on how to communicate with professors.

Peer Leader Authority

Student/SGL interactions in the classroom often involved the discussion of class material or the assignment of coursework. The study group leaders in our observations were often questioned by the students in regard to their authority or knowledge. Questions about the accuracy of the information given by the SGL regarding notes taken in the class usually took the form of requests for clarification. For example, in one observation the SGL was asked what the professor had said about a particular concept. When the SGL gave his reply, the student asked the SGL if he was sure, because another student had given him a different answer. The SGL then asked the other students in the group what they had written down in their notes in order to clarify the answer. Other challenges to the authority of the SGL took the form of a failure to complete the homework assigned. Students often came into the study groups without having completed their homework, with excuses ranging from family responsibilities to work responsibilities, to outright refusals to complete the work. The SGL in each case offered advice rather than scolding. This way of handling the students' failure to complete their homework and similar faults (e.g., absence or tardiness) seems to be at the foundation of the program's rules for interaction with students.

In an interview, one SGL was asked if he ever felt as though the students took him less seriously than they did their professor. He replied:

Yes, but that's a good thing . . . the study group is a place where these students get to talk and say what's on their mind . . . what they're going through is real. It's not up to me to say it's not. So if they can find the courage to speak up, that's good . . . these students *need* to learn how to challenge authority. They've been programmed not to question. That's not good.

The program director responded to a question about the distribution of power within the study groups by saying:

Study groups are purposely set up so that an undergraduate, not a graduate, an undergraduate student is the leader. That was done to ensure that power or authority is as evenly distributed as possible. We don't want our [remedial] students to be comparing themselves to graduates or any other person on how they perform in the class. . . . If the leader is similar to them in age and experience, they can model themselves after them more easily.

When the student interviewee was asked if she felt that she could speak freely to her SGL or any other member of the program staff, she replied that she had questioned the director about the way he spoke to students about their remedial status when she was in Summer Bridge, a developmental transition program offered to incoming freshman. Her main complaint was that the director focused too much on the adversities remedial students faced. "He didn't stop doing it," she explained, "he still talked about it every time he talked to us at the assemblies, but at least he listened to me, and he said he would think about it, but that he had been doing this for a long time, and other Summer Bridge students ended up thinking it was good to know about it."

The SSP training manual provides detailed instructions on how classrooms should be run, and it explicitly delineates how study group leaders are to address students with respect and how they should handle the students' personal issues. This, coupled with the semiweekly meetings (that focus on how SGLs should not question why the program works), solidifies the unified appearance of the program. The fact that the SGLs that were interviewed had already participated in the program and successfully fulfilled the remedial requirements adds to the legitimacy of the communication style employed. Additionally, the manual offers instructions on how staff should interact with students and answer questions in a way that makes the students feel comfortable and not feel "rushed" or as though they are "bothering" the staff with "stupid" questions. Minutes from the semiweekly SGL meetings show that a segment of the meeting is always devoted to discussing how the SGLs were once students in the program. One set of minutes traces out the part of the meeting entitled "Troubleshooting—what to do when you can't get your students to participate." The minutes reveal an in-depth discussion of how to get soft-spoken or shy students to participate, providing examples of how different SGLs have helped students to overcome the "quiet problem."

Interesting to note was the reaction of the students to the frequency with which SGLs and the director of the program referred to their remedial status. In one classroom a student sat quietly not acknowledging what was being said and responded to questions from the SGL (e.g., "what do you think?") by saying, "I wasn't listening, what did you say?"; in another class two students let out heavy sighs, and one of them shuffled his books loudly and slammed them down on the desk. In both cases, the SGLs addressed these reactions with calm responses such as "I know how you feel about this, but don't ignore me. I was in your position too," or "I don't blame you for being angry, but you need to understand what's going on, what you're facing." In both cases the students' demeanors changed quickly; they sat facing their SGLs, as they are encouraged to do, and the class went on. In one interview, a student was asked how she felt about the fact that this information was repeatedly presented in class. She replied "I hate it, but I guess now I know what's out there against me. . . . I don't know what I can do or anything about it, you know, but at least I know I'm not the only one." She went on to say that she discussed her situation with the other students and they all agreed that they had to hear about their remedial status too often, but that they liked talking to each other about it because they were all in the same situation and did not feel negatively judged by one another.

The comments of the clerical staff, the administrative assistant, and the program director about the legislative requirements all revolved around (a) coping with budget cuts to the state university system, (b) students' problems and challenges, and (c) miscellaneous bureaucratic problems at the university that directly or indirectly affected the students.

The clerical staff handles grades, enrollment, and every other clerical issue related to the SSP. There are three clerical workers (all former students in the program) in the office. When observed, Tina, Isela, and Linda were each working on projects for the program. Tina was working on the quarterly report, essential for obtaining funds and avoiding budget cuts; Linda was helping a student who needed a book for a class that he still had not been able to buy in week four of a 10-week quarter; and Isela was figuring out a way to check students' grades from a previous quarter and that students were properly enrolled in classes despite having the complete access she needed from the campus computer system. Reina, the administrative assistant, assists the clerical staff. Each staff person expressed frustration with the oppressive bureaucratic state university system. Isela explained that she could not access the student records because the university had changed its record-keeping system and had not yet given the staff

their new passwords. Tina continued to work on her report without the student records needed to complete it.

Throughout the course of the day, various employees and students of the SSP would come into the office and ask if their problems had been solved, and participants at every level asked if they could help with the situation. The clericals did not leave for the entire time of the observation (a period of approximately five hours), except for brief breaks. Even a person from the neighboring tutorial office came by to ask the staff if they had obtained the records needed for the quarterly report. Tina replied, "We're still working on it." The neighbor shook her head and went on to tell Linda whom she could borrow the book from for the student she was assisting.

The three people observed provided important insight into the SSP. They talked about a need to focus on student needs, program funding, and political awareness by everyone involved in the program. They explained that due to potential budget cuts, the students and staff were anxious about the future of the program.

Four interviewees spoke of the relative success of this program in comparison to those at GSU's sister campuses, and they explained how this success did not protect the program from the risk of complete dissolution by the governor. The program director explained that the bigger problem lay in the 20-year decline in corporate taxes. His focus was on protecting his program from being completely cut. This was reinforced by a discussion with the current study group coordinator Jaime, who was going to speak at a meeting with the state university administration about the formation of C.O.S.T.S., the Coalition of Students, Teachers, and Staff, in an attempt to forge a long-term resistance movement to the continuing budget cuts. He explained that the former study group coordinator dealt with similar issues, and the latter confirmed this in her interview. When both former and current coordinators were asked how students dealt with the challenges faced by the program, they both had a similar reply. The former study group coordinator noted, "The SGLs are supposed to ask them how they're feeling, too." She claimed that SGLs were crucial to the program's success in this matter because they knew if the students were feeling pressure or stress:

> That's the biggest part of their job. . . . If this was a company like the GAP, the
> SGLs would be the salespeople and the students would be the customers. They're
> the point of contact with the customer.

Both study group coordinators also described discussions among students about how to cope with the hostile environment in which they found themselves. For example, students helped each other study for upcoming final exams or planned to collaborate in preparing speeches for C.O.S.T.S. meetings and rallies. Again, the SGLs were identified as being essential to any type of coping strategy because they were the ones who interacted with the students most intimately and frequently.

The interviews also revealed the program's dedication to complete and total disclosure of the SSP's predicament to everyone involved. The director of the program explained:

> This program came in response to the unequal opportunity presented to first-
> generation, low-income, and, in our case, racial minority students. We have to
> remind ourselves that this has not changed. It is only getting worse. . . . I know
> that students don't always like to hear it. They have enough to worry about, but I
> also think that it empowers them.
> Joe, a study group leader said:

I straight out asked students if they felt better or worse about knowing what's going on, and my class was split up the middle. Some of them said they felt worse; they felt guilty when they didn't want to be part of the activism.

He added that the other half expressed a great amount of appreciation for being informed about what they were facing and felt good when they could go out and speak or march against it. Joe was active in the protests and rallies held by the students against the proposed budget cuts.

Among the documents we reviewed were rally flyers, leaflets, and photocopied articles distributed in the classrooms and the students' mailboxes. They focused on the most current administrative and political decisions affecting the program and its students. One article distributed to students and staff was entitled, "The Freshman Mind Yields Its Secrets to a Dedicated Sleuth." It discussed the importance of remediation and how college graduates often forgot that it is not a "low-level" activity. Another article, "High School—If You Earn It," explained what the director of the California Reading and Literature Project at UCLA proposed as an option for eight-grade remedial students. She suggested that if they could not keep up with math and literacy skills, they should opt for remediation or an apprenticeship program rather than a high school diploma. This comment was not well received by the SSP staff. SGLs were urged at the training meeting to inform their students of what this meant for them. The SGLs got a complete explanation during the training meeting. These internal documents were generated and distributed frequently throughout the quarter. An SGL was asked how students reacted to these articles when they saw them. He said that many of them discussed them among themselves. He explained how students would get together and make plans on how they would "show those [expletive] who's not college material."

Conclusion

Prior research has neglected the effects of peer-led study groups on student leaders. Findings from this case study of a remedial education program at Golden State University demonstrate that student leaders were positively affected by their experience in the group and gained important leadership skills. This program encourages the participation of former remedial students, disproportionately students of color from low-income families, in leading study groups. Participation provides them the opportunity to confront challenges to their authority in an area with which they were extensively familiar. The part played by the student leader in addressing and alleviating the stress caused by the stringent state requirements laid down in EO 665 also revealed a further opportunity for the SGLs to exhibit and share their firsthand knowledge in a meaningful setting. The whole program's focus on the common problems experienced by the students (both current and former) resulted in the emergence of tightly knit groups in a common adversarial situation. This program stands in stark contrast to traditional models of education in which students are encouraged to passively listen to their teachers. In the SSP, challenges to peer leaders' authority were encouraged by members of the program in order to instill self-confidence among remedial students. Program participants were also encouraged to question authorities outside of the program and to participate in political struggles, especially those involved in maintaining funding for the program. This model of peer-led study groups at GSU could be a good model for other kinds of tutorial programs for remedial students at K-12 schools and universities that seek to build leadership skills among their students.

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In Loving Memory of Robert "Bob" Blackburn

Louis Wildman and Randall Lindsey
CAPEA Historians

We were saddened to learn that California State University, East Bay Professor Emeritus and long-time CAPEA member Bob Blackburn passed away on September 10, 2016.

The general public became aware of Bob Blackburn as an assistant superintendent in the Oakland School District when Superintendent Marcus Foster—the first black superintendent there—was shot. Bob was also wounded in that tragic incident, but he recovered and went on to serve twice as acting superintendent in Oakland and then as a professor of educational administration at Cal State East Bay—which was then Cal State Hayward and Bob humorously referred to as "Wayward State."

We in CAPEA appreciated Bob's influential presence at our Fall and Spring meetings, from which he also organized a meeting for Northern California professors of educational administration each year in late January or February. That Northern California group was named the Bay Area Faculty for Leadership Education, with the acronym of BAFFLE. Those of us who were "baffled" met at Stanford, St. Mary's, or one of the other Northern California universities for lunch and for a sharing of lesson plans, ideas, problems, and research. There were few topics on the agenda, but mainly time to thoughtfully consider real issues. That stimulating dialogue, which Bob Blackburn led, represented the ideal conversations which many of us hoped to have, but do seldom have, in university life.

A few years ago, Bob Blackburn was given the highest and most prestigious award CAPEA occasionally bestows. Now in his honor we write this tribute:

Dennis Brennan, Professor Emeritus, University of the Pacific:

If language provides the structure that defines who we are in a society, Dr. Blackburn was a master among us. His expressions of wit, wisdom, humanity, and humor inspired us all. Bob had a manner of expression that was a sure pleasure to observe. He will be remembered. Rosemary Papa, Del and Jewel Lewis Endowed Chair, Learning Centered Leadership, and Professor of Educational Leadership, Northern Arizona University:

In all the ways I think of educational leaders, Bob was the personification of great leadership. He mentored so many of us during the 1980s and 1990s with the kind and generous intellect and humor he displayed in CAPEA. His integrity and ethics, reflected in all his actions, guided and encouraged me to face the future with hope. He inspired me to do my best, always.

Art Townley, Professor Emeritus, California State University, San Bernardino:

I first met Bob Blackburn at a CAPEA conference. I was a new full-time tenure-track university professor. I was nervous about my lack of publications as I had heard about the almost-biblical requirement for publications to keep one's job and to receive tenure. I had 30

years of experience at K-12, from being a high school teacher to principal to the superintendency, but had only two or three articles published.

I looked for a friendly face as I sought guidance. That friendly face belonged to Bob Blackburn. His wise and comforting advice was, "Art, write about what you bring to the table, your experience." Bob became a mentor and friend; I have always been grateful for his friendship. His friendly face and wise counsel was a big factor in my career. He will be missed by those he left behind.

Jodi Servatius, Professor Emeritus, Educational Leadership, California State University, East Bay:

It was late September 1988. The department faculty from Educational Leadership had been gathered for two days. Our task was to hammer out the program's mission and goal statements.

There, in the surroundings of our spartan Napa Valley religious retreat house, we talked and debated our various ideas. The second day, we had come to an agreement on a tentative mission statement. It read: "To create bold, socially responsible leaders who will change the world of schooling."

I was both happy with the statement and looking forward to getting home, so I was a bit dismayed when Bob Blackburn suggested a revision. Rolling my eyes (probably a bit too obviously), I listened with incredulity as he suggested his only, simple edit: to eliminate the last two words. Yes, he was suggesting that the statement read that the leaders we prepared would change the world! Surely, I thought, he was joking.

Those of us who knew Bob well all understood his humor and his irreverence. But neither was at play here. He was seriously suggesting that the school administrators we prepared could not only profoundly affect their schools but also that they would change the world. The suggestion was emblematic of Bob's whole career, which had been dedicated to making excellent schools and programs available equitably to all students, thus "lifting all boats."

In the end, we kept the last two words and promised only that our students would change the world of schooling. In our hearts, though—and indebted to Bob Blackburn—we were all rooting for them to change the world. We still are.

Fred Brill, Superintendent, San Lorenzo Unified School District, San Lorenzo, California:

Back in 1993, when I enrolled in the administrative credentialing program at Cal State Wayward, as Bob affectionately called it, it was clear I was a lost puppy. Although Dr. Bob was not my official field advisor, I'd read about him attending a historically black college, moving here from Philly with his friend and mentor, Marcus Foster, to transform the lives of children in the Oakland schools. I figured I'd give him a call and get my assignment changed. We spoke on the phone for an hour, it seemed like such a meaningful connection; we shared our hopes and dreams for public education, the need to break the link between race, class, and student achievement… I knew I had found someone who could serve as an inspiring and authentic mentor. And then Dr. Bob told me I needed to stick with my assigned advisor. I was so upset.

Fast-forward one year: During my first week as a middle school principal, Bob saunters into my office, unannounced. He navigates his way past three secretaries, raps on my door. Enters: "Sorry I couldn't be your field advisor; but I'm here now. How you doing?"

"I guess I'm okay; I just have no idea what I'm supposed to do…"

"Fake it 'til you make it. We'll figure this thing out." That plural pronoun "we" never sounded so good. Bob remained in my life offering a steady diet of pep talks and sage advice. It's not that he could simply make me laugh with a witty turn of phrase. Rather, he'd inspire me to be my better self. To this day, I don't know how he did it. I just know that after each conversation, he'd masterfully manage to fill me up, top off my tank, give me hope, and remind me of the profound importance of the work we were doing.

Bob was all about social justice, providing support, being there for others. He taught me to acknowledge that I am a person of pallor, and sometimes it's best to shut up and listen. Other times you may need to get on a table and raise your voice, however shrill it becomes. Bob took great pride in Cal State's simple but powerful mission statement: "To prepare and influence bold, socially responsible leaders who will transform the world of schooling."

Bob was a principal coach for dozens of students through Cal State East Bay and UC Berkeley. Some said he wasn't academic enough: not enough rigor! They didn't understand that Bob gave regular transfusions of love and support to struggling school leaders and gave them the necessary juice to stay in the game and fight another day.

Bob was a connector. He brought people together. He gave out contacts and set up meetings. He wrote recommendations that helped a multitude of folks land jobs.

Bob was a rescuer. I know of one friend he protected from being "released." All that was required was a timely conversation with "an old pal," sprinkled with some of Bob's magic.

Bob was a pinch hitter, speaking spontaneously, with eloquence when there weren't enough speeches given at a retiring educator's party.

Bob was a legacy protector, building on the extraordinary work of Marcus Foster through the Foundation, through his work, and through countless acts of kindness and caring and gentle provocation.

Bob was a perennial jokester. When my wife was working as a principal in Richmond, he walked right into the office, past the naughty boys who were lined up in chairs against the wall. He crawled beneath the counter and planted a big kiss on Miss Melodia's cheek. And then he winked at the boys and told them if they learned to behave themselves, when they got a little older they too might be able to walk into the principal's office and plant one on the principal's cheek. Their jaws dropped.

Emily Lowe Brizendine, Professor Emeritus, California State University, East Bay:

Bob was a great mentor and colleague to me. He had the unique ability to connect deeply with people and bring out the positives in each of us. He always had the larger view of the world, and with his gift of gab and humor, he often helped us see where we are and what we are about when we got too bogged down in the minutia of things. He influenced the character and reputation of the department of educational leadership. He was part of the faculty that changed the department name from "administration and supervision" to "leadership" before departments in other universities recognized the significance of the shift in language and did the same. He helped craft the mission of the department we still have now, which is to prepare bold socially responsible leaders who will change the world of schooling.

He always said that "leadership is relationship," which he practiced with his colleagues, in his work with school districts, and in his generosity with time in mentoring his students. He was devoted to his students. He taught the Concord Campus educational leadership cohort for

years and kept in touch with almost all of the graduates over the years. Bob had a filing system that was unique and reflected his commitment to his students. On his desk and bookcase in his university office, there would be stacks and stacks of files, a foot or so high, neat stacks. As we talked, if he thought of a connection with one of his students, he would go directly to a stack and pull out the file of that student!

He didn't hesitate to challenge the status quo when it comes to policies and practices that negatively affect students, be it higher education or K-12 settings. He understood the importance of collaboration and learning from each other. He had a wonderful sense of humor, which he used quite skillfully to get a point across. He singlehandedly started a Northern California group of professors of education called BAFFLE—which sometimes characterized the nature of our work! I will truly miss him.

Randall Lindsey, Professor Emeritus, California State University, San Bernardino:

I have enjoyed a long professional career during which I have met many people who have become mentors, colleagues, and friends. Bob Blackburn holds a very special place in my career, my life, and my heart. As I think and treasure the many moments that Bob shared with me, I have chosen one vivid example—The Fog-Like Gossamer Veil. I select this moment with Bob to share because it illustrates his rakish wit, his command of the English language, his ability with incisive commentary, his commitment to our profession, and his endless mentoring of colleagues.

Bob and I were members of an accreditation team, and having received our documents well before the school visit, we had studied and were prepared for the visit. We met walking across campus on our way to the meeting room. After exchanging pleasantries and asking about our respective families, Bob asked me with what I refer to as the "Bob Blackburn mischievous grin": "Well, Lord Randall, my son, what did you think of the school's report? I smiled and said, quietly under my breath, "It was filled with a lot of bullshit and I think it necessary to challenge some of the underlying assumptions." Bob nodded in agreement as we entered the meeting room.

The school had prepared a wonderful reception and festive dinner. Lead faculty members apprised us of where we would find additional supporting documents and answered our specific questions. The lead administrator then delivered a powerful message about the effectiveness of the school's program, after which he, too, indicated he would respond to questions or comments. Bob raised his hand. The lead administrator acknowledged him. In measured tones, Bob began to talk. He said he had studied the school's documents and believed that the lead administrator's comments and the evening's over-the-top reception were intended to obfuscate the school's shortcoming with a fog-like, slowly descending "gossamer veil." When his finely tuned comments were complete, Bob slowly returned to his chair. The lead administrator was piqued, sputtered a bit, and thanked Bob for his candor. Bob leaned over to me, with that Blackburn glint in his eye and whispered, "He heard that. He would not have heard 'bullshit.'" I enjoyed the moment; I valued the lesson.

My life is enriched for having had Bob in my life, even for these few fleeting years. I miss him very much and content myself with the many, many warm memories (and lessons).

Linda Lambert, Professor Emeritus, California State University, East Bay:

I knew Bob for more than 40 years. Early on, it was because of our mutual friend, Del Della Dora. In 1987, it was Bob, then department chair, who hired me as an associate professor at Cal State Hayward (now Cal State East Bay). He wanted to know who I was—how I thought. He didn't ask me if I could teach school finance—fortunately, because I would have said no. From that day forward, he supported me every step of the way. Support was always honest—pointed, and direct on occasions. When I would exaggerate, as I have a wont to do, he would call me on it immediately. Coaching and mentoring was a natural way of life for him.

For me, one of Bob's greatest gifts was his clarity, a broad and deep perspective that transcended the capacities of others. He thought in narratives—whole stories formed into gestalts for him. Whether he was observing a school, a meeting, or a culture, he spied the threads of meaning and composed them into a rich tapestry, which he then had the elegant words to describe. Bob was, indeed, a fly on the cosmic wall.

With Bob's leadership, and in collaboration with an innovative faculty, Cal State Hayward created one of the best educational leadership programs in the country. Known for its transformative mission, jointly designed social justice curriculum, cohesive cohorts, dedicated mentoring, outstanding professors, and research-based masters and doctoral programs, the Department of Educational Leadership drew attention from practitioners and theorists alike.

We all knew that Bob was intrigued by the exotic—whether it was the family's cheetah loose in the Rome airport, his dad's connection to the Tut Tut bazaar in Cairo, or the art of the Pueblo peoples of New Mexico—he sought adventure. So, when I decided to write historical novels, he was enthusiastically along for the ride. He informed me early on that he, as Robert Blackburn, wanted to be the clever, charming villain, which he became. He was the thief of the diary of Mary of Nazareth, then sold it in Italy, where he kept an antique shop as a front and stalked Justine, my protagonist. Even though I did away with him at the end of the second novel, he forgave me and helped with the third novel set in Taos, especially when he and his wife, Barbara, spent time with us in New Mexico.

Bob had an extraordinary and sustained capacity for friendship. He loved our children, admiring April and speaking in her class and visiting Laura in Colorado. Our son, Tod, had the honor of caring for Bob during the last months of his life, and they became very close. If the universe is fortunate, we might have a person like Bob at least once in a generation. I am honored to have been his friend.

Bob Blackburn remains our hero, urging us to work for social justice. He will never be forgotten!