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epadilla2121@gmail.com

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The University of San Francisco

A LEADERSHIP CHANGE. A CULTURE SHIFT... AND A POLICE RIOT: THE STORY OF
HOW THE HIGHEST COLLEGE GOING HIGH SCHOOL IN SAN FRANCISCO BECAME
THE LOWEST GRADUATING SCHOOL IN THE DISTRICT

A Thesis
Presented to the Faculty of the School of Education of the
University of San Francisco

In partial fulfillment of the Degree of

MASTERS OF ARTS

in

Organization and Leadership

By

Emmanuel Padilla

July 2020

This thesis, written by
Emmanuel Padilla
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under the guidance of the project committee,
and approved by all its members,
has been accepted in partial fulfillment
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MASTER OF ARTS

in

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ABSTRACT

Thurgood Marshall Academic High School, located in San Francisco's Bayview, Hunters Point, scored the third lowest in the most recent Academic Performance Index (API) Report. Based on the median household income, the Bayview is a low-income community and according to San Francisco data, is a high crime neighborhood. The odds are against Marshall to provide exceptional service to their students, but it once did. In 2001, Marshall had the highest college-going rate in the San Francisco Unified School District (SFUSD). Today, only 20% of its student body would be considered college ready. This study will look into what happened to Marshall. Specifically, what factors lead to Marshall losing its college-going culture and underperforming. Research shows that schools, similar to Marshall, are not supposed to work. Well, Marshall was working, and based on the efforts of SFUSD, which included lowering graduation requirements and not renewing the contract of the Principal, Marshall is today, one of the lowest performing schools in San Francisco.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In California, in 2018, 37.69% of economically disadvantaged students met or exceeded English Language Arts/Literacy standards. The number of economically disadvantaged students meeting or exceeding Math standards is lower. In 2018, 26.23% of economically disadvantaged students met or exceeded Math standards, (California Department of Education). The California Department of Education defines the socioeconomically disadvantaged subgroup as consisting or meeting either one of two criteria: Neither of the student's parents have received a high school diploma OR The student is eligible for the free or reduced-price lunch program, (California Department of Education).

In San Francisco, the achievement gap is widened. According to the California Assessment of Student Performance and Progress (CAASPP) student score report in Mathematics, African American students scored the lowest in San Francisco. 13% of African Americans in SFUSD score at Proficient or Above on the Math test. Latinos did not score much better, as 22% of Latino students scored at Proficient or Above. In English Language Arts, 10% of African American students and 28% of Latino students scored at Proficient or Above. To put this statistic in perspective, 20% of English Language Learners scored at Proficient or Above, (SF-Planning.org, 2011).

These low scores can predict educational attainment for students, especially those who are not meeting or exceeding standards. According to SFUSD Facts at a Glance, in 2018, the graduation rates for African American students was 77% and 70% for Latinos. Those two numbers were the lowest in SFUSD. In addition, the dropout rates of African American and

Latino students was the highest. 19% of African American students and 15% of Latino students dropped out of SFUSD high schools, (California Department of Education).

In the Bayview, Hunters Point community of San Francisco, 88% of the residents are minorities. 32% identify as Black/African American. 33% identify as Asian. 25% identify as Latino (of Any Race). 12% identify as White. 18% of residents in the Bayview are in poverty, 14% are unemployed, \$43,155 is the median household income, and 13% have a College Degree.

Statement of the Problem

Disparities in income and differences in racial identity have created a disparity for high school students in their pursuit of educational attainment. According to Noguera (2012), the education of young men of color faces many challenges. First, many come to school sick and hungry. Next, youth of color are often without adequate housing. Youth of color rarely have enough social and emotional support, especially in school. Finally, youth of color come from families in distress. These are all factors that explain why the education of youth of color is challenging (Noguera, 2012, p.12). In addition, according to Reardon (2001), the more affluent the family is, the more educated their children tend to become. The achievement gap between children from high-and-low income families is roughly 30 to 40 percent larger among children born in 2001 than those born twenty-five years earlier. All of this results in a high drop-out rate among Latino and African American students (Schott, 2010 as cited in Noguera, 2012).

Even when youth of color stay in school, they continue to face challenges. Low-income students of color, who may also be first in their families to attend college, deal with a lot more

than fulfilling requirements to get college. In comparison to their more privileged counterparts, they face a lot of barriers in their path to a degree (Dowd & Bensimon, 2015). For example, students who live in urban neighborhoods do not have access or buy-in to college prep curriculum and culture (Anyon, 2014). Being prepared for college is even more important now because a student cannot even apply to college without the necessary high school requirements (Conley, 2011).

Another part of the problem is a lack of research on what effectively supports youth of color in education in preparation for college. There is an abundance of research on what does not work in the education of youth of color, however, Gaylord-Harden, Barbarin, Tolana, & Murry (2018), argue for more research to be done on what is working. According to the authors, there needs to be a shift of the research to look into the competent functioning and positive youth development under adverse social conditions (Gaylord-Harden, Barbarin, Tolana, & Murry, 2018). According to Hernandez (2017), if there is more research done on the positive development of young men of color, it might shift the conversation to what is working in the United States (Hernandez, 2017). In sum, urban schools tend to fail their students, by not adequately preparing them for college and focusing on what is wrong instead of what works. Even when there are non-charter public schools that do well in urban contexts, leadership changes make it difficult to keep successful programs going.

Principals establish the leadership and are the leaders of the school. According to Fink and Brayman (2006), Principals need autonomy and time to implement a successful and sustainable culture. Allowing and encouraging leaders who are achieving success with improvement to stay longer in their schools so that the improvements become strongly

embedded in the hearts and minds of the teachers and their cultures also seems an important way forward (Fink & Brayman, 2006, p. 86). According to Finnigan and Stewart (2009), it is important for a Principal to have the ability to set the direction, develop the team, and develop the organization (Finnigan & Stewart, 2009, p. 613). In the event that leadership does change though, the school district needs to do a better job of finding a new Principal. According to Woodruff, Meyers, and Zhu (2018) districts and schools must find ways to carefully select a replacement whose dispositions and strengths fit with the needs of the school (Woodruff, Meyers, & Zhu, 2018, p. 75).

Background and Need

Thurgood Marshall had a strong college-going culture. Every graduating student was able to apply to college, and nearly every student had taken the SAT. Because Marshall is located in the low-income community of the Bayview, the educational attainment of its students was making strides to lower the educational achievement gap. A high school with a college culture expects that their students will attend college and students share those goals. Once expectations are set, students engage in a lengthy process of completing the appropriate courses, taking all required exams and exploring various college options, (Corwin, Z. & Tierney, W., 2007). Yet, in 2002, with Superintendent Ackerman's decision to not renew Principal Dr. Butcher's contract, Marshall's college-going culture and overall performance subsided. California students in high-poverty schools are not able to access as much instructional time as the majority of their peers as a result of these challenges, creating a situation that threatens the very building blocks of educational opportunity, (Mirra, M & Rogers, J., 2015). I am not concluding that a successful high school student goes to college or that a successful high school sends its students to college.

However, Marshall provided the resources needed for graduating seniors to have options. In the United States, low and high-income young people currently have unequal access to information about higher education. Low-income prospective college students, for example, are less likely to have informational resources in their immediate families, requiring that they rely on information from other sources, (Brown, M. Wohn, D. & Ellison, N., 2016). Therefore, due to the leadership change, the shift in expectations, the lowering of graduation requirements, Marshall lost its college going culture and is now one of the lowest performing schools in the San Francisco Unified School District.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to understand how the leadership change at Thurgood Marshall Academic High School had a negative impact on the college going culture of the school. Through a case study, I conducted five interviews, made observations, researched documents, explored audiovisual materials, and examined archival records. I interviewed the following five participants. Camille was apart of the administration team at Marshall. Next, Rick was a teacher at Marshall. Danielle was a parent of a Marshall student. Amy was a student at Marshall before and after the leadership change. Lastly, Dominic was a Marshall student who enrolled during the leadership change. I examined the following records: SAT testers, dropout rate, suspension rate, expulsion rate, graduation rate. I also plan

Research Questions

Through this study, I will look into answering the following question:

- How did the leadership change at Thurgood Marshall affect student performance?
- How did the leadership change affect school culture?

- How did the leadership change impact the expectation that students would attend college?

Theoretical Framework

The theory of transformational leadership was developed by Bernard M. Bass (1985). According to Bass, transformational leadership is the model in which a leader creates trust, admires, is loyal, and respects each person in the organization. A transformational leader works towards a unified mission and supports the team to do so as well (Bass, 1985). The four elements of transformational leadership are

- Individualized Consideration
- Intellectual stimulation
- Inspirational Motivation
- Idealized Influence

Individualized consideration describes how a leader serves as a mentor or coach to each of the team members needs and provides support for open communication. Intellectual stimulation describes how a transformational leader pushes the team to take risks and develop individual thinking. A transformational leader uses intellectual stimulation for individuals to think independently. Inspirational motivation describes how a transformational leader pushes the team to accomplish goals at high standards. Inspirational motivation is key in transformational leadership because it gives the members a sense of purpose and energy to push forward. Idealized influence is the role a transformational leader plays in establishing a culture, trust, respect, and ethical behavior for the team (Bass, 2008).

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study could be used to benefit public schools to establish transformational leadership and focus on more positive research that is effective in addressing the need to educate youth of color. This study could be significant to families of urban youth because it would give them an example of what a school should offer their child, regardless of the location and community makeup. The significance of this study could also be used for policymakers to make educational policy in low-income communities. This policy could look for ways to retain transformational leaders in place. Lastly, this study will serve as a case study to the significance of school culture established by effective leadership.

Limitations of the Study

Because the focus of my research will be the 2002-2003 school year, the relevancy of the study may be questioned. During the interview process, my participants, at times, had difficulties remembering things from 17 years ago. This can cause some of their responses to not be as accurate as they were at during the time period studied.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

According to Martinez and Everman (2017), low-income youth and students of color from low socio-economic backgrounds are generally less likely to have access to resources needed for college preparation, (Martinez & Everman, 2017, p. 246). As a result, strong leadership needs to be in place to better prepare high school students. Based on their research, Martinez and Everman (2017) found the importance a Principal at a comprehensive high school serving a majority of students of color and a large number of low-income students can play in developing a college-going culture and improving college readiness (Martinez and Everman, 2017, p. 263). It is important for leaders to develop a strong culture in schools because it creates an equitable environment. According to Cross, Frazier, Kim, & Cross (2018), only by leveling the playing field in academic opportunities will closure of the income-based achievement gap be seen. It is necessary for schools to offer more resources to students in low-income environments for them to achieve to their potential (Cross, Frazier, Kim, & Cross, 2018, p. 37). In addition, according to Erkkine-Cullen and Sinclar (1996), Principals in low-income communities need to establish a strong culture amongst the staff to better prepare with students of color. Schools in large urban settings are places where teachers are faced with a plethora of challenges that range from poverty, violence, cultural diversity and a multitude of languages (Erskine-Cullen & Sinclair, 1996).

I will look at how a high performing school in a low-income community became low performing. Four pieces of evidence justify this claim. These reasons include (a) Reason 1 (R1)

Leadership Change in the school (b) Reason 2 (R2) Culture Shift within the school and student body (c) Reason 3 (R3) The lowering of graduation requirements (d) Reason 4 (R4) The Police Riot furthered and established a toxic learning environment. Joint reasoning is used to connect these claims because each reason added concluded in lower performance of Thurgood Marshall Academic High School. Joint reasoning supports this claim because each reason, if addressed individually, would be tackled and not impact the performance of the school. Each reason represents how each one could lower the performance of a high school, yet, the impact each one combined drastically lowered the performance level of the school. A visual representation of the logic equation is as follows: $(R1 + R2 + R3 + R4) = C$ (Machi & McEvoy, 2012, p. 97).

Leadership

In 2002, San Francisco Unified School District Superintendent Arlene Ackerman chose not to renew Thurgood Marshall Academic High School's Principal Dr. Samuel Butscher's contract. As a result, for the 2002-2003 academic school year, Marshall hired a new Principal. Principal Butscher established the highest graduation credit requirements for a public high school in San Francisco. In 2002, Marshall required each student to complete 280 credits to graduate. The 280 credit requirements mirrored the University of California A-G requirements. Thus, a graduating Marshall student would have fulfilled the credit requirements to apply to, at the time, one of eight undergraduate University of California schools. Principal Butscher promoted college aspirations through the 280 credit graduation requirement. According to Corwin and Tierney (2007), a college-going culture is one in which "aspirations and behaviors conducive to preparing for, applying to, and enrolling in college" are cultivated by a school, (Martinez and Everman, 2017). However, Superintendent Ackerman decided to lower the credit graduation

requirements at Marshall from 280 credits to 230 credits. With the change in graduation credit requirements came the change in leadership at Marshall.

Superintendent Ackerman would need a Principal that would be able to work with students who come from low-performing backgrounds. Leadership may be even more important for students in chronically low-performing schools (Murphy & Meyers, 2008), where successful leadership appears to have considerably greater effects (Leithwood, Louis, Anderson, & Wahlstrom, 2004), (Hitt, Woodruff, Meyers, and Zhu, 2018). The new Principal would need to drive the success of the student population. An existing body of research substantiates principals' influence on student achievement (Hallinger & Heck, 1998; Suppovitz, Sirinides, & May 2009), (Hitt, Woodruff, Meyers, and Zhu 2018). Juliet Montevirgen was hired as Principal. Previously, Montevirgen was the Principal at Downtown Continuation High School in San Francisco. At Downtown, Montevirgen led a student body that had zero students take the Scholastic Achievement Test, (SAT) in 1999. This is significant because in order to apply to college, a graduating high school student would have had to take an SAT or American College Testing (ACT), before graduating. Students must have access to and information about college preparation and entrance exams (PSAT, SAT, etc.) and courses (e.g., algebra and advanced placement), (Martinez and Everman, 2017).

Past research has found that the Principal is a key player in school effectiveness (Brookover 1978; Broover & Lezott, 1979) and school improvement (Cotton, 2003; Elmore, 2000; Leithwood, Lous, Anderson, & Wahlstrom, 2004) in the everyday operation of the school and in school change (Fullan. 1991, 2008; Kelley. Henenman, & Milanowski, 2000).

Principals influence school and student performance (Finnigan and Stewart 2009). Principal Montevirgen did have experience as a leader, but it came from Downtown High School, one of two continuation schools in San Francisco. In comparison, Marshall was a College Preparatory school. In a study of schools and new Principals, Macmillan concluded that although routine rotations of principals may help their professional development, they may also impede improvement efforts in the school. In an earlier study, Miskel and Cosgrove (1985) found no evidence that principal rotation increases organizational effectiveness, (Fink and Brayman, 2006).

Shift In School Culture

Juliet Montevirgen would need to make strides in implementing change from the district and establish a strong school culture. The term school culture is defined as beliefs, attitudes, relationships, written and unwritten rules of a school. Also, students, parents, teachers, educators, administrators, and other staff members all contribute to their school's culture, as do other influences such as the society in which the school is located, the policies that govern how it operates, or the principles on which the school was founded. (Dogan, 2017).

Dr. Butscher had a school culture intact at Marshall. For one, the rigorous 280 graduation requirements. Secondly, the school's mission statement included wording that established high expectations. According to the San Francisco Unified School District 2000-2001 School Accountability Report Card, Marshall's mandate was to provide a high quality, college preparatory and academically rigorous program for inner-city youths. One of their primary charges was to increase the academic achievement of historically underrepresented minorities in

the fields of science and mathematics. Committed to equity, the school promised to make top quality education accessible to all students regardless of their prior school experiences.

Since the mission statement was already established, it is apparent that it would not be an effort to establish a school culture, but more a question if Montevirgen could maintain it. A school's organizational culture provides a sense of identity, promotes achievement orientation, helps shape standards and patterns of behavior, creates distinct ways of doing things, and determines direction for future growth, (Teasley, 2017). Because Marshall is located in the Bayview, Hunters Point community, Montevirgen would need to maintain the college-going culture that Marshall had. Especially in urban areas with underserved student populations, it is important "to create a college-going community within the school where the values, norms, and social roles associated with college-going are present and consistently reinforced" (Schneider, 2007), to orient students to a college-going mindset and to build a college-going culture. (Martinez and Everman, 2017) More so, a school culture influences the ways people think, feel, and act, being able to understand and shape the culture is key to a school's success in promoting staff and student learning (Peterson, 2002).

Dr. Butscher was successful in establishing a positive school culture, where students were expected to go to college. The San Francisco Unified School District 2000-2001 School Accountability Report Card stated that the San Francisco Examiner referred to TMAHS as "Bayview's Can-Do School." 96% of our recent graduates are in college. Yet, with Superintendent Ackerman's mandate to lower the graduation credit requirement, Montevirgen would face the reality that she would be leading a school where the expectations of students were lowered from years prior. Thus, because Montevirgan agreed to lead Marshall with lower

graduation credit requirements, this is an example of how she shifted the positive school culture to a negative one.

Lowering Credit Requirement

Though one of the primary tasks of leaders in school settings is the cultivation of a culture of high expectations (Teasley, 2017), Montevirgen agreeing to the lowering of graduation requirements set the precedent for negative school culture. Negative school culture is characterized by inefficiency, low trust among colleagues, a lack of transparency in leadership, low academic expectations and support for students, and resistance to collaboration among school-based professionals (Glossary of Education Reform, 2013), (Teasley, 2017). The key concept in negative school culture is the low academic expectations set by school leadership for students. The example Marshall set for lowering academic expectations was the lowering of the credit graduation requirements. This is significant because, with the lower credit graduation requirements, not every student would be eligible to apply to College. The impact this would have on students supports prior research. Students attending segregated schools in high-poverty urban neighborhoods have especially low access to high-quality preparation (Anyon, 2014), (Duncheon, 2017).

The lowering of graduation credit requirements would require Marshall students to take less rigorous classes during their 11th and 12th-grade years. The higher level course would be less likely to be taken by students because they wouldn't need them to fulfill graduation requirements. In a study looking into whether changes in New Mexico's graduation requirements impacted advance course completion rates, researchers found that in states with more-intensive graduation course-taking requirements, students enrolled in higher level math classes early in

their high school tenure and persisted in advanced math courses later in high school, (Booth, Shields, and Carle, 2017).

According to the same study, when graduation requirements are strengthened, evidence suggests that advanced course completion increases. Blank, Langesen, and Petermann (2007) found that the percentage of Texas students who completed at least one advanced math course increased 13 percentage points between 1996 and 2006 after new graduation requirements required more advanced math and science courses, (Booth, Shields, and Carle, 2017).

Furthermore, research has shown that low-income youth and students of color from low socioeconomic backgrounds are generally less likely to have access to resources needed for college preparation, making college access and outreach programs and services offered during high school essential to help fill this void (Holland & Farmer-Hinton, 2009; Knight & Marciano, 2013; McClafferty Jarsky et al., 2009), (Martinez and Everman, 2017). Therefore, the lowering of graduation requirements established the lowering of student expectations and outcomes. Montevirgen agreeing to this, while not implementing a strong school culture, led to the performance of Thurgood Marshall Academic High School to lower.

Police Presence

The change of Dr. Samuel Butscher to Juliet Montevirgen was one factor that led Marshall transition from a high performing school in a low-income community to low performing school. This led to a change in school culture, which was influenced by the lowering of graduating credit requirements. Yet, the event that was most influential in this shift happened on October 11, 2002. The San Francisco Unified School District's Thurgood Marshall Academic High School (TMAHS) "October 11, 2002, Police Riot" holds a place in U.S. public school

history. It is the second largest law-enforcement response (126 officers) to a K–12 facility, for a “nonweapon” school fight, escalated to a riot, (Maufas, 2017).

The police were called after a morning of fights. (Police) said a series of fights began just before school started Friday morning when one youth was attacked by a group of 10 to 15 students just outside the school, (Delgado et al., 2002). Yet, though there were fights in the morning, the need to call the police was overblown. "This was an overreaction," said an English teacher, Pirette McKamey. "The level of this response was a total disconnect with what was actually happening," (Delgado et al., 2002). Several teachers and students said police had used their batons, grabbed the hair of students involved in the melee, and handcuffed innocent youths. "They were acting as if this was a riot, but it was not at the riot stage," said Kevin Hartzog, a teacher at Marshall for 5 years. "The whole thing could have been resolved calmly, without having officers here in force," (Delgado et al., 2002).

The amount of police presence set a tone. Teachers and students felt the new principal and the district have created a police-state atmosphere, unnecessarily bringing in officers to deal with minor clashes, (Delgado et al., 2002). Prior research has supported this feeling Marshall teachers and students were having. The use of full-time police officers in schools creates a “prison-like” environment, (McKenna and White, 2018). On-site police officers give the campus environment the feel of a juvenile detention center rather than a school...placing officers in schools will not make them safer and will only enhance the school-to-prison pipeline, (McKenna and White, 2018).

Even before Friday's [October 11, 2002], melee, teachers were describing how the departure of Butscher and the arrival of Montevirgen, a veteran school district administrator, had

led to a breakdown in discipline, (Delgado et al., 2002). This resulted in more reliance on police enforcement, which is key in Marshall's demise. The overreliance on law enforcement officers in the school setting, including the use of legal responses to student misconduct, and an increased use of expulsion and out-of-school suspension have ultimately led to the development of what has been called the "school-to-prison pipeline" (American Civil Liberties Union, 2012; Fowler, 2011; Meiners, 2011; Wald & Losen, 2003), (McKenna and White, 2018).

Summary

Thurgood Marshall Academic High School was a high performing school in a low-income community that, with the four things mentioned, became a low performing school. The lack of leadership from new Principal Montevirgen, was one factor. Based on prior research, strong leadership is an indicator for student success. Student achievements are fueled by high student expectations and strong school culture. However, with Marshall lowering its graduation credit requirements, the school culture shifted from college going to high school completion. This resulted in students not enrolling in advanced level high school courses. Though research has looked at police presence in high schools, what studies have lacked is the incident that happened in 2002 at Marshall. The San Francisco Chronicle described that event as a "Police Melee." The school leadership, shift in school culture, lowering of graduation credit requirements, and police presence turned Marshall from a high performing school in a low-income community, to a low performing school. This research will use prior research and interviews to form a case study as to how Marshall and similar schools can sustain success in low-income communities.

Classroom rigor is especially needed in classrooms that has youth of color. According to Cannata, Haynes, and Smith (2013) it is important to engage students to do challenging academic work. It causes the beliefs and mindsets of students to increase self-efficacy (Cannata, Haynes, & Smith, 2013). Mac Iver, Sheldon, Naeger, and Clark (2017) found similar results. They found that high-quality classroom instruction is by definition rigorous and engaging, which helps to maintain student interest, and increase attendance and classroom participation (Mac Iver, Sheldon, Naeger, & Clark, 2017). Yet, strong leadership is needed in schools to retain effective Principals. According to Fink and Brayman (2006), accelerating turnover of Principals have created additional difficulties that threaten the sustainability of school improvement efforts and undermine the capacity of incoming and outgoing principals to lead their schools (Fink & Brayman, 2006, p.83). School improvement efforts get threatened, but so does educational opportunity. According to Mirra and Rogers (2015), they found that California students in high-poverty schools are not able to access as much instructional time as the majority of their peers as a result of these challenges, creating a situation that threatens the very building blocks of educational opportunity (Mirra & Rogers, 2015, p.16).

CHAPTER III

Methodology

Methods

The model of this research is a case study. The case study methodology will be used because I studied an event. (Creswell, 2006). For my research, I studied and conducted interviews based on the leadership change. The specific event that I will look into is the Police

Riot that happened at Marshall on October 11, 2002. I conducted five interviews from subjects who were at Marshall during the 2002-2003 school year. The 2002-2003 school year will be the focus of the interviews because this is the year in which Marshall lowered its graduation credit requirement. Two participants were students who were at Marshall. One interview was of a teacher who was at Marshall. One interview was of a parent of a student who was at Marshall. One interview was of an individual on the administration team of Marshall at the time. Data will consist of SAT test scores, SAT test participants, college-going rate, California Assessment of Student Performance and Progress (CAASPP), and other data from the California Department of Education.

Participant Population

I interviewed five participants for this study. Participants will be given pseudonyms. Each participant had a connection to Thurgood Marshall Academic High School. Participant 1, Dominic, was an incoming Freshman during the leadership change from Dr. Butscher to Montevirgen. Dominic attended Marshall from August 2002 to June 2004. Participant 2, Amy, was a student at Marshall. Amy attended Marshall from August 1999 and graduated in June 2003. Participant 3, Rick, was a teacher at Marshall. Rick taught at Marshall from August 2001 until June 2006. Participant 4, Danielle, was a parent of a Marshall student. Danielle's child attended Marshall from August 2001 until June 2005. Participant 5, Camille, was an administrator at Marshall. Camille was brought to Marshall after October 2002, which was the Police Riot.

Dominic was a Marshall Student from 2002-2004. I reached out to Dominic through a text message. I selected Dominic as a participant because of his connections to Marshall. His sister

was going in her senior year at Marshall when Dominic was going to enter as a Freshman. Dominic attended Marshall for two years, from 2002 until 2004. He then transferred to another high school. His sister had attended Marshall for three years (1999 - 2001) before Dominic enrolled at Marshall. Dominic began Marshall at the same time as Principal Montevirgen started her position. Thus, Dominic was aware of the leadership under Dr. Butscher. Dominic had three different Principals during his two academic years at Marshall. The interview took place in Dominic's dining room. He lives in the San Francisco Bay Area. For the interview, my laptop was placed on the dining table to record participant responses. I also used my mobile phone for the interview to ensure a backup in the event that my laptop did not clearly record the responses. The interview was then transcribed through the otter application. I listened to the interview and edited the otter transcript to ensure validity. Dominic identifies as Latinx.

The questions asked were the following:

- In what years did you attend Thurgood Marshall?
- Why did you decide to go to Marshall?
- As an 8th grader, what did you hear about Marshall?
- When you enrolled, what was your first impression of Marshall?
- What was your goal, both personal and educational, when you first attended Marshall?
- Who was the Principal at Marshall when you enrolled?
- What can you say about the leadership team?
- How about their expectations for the school. What was the culture like?
- How did your goals shift as you progressed at Marshall?
- Did the teachers have any influence on this?

- October 11th, 2002. What do you remember about that day?
- How did Thurgood Change after that?

Amy attended Marshall from August 1999 and graduated in June 2003. Amy enrolled at Marshall under the leadership of Dr. Butscher. She attended Marshall when the graduating credit requirement was 280. After her Junior year of high school, Dr. Butscher's contract was not renewed. Amy entered her Senior year with Montevirgen as the new Principal, and the new 220 graduating credit requirement. Amy was selected for an interview because she had the experience of attending Marshall under the leadership of Dr. Butscher. Amy also had the experience of the transition to the leadership of Montevirgen. Amy had two Principals during her final year at Marshall.

I reached out to Amy through email. The interview with Amy was done via Zoom. The interview was recorded via Zoom and transcribed after. Zoom was used for this interview due to the quarantine during the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020. Amy identifies as Latinx.

The questions asked were the following:

- In what years did you attend Thurgood Marshall?
- When you enrolled, what was your first impression of Marshall?
- What was your goal, both personal and educational, when you first attended Marshall?
- How did your goals shift as you progressed at Marshall?
- Did the teachers have any influence on this?
- What about Dr. Butcher? What do you remember about him?
- What was your feeling about the mandatory 280 Graduating Credits?

- During your Senior year, what was the biggest difference you noticed? What did it feel like? What can you associate that to?
- October 11th, 2002. What do you remember about that day?
- How can you compare your first three years at Marshall, to your last year?

Rick taught at Marshall from 2001-2006. He was a credentialed teacher upon accepting a position at Marshall before the 2001-2002 academic school year. Rick was selected because he was involved in the process of teaching during the mandatory 280 graduating credit requirement, and the transition to the 220 graduating credit requirement. Rick was hired to teach under Dr. Butscher, which he did from 2001-2002. During the 2002-2003 academic school year, Rick worked under the leadership of Montevirgen for 2.5 months (August 2002-October 2002). Rick taught under Butscher, Montevirgen, and three other Principals at his time at Marshall. He still works in education, outside of San Francisco.

Rick was selected because he participated in staff meetings before and after the leadership change, coached athletic teams, and was involved in the culture setting of Marshall. Rick was contacted through email. The interview took place in his office at the school he currently works at. I recorded the interview on my laptop. The interview was then transcribed through the otter application. I listened to the interview and edited the otter transcript to ensure validity. Rick identifies as white.

The questions asked were the following:

- In what years did you teach at Thurgood Marshall?
- Why did you decide to teach at Marshall?

- Marshall had a minimum of 280 graduation credit requirements. How did that impact your class?
- Prior to the leadership change, during staff meetings, what would be voiced about student expectations?
- The school leadership was changed after the 2001-2002 academic school year. What did you notice that was different than before?
- In what ways were your curriculum/unit plans different after the leadership shift?
- Post the leadership change, during staff meetings, what would be voiced about student expectations?
- Did the teachers have any influence on this?
- October 11th, 2002. What do you remember about that day?
- How did Thurgood Change after that?

Danielle was a parent of a Marshall student during the leadership of Dr. Butscher and Montevirgen. Danielle was selected to interview not only because of her experience as a Marshall parent, but also her involvement with the Parent, Teacher, Student Association (PTSA). Danielle was also part of the hiring process for the new Principal during the 2003-2004 Academic school year.

Danielle was reached via email. The interview with Danielle was done through Zoom. The interview was recorded by Zoom and transcribed after. Zoom was used for this interview due to the quarantine during the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020. Participant 4 identifies as African-American.

The questions asked were the following:

- In what years did your child/children attend Thurgood Marshall?
- Why did you decide to send your child/children to Marshall?
- Marshall had a minimum of 280 graduation credit requirements. How did that impact your decision to send your child/children to Marshall?
- Prior to the leadership shift, what were your feelings toward the education at Marshall?
- Did you ever hear your child/children discuss the environment at Marshall? What would they say before the transition?
- What would they say after?
- The school leadership was changed after the 2001-2002 academic school year. What did you notice that was different than before?
- Did the teachers have any influence on this?
- What was, in your view, the biggest change in student expectations?
- What about school culture? What was that like?
- October 11th, 2002. What do you remember about that day?
- How did Thurgood Change after that?

Camille was apart of Marshall’s Leadership Team from 2002 until 2004. Camille was selected to interview because she was brought on as Assistant Principal during October 2002. She was brought onto the Marshall leadership team through the San Francisco Unified School District (SFUSD). SFUSD Superintendent Arelene Ackerman appointed her to join Marshall after the police riot of October 2002. Camile was contacted through email. The interview took place on Zoom. Camille identifies as African American.

The questions asked were the following:

- In what years did you work at Thurgood Marshall?
- Why did you decide to work at Marshall?
- Marshall had a minimum of 280 graduation credit requirements. How did that impact your role?
- Prior to the leadership change, during staff meetings, what would be voiced about student expectations?
- The school leadership was changed after the 2001-2002 academic school year. What did you notice that was different than before?
- Post the leadership change, during staff meetings, what would be voiced about student expectations?
- Did the teachers have any influence on this?
- What was, in your view, the biggest change in student expectations?
- What about school culture? What was that like?
- October 11th, 2002. What do you remember about that day?
- How did Thurgood Change after that?

Data Collection

Data was collected through five interviews. The interviews were conducted between March and April, 2020. Each interview lasted 60 minutes. Two interviews were conducted face to face. Three of the interviews were conducted utilizing the zoom application. Zoom was used due to the COVID-19 social distance regulations of 2020. The face to face interviews were recorded on my computer. The three zoom interviews were recorded through the Zoom application. Each interview was uploaded to the otter.ai web application. Otter.ai transcribed

each interview. I listened to the interviews a second time to verify the validity of the otter.ai transcription. In some cases, the transcription was inaccurate. As a result, I edited the transcription and ensure 100% accuracy.

Data Analysis

Data from this study was analyzed through transcribing the recording interviews, re-listening to the interviews, rereading the transcribed interviews, and collecting common themes from the participants. According to Creswell and Creswell (2017), coding is the process of organizing the data by bracketing chunks and writing a word representing a category in the margins (Creswell & Creswell, 2017 p. 193). I used codes to find common themes from the participants. Using the model presented in Creswell and Creswell (2017), I organized each theme in charts with the commonality as the reference point. According to Creswell and Creswell (2017), themes are the ones that appear as major findings in qualitative studies and display multiple perspectives from individuals and are supported by diverse quotations and specific evidence (Creswell & Creswell, 2017 p. 194). From my analysis, I found the following six themes:

1. The fight to maintain 280 graduating credits
2. Dr. Butscher and the school culture
3. Participants' frustrations with San Francisco Unified School District Superintendent Arlene Ackerman's mandate to lower the graduating credit requirement
4. Shift in school culture under Principal Montevirgen
5. The Trauma of the Police Riot
6. The change at Marshall following the change in leadership and the police riot

CHAPTER IV

Findings

Thurgood Marshall Academic High School had sent 95 percent of its graduates to college (Asimov, 2002). In the 2019 graduating class, Marshall had 13.8% of its graduating seniors who had met the University of California/California State University entrance requirements (Ed-data.org) Though the decision to not renew Dr. Butschers contract happened in 2002, the shift in leadership to Juliet Montevirgen and events that followed had detrimental effects. This shift in leadership at Marshall impacted students, staff, parents and the Bayview community. The leadership change lowered graduation credit requirements from 280 credits to 230 credits, changed the school culture, and school outcomes. Though the leadership shift did not cause the traumatic police riot, according to participant responses, the leadership under Dr. Butscher would have responded better. This study found six major themes. These themes include: Theme I: School Culture, before the leadership changed: Dr. Butcher. Theme II: The fight to maintain 280 credits. Theme III: The New 230 Credit Graduation Requirement. Theme IV: School Culture, after the leadership changed: Ms. Montevirgen. Theme V: The Police Riot. Theme VI: After the Riot

Theme 1: School Culture, before the leadership changed: Dr. Butcher

How did the leadership change at Thurgood Marshall affect student performance?

According to the 2000-2001 School Accountability Report Card, the mission of Marshall was to provide a high quality, college preparatory, and academically rigorous program for

inner city youths. Their primary charge was to increase the academic achievement of historically underrepresented minorities in the fields of science and mathematics. Committed to equity, Marshall will do everything we can to make top quality education accessible to all students regardless of their prior school experiences (SFUSD.edu). Dr. Samuel Butscher had been the Principal of Marshall since the school opened in 1994.

After all these years, I could never forget Dr. Butcher (Danielle). Students and staff loved him. The school had a real good vibe. He knew every single last one of the kids in Thurgood by first and last name (Rick). Dr. Butcher, I remember him (Dominic). I remember him having this very strong persona. He had a routine, where he would go through the halls and ring the bell like 'it's time to go to class. Let's go! Come on' (Amy). He was a great administrator (Camille).

As Principal he had maintained the 280 credit graduation requirement and rigorous curriculum. According to Amy, Thurgood was one of the better schools. They were really good about making us want to get the 280, so I think that that's something that Thurgood had great. Thurgood offered the best resources they could. I was pretty fortunate to have pretty good teachers that were very involved. They got to know the students. They were able to know us a lot better, and kind of cater to our needs. The teachers were very happy, like pretty happy from what they showed. They were very involved, helpful, supportive. I know my teachers well. The teachers who are going above and beyond for us (Amy). Dominic felt pride in being able to excel in high school, especially a school in the Bayview community of San Francisco. We had that motivation instilled in us when we came in. It was a point of like, bragging rights like yeah, I'm from Hunter's Point graduated and go to college, I mean everybody pushed to do good (Dominic). Dr. Butscher established a strong commitment from the parents at Marshall. Parents

had to sign this contract and show the commitment from parents. Although I was already very committed, I hadn't seen that before. That was very appealing that other parents are going to help and help create the school community. I liked that and I hadn't seen it in any other high schools that I had visited or private schools (Danielle). He fought for what he thought was right, which was to keep the 280, and that led to tensions between them (Rick)

Theme 2: *The fight to maintain 280 credits*

For the 2002-2003 academic school year, Superintendent Arlene Ackerman mandated that Thurgood Marshall Academic High School would have to lower their graduation credit requirements from 280 credits to 230 credits (Asimov, 2002). Ackerman announced in May 2002, and parents were not supportive of this. According to Danielle, a parent of a 9th grader at the time “we fought really hard with the superintendent about the 230 - 280 graduation requirements. We were saying no. It’s one of the cornerstones of the school,” (Danielle). Staff was also in support of maintaining the 280 graduation credit requirements. Rick remembers fighting...fighting for what we thought was right and fighting for what we thought that set kids up for success. Staff really fought for keeping it (credits at) 280. They knew what would happen if we didn't. Thurgood was successful in getting kids into college because we had more of a requirement. We stood apart from some other schools, some, you know, Lowell and whatever, but there's more kids going to college from Thurgood (Rick). In addition, in May 2002, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors passed a resolution recognizing the accomplishments and achievements of the students faculty and administration at Thurgood Marshall Academic High School in San Francisco (City and County of San Francisco, 2002).

According to Danielle, students were willing to do the work. (The 280 graduation credit requirement) was an important tool (Danielle). An 11th grader at the time, Amy knew the importance of graduating with 280 credits. According to Amy, students knew we were supposed to follow the A through G and also 280 credits. We were supposed to go above and beyond (Amy). However, we lost the battle (Danielle). Staff felt the impact. According to Rick, the policy changing was huge. An incoming ninth-grader, Dominic wasn't apart of the 280 credits but felt the impact. According to Dominic, the lowering of credits changed everything. It was to dumb us down (Dominic). Rick acknowledged the difficulty for many, especially Principal Butscher. It must have been really tough for Butscher, fighting for what he thought was the whole core of the school. He set the bar way high, right, and then just for that to crumble down, I'm sure it was devastating. We were trying to keep Butcher and trying to keep the 280 (Rick). According to Marshall administrator Camille, Marshall did almost a 360-degree turn. I think a lot of people thought that the kids from Hunters Point did it but I really think that Arlene Ackerman thought that she was being equitable (Camille). According to the San Francisco Chronicle, Superintendent Ackerman said that 'every other school in this district believes that young people can graduate with 230 credits and get into any college they want. Elitism is what I see (at Marshall).' (Asimov, 2002).

Theme 3: The New 230 Credit Graduation Requirement

How did the leadership change impact the expectation that students would attend college?

It was a big change. It was traumatic (Camille). I don't know why you want to fix something that's not broken (Rick). I could never understand that. Here's something that's successful. One of the very strange things I found in regards to Arlene Ackerman the

superintendent was like she couldn't put her stamp on it that this was her success. She was about killing it. The district knew it was working for families. She didn't care for that at all (Danielle). Arlene came in and she thought that that was discriminatory (Camille). The people so the people who did it, they had. They had a plan all along (Dominic). It is unfortunate that they changed it right in the middle of our senior year. It wasn't like we started the year knowing that, like, I guess after October or something, they decided like, 'Oh, you don't really need that.' That could have been something they discussed with parents and staff and more so with students after the senior year. Why did they decide that right then and there was a perfect time for us to lower our expectations? They weren't trying to provide the resources that are needed in order to maintain its high achievement levels (Amy).

The change from 280 credits to 230 changed the students expectations of attaining higher education. Previously, with the 280 credits, each student who graduated from Marshall would be eligible to attend a 4-year university. Through the 280 credits, each student would have fulfilled the University of California A-G requirements. According to the University of California Office of the President, the A-G Requirements are the course requirements needed to be completed by graduation from high school. This includes 2 years of History, 4 years of English, 3 years of Mathematics, 2 years of Science, 2 years of a Language other than English, 1 year of a Visual and Performing Art, and 1 year of a College-preparatory elective (University of California Admissions). All of a sudden you don't have to have 280 credits to graduate. So you're kind of teaching down (Camille). Students realized they no longer needed to fulfill the high graduation requirements. According to Amy, for the A-G requirements and 280 to graduate and my classmates were like, 'screw it! I'm done. I finished all of the 230. I'm going to finish. I am done'

(Amy). For Dominic, since he entered Marshall at the same time the requirements were lowered, he felt the difference and noticed that the expectations of his peers changed. According to Dominic, it changed everything. If you tell me I only have to do 50 I'm gonna do 50, that's it. The majority of the students we went to school with if you tell them 50, they're going to do 49. There's very few that are going to do 60. So when they told them, 'hey, it's 280 to graduate' they weren't going to do it (Dominic). Everybody's going to be at 230 and her (Ackerman) mandating that. Butscher, as I understand it, didn't really like that (Rick).

Theme 4: School Culture, after the leadership changed: Ms. Montevirgen

How did the leadership change affect school culture?

Juliet Montevirgen had been in the San Francisco Unified School District for 30 years and was Principal in at least two high schools in San Francisco before she was hired at Thurgood Marshall (Delgado, 2002). According to the San Francisco Unified School District School 1999-2000 School Accountability Report, (1999), Montevirgen was the Principal of Downtown Continuation High School in San Francisco (SFUSD.edu). Downtown offered project-based learning which emphasizes critical thinking skills across curricular areas and a strong connection with school-to-work and careers. Its focus is on learners' need for alternative strategies and is rooted in the commitment to student mastery of the core curriculum (SFUSD.edu). Further, one of the three school priorities of Downtown Continuation High school was to improve students' attendance and teaching and learning that enhance the academic achievement of ALL students through project-based, an alternative to the traditional delivery system of instruction (SFUSD.edu). Downtown Continuation had a 45.8% Graduation rate and no students took the SAT in 1999 (SFUSD.edu). Marshall, during the 1999-2000 academic

school year, had a 91% Graduation rate and 151 students took the SAT in 1999 and 164 students took the SAT in 2000 (SFUSD.edu).

Administration questioned Montevirgen's hiring. According to Camille, they put Montevirgen because she had been a principal for a while. They (SFUSD) thought that she could handle it and maybe she could have handled it. I don't know. Because Downtown is totally different from an academic High School. Academically, she wasn't there. She definitely didn't handle it (Camille). She had a different expectation and a different experience of what a school should look like (Amy). According to Rick, it was a tumultuous time. She just didn't have the rapport, the respect of the kids, and then she's very timid. I just remember kind of walking the halls and not really making eye contact with the kids and Butcher was the exact opposite (Rick). I don't remember seeing Montevirgen very often. She was hands-off. I would never see her, Butcher I would see at least outside the office. If you had you not told me her name, I wouldn't have known who my principal was (Amy). I don't remember her (Dominic). She had no connection to the children (Danielle).

Danielle was President of the Parent Teacher Student Association (PTSA) at the time Montevirgen was hired. According to Danielle, the first impression Montevirgen made was not a favorable one. She came in making changes. Ms. Montevirgen came into the PTSA meeting and told us 'Oh yeah, I have to hire more, um, school resource officers.' And she said there were some gang problems at the school and she needed to solve them. It was really bad and really all of us were like, all the parents were like 'there's no gang problems here.' She's like, 'Oh yeah, it's horrible.' We are like 'what gang problems,' she's like, 'oh, between the Blacks and the Asians and the Latino kids,' and we're just like, like, 'Really? Come on now where?' and she just kept

saying it was always said ‘the black kids first were troublemakers and they were causing trouble with Asian kids and they’re causing trouble with Latino kids’ (Danielle).

Montevirgens expectations and assumptions of the students set the tone of her time at Marshall. It impacted the school culture in a negative way. According to Rick, staff morale was very low. I saw immediate changes just in kind of staff morale. Well, we got down to the 220. The people at the top don't really value our opinion, that we want to keep it this way for a reason. You just have that underlying feeling like I'm not really supported at the top as a staff member and that is the kind of the morale that can kind of feel you got at staff meetings. You don't feel valued (Rick).

Students felt it also. According to Amy, by senior year, you could see the change. The biggest change was some of the teacher’s dynamics. They were showing how physically drained they were. They were done. For example, they weren't like, ‘Hey, good morning!’ Instead, they were like, ‘Okay, come on, let's go. Let's get this over with’ (Amy). Dominic felt the school needed a leader. According to Dominic, I don't feel that our freshman year, sophomore year for sure, that there was structure. When there is no structure, kids are going to do what they want to do. We needed someone to draw the line (Dominic). The Thurgood Marshall Academic High School community would not have Montevirgen around for much longer after the start of the 2002-2003 academic school year, her first at the school.

Theme 5: *The Police Riot*

On October 11, 2002, 96 San Francisco Police Department officers and 30 officers from another police agency responded to a non-weapon fight at Thurgood Marshall Academic High School (City and County of San Francisco Office of Citizen Complaints, 2004, p. 3). According

to the San Francisco Chronicle (2002) officers from three area police stations and a SWAT team arrived at the school (Bay City News, 2002). According to the Office of Citizen Complaints (OCC) (2004) there was a fight that involved five to ten males. Sometime thereafter, an adult relative entered the school to pick up one of the students and became involved in a fight with another student in the hallway outside of the administrative office. At approximately 10:49 a.m. a Student Resource Officer (SRO) called for back-up (OCC, 2004, p. 6).

Though this happened 17.5 years ago, participants for this study remember this event vividly. According to Camille, not only did they have like three different police stations out there, but they also had the SWAT team. I don't think SWAT needed to be there. But you've got SWAT out there and riot gear (Camille). Amy also remembered the police presence. According to Amy, I remember the SWAT team. I remember helicopters coming over Thurgood and kids trying to just go down that hill (Amy). Dominic remembers the environment. According to Dominic, I was shook. I was just stuck. All I remember is chaos. Yelling. it felt like forever (Dominic). Chaos. Total Chaos (Camille). Just a lot of chaos. It looked like a warzone. It was the police, ambulance, fire trucks, helicopters, and kids, and people everywhere (Danielle). Rick was in his classroom and saw the police. According to Rick, he could see cops congregating in mass. Yeah, like in mass. I just saw tons of them. I told my students do not engage in this at all (Rick). The hallways were empty briefly. According to Camille, somebody pulled the fire alarm. And then all the kids came out of the classroom into this big mess out there. They thought it was a fire drill.

Dominic was in the first floor hallway. He remembers what happened when the police came inside. According to Dominic, all of a sudden, something made me look to the right and I

look and I see the SWAT coming in. Because it wasn't cops. They were covered. It looked like they were moving in slow motion. It could have been 5 of them but to me, it looked like it was 100 of them coming. They were running and I stayed looking. Next thing I know, I remember getting hit with the fucking baton. I remember my arm hurt. They grabbed my friend and threw him on the lockers. So actually, I don't know if they actually arrested him but they did fucking toss his ass on the lockers. They lifted the motherfucker off the ground (Dominic). Rick remembers what the students told him about the riot. According to Rick, I heard guns pointed at kids, N-words dropped kids (Rick). According to Danielle, the N-word, the B-word cursing and all the foul language coming from the police towards children (Danielle). Danielle was at work when her daughter called her when the riot broke out. According to Danielle, I couldn't even understand my daughter. You don't understand. She wasn't even speaking words. She could barely talk. It was just guttural crying, screaming. She said the police hit her a bunch of times. I was scared to death (Danielle).

The police rushed in, during a fire-alarm, to stop a fight. Students were trapped inside, unless they ran away from the school. Dominic ran away from the police after he was struck. According to Dominic, I ran out, and as I was running out away from where they were coming in. So at the time, it was like, 'well what do I do?' It's not like I got a car. I don't have a cell phone. We needed someone to be like, hey go to class or Where are you going? There was nothing. There was nobody there (Dominic). This highlights what Camille feels was a huge mistake. According to Camille, the biggest mistake was when they allowed the kids to come out. During that time, they should have just had them remain in the classroom. Be on lockdown until you get this stuff straightened out. Keep them in the classroom until you get this stuff settled.

Montevirgen was the principal and she should have said keep the kids in the classrooms (Camille).

During the riot, Montevirgen was not leading nor delegating. According to Amy, Montevirgin locked herself in her office during the whole chaos instead of trying to help the situation. She acted like, 'I'm gonna... I don't know what to do. So I'ma hide' (Amy). Camille concluded the same. The day of the riot from what I understand she had locked herself in her office (Camille). Danielle also came to the same conclusion. According to Danielle, she locked the door and locked herself in her office (Danielle). Once students and police left Marshall, an emergency staff meeting was held at the Marshall Library. Danielle was in attendance. According to Danielle, Montevirgen went on talking about what happened, and the people were trying to piece together what happened. Other teachers refuting her story, which was some crazy story that she made up. The teachers were saying 'You're lying!' They just said it. There was no filter on anything. 'You're lying. You're telling us You don't know what you're saying! You didn't do that! We couldn't find you.' We never had any resolution (Danielle).

Theme 6: *After the Riot*

The week after the riot, Marshall community members were confused about many things. There was no conclusion about what happened (Danielle). According to Amy, students were left in the dark about things. Worse, there was no enough information for us that we were told that we weren't supposed to go to school. The school is closed. And we're like, 'what? Well, what's happening?' And I remember it was, 'what are we supposed to understand?' I do remember wondering when we were going to go back to school, things like that. We had our personal statements that needed to be done. I don't think the administration really did too much to help us.

They did not give us information about what's happening. Even to this day (Amy). There was also confusion about the start of the riot. According to Rick, the media turned it into a race riot. All the black kids and the Asian kids hate each other, man, now you're making it even worse for our school, which is like I never felt that (Rick). According to the San Francisco Chronicle (2002) police said the fight was divided along racial lines. "The fact it involved blacks against Asians and Asians against blacks indicates that it was racially motivated," police spokesman Dewayne Tully said (Bay City News, 2002). The newspapers really overplayed it (Camille).

Six days after the police riot, and 2 months into her role as Principal of Thurgood Marshall Academic High School, Juliet Montevirgen resigned (Delgado, 2002). According to Delgado (2002), Montevirgen was criticized for her lack of leadership after the incident and poor communication with parents about what happened (Delgado, 2002). The change of leadership was a big reason the school culture shifted negatively. According to Rick, the riot was just, was part change, change in leadership. I don't think that would happen with Butcher there (Rick). Danielle also felt the leadership change impacted negatively the Marshall community. According to Danielle, taking away the 280 credits, changing the administration, which were incredibly supportive of the educators and the families that went there. And you start dismantling that, and then soon, and then you put in these other people who are no, no part of any of that (Danielle).

Camille felt the leadership needed to be better. According to Camille, the school had been through just a traumatic experience that they needed to put somebody in there with the caliber of Butcher or somebody like that over there as principal. Students felt the change in leadership negatively impacted them. According to Amy, motivation dwindled off by the time we graduated (Amy). Dominic needed leadership. According to Dominic, there was no strategy. Thurgood

went from a major academic school to now not having all these credits that they need. How do you go from an academic high school? How do You have all these people going to college? You have all these people on the Dean's list, to this. Why don't they didn't they renew Dr. Butschers contract? (Dominic). Camille felt that ultimately, Thurgood Marshall kids were deprived (Camille).

Chapter V.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

According to the California Department of Education (CDE), for the 2018-2019 academic school year, Thurgood Marshall Academic High School had a 54.4% graduation rate (California Department of Education, 2020). Based on the low graduation rate, Marshall was designated for comprehensive support and improvement (CSI) under the Every Student Succeeds Act (California Department of Education). Out of the five high schools in the San Francisco Unified School District that were designated for CSI, Marshall was the only school that wasn't an alternative high school, a continuation high, or a school for students in county jail (California Department of Education). The CDE also measures the College/Career Indicator (CCI). The CCI includes both college and career measures to evaluate how well districts and schools are preparing students for success after high school (California Department of Education, 2020). According to the 2019 reporting year, the CDE measured that for Thurgood Marshall Academic High School, based on the CCI, 22.9% of the students were prepared for success after high school, 18.6% of the student body was approaching prepared, and 58.5% of Marshall students were not prepared for success after high school. In numbers, out of the 118 graduating students, 27 were considered prepared, 22 were considered approaching prepared and 69 students were

considered not prepared (California Department of Education, 2020). Lastly, only 10 students had completed the A-G Requirements (California Department of Education, 2020).

School leadership needs to be held accountable in the event that graduation requirements change. Student expectations should always remain high in order to ensure a college-going culture. Based on the data, the participant interviews, and the current state of the high school, it can be said that Marshall is a completely different school. Based on the data, Marshall no longer has a college going culture. Based on the data, Marshall, which was once a resource for the Bayview Hunters Point Community, is no longer. The decision of San Francisco Unified School District Superintendent Arlene Ackerman to not renew the contract of Principal Samuel Butscher changed the expectations of Marshall students. This included changing the 280 graduating credit requirement to 230 credit requirement. Ackerman hired a former continuation high school Principal to lead and shift the direction of Marshall. Juliet Montevirgen changed the school culture and lasted until October of her first year at Marshall. In October, 96 police officers rushed the hallways of Marshall and swung at high school students who were in the hallway due to the pulled fire alarm. Most of the participants concluded that the police riot would not have happened if Dr. Butscher was leading the school. Therefore, the school culture needs to be a factor in deciding the new leadership of a school. That did not happen in this case.

The police riot of October 11, 2002, left my participants with more questions than closure. Each of the participants had a different reason as to why the riot was started. Each of the participants felt that they still did not have closure from the riot. Each participant was confused as to why the riot happened. Each participant can still remember where they were the day of the riot and still feel the effects of the trauma. According to Danielle, the event was very traumatic to

her and her daughter and in fact, she (Danielle's daughter) still feels the effects of the riot. It still makes her angry and she refuses to talk about it (Danielle). Although it was a traumatic event, according to SFPD Deputy Chief Greg Suhr, the officers came into a difficult situation and the situation was abated. The officers acted properly (Gordon, 2004). In addition, to add insult, below is the City and County of San Francisco's Office of Citizen Complaints investigation from the event at Marshall from October 11, 2002.

The complainants' allegations describe numerous behaviors by individual officers that violate SFPD's General Orders, and which would, if true, escalate the situation. The investigation was unable to produce evidence that could verify or deny the allegations. The OCC interviewed 10 students, teachers and other civilian witnesses, and attempted to contact many more. However, many of the victims of the alleged misconduct and other parties at the scene who could have provided additional eyewitness evidence did not come forward for interviews. In response to allegations, numerous officers and supervising officers detailed their conduct during the incident and articulated their decision to detain, arrest, use force, and employ crowd control techniques. The officers denied the allegation, claiming instead that it was the students and at least two teachers who aggravated a tense situation. The officers reported that students shoved, hit, kicked, threw objects at them, stripped or attempted to strip them of their weapons, brandished a baton in a lethal position, refused their commands, and cursed them. According to police accounts, students were placing calls from cell phones, requesting outsiders to come to the school and confront the police; some officers reported that callers were asking for guns to be brought. The officers also said that two teachers incited the students to riot

and used profanity toward the police. The officers said that student fights erupted in the hallways during the change of classes, and outside in front of the school. The behaviors, as described by the officers, were within current Department policy, practice and training. At least one of the officers felt that the current policy and practice of the Department was successfully employed on the date of the incident (City and County of San Francisco Office of Citizen Complaints, 2004, p. 7).

Discussion

Discussion from the study could include what was working for Marshall. The leadership of Dr. Butscher created a college going culture for students from the Bayview community. Discussion can include whether the leadership change would happen in schools from other more affluent communities. Discussion from this study could investigate the Citizen Complaint report and the differences the report found to what this study found. From the summary of the report, the investigators concluded that the police successfully responded with the current policy and practice of the SFPD. I am concluding that they did not. Success is not beating high school students. Success is not arresting three high school students that were fighting inside of a school. Success was what Dr. Butscher was leading at Thurgood Marshall Academic High School before his contract was not renewed. Future research needs to look at how the rush to create new schools in low-income communities and the leadership behind them. Marshall was working for the students that are now in the United States, especially in San Francisco, falling behind. As the participants of this study were confused, I, too am very confused as to why San Francisco Unified School District impeded the success of Thurgood Marshall Academic High School. The

school was sustainable in sending their students to college. Currently, sustainability is in the struggle of the students at Marshall.

Recommendations

Future research will need to look at the successes of leaders in inner-city public high schools. Thurgood Marshall Academic High School had the student demographics and culture set in place to prepare their students. Through the school expectations, students graduated with college as their next steps. Thus, Marshall was successful in preparing students for post-secondary education. Therefore, a broader study on college-going expectations for schools like Marshall should happen in the future. Similar studies have been conducted, yet, the demographics of the school need to be representative of the community. Schools around the United States, especially inner-cities, are opened, redeveloped, and established to better prepare students of color for college. Yet, the success of those schools is inconsistent. The implications of this study is to put into perspective the leadership, culture, and expectations Marshall had for both school and the community. However, the leadership change, culture shift, and traumatic Police Riot disrupted the successful sustainability of Marshall. One question was brought up by my participants in each of their respective interviews. Would this have happened at another school? I can conclude that the disorganized leadership shift would not have happened. The lowering of graduating credit units would not have put into effect. Lastly, the 96 police officers in SWAT gear bolting inside of a high school and swinging and minors would never have happened. As a result, future studies should look into if student demographics play a role in the staff turnover of schools. Future research needs to look into leadership changes that are successful. Future research will forever be recommended until action is taken.

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