

VOICES OF CHANGE: ORAL HISTORIES OF ETHNIC STUDIES LEADERS IN  
RACIALIZED ORGANIZATIONS

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## **Abstract**

This study of implementing California Assembly Bill 1460, or mandatory Ethnic Studies (ES) in the California State University System (CSU), investigates the leadership decisions made within a set of self-governing campuses with varied institutional resources and responsibilities. This research uses an Oral History methodology, which situates personal experiences in history to illustrate how Ethnic Studies staff, faculty, and administrators navigate a racialized organization as they institutionalize a critical race curriculum and mandate within the context of individual campus histories, cultures and governances.

I reviewed the literature and documented the history of the first College of Ethnic Studies, the movement's impact, challenges with sustained implementation in P-20 education, and the Ethnic Studies task force that advocated for the bill to become law. Because AB 1460 requires systemic change, I combined two organizational theories to understand these leaders' navigational efforts and to create a grounded theory for this deductive study. Ray's (2019) theory of Racialized Organizations (RO) calls in the assumption that Black, Indigenous, People of Color (BIPOC) employees bring culture to organizations. The theory of Distributed Leadership explores the benefits and implications of collective leadership.

This research is unique in that it captures and preserves the Oral Histories of Ethnic Studies Leaders who have implemented the policy because they are connected to a longer arc of the history of the Ethnic Studies struggle. The findings contribute to an essential archive of narratives from ES leaders. They are helpful for educators, administrators, and policymakers seeking to understand how to implement an Ethnic Studies curriculum successfully.

## **Acknowledgments**

I want to acknowledge my community!

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

### **Ethnic Studies Leadership in Racialized Organizations**

The California State University (CSU) system, the nation's largest and most racially diverse university system, has mandated Ethnic Studies as a graduation requirement for all undergraduates (The California State University, n.d.). Assembly Bill 1460 (AB1460) will affect approximately 481,000 CSU students starting in 2025. Formerly, students could fulfill diversity requirements by taking classes on religion, gender, socioeconomic class, or sexual orientation without learning about race relations in the United States (Zinshteyn & Rashad, 2020). The new bill is a structural attempt at engaging students, who will become much of the Californian workforce, in learning about race and racism unique to the United States of America. Beginning with the graduating class of 2025 – those who typically entered in 2021- students must take an approved Area F course in Ethnic Studies to meet one of the graduation requirements.

The California State University educates most of the state's workforce, serves half a million students every year, and was the birthplace of Ethnic Studies over 50 years ago (The California State University, n.d.; Ruble, 2023; Montano, 2020; Zinshteyn & Rashad, 2020). Because each of the 23 CSU campuses is self-governing, there are significant differences in curricular, organizational, and faculty-related resources. For example, a scan of course offerings across the systems reveals that resource inequity is rather prevalent: 60% of the campuses offer standalone courses only (e.g., African American Studies), 30% have departments (e.g., Department of Ethnic Studies), and almost 10% have entire colleges of Ethnic Studies (e.g., San Francisco State University's College of Ethnic Studies) (Manyweather & Ngo, 2021). The new

law raises questions about how the campus faculty and administration are implementing the mandate in the form of a new General Education Breadth requirement, "Area F." This study explores issues related to leadership in implementing this monumental but controversial policy. Further, the study examines the successes and hardships of making the Ethnic Studies curriculum a requirement in higher education. To start, I reviewed literature and documents to learn about the history of the first College of Ethnic Studies, the movement's effects, implementation challenges in P-20 education settings, and the Ethnic Studies task force that worked to get the bill passed. Because AB 1460 calls for systemic change, I used two organizational theories to analyze the implementation. Based on the combined theories of Racialized Organizations and Distributed Leadership, the study will examine the implications for collective leadership of institutionalizing a critical race curriculum within a racialized bureaucracy. This research adds to the body of research on the growing institutionalization of Ethnic Studies by conducting Oral History interviews with faculty from 3 different types of campuses with the CSU. The findings of this study add to the navigational capital for faculty, administrators, and policymakers interested in implementing an Ethnic Studies curriculum.

### **Assembly Bill 1460 Background**

AB-1460 is part of a historic effort by leaders of structural and cultural relevance to include race in the university curriculum, who set out in 2014 to identify racialized issues in the CSU (California Legislation, 2019; CSU Task Force on the Advancement of Ethnic Studies, 2016). Over 50 years ago, San Francisco State University (SFSU) students formed the "Third World Liberation Front" (TWLF) in 1968. In 1969, TWLF fought to include a race-inclusive curriculum after a Black English professor was unjustly fired (Ehsanipour, 2020). After protests,

canceled classes, and over 400 arrests, the university agreed to create the first College of Ethnic Studies. By the early 1970s, nearly every CSU and some high schools offered Ethnic Studies to combat the lack of a race-conscious curriculum (Montano, 2020; Zinshteyn & Rashad, 2020).

In January of 2014, the California State University's (CSU) Academic Senate acknowledged the Task Force on the Advancement of Ethnic Studies for the first time since the Chancellor of the CSU system requested the group's formation after recommendations from CSU Long Beach's Africana Studies Department, the Academic Senate, the California Faculty Association, and the California Legislative Black Caucus (CSU Task Force on the Advancement of Ethnic Studies, 2016). This Task Force encompassed two primary phases: 1) to identify racialized challenges in the CSU system to make recommendations for campus presidents, and 2) to develop a system-wide report by the end of the 2014-2015 academic year (Academic Senate, 2014). The 24 members of the Task Force were mainly deans, presidents, professors, and vice presidents nominated by either an Academic Senate representative, CSSA, or system-wide Ethnic Studies Faculty, then appointed by the Chancellor.

The Task Force designed a 27-item questionnaire that would gather the background and history of Ethnic Studies from a faculty point of view. The questionnaire arrived at 49 desks of CSU professionals involved with Ethnic Studies programs and received a 96% return rate, which reflected 22 of the 23 total CSU campuses. The feedback from the survey became a seminal piece for the Task Force's report. A report draft was sent to campus leaders, and 111 supportive feedback points were returned to the Task Force, providing them with insights not expressed in the questionnaire's data.

Five total objectives emerged from both the campus and system levels: (1) capacity building, (2) campus climate, (3) community engagement, (4) collaboration, and (5) further study. Ten recommendations emerged from these and the original questionnaire, which addressed various issues critical to advancing Ethnic Studies. From this point, the Task Force publishes the "Report of the California State University Task Force on the Advancement of Ethnic Studies" (2016), including an overview of Ethnic Studies, Survey Findings, Challenges, and recommendations for best practices. Among the ten recommendations from the report, one included the implementation of an Ethnic Studies General Requirement—to make Ethnic Studies a requirement across the CSU system.

In November 2017, then-Chancellor Timothy White sent out a letter attached to a Status Report addressed to Dr. Horace Mitchell, President of CSU Bakersfield and Chair of the task force, the Ethnic Studies Council, and all CSU Presidents regarding the Task Force's mission to align campuses with priorities and culture to meet the needs of students. The letter promotes Ethnic Studies-related themes, including using Ethnic Studies to deepen the educational experience and strengthen connections between schools and the wider community. The Status Report provided updates on all ten recommendations across the CSU system. Although Ethnic Studies had not been deemed a requirement, at this point, about 15 campuses had made progress in making Ethnic Studies a sustainable program on their campuses (CSU Task Force on the Advancement of Ethnic Studies, 2017).

## **Implementation**

Assembly Bill 1460, "California State University: graduation requirement: ethnic studies," was introduced to the Assembly in February of 2019 and described the powers of the CSU Board of Trustees in combination with the law to amend current requirements:

Existing law establishes the California State University and its various campuses under the administration of the Board of Trustees of the California State University. Existing law requires the board to adopt rules and regulations not inconsistent with the laws of this state for the governance of the trustees, their appointees and employees, and California State University. Existing rules require students of California State University to complete courses in American history and American government or pass comprehensive examinations in those fields to graduate, with specified requirements and exceptions.

This bill would express the Legislature's intent to enact legislation requiring California State University students to complete one 3-unit course in ethnic studies to graduate.

In May 2020, the Committee on Educational Policy recommended that the language in Title V be amended to narrow the existing "Diversity and Social Justice" requirement to "Ethnic Studies," which would ensure that students are engaging in a curriculum anchored in historical racial and ethnic groups through a social justice lens. AB 1460 was chaptered in August of 2020 and would lawfully approve an Ethnic Studies course requirement for all CSU students to graduate beginning the following academic year. The CSU system is moving forward with adjusting Title V and the Executive Order on CSU GE Breadth, highlighting that AB 1460 and Area F are technically two different mandates since one is from the state and the other from the

Chancellor's office. California State University (2020) describes the implementation responsibilities on an institutional level within the shared governance framework.

### **Teaching about Race and Racism**

The AB1460 and Area F policy in the CSU is vital in higher education because it narrows previous diversity requirements that were meant to educate students broadly; this recalibration, which replaces the diversity requirement, will allow students to be more critical of the systems of racism that exist around them (Zinshteyn & Rashad, 2020).

Additionally, California State University is California's brand of teaching school, established over 60 years ago, and continues to contribute to the P-12 workforce by producing 1.5k teachers a year (The California State University, 2016). In this way, CSU aims to educate educators on race as a public good since the mainstream curriculum from Kindergarten through University treats Black, Indigenous, and People of Color (BIPOC) stories, truths, and ways of knowing as an addendum. The current curriculum allows teachers to avoid conversations about race and racism. "Preventing classroom disagreement or violence" is often cited to avoid accountability in teaching these topics (Sleeter, 2011, p. 4). White elementary students connect with the mainstream curriculum, but many Black students do not (Epstein, 2001). BIPOC high school students blame Euro-American bias for their disengagement with the teachings (Wiggan, 2007).

College students also desire an education that includes attention to diversity. Mayhew et al. (2005) surveyed university students and revealed they judge the university based on its willingness to include racial and ethnically diverse perspectives in the curriculum. The current curriculum does not reflect students' identities or diversifying demographics, but implementing



the ES curriculum is a restorative practice because it considers, centers, and includes cultural realities (Nojan, 2020).

### **Efforts to Engage Students in Anti-Racism**

Ethnic Studies began as a university-level umbrella term to describe relevant teachings about Black, Brown, and Indigenous Peoples of Color (BIPOC) in the US. Research on these teachings and socially relevant pedagogies has evolved into an academic discipline and pedagogical paradigm available at all education levels. Because educational institutions share racialized practices, thought, knowledge, and values, there have been various attempts at tackling racism from within universities. Group-based, community-engaged advocacy is one common theme of anti-racist efforts in higher education and Ethnic Studies.

### **Identity Projects and Programs**

Due to student advocacy, universities create identity-based resource centers to address social engagement and belonging for students of color (Patton, 2006; Patton et al., 2019; Hypolite, 2020). The popularity of these centers stems from the belief that racialized groups must defend themselves against inequities and provide themselves with what they need, which manifests in leadership initiatives focusing on responses to racism (Bensimon & Malcolm, 2012). There tends to be an under-allocation of funds and other capital for cultural centers that work to close equity gaps for minoritized students (Harris & Patton, 2017). These spaces lack the funds, staff, and bandwidth to create institutional change and address racism's root causes, and Patton et al. (2019) describe these “buffer jobs” as exploitative due to these factors. From a Racialized Organizations perspective, these minoritized groups are viewed as “bringing culture” to an otherwise cultureless bureaucracy, which alleviates anyone who represents the cultureless-

ness from the responsibility of critique (Ray et al., 2023). However, this logic is dispelled as anti-racist initiatives stemming from resource centers are often defensive or respond to an incident on campus outside of the minoritized efforts brought to campus. Because the centers are systemically and bureaucratically tied to student affairs, AB 1460 has situated academic affairs professionals within the fight towards anti-racist initiatives.

Students have also demanded and fought for anti-racist curriculum and training in postsecondary education. Notably, graduate students at a private school of social work in the Northeast created the "Anti-Racism Project," which addressed power imbalances in the university and a lack of multiculturalism and anti-racism pedagogy (Davis & Livingstone, 2016). Some project participants were interested because their academic programs do not cover racism but felt its prevalence within the institution. All participants anticipated racism in professional post-graduation positions but felt unprepared to address it. The advocates also felt their peers were unaware they should be anti-racist advocates.

In reaction to subsequent federal legislation (e.g., the 1965 Higher Education Act), student uprisings of the late 1960s, and the inflow of Black students, predominately white institutions (PWI) have progressively embraced organized diversity programs throughout the previous half-century (Patton et al., 2019). Similarly, AB 1460 resulted from California Assembly Bill 1460, student demonstrations in the late 1960s, and the diversifying racial demographics in the California State University System. This research continues the above sentiment by emphasizing implementing an anti-racist curricular requirement in higher education as an amalgamation response to structural, organizational, and interpersonal racism. AB 1460 provides a counter-narrative of a university structure that is taking structural steps to teach

students about racism and the importance of being anti-racist in school and beyond into the workforce.

### **Diversity Initiatives**

Patton et al. (2019) conducted a literature review on diversity initiatives over the last 50 years. They situated them into quadrants based on the literature's standard, including student support services, curriculum, administration, and policy. Cultural centers, diversity offices, and other academic support structures were established to restore campus order, act as a receptacle for complaints, and provide academic help when students demanded that administrators be held responsible for racist climates in the late 1960s (Patton et al., 2019). San Francisco State University students pushed for these resources and the introduction of culturally relevant courses, which established the first Ethnic Studies program. Soon, other higher education institutions began offering diversity courses (Banks, 1994); over 60% of the Association of American Colleges and Universities (AAC&U), a global undergraduate-only association of over 1,000 liberal colleges, require diversity courses in general education curricula (Zabala Eisshofer, 2022).

### **Multicultural, Diversity Courses vs. Ethnic Studies Courses**

Race-critical curriculum as a diversity initiative is commonly found in the literature (Patton et al., 2019). According to the review of this topic, student or administrative experiences and curriculum implementation were the center of the literature. However, these articles typically measure the impact of these initiatives as cross-cultural benefits for White students and view "diversity" as an objective pedagogical tool for them (Patton et al., 2019). Banks (1994) summarizes that diversity or multicultural education courses beginning in the early 1970s

intended to change the lack of diversity in academic curricula and called for the undoing of the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant culture as the dominant vehicle for education. The author defines five aspects of the diversity courses, foreshadowing Ethnic Studies as a more socially and intellectually developed discipline.

The first aspect is "Content Integration," which Banks describes as adding diversity or multicultural content to a lesson by incorporating the contributions or stories of People of Color. This aspect differs from the Ethnic Studies perspective because it calls for the task to be completed from a racially marginalized lens, which may drastically change how a particular curriculum is taught (Huber et al., 2006). The second aspect is "Knowledge Construction," which is how teachers guide students to comprehend how people's views impact disciplinary conclusions. In Ethnic Studies, peoples' views are not so objectified because these perspectives are situated within the context of social structures, so teachers invite students to interact with the conclusions from their critical perspectives (Sleeter, 2011; Vasquez & Altshuler, 2017; Daus-Magbual & Tintiangco-Cubales, 2016; Daus-Magbual, 2010; Tintiangco-Cubales et al., 2015; Nojan, 2020; Tintiangco-Cubales & Duncan-Andrade, 2021). This aspect connects with the larger body of literature encouraging faculty to be pedagogically sound in teaching Ethnic Studies to situate the student concerning the perspective (Baptiste, 2010; Daus-Magbual, 2010; Tintiangco-Cubales & Duncan-Andrade, 2021).

Third is "Prejudice Reduction," which means introducing students to "positive" role models from underrepresented communities to sway student perceptions of that community. Modernly, this aspect would probably be considered the most problematic compared to the Ethnic Studies curriculum for a few reasons, including the generation of "spokesperson

syndrome," glorification of martyrdom, and encouraging the overall Western perspective that promotes binaries of "good" and "bad," "positive" and "negative" people, instead of acknowledging the multiple perspectives of complex beings (Huber et al., 2006; Tintiangco-Cubales et al., 2015). Fourth is "Equitable Pedagogy," which requires students' academic achievement from collaborative classroom engagement and activities instead of a competitive classroom environment.

Lastly, and arguably the most systematic impact of diversity courses from an organizational vantage point is the "Empowering School Culture and Social Structure," which refers to a critical look at the school's social, procedural, behavioral, and bureaucratic processes to ensure the representation of racially and culturally diverse perspectives. Huber et al. (2006) and Baptiste (2010) say these unchecked structures can be essential in creating internalized racism for students. Overall, Tintiangco-Cubales et al. (2015) highlight through an Ethnic Studies pedagogical review that ES courses focally serve to "help students critique racism and its personal and social impact, as well as to challenge oppressive conditions" (p. 111) and "engage with focal ethnic communities" (p.111), which appears to differ from the approach of diversity or multicultural curriculum.

### **The Academic Implications of Ethnic Studies**

Ethnic Studies' academic implications are a topic of growing interest. Several studies show that students of all backgrounds do better in Ethnic Studies because the curriculum incorporates analysis of fundamental social structures into the classroom content (Sleeter, 2011; Vasquez & Altshuler, 2017; Daus-Magbual & Tintiangco-Cubales 2016). Ethnic Studies helps

all students develop critical consciousness, relate curriculum to their lives, and increase social engagement (Nojan,2020; Tintiangco-Cubales & Duncan-Andrade, 2021).

Sleeter (2011) evaluates the effect of Ethnic Studies on student achievement, especially how it closes the achievement gap and previous strategies for developing ES programs. ES is a direct reaction to Euro-American viewpoints in education, including 1. Identifying the point of view; 2. Examining US colonialism and its consequences; 3. Creating race; 4. Collective identities; and 5. They are examining intellectual and cultural goods. Ethnic Studies students of all races narrow achievement gaps, increase agency, and improve learning attitudes (Vasquez & Altshuler, 2017; Nojan, 2020; Tintiangco-Cubales & Duncan-Andrade, 2021). Marrun (2018) completed an ethnographic study of the schooling experiences of college students of color and found that Ethnic Studies courses with culturally relevant pedagogies have the following impact on students: “1. Intersecting *sitios* (discourse) of home and school pedagogies; 2. (Re) claimed an academic space and identity, and 3. (Re)defined and (re)connected the boundaries of community space”. The researcher calls for the expansion of Ethnic Studies and defines it as a motivational tool for graduation because the agentic impact of taking the courses became a motivational aspect for the students.

Nojan (2020) investigates Ethnic Studies' impact on middle school students. According to research, students' critical awareness and academic performance improved when they could relate the curriculum to their lives. Using a case study method, the researcher finds that ES increases academic success, social involvement, and critical awareness. The article describes Ethnic Studies students as more engaged in the curriculum than traditional students.

Dee and Penner (2017) provide a quantitative counterpart to Nojan (2020) on Ethnic Studies. They studied five high schools where students falling below a 2.65 average GPA (1,405 students in their study) were required to enroll in an Ethnic Studies course. Using a Regression Discontinuity Design, Dee and Penner found statistically significant improvements in attendance (21%), GPA (by 1.4 points), and credits earned (23 credits or four courses). Through a Wilcoxon rank-sum test, the researchers found that students with multiple classes from ES teachers were not overrepresented in the results, suggesting that taking just one ES class positively impacted students' academic outcomes.

### **Ethnic Studies Countermovements**

Despite these benefits to students and communities, some groups oppose the Ethnic Studies curriculum and create more struggles for Ethnic Studies leadership. In this section, I explore Ethnic Studies countermovements and efforts to revoke programs in K-12 education.

#### **Gonzalez v. Douglas**

Ethnic Studies delegitimization efforts continue to gain momentum. In 2016, Arizona rescinded a Mexican American Studies (MAS) Program in Tucson Unified School District after inviting civil rights activist Dolores Huerta, who gave a speech about Republicans hating Latinos. Huerta's comments were identified as hate speech by people who disagreed with her, and the Arizona Department of Education moved to rescind the MAS program. Parents of students sued the Superintendent of Public Instruction for Arizona and the Arizona State Board of Education members for threatening to remove the program. They contended that revoking the program went against the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

The MAS program included art, government, history, and literature courses at the kindergarten through 12th-grade levels, with each class focusing on historic and contemporary Mexican-American contributions. The concept of the program was to engage Mexican-American students by helping them see "themselves or their family or their community" in their studies, and its purpose was to close the historical gap in academic achievement between Mexican-American and white students in Tucson (*Gonzalez v. Douglas*, 2017, p. 951). Court-dispatched auditors observed MAS program classrooms and analyzed the curriculum. No Tucson Unified School District class or curriculum violated the law. The courts ruled that the curriculum was not discriminatory, and the First Amendment covered the invited speaker. The program was not rescinded.

### **Inclusive Parents Countermovement**

Chang (2022) studies modern movements that critique Ethnic Studies and the curriculum. A pro-ES campaign, *Ethnic Studies Now!*, lobbied to make Ethnic Studies mandatory for 1.7 million California students in 2015. A Southern Californian School District adopted ES as a graduation requirement, encouraging Inclusive Parents to organize against the condition. Chang investigated the Inclusive Parents movement, which sued the school district and claimed that the Ethnic Studies curriculum violated the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The primarily White group complained that critical awareness and the new learning environment were hostile and oppressive to White, American, Christian boys. The counter-narrative nature of the BIPOC stories compared to the Euro-based curriculum most often taught in schools decentered the White students, thus making them uncomfortable. Further, BIPOC stories outside of critical race studies are often about oppression or only exist in a white



historical context (Slater, 2011). Tintiangco-Cubales and Duncan-Andrade (2021) recognize that "Ethnic White" or European cultures are taught, but not as "Ethnic Studies" or in a more critical sense. This level of inclusion *others* the identities that make up "Ethnic Studies" and continue to privilege White ethnic identities without critique. Chang uses critical whiteness studies to examine victimization-based testimonies at board meetings. From his observations, he writes:

But I argue that their actions constituted a curricular countermovement. This oppositional movement aimed to circumscribe what students should know by delegitimizing programs that cultivated the academic achievement and critical consciousness of non-dominant youth (p 159).

The graduation curriculum remained in the district, reiterating that the Ethnic Studies curriculum is a small step toward recognizing "justice for all."

General diversity curricular requirements are a standard method of introducing students to diversity within the context of diversity initiatives; however, cultural diversity requirements at universities nationwide are framed differently (Zabala Eisshofer, 2022). The California State University System has modified its framing to incorporate knowledge based on race and anti-racist practices by engaging with the critical race knowledge base of Ethnic Studies. Ethnic Studies inherently prioritizes analyses of ethnicity over other social identities, creating a unique curricular perspective compared to other diversity requirements, which may focus on any social identity.

### **Purpose of the Study**

This study investigates the leadership decisions made within self-governing campuses with varied institutional resources and responsibilities. I aimed to illustrate how Ethnic Studies

staff, faculty, and administrators navigate a racialized organization as they institutionalize a critical race curriculum and mandate within the context of individual campus histories, cultures, and governances. This study acknowledges mandatory Ethnic Studies in the California State University System (CSU) as a win and examines the histories of racially conscious leadership practices in racialized bureaucracies. Because the study takes place in a racialized, self-governed, bureaucratic organization, I pair a Distributed Leadership theoretical framework with a theory of Racialized Organizations, which was crucial in exploring the implementation of race-conscious legislation across the racialized university system.

My pilot project resulted in an archival database of the number of classes offered in Ethnic Studies, Area F, and faculty status at the CSU (Manyweather & Ngo, 2021). When I examined the number of cross-listed courses, the department that includes the cross-listing, and examined the number of cross-listed courses, the department that includes the cross-listing, and the total number of single-listed studies indicate a shared responsibility became apparent because many of the courses and faculty including instructor type (TT/contingent), online/in-person, number of units, and course title. Course descriptions helped to explore what instructors, curriculum, and ideas students are exposed to and how this varies by campus, highlighting the self-governing practices of the faculty and the unique campus culture, as ES departments tended to have thematic courses that made sense for their campus populations. I used content and cluster analysis techniques to identify patterns across course offerings, such as instructor type(s) and the extent of cross-listing courses across departments. I paired this with a content analysis of collected course syllabi and policy documents to explore themes within the newly implemented

Ethnic Studies curriculum. These analyses helped to explain what exists in the CSU and provide a starting point for further inquiry.

This study, guided by the pilot project, includes semi-structured interviews with 2-3 purposefully sampled campus leaders and faculty involved in Ethnic Studies implementation at each institution type (Ethnic Studies programs, departments, colleges). The purpose of these interviews at various institution types is to understand the leadership of mandatory Ethnic Studies requirements, including how leaders cultivate collective responsibility for teaching about race and racism across the university and what implementation challenges they experience. Concepts from the Distributed Leadership and Oral/Life Histories literature have guided the interview protocols, coding procedures, and analysis (see Appendix). The collected content has resulted in weaving stories from the institutional types through a Racialized Organizations lens with analysis through four tenants, exploring the agency of underrepresented groups in charge of developing a race-based curriculum.

Overall, the study provided insight into policy implementation and leadership for social justice and equity in higher education -- a significant contribution given the increasing reckoning of systemic racism on university campuses and the need for research that can help institutions of higher education achieve the goal of preparing an engaged and diverse citizenry. The findings of this research help educators, administrators, and changemakers chart a course toward successfully adopting Ethnic Studies curricula within a racialized organization.

### **The Problem**

Because Assembly Bill 1460 and the Chancellor's mandate for Ethnic Studies is the responsibility of individual campuses, the policy's interpretation and implementation will be

brought to fruition in 23 different ways. In one light, anti-racist curricular work has been a collective responsibility across the 23 campuses. Still, because there are multiple institutional types (college, department, standalone courses in Ethnic Studies), the implementation will look different. Just two of the twenty-three CSUs have Colleges of Ethnic Studies, which implies an overburden on institutions with fewer resources. Still, just as many students must meet the requirement.

Due to the predominately racially minoritized group of faculty in ES, faculty of color take on an extensive division of labor in higher education in terms of the implementation process (Ferguson & Bergan, 1973; Roemer & Schnitz, 1982; Duncan, 2014; Halcrow & Olson, 2011). Some Ethnic Studies programs are overwhelmed with ensuring that all students can access the required race-based curriculum while facing resistance and other challenges. This study unpacks how these faculty navigate the unique conditions of their institutional type, history, and racialized bureaucracy.

Each of the 23 CSU campuses is individually governed and responsible for providing all undergraduate students with a course in Ethnic Studies by the time they graduate. However, even as colleges and universities strive to be responsive to curricular inequities and gaps, they are often under-resourced when faced with implementation, resulting in minimal change (Clay & Broege, 2021; Kigwilu & Akala, 2017). The inequity of resources across CSU campuses includes various faculty, staff, and course offerings. Two schools have Colleges of Ethnic Studies, one of which was the birthplace of Ethnic Studies and includes tenured and tenured track faculty. In contrast, others have departments with a few tenured faculty. Many have a scarcity of courses with few full-time or tenured faculty to teach them.

The growing number of contingent faculty members also contributes to the lack of resources in the academy (Evans, 2018; Roemer & Schnitz, 1982). Given these inequities and challenges, passing AB 1460 and California State University's new mandatory Ethnic Studies requirement could mark a missed opportunity to include a robust race-based curriculum across campuses in a way that will not tokenize the requirement. Exploring racialized organizational efforts within the CSU makes sense as leaders implement race-conscious policies. The study demonstrates how other institutions outside of the CSU can replicate mandatory Ethnic Studies and become aware of racial challenges associated with doing so.

The present study examines the implementation across CSU campuses and views the Area F Ethnic Studies graduation requirement. The study answers the following:

1. How have Ethnic Studies leaders interpreted and implemented the policy?
2. How has the history on campus influenced leadership and implementation?
3. How do collaboration and Distributed Leadership shape the implementation of AREA F?

### **Summary**

Assembly Bill 1460, or mandatory Ethnic Studies in the California State University System, comes after a 50+ year struggle for racially conscious education. Ethnic Studies is a multidisciplinary and community-engaged pedagogy that requires critical consciousness. Studies show that because ES relates so heavily to real-world social structures, students relate to the content, which increases social, civic, and academic engagement and success (Sleeter, 2011; Vasquez & Altshuler, 2017; Marrun 2018; Nojan, 2020; Tintiangco-Cubales & Duncan-Andrade, 2021). Because Ethnic Studies is not incremental in how it challenges current

knowledge, the curriculum causes tension with those whose dominant identities and values come into question (Tintiangco-Cubales & Duncan-Andrade, 2021). Including Ethnic Studies in the curriculum is a significant step towards systemic anti-racism, but it could not happen without Ethnic Studies leadership. This study explores the leadership practices of Ethnic Studies leaders and how they implement contention and race-conscious policy in the context of racialized organizations.

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

In this section, I explore change-leadership frameworks in higher education. Because this study is deductive, I combine two organizational theories, Distributed Leadership (DL) and Racialized Organizations (RO), to better understand the implementation and to develop interview questions based on the literature. I review the salient literature about Ethnic Studies faculty and pedagogy, the academic impact of Ethnic Studies, and social justice change initiatives in education.

### **Theoretical Grounding**

I used two frameworks to understand leadership and implementation challenges within the implementation of Area F/Assembly Bill 1460. The first framework, Distributed Leadership (DL), is an organizational leadership theory that supports the spirit of the collaborative nature of Ethnic Studies and ignores the idea of hierarchical leadership. The second framework, Racialized Organizations (RO), points out the racialized systems that make up the bureaucracy. Together, these frameworks allow us to understand how systemic and sustainable anti-racist change might happen within racialized organizations and how it may be resisted/challenged.

Institutions' efforts that are unresponsive to or are positioned in a way not to address the core racism of the university are the fundamental reason why structural anti-racist changes must be implemented. However, some of these same institutions may have myriad concerns about systematically addressing racism. Many articles describe racist traditions in silos and leaders stepping up to implement solutions within those instances, but little is written about large-scale, communal, and sustained change. Problematic and racist traditions exist across university

departments, yet the onus to address these phenomena falls on staff, students, administration, or faculty of minoritized racial identities. Implementing a shared vision of anti-racist education goes beyond departments most inclined to address social justice.

Using a Distributed Leadership framework to expand the Ethnic Studies curriculum could be an institution's most sustainable chance to close opportunity gaps and complete authentic anti-racist work because more of the campus community would be working towards the same goal. For several reasons, it is important to examine Distributed Leadership in the context of AB 1460.

First, the literature speaks of leadership development in higher education for career advancement but lacks leadership models for social justice and undoing inequity within academic affairs. Although Higher Education is a conduit for intellectual inquiry and a possible site for progressive change, personnel within the bureaucratic systems rarely examine themselves through that same inquiry (Dopson et al., 2019). Few longitudinal studies view the impact of leadership skills, philosophies, and beliefs in the higher education industry, challenging understanding of leadership style's effect on equity initiatives (Dopson et al., 2019). This study aims to identify leadership styles within the implementation to understand the self-governance aspect of the mandate better.

Second, implementing mandatory Ethnic Studies provides a unique situation for leaders to navigate since the literature describes that leadership behavior in one context may not work in another, especially around change matters (Fiedler, 1967; Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Bryman, 2007). Institutional type (i.e., whether Ethnic Studies is housed in a college, department, or program) is one source of variability that I consider in this study. Additionally, Bryman (2007) notes that faculty leaders may have been selected for their scholarship rather than leadership or



managerial experience and reminds us that departmental chairs are not the only stakeholders in decision-making, creating further possibilities for implementation variation across the 23 contexts.

Third, shared or Distributed Leadership may be necessary for achieving equity goals. The literature defines social justice leadership as partnering towards an equity goal (LePeau, 2015). LePeau (2015) says there must be partnerships between students and academic affairs to improve the racial campus climate. However, the literature they reviewed was not situated within social justice purposes but rather within programmatic redesign, much like the Distributed Leadership literature. The researcher notes the unique vantage points both sectors bring to the work and cover all university bases, highlighting the ripe foundation for a Distributed Leadership framework.

Fourth, within the higher education industry, there is a tendency for anti-racism, as one of the main goals of the Ethnic Studies mandate, to become compartmentalized work of underrepresented and marginalized professionals. Although the new Area F is the institution's way of institutionalizing an anti-racist curriculum, the policy's implementation implies that underrepresented professionals will continue to take on extensive labor, consistent with academic and student affairs (Duncan, 2014; Smith, 2020). This inequitable division of labor in higher education is expected for underrepresented professionals of color (Ferguson & Bergan, 1973; Roemer & Schnitz, 1982; Halcrow & Olson, 2011). It is possible that Ethnic Studies leaders could be overwhelmed with ensuring all students can access the required race-based curriculum before graduation. Furthermore, Nojan (2020) describes that it tends to be more difficult for White faculty to gain cross-cultural competence. White educators can do critical work and use

Ethnic Studies pedagogies, but they must do the work to reflect on their racial identity and develop critical consciousness (Vasquez & Altshuler, 2017). Therefore, it is essential to examine the implementation of the policy, with a focus on organizational context and leadership.

### **Distributed Leadership**

One possible way to challenge the inequitable labor load of implementing anti-racist initiatives is to adopt a Distributed Leadership framework. This framework promotes joint sense-making, with all faculty involved taking active leadership roles and developing infrastructure supportive of making change across the institution. The model turns away from romanticizing a single leader who can solve all the racism-related problems they have been hired to resolve (Kempster et al., 2014). In this case, established Ethnic Studies leaders are the romanticized single leader.

Distributed Leadership is vital in implementing campus-wide initiatives, such as introducing and shifting to new pedagogical and curricular approaches (Creanor, 2014; Vuori, 2019; Kezar & Sam, 2003). The focus on the distribution of leadership and responsibility in Ethnic Studies implementation brings analytic attention to the leadership decisions and strategies that research finds either support or diffuse anti-racist policy intentions. Adopting a Distributed Leadership framework might be the answer to relieving over-extended minority professional staff and faculty from implementing race-based education and creating sustainable improvements away from the usual humanities who typically carry the burden and burnout.

Higher education institutions welcome change and innovation in theory but need help implementing sustainable practices and curricula in real time if these innovations challenge collegial traditions (Tierney & Lanford, 2016; Manning, 2017). As universities shift to include

more race-based curricular requirements, the organizational perpetuation of scarcity and lack of expertise continues to impact this curricular innovation (Altbach, 2004; Van Vught, 2008; Pickens, 1993).

### **Leading from Everywhere**

Higher education professionals have differing views on a single leadership framework to implement industry-wide, unlike other sectors, which often establish explicit leadership models. (Brown, 2014; Caillier, 2014). Colleges and universities must improve marginalized students' experience, yet they often do so by delegating the task to a single department or professional to address systemic issues. To achieve long-term, institutional-wide change, higher education institutions should implement a model that allows staff, faculty, and students to collaborate on strategies for improving campus climates. Distributed Leadership promotes joint sense-making, students taking active leadership roles, and developing supportive infrastructure; this model turns away from romanticizing a single leader who can solve the problems they have been hired to resolve (Kempster et al., 2014).

Given higher education professionals' fluid roles and expectations, institutions should adopt a cross-campus collaboration model to sustain programs, make policy adjustments, and implement best practices (Birnbaum, 1989; Peart, 2014). Vuori (2019) describes this change model as Distributed Leadership and then includes a case study that takes us to a Higher Education institution redesigning its program to fit the region's needs because it has a growing request for an additional field of study.

Because this model embraces perspectives from higher education institutions' staff, faculty, and students, joint sense-making is essential in establishing a Distributed Leadership

framework for institutional change. In a collaborative sense-making process, conflict can arise from each participant's positionality that may reflect the organization's complexity. This conflict should not be flattened for consensus (Kempster et al., 2014). Vuori (2019) argues that Distributed Leadership benefits students, instructors, administrative staff, and the local community, all participating in co-creating change. Distributed Leadership was not a mandate in Vuori's case study site. Instead, change initiatives became a community practice with the support and participation of proper management. The author states that formal leadership encouraged this widespread change model. Lastly, supportive infrastructure tied the two pieces together, so the campus adopted a shared responsibility and accountability culture.

Vuori describes tension during this process as a difference between the pragmatists and the radicals and determining whose votes held what kind of weight in decision-making. The pragmatists are consensus seekers and tend to go along with the hierarchical flow during planning sessions yet hit the brakes when the radicals say what is on their minds and describe cohesive visions that would push the boundaries of what has been possible (Vuori, 2019, p. 231). This tension is productive only when there is a culture of respect for ideas rooted in the campus culture.

In another case study, Creanor (2014) describes a university that endeavored to change academic practices across curricula using a Distributed Leadership framework. In this case, an underfunded center for teaching and learning was responsible for implementing a plan to modify pedagogical practices campus-wide. The center called for best instructional practices to create a repertoire that would be promoted to the larger faculty community to accomplish this task. Altogether, the center accepted the practices of 47 scholars across disciplines and offered them

up to 5 hours of work remission to support the implementation process with approval from the senior Leadership (Creanor, 2014, p.578). The author hints at tension around academic departments' perceptions of the center but does not provide further detail on the impact of those perceptions.

### **Sustainable Implementations**

Some studies describe higher education leadership as a horizontal effort (Peart, 2014; Vuori, 2019), but few provide a context within a curricular implementation. Viewing curricular implementation through a leadership lens is essential since it can vary greatly depending on who makes the decisions. Distributed Leadership assumes that to create a lasting and sustainable change, many departments on campus must work towards the same goal in their departmental ways; there is no hierarchy, just a shared vision toward institutional change. It suggests that the implementation of Ethnic Studies should be across disciplines, given the interdisciplinary nature of Ethnic Studies. Other departments should lend resources to this cause regarding faculty who may be qualified to teach critical race-based subjects.

### **Tenets**

This section includes the four tenets of Distributed Leadership within an organization and a short description. The tenets are also presented in Table 1.

#### ***Formal Leadership Creates the Cultural Conditions and Structural Opportunities***

Formal leadership is critical in establishing the norms, values, and expectations that shape organizational culture. Formal leaders can foster an environment that promotes inclusivity,

growth, and collaboration by creating structures and pathways for individuals to engage, contribute, and advance within the organization.

### ***Status Consensus***

Status consensus refers to sidestepping conflict or discord to preserve peace and cohesion in a collective setting. It includes prioritizing reaching a consensus and conforming rather than sharing differing opinions or questioning current norms. However, in this scenario, we aim to avoid adhering strictly to status consensus or suppressing dissent to progress.

### ***Professional Relationships Include Mutual Trust and Agreement about Collectively***

#### ***Undertaking Tasks***

Professional relationships involve building mutual trust through open communication, respect, and shared goals. Both parties must agree on their roles, responsibilities, and objectives to work effectively and achieve shared tasks and goals.

### ***Decision-making must be Distributed to and Coordinated with Those who Have or Can***

#### ***Develop the Knowledge or Expertise to Implement the Implementation Process, Regardless of Title or Classification***

When making decisions, it is crucial to involve individuals who possess the necessary knowledge or expertise to carry out the implementation effectively. This means decision-making should be decentralized, allowing input and coordination from individuals with relevant skills, regardless of their official title or classification within an organization.

**TABLE 1** DISTRIBUTED LEADERSHIP TENETS

<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Formal leadership normalizes cultural conditions and structural opportunities in an organization.</li><li>2. Status consensus (Avoids evading conflict or difference of opinion)</li><li>3. Professional relationships include mutual trust and agreement about collectively undertaking tasks.</li><li>4. Decision-making must be distributed to and coordinated with those who have or can develop the knowledge or expertise to implement the implementation process, regardless of title or classification.</li></ol>
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*Table 1* depicts the theoretical tenets of Racialized Organizations and Distributed Leadership.

### **Racialized Organizations**

Next, I explore the theory of Racialized Organizations. While Distributed Leadership can offer insight into the challenges of implementing the CSU Ethnic Studies mandate, it may not adequately address one fundamental reality of policy implementation: the Ethnic Studies policy has been introduced in an organizational context that may be resistant to this type of change, and that strives to preserve the dominant culture and status quo.

Ray (2019) provides a theoretical organizational framework in response to critiques that race is left out of organizational theory viewpoints: This line of thinking undermines and refutes the presumption that bureaucratic institutions are race-neutral. Ray's theory builds on Bonilla-Silva (1997) and Sewell (1992), who contend that institutional hierarchy and practices reflect

socio-racial norms. On a broad scale, the current "race-blind" approach to organizations delegitimizes non-white institutional behaviors and cultures while validating White bureaucratic systems, such as teaching Ethnic Studies. Ray examines the flaws in existing organizational theories to create a new theory based on the idea that white institutions have created White cultures and White policies that are incompatible with non-White cultures, policies, structures, and hierarchies.

### **Tenets**

Ray urges researchers studying racialized organizations to view the relationships between the organization and the racialized groups that work there. Ray connects schemas, rules, resources, and racial ideologies to convey that people and organizational systems perpetuate racism, writing: “Studies of racial ideology and racial attitudes—often abstracted from the context in which these attitudes develop and are expressed—should be contextualized concerning organizational processes and the resources they muster” (Ray, 2019, p.47). In outlining the theory of racialized organizations, Ray includes the following tenets:

#### ***Racialized Organizations Enhance or Diminish the Agency of Racial Groups***

Ray observes the structural segregation of people of color at the bottom of the hierarchy, who lack the agency to make structural changes. In academia, typical responses to racism include hiring diversity professionals to support underrepresented students and address racism (Wright, 1987; Pounds, 1987; Ahmed, 2012). Griffin et al. (2020) investigate how these professionals respond to students sharing unjust experiences against the backdrop of the #BlackLivesMatter movement. The study found that some professionals focused more on personal advancement rather than advocating for systemic changes within the institution, using student concerns about



racism to prioritize a siloed agenda. This behavior ultimately deflects attention from addressing the more considerable institutional changes needed to combat racism. Moreover, Ray suggests that diversity programs can unintentionally perpetuate racial hierarchy and inequality among marginalized groups within the organizational structure because they are isolated from other parts of the bureaucratic structure.

Ray highlights a lack of promotion and retention of BIPOC academics, with non-White professors commonly found in lower tenure positions. National data suggests disparities, showing fewer BIPOC professors reaching full professor status than their White colleagues (Kulp et al., 2022). BIPOC professors face unclear promotion criteria within research universities, as systemic biases within tenure and promotion processes could be viewed as inherently discriminatory and violent (Lee & Leonard, 2018).

The passing of AB1460 interacts with the racial state to address racial ignorance in the state's university system, enhancing the agency of the race-aware movement. However, challenges may arise within the university system, resulting in instability for Ethnic Studies experts trying to implement the mandated changes, affecting their agency within the organization.

### ***Racialized Organizations Legitimate the Unequal Distribution of Resources***

Ray describes a simple inequality of resources concentrated among professionals of color. When minoritized faculty are at the bottom of the tenure track, the organizational structure has other implications and organizational biases, like inequitable tenure denial. These structural gatekeeping mechanisms are reinforced in the meso-level of the organization and work to keep resources within an intellectual oligarchy.

In viewing AB 1460, implementing Ethnic Studies does not appear to be a funded requirement, which speaks to the resources allocated to this initiative compared to other system-wide initiatives that come with funding. Systematically, each university is assumed to have the resources to provide Ethnic Studies to all students. Still, we know that some faculty and programmatic capacities were questionable before the mandate due to the inequitable resources across campus departments for various reasons. The narrators will explain how they acquired and used their resources to bring the requirement to life.

### ***Whiteness is a Credential***

According to this tenet, negative racialized stereotypes continue to privilege White professionals and create an implicit understanding that Black, Latinx/o/a/e, and Native American faculty and staff are ill-prepared to navigate the institution professionally (Ray, 2019). Eurocentrism privileges Europeans' history, culture, and philosophical ideas above other cultures while rejecting the importance of other cultural and historical viewpoints (Merriweather-Hunn, 2004; Kubota, 2020). AB 1460 allows the implementation of ES to conflict with White procedures, policies, and governance.

### ***Decoupling is Racialized***

Decoupling refers to organizations that share their commitment to anti-racism by appearing race-neutral. The double standards BIPOC professionals often experience compared to White professionals, who receive exceptions for problematic happenings and are viewed as the default opinion (Ray, 2019). For example, The University of Texas (UT) faced a dilemma as white donor alumni protected a fight song to the tune of "I've Been Working on the Railroad," who was made aware of the racist origins of the lyrics. The original lyrics were written for a

minstrel show in the early 1900s and included a reference to "Dinah" as a slur, which described any Black female enslaved during the chattel slavery era (Federal Writers' Project, 1941; Gutman, 1975, p. 263; Husfloen, 1996). The song has caused a rift between members of the Black U.T. community members and the nostalgic donors. In terms of faculty, faculty of color are often expected to go above and beyond to support students of color.

**Table 2** displays the four tenets of Racialized Organizations.

In contrast, White faculty are exempt from those exact expectations because the situation is thus framed as subjective, race-neutral differences. AB 1460 blatantly racializes curriculum and highlights that all curriculum comes from a racialized lens, even if the curriculum and pedagogy claim race neutrality. Because the meso-level analysis of this tenet comes from the organizational level, questions arise about this policy being equitable across and within institutions. The narrators will provide their vantage point about navigating these standards. We can foresee faculty becoming overburdened with the expectations of implementation, support, and related happenings within this implementation process, in which other processes decline the need to rely on their faculty in this way.

**TABLE 2 RACIALIZED ORGANIZATIONS TENETS**

1. Racialized Organizations Enhance or Diminish the Agency of Racial Groups.
2. Racialized Organizations Legitimate the Unequal Distribution of Resources.
3. Whiteness is a credential.
4. Decoupling is racialized.

### **Applications of the Theory of Racialized Organizations**

Ray's (2019) theory of Racialized Organizations (RO) allows us to understand how racialized people interact with resources, relationships, and decisions within the organization. This section visits empirical studies that include this framework to examine the literature based on the higher education sector and follows how these organizations acknowledge race through resource allocation.

#### **Racialized Decisions**

RO can be used as a lens to understand how organizations interact with the premise of race and how decisions are made by combining the schema of the organization and the apparatus of racial identity. McCambly et al. (2023) apply the Racialized Organizations framework to community colleges because they serve half of the BIPOC college-going population yet do not create a culture of support and continue to perpetuate racial inequity. The article uses RO to study organizational processes and reshape frames to create racially equitable outcomes and notes the usefulness of the theory in that it requires the end of "race-evasive notions" (McCambly et al., 2023, p. 661). The researchers provide three exemplars, and the first one is the most helpful for this present study because they use RO to understand how community colleges

justify inequity in metrics. Using a racialized analytics approach to community colleges as beneficiaries of federal grants that encourage racial stratification, they show how minoritized community colleges receive limited funding from government grants and private donations, often resulting in unequal resource distribution and increased scrutiny of how the money is spent. (McCambly et al.,2023).

The researchers propose using the RO framework to prompt a review of funding formulas, policy development, and other organizational aspects that undermine marginalized people's agency. This approach can assist in identifying and addressing the racialized schema, identity, and systemic mechanisms within organizations.

### **RO Explains Student Agency**

In their groundbreaking study, Schachle and Coley (2022) provide a comprehensive analysis of RO in the higher education landscape, shedding light on the factors influencing the presence of BIPOC student organizations on college and university campuses across the United States. The researchers provide the first-ever systematic count of racialized BIPOC student organizations using RO to determine the factors associated with BIPOC student organizations. After a two-stage hurdle regression analysis on a dataset of 1,910 BIPOC student clubs, the researchers found that schools with higher percentages of BIPOC students, Ethnic Studies majors, and cultural centers were likelier to have at least one student-of-color organization. Since RO speaks to the influence of agency in racially underrepresented groups, this article finds that many colleges and universities do not have Asian, Latinx, or Native American student groups. Overall, RO highlights the significant impact of various racial factors on the presence of BIPOC

student organizations and how the presence of certain factors within an organization can promote the agency of minoritized groups.

### **RO Explains Student Outcomes**

Because educational structures reproduce outcomes among students who share various characteristics, it is unsurprising that outcomes from harmful or racist racialized structures are also reproduced. Nguemini et al. (2022) apply RO longitudinally to find that racialized educational disparities, career outcomes, and long-term implications for medical students of color are stunted. Because they find that structural biases, social hostilities, and professional metrics are not race-neutral in medical training, they use the theory to explore organizational processes (from admission to career trajectory) privileging certain racial groups over others and controlling resources crucial to success. The article details the resources in this context as financial assets and social aspects like mentorship and professional development. In line with RO, they note that “Whiteness functions as a credential, providing greater access to leadership or the benefit of uneven application of formal rules and policies” (Nguemini et al., 2022, pg 2260). The article describes unequal student outcomes as a form of segregation. In this way, historically, segregation is not only about racism; it is about separating minoritized people from resources and opportunities that would enhance the agency of the group. It is essential in the present study to examine implementation outcomes in connection to resources and support.

### **RO Combined Theory Unpacks Testimonios**

A growing body of literature combines RO with other theories, perspectives, or groundings. Vega et al. (2022) use a combination of RO and Intersectional Consciousness (Boveda & Weinberg, 2020) theories to understand racial ideologies and the racial implications

of Title V "servingness" at Hispanic-Serving Institutions (HSIs). In this study, RO is applied to Testimonios to highlight how Whiteness influences agency within organizations, affecting how individuals navigate their roles in a racial hierarchy, how seemingly race-neutral processes maintain unequal resource distribution, how resource allocation perpetuates existing racial hierarchies, and how organizations such as HSIs maintain a facade of progressiveness while perpetuating racial inequities. The article concludes with four recommendations for combating structural racism: establish collaborations/relationships, embrace Blackimientto and Indigenimientto ideologies, create critical spaces that dismantle Anti-Blackness and Anti-Indigeneity, and investigate how racial practices exclude or are inequitable to people with Black or Native schemas. Likewise, I combine Racialized Organizations with Distributed Leadership to explore implementing the Ethnic Studies mandate, and I describe this next.

### **Combining Theories**

Racialized Organizations and Distributed Leadership are each grounded in the need for insightful decision-making to create sustainable organizational changes. Both bodies of literature consider institutional changes that are inevitably made through racialized structures with racialized procedures. Because the implementation relies on racially and agentially underrepresented professionals who have institutional, personal, and racially conscious understandings of the bureaucracy, there is much to explore about the processes toward change. All change in this context is made up of minor changes within the educational system, yet it points to collaborative efforts while navigating the bureaucracy. The combined theory within this study allows us to explore the racially complex, strategic changes and how the professionals navigate them within their self-governance: a democratic process and shared leadership.

**TABLE 3** COMBINING THEORETICAL TENETS

<b>Racialized Organizations</b>	<b>Distributed Leadership</b>	<b>Combined Successes</b>	<b>Combined Challenges</b>
Racialized organizations enhance or diminish the agency of racial groups.	Formal leadership normalizes cultural conditions and structural opportunities in an organization.	Culture of respect rooted in the campus culture.	Respect for diverse ideas in siloed communities within campus.
Whiteness is a credential.	Decision-making needs to be distributed to and coordinated with those who have, or can develop, the knowledge or expertise required to carry out the implementation processes.	Change initiatives are a community practice with the support and participation of proper management.	Change initiatives are hierarchical and include top-down directives.
Decoupling is racialized.	Status Consensus	Conflicts are viewed as valid and worked through.	Conflicts are solved by reverting to best practices, or “the way things are always done”.
Racialized organizations legitimate the unequal distribution of resources.	Professional relationships include mutual trust and agreement about collectively undertaking tasks.	Resources are reallocated or shared.	Programs/Departments seek to find resources.

**Table 3** depicts the combined theoretical tenets and the challenges/successes within the organizations.



## **Summary**

The combination of Racialized Organizations and Distributed Leadership offers a means to view racial organizations and the efforts leaders of color must take to navigate them. DL outlines a theory that promotes widespread change from different parts of the hierarchy that it discourages; it puts the effort first and titles last. DL and RO offer a critical lens to examine the implementation of a controversial and sensitive race-based curricular mandate in the CSU system because these types of efforts often fall on BIPOC. RO provides tools, language, concepts, and tenets to analyze the organizational processes that Area F leaders face.

### **Chapter 3: Methods**

Given the rich history of Ethnic Studies, advocacy, and the use of Oral Histories to describe the experiences of underrepresented people, Oral History qualitative methodology allows me to answer my research questions. This approach enables the narrators to discuss further how they navigated racialized organizations and explore each person's professional history. It is interconnected to Ethnic Studies as a preferred methodology for capturing underrepresented stories (Charon, 1994). In this way, I can highlight the perspectives of underrepresented leadership as they spoke about the historical context of their institution, their perceived role in it, and the AB 1460 implementation. I invite their stories and interpretations of events and interactions to be part of the context in which I study. This approach is the most appropriate for studying Ethnic Studies, primarily highlighting historically marginalized narratives (Charon, 1994).

Consistent with the community-centered ES practices, Charon (1994) describes that Oral Histories capture the experiences and impacts of immigration, migration, and other events from underrepresented ethnic and racial groups. She says oral histories are needed to understand multiculturalism, ethnicity, and related processes, events, and occurrences. Charon recommends the adoption of an oral history curriculum in K-university settings and says collecting oral histories at each level will ensure the "maximum impact" of essential race- and culture-based studies. She describes the elitism of different forms of collecting history, such as collecting written works by literate people.

Overall, the oral histories of Ethnic Studies leadership have proven to be a gap in the Oral Histories and Educational Leadership literature. Because implementation efforts have been moving quickly to meet the policy's expectations, the decision-making processes have continued to evolve with this study. It is important to use Oral History to capture part of this evolution.

LePeau's (2015) research relies on the Oral Histories of tenured leaders during collaborative diversity initiatives, considering them "environmental historians" who can offer first-person knowledge of the institutions' issues. Unfortunately, LePeau's analysis includes very little about the role of the OH methodology within the study nor the preservation or access of the leaders' interviews. As I sought to understand how CSU leaders navigate racialized organizations, it was crucial to my research to elicit as much of the leaders' professional histories in navigating these institutions to understand each of their processes.

Examining the implementation and leadership of a mandated race-based curriculum was crucial due to the CSU's resource variance and self-governance. Although the policy is uniform throughout all 23 campuses, the number of employees and professors, course availability, course content, and other variables vary. Each campus has a unique history of Ethnic Studies movements and intricate choices that lead to the development of its offerings. To better comprehend how institutions implement the requirement within the Area F graduation competency while navigating their organizations as a racialized place, I constructed research questions to shed light on the organizational environment and decisions taken by Ethnic Studies leaders:

RQ1) How have Ethnic Studies leaders interpreted and implemented the policy?

RQ2) How has the history on campus influenced leadership and implementation?

RQ3) How do collaboration and Distributed Leadership shape the implementation of AREA F?

### **History of Oral Histories**

Before written records, Oral Histories (OH) have been used as a form of narrative, constituting an integral component of many cultures around the globe. OH consists of accumulating verbal recollections, tales, and traditions from generation to generation (Lloyd et al., 2013). Boschma et al. (2008) describe this form of narrative as preserving a culture's history and knowledge base, fostering continuity of cultural values and a sense of collective identity among a group of individuals.

The importance of OH for the preservation of indigenous and other marginalized cultures cannot be overstated. OH can be used to document a culture's history and transmit knowledge from one generation to the next in the absence of written records. Additionally, OH permits the unrestricted expression of ideas and values, which may not be feasible in written documents. Cruikshank (1994) writes about the complications between Indigenous story-telling and written accounts, arguing that Indigenous peoples' sense of historically rooted identity provides the most compelling argument for continuing to consider how self-representation and analytical narrative can coexist in historical writing. The researcher explains that generating cohesive narratives about colonial encounters may be impossible. Still, we can learn how constructing, remembering, and transmitting narratives continues to be a form of autonomy assertion, a pillar in Ethnic Studies scholarship (Cabrera et al., 2013). Indigenous peoples' ongoing resistance may be enacted explicitly through their self-construction, although narratives from oral traditions may only sometimes fit comfortably alongside those constructed from written documents

(Cruikshank, 1994). By transmitting stories and traditions through oral histories, a culture can preserve its collective identity and ensure the survival of its values and beliefs (Boschma et al., 2008).

### **Pilot Project**

During the 2021-2022 academic school year, I pursued a pilot project funded by the University of Nevada Las Vegas's Department of Educational Psychology & Higher Education to study the beginning landscape of the new AREA F and the implications of AB 1460. To better understand the institutional types, I gathered Ethnic Studies courses, offerings, and resources within each institution. I used a document analysis design to gather all documents related to the passing of Assembly Bill 1460 and its implementation on as many campuses as possible. This study aimed to understand the disciplines in which Ethnic Studies faculty are typically trained, given their interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary nature. The study also documented each institution's varied resources, including faculty statuses. This data-led research explores implementation features related to student access, administration/governance, and resources. It provides a conceptual starting point for the oral history interviews and a way to measure the growth or change of the implementation over time. The pilot project allowed me to define "institutional types" and revealed patterns across courses and departments in the system, allowing me to group the campuses by type. By identifying campus types, I could better anticipate the levels of decision-making on each campus that would have to be navigated during implementation. For example, campuses with Colleges of Ethnic Studies would presumably must navigate fewer structural changes than campuses with an Ethnic Studies class or two.

Additionally, the generated campus-level data outlining Ethnic Studies at each of the 23 campuses for the 2021-2022 school year makes it easier to identify faculty or administrators as possible "key players." I collected the following data: the department(s) Ethnic Studies courses are housed in, prerequisites to the classes, approved Area F courses, course descriptions, course modalities, faculty titles/training/education, and the number of sections offered. This pilot project revealed stark differences in organizational structure amongst the 23 institutions. I determined that a qualitative exploratory case study alone would not capture the leadership perspectives and the depth of socio-political context I expect to encounter from engaging with Ethnic Studies leadership in terms of the decision-making at the Chancellor, state, and institutional levels because it would fail to center narrators compared to an Oral Histories methodology.

Further, some documents reflected strong, sometimes contrasting views from the Ethnic Studies leadership that will be included in this project. The document outlined logistics within this Area F criteria and announced the update to the general education areas. Eight campuses published a "Resolution in Opposition to Chancellor's Proposed Implementation of AB 1460" outlining the AB 1460 law requirements that point out differences in the law passed compared to the Chancellor-level mandate for the new Area. The law does not specify whether Area F courses should be lower or upper division, a general education requirement, or which entities should approve the curriculum. The campuses ask the Chancellor to rescind the changes, ask that students meet the requirement via upper or lower division courses due to programmatic or departmental offerings, and argue that the Chancellor's office does not have the authority to restrict the requirement to general education and that the requirement fulfillment is recognized across multiple departments because of the interdisciplinary nature of Ethnic Studies. The

documents also advocate for campus-level faculty to lead the implementation process. The documents point to definite opinions and insight from the decision-makers that should be examined more closely.

### **Oral Histories as a Methodology**

The new implementation of mandatory Ethnic Studies exists in a broader arc of history. This study aims to record and preserve the rich experiences of leaders who have worked to implement this historical policy. This research uses an Oral Histories methodology, which links “individual (micro level) experiences with cultural, historical or structural (macro level) phenomena” (Leavy, 201, pg. 5) to illustrate how Ethnic Studies staff, faculty, and administrators navigate a racialized organization as they institutionalize a critical race curriculum and mandate within the context of individual campus histories, cultures, and governances. As found in the pilot study, Oral Histories methodology is the focal point of several mandatory Ethnic Studies courses in the California State University System (Manyweather & Ngo, 2021). 13 of the 23 campuses offer undergraduate methodology classes in Oral Histories via Ethnic Studies, and 15 have courses that situate ethnic history in terms of Oral Histories of underrepresented racial groups. At most, San Francisco State University (a college of ES) offers seven classes that highlight Oral Histories, 6 of which are methodological. One uses the method by proxy to inform students of the lives, ways of knowing, and epistemologies of underrepresented peoples.

The Oral Histories Association (OHA) defines best practices for research through four elements: preparation, interviewing, preservation, and access (Oral Histories Association, 2022).

I express my research design through these four elements:

## **Preparation**

First and foremost, the OHA encourages training on this method. To satisfy this practice, I have studied other scholars' work to define the usage of Oral History Methodology and the process. Goodson (1981) examines the struggle between the authority of cultural norms and the individual's agency. Johnson (2017) studies the Oral Histories of Black and South Asian teachers in leadership. In the article, Johnson takes a person-first approach to studying leadership, groups leaders by generation, and highlights social identities within leadership contexts. The author finds generational differences in approaches to leadership, including a binary between individualized and collective leadership. Articles like these demonstrate how Oral Histories develop profiles on a subject that differ from semi-structured interviews with case studies, which implies a problem to be solved and analyzed instead of a narrative to learn from.

Next, the OHA suggests balancing picking narrators with experience with the subject and diverse views. For this reason, I am identifying mid- to emeritus-level faculty and administrators who can speak to the history of Ethnic Studies at their campus and how the implementation impacted it. Some of these leaders have been recommended to me due to their involvement in the implementation and ability to speak longitudinally about the campus's history and culture. I interviewed two to five leaders from each campus type (stand-alone courses, departments, colleges) since they would provide diverse histories and viewpoints leading up to the mandate and implementation. I interviewed these leaders multiple times to get saturation within their unique narratives.

Finally, as several seminal qualitative methods researchers suggest, I prepared an open-ended guide with themes connected to the research questions and general questions about the



narrator before the interview, located in the appendix (Leavy, 2011; OHA, 2022). The main prompts represent eight aspects of this project: Narrator and Campus History, Policy Implications, Implementation, Resources (available), Navigation, Distributed Leadership, and Outcomes. This guide reflected the areas surrounding the three research questions I developed and included overarching themes from the literature.

Because I consider myself part of the Ethnic Studies community, I had a convenient sample for this research: professionals I know from this demographic and various institutional types within the CSU who expressed an interest in the project. I also used snowball sampling to identify additional narrators (Barlett & Vavrus, 2007).

### **Positionality**

An epistemological bias I have is my value placed on organizational behavior, leadership, and structural perspectives that are cognizant of race. From my years as a student affairs practitioner in diversity, equity, and inclusion work, I bring a different perspective to organizational theory. When implementations or organizational change happen, “institutions” are typically credited to be the catalysts. Still, some individuals, some of whom makeup teams, departments, or divisions, have completed the change and made decisions leading up to it. Because I view myself as a member of the Ethnic Studies community at CSU, I was able to engage with potential narrators to indicate the purpose and vision for this research in an informed way that will give back to the scholarly field. I am a young, Black, nonbinary educator who has taught in research one and two institutions for nearly a decade due to the networks of BIPOC educators who have mentored and taught me how to navigate educational institutions. I have met with these educators formally, as I took a class or multiple classes with them, but also in a

personal sense during professional emergencies, crossroad moments, or unique dilemmas that I had not considered while doing this work. McDougal (2014) encourages the researcher to provide the respondent(s) with a robust understanding of the research being conducted to ensure they understand the value of their participation. Due to the respondents' positionality as academic leaders of Ethnic Studies, I established myself as someone who has studied the implementation and taught curriculum within the subject to minimize social desirability bias during the interviews.

### **Interviewing**

The OHA recommends a pre-interview. I talked to the narrators about the research and the appropriate length of the interview(s), which should have helped the narrators better understand the project. I told the narrators about the pilot project and how I have categorized the campuses by “institutional type.” Next, the research design encompasses a series of open-ended questions regarding each aspect of this project. The research encouraged participants to articulate their interpretations of events and general understanding as applicable before, during, and post-mandate preparation. Leavy (2011) recommends multiple interviews with the same narrators to ensure the accuracy of the unique and possibly subjective narrative.

The Oral Histories Association articulates the difference between semi-structured interviewing and interviewing for Oral History:

Interviewers should be prepared to extend the inquiry beyond the project's specific focus to allow the narrator to freely define what is most relevant. In recognition of not only the importance of oral history to an understanding of the past but also of the cost and effort involved, interviewers and narrators should mutually strive to record candid information

of lasting value to future audiences (Oral History Association, 2022, Interviewing Section).

Relatedly, Anderson et al. (2015) and Borland (2002) provide cautionary analysis of idealism in interviewing and warn against centering the researcher or the interpreter as the authority in the research. This thinking aligns with the OHA's recommendation to allow the narrator the agency to define what is essential to the narrative. The former articles promote the idea of "shedding agendas" to force answers from the narrator while remembering the social connection between the orator and researcher and the orator and the topic; some instances may cause tension between the researcher wanting to get answers and the cultural comfortability of the orator. I employed a delicate balance of extending the inquiry during the interview while avoiding invasive questioning; if an answer did not come out readily, I moved on to the next question.

I generally borrowed the open-ended semi-structured interviewing framework but engaged with the orators and asked probing questions during the 60–90-minute session. I recorded the session via video while taking notes. Before the interview, I completed a casual pre-interview about the project, its goals, and future vision. In this interview, I collected demographic data from the orators for my records and compared it to the data I collected within the pilot project.

### ***Preservation, Access & Use***

The OHA recommends storing interviews in an archive or library. I will keep these materials at San Francisco State University's J. Paul Leonard Library within a unique Digital Ethnic Studies collection. On the off-chance that the library will not accept such recent artifacts,

I will connect with the University of California Berkeley's Ethnic Studies library archive, which is committed to preserving social movements of communities of color and offers a collection of Ethnic Studies movement artifacts throughout the decades.

The association urges the historian to make copies of the interview. As recommended, I created digital files via a Google Drive Document and bundled all documents, transcripts, indexes, and interviews from selected campuses.

### **Sites and Sample**

The sample includes 10 Ethnic Studies leaders who are mid to emeritus administrators or faculty, including chairs or deans of Ethnic Studies programs. These professionals could speak to the implementation process and recount critical aspects relevant to the policy's implementation, as well as other faculty members who played a role. I interviewed 2-5 leaders from each institutional type in the CSU (i.e., College of ES; Dept of ES; Programs in ES), as described by Manyweather and Ngo (2021). The sites represent the scale of Ethnic Studies throughout the CSU and situate opportunities for shared responsibility as the leaders navigate the implementation.

Overall, my criteria for the selection included: a) the ability to speak to the history of Ethnic Studies at the campus, b) having taught an Ethnic Studies course in the CSU system, and c) having witnessed or had a role in AB 1460 implementation. The orators' campuses are all teaching universities and all Research Two (R2) institutions. Half of CSU students are considered racially underrepresented minorities, a third are first-generation college students, and fifty percent receive Pell Grants (California et al., 2020).

## **Trustworthiness**

To increase trustworthiness and validity, I employed “member checking,” as Creswell & Miller (2000) described, because it provides a sense of collaboration between the researcher and the narrator. Given that the study looks at collaborative leadership styles, this method is most appropriate for triangulation and ensuring credibility. To secure the narrator lens, I ensured that narrators understood the developed concept of “institutional types” from my pilot project and how the concept has guided my research.

Interviews were recorded via computer, and transcriptions of the meetings were edited afterward. I took notes throughout the interview, and I got clarification if needed during the interview to continue the member-checking process. The content was triangulated against the literature and other campuses.

## **Scheduling Process of Interviews**

I contacted participants and potential participants via email in the summer of 2023 after receiving an exclusion from IRB on June 1. Still, very few faculty and staff responded, or if they did, it was to tell me they were not the best person from their organization to speak on the implementation and refer me to another person. By September, more faculty and administrators responded as their summer breaks ended and the fall semester began; I scheduled my first interview session for September 28, 2023.

I sent all interested faculty and administrators an interview information sheet that they used to understand the background, pilot study, research focus, expectations, voluntary participation, and archival process. The form doubled as a consent document and asked if I could record the sessions via Zoom or Google Meet, disclose their identity, preserve the interviews in a

public archive, and follow up with them on future studies. The participants who accepted read and signed the forms. All participants consented to public archival and to take part in follow-up studies.

As we moved on to scheduling, the participants were reminded that I would need at most two 90-minute blocks of their time for the interviews, and eight of the ten opted to combine that time to get through the 27 questions. Using the calendar and Zoom functions, I scheduled times during the work day to complete the interviews. However, a few participants had to reschedule due to scheduling conflicts that had to take precedence over our interview.

### **Participant Inquiry Process**

Before pressing the record button, each virtual meeting began with me introducing myself and telling the participants about my educational, academic, and personal background. If I knew the participant, I offered updates about these topics to re-establish myself as a community member. I briefly explained the pilot study and that this research aimed to understand organizational behavior better, which had previously been described in the information sheet. Once this information was redisclosed, I asked if I could begin recording. Once they consented, all participants were asked the same questions. I took notes highlighting the main points as they replied. Some questions were skipped if the participant had already thoroughly answered them, but overall, they were asked in the same order. The semi-structured design allowed me to skip questions about cross-listing if the participant strongly expressed the relevance of excluding other departments.

### **Transcription**

The sessions were recorded into a cloud drive since all interviews took place on Zoom or Google Meet. I then downloaded the transcriptions and videos and placed them in a Google folder. I combined the transcripts for participants who opted in for two sessions and cleaned them up for errors in translation from voice to text, using the videos to confirm the articulations.

### **Credibility**

I employed member checking to enhance the reliability of the gathered data. The researcher electronically transmitted the revised transcript, biography, campus history, and video to each participant via email and confirmed demographic data. The participant received an email with instructions on verifying the collected data's accuracy. I then instructed the participants to review the transcript and indicate their approval or make corrections by adding new information or deleting information in the Google Doc that matches their name. I gave all participants a week to confirm their documents, and two began edits immediately.

## **Analysis**

### **How Theoretical Frameworks Were Used to Interpret Results**

In response to criticisms that race is omitted from organizational theory views, Ray (2019) offers a theoretical organizational framework that deconstructs and contradicts the premise that bureaucratic systems are race-neutral. According to Bonilla-Silva (1997) and Sewell (1992), hierarchy and university procedures reflect socio-racial norms. On a large scale, this perspective disadvantages non-white institutional practices and cultures while benefiting White institutions, practices, and cultures. Ray analyzes holes in previous theories to develop a new one

based on the notion that white institutions have established white cultures and white policies incompatible with non-white cultures, policies, structures, and hierarchies.

Since all people carry racialized identities, interviewing Ethnic Studies leaders to understand how race plays a role in bureaucratic practices, I have captured an aspect of leadership that has been under-researched: how racialized leaders navigate racialized systems. I anticipated these leaders may have responded to the implementation in various ways, including abiding by the white practices, cultures, and norms to navigate the bureaucracy and activity resisting it. This binary is incomplete, but I hoped the results reveal other sequences of leadership. To further interpret the results, I revisited each of Ray's tenants to highlight how racialized organizations enhance or diminish the agency of racial groups, how leaders have been impacted by the legitimization of the unequal distribution of resources, and how or if they have experienced Whiteness as a credential, and how policy versus practices are racialized.

Self-governing campuses point to the need to recognize elements of Distributed Leadership within the implementation process. Because Distributed Leadership involves collective action after collaborative decision-making, there are many opportunities to dive into these decisions and actions within the context of leadership who can provide the nuances of collaborative effort yet still be aware of the bureaucratic systems within which they work.

## **Synthesis**

A Research Question Synthesis was the first step of the coding process. This critical step involved systematically finding the answers to the original research questions within the interviews, which set the stage for Chapter 4. The answers were put into a spreadsheet as direct excerpts and summations, making organizing, and analyzing the collected data easier to



determine the overlap within answers. Once I gathered the data, I typed and organized the answers to each research question. Afterward, the research answers were placed into a Google Doc with two major sections: each narrator's professional life history and the campuses' Ethnic Studies history. The answers to the research questions formed a third section, which revealed several themes, which became headings for that section.

The Theory Synthesis, the second coding round, was done in the next step of the coding process to inform Chapter 5. This stage involved reviewing the interviews to find the 16 parent codes from the combined theory of Racialized Organizations and Distributed Leadership, as explained in Chapter 2. The researcher reviewed all the conversations and considered each individually to find and extract 32 possible codes, per the Thematic Matrix (see Figure 1) that had been made by combining the theories. The combined tenants resulted in matrix statements using the combined theory to consider actual scenarios. The synthesis statements were developed from my years in these organizations and Ethnic Studies, and later reaffirmed by narrators. For analysis, the focus was not only on the codes that followed the anti-racist organization's examples but also on those that kept harmful or exploitative racialized practices and could be used as examples of what not to do.

**FIGURE 1 THEORY MATRIX**

	<b>FORMAL LEADERSHIP CREATES THE CULTURAL CONDITIONS AND STRUCTURAL OPPORTUNITIES.</b>	<b>STATUS CONSENSUS.</b>	<b>PROFESSIONAL RELATIONSHIPS INCLUDE MUTUAL TRUST AND AGREEMENT ABOUT THE WAY TASKS ARE COLLECTIVELY UNDERTAKEN.</b>	<b>DECISION-MAKING NEEDS TO BE DISTRIBUTED TO AND COORDINATED WITH THOSE WHO HAVE, OR CAN DEVELOP, THE KNOWLEDGE OR EXPERTISE REQUIRED TO CARRY OUT THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESSES.</b>
<b>RACIALIZED ORGANIZATIONS ENHANCE OR DIMINISH THE AGENCY OF RACIAL GROUPS.</b>	Culture of respect for ideas rooted in the campus culture.  Respect for diverse ideas in siloed communities within campus.	Racialized group consensus is implemented.  .Racialized group consensus is avoided.	Multi-racial efforts in structural implementations.  Lack of cross-racial trust.	Decisions about BIPOC groups are brought to BIPOC groups.  Decision-making about BIPOC groups is kept away from BIPOC groups
<b>WHITENESS IS A CREDENTIAL.</b>	Culture is designed in a way that all who have expertise can contribute to change.  Formal Leadership remains at the "top" of the hierarchy, although there may be better-suited individuals.	Awareness that White ideas are privileged by bureaucratic systems.  Only white professionals' ideas are heard, agreed upon, and implemented.	New ideas from BIPOC are pursued.  White ideas remain privileged.	Change initiatives are a community practice with the support and participation of proper management.  Change initiatives are hierarchical and include top-down directives.
<b>DECOUPLING IS RACIALIZED.</b>	Leadership acknowledges a balance between BIPOC labor and contribution.  "Raceblindness" in leadership.	Conflicts are viewed as valid and worked through.  Conflicts are solved by reverting to best practices, or "the way things are always done".	BIPOC feel free and unhindered to share ideas within professional relationships.  BIPOC ideas exist in silos.	As many diverse professionals as possible are involved because Anti-racism is everyone's goal.  Anti-racism is left to BIPOC because it is viewed as their problem to solve.
<b>RACIALIZED ORGANIZATIONS LEGITIMATE THE UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES.</b>	Formal Leadership ensures there are adequate resources.  Formal leadership creates a culture in which certain departments and initiatives are privileged over others.	BIPOC groups advocate for additional resources.  Non-BIPOC groups might argue that department should "make do" with what they have.	Resources are reallocated or shared.  Programs/Departments seek/struggle to find resources.	Leadership is strategic about which resources are given to which professionals who can carry out the implementation.  Leadership figures experienced professional can work magic.

**Figure 1** Shows the 32 premises of the combined theory used as codes.

After thorough coding sessions, 16 parent codes were found. I left comments that signify the code next to each excerpt, allowing me to export the codes into a spreadsheet with similar codes from different interviews. The different parent codes were then synthesized, combining, and solidifying the excerpt meanings from one orator to all those who have experienced similar situations.

### Summary

The passing of Assembly Bill 1460 reveals an opportunity to study the racialized leadership implications of a new, race-based curriculum within the context of a racialized institution. A pilot project described a variety of Ethnic Studies course offerings in and outside of

Area F and faculty of different backgrounds. I used an Oral History framework to capture the decisions made amongst faculty, including the interpretation, feelings, attitudes, leadership paradigms, partnerships, actions, and collaborations toward implementation. As described in the next chapter, I use Victor Ray's (2019) theory of Racialized Organizations to analyze the realities of implementing a race-based curriculum within a racialized institution and the Organizational Leadership theory of Distributed Leadership to explore an application of self-governance more closely amid the race-based curricular implementation.

## **Chapter 4: Findings and Results**

### **Participant Profiles**

This section introduces all participants. First, an overview is presented in Table 1, followed by each participant described with background information from their interview. The participants were selected by snowball sampling. All participants signed a consent form to disclose identities before we met for our interview sessions over Zoom. All participants were sent the interview transcripts, videos, and write-ups included in this section.

I held semi-structured interviews with 10 leaders from 5 of the 23 CSU campuses, including Chico State University (Chico State), Sacramento State University (Sac State), San Francisco State University (SFSU), Stanislaus State University (Stan State), and California State University Los Angeles (CSULA). Below I introduce the narrators I interviewed at each campus. In the following section, I describe each campus's history of Ethnic Studies along with themes, challenges, and tensions in the interpretation and implementation of the policy by reviewing the statements between campus leaders. Lastly, I summarize how I use a combined grounded theory derived from Distributed Leadership and the theory of Racialized Organizations for my deductive analysis of the interview narratives.

**TABLE 4** SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES OF NARRATORS

Name	Campus	Institution Type	Role	Race/Ethnicity	Gender Identity	Field of Study
Amy Sueyoshi	San Francisco	College	Provost	Japanese-American	Queer	History
Anita Revilla Tijerina	Los Angeles	College	Faculty/Chair	Latinx	Queer	Education
Lena Chao	Los Angeles	College	Dean	Asian-American	Female	Communication Arts and Sciences
Miguel Zavala	Los Angeles	College	Associate Dean	Latino	Male	Education
Serie McDougal	Los Angeles	College	Faculty	Black	Male	Africana Studies
Andrea L. Smith-Moore	Sacramento	Dept.	Faculty	Black	Female	Cultural Studies
Mary Roaf	Stanislaus	Dept.	Faculty	Black	Female	Anthropology of Education
Browning Neddeau	Chico	Classes	Faculty	Potawatomi Nation	Male	Learning and Instruction
Jason Nice	Chico	Classes	Faculty	White	Male	History
Susan Green	Chico	Classes	Faculty	White	Female	Chicano/a/x Studies

**Table 4** shows the names, institution types, roles, races, gender identities, and field of study of each narrator in this study.

## **Institutions with Classes in Ethnic Studies**

### ***Chico State University (Chico State)***

#### **Browning Neddeau.**

Dr. Browning Neddeau is a male enrolled citizen of the Potawatomi Nation and formerly held the position of Assistant Professor at CSU Monterey. He obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree in Child and Adolescent Development with a minor in Political Science from San Jose State University. Following his graduation, Browning enrolled at the University of San Francisco, where he obtained a Master's degree in Teaching. Subsequently, he pursued a Doctorate of Education [Ed.D.] in Learning and Instruction. He holds a dual position as an Assistant Professor in both Elementary Teacher Education and American Indian Studies at California State University, Chico, which is situated in Chico, California, USA. He holds the position of Chair for the Equity, Diversity & Inclusion Commission of the National Art Education Association. In addition, he serves on the National Advisory Council for the National Conference on Race and Ethnicity in American Higher Education. Within the broader scope of student participation, he focuses on three specific areas of research: arts education, culturally appropriate depiction of Native Americans in schools, and agricultural education. He examines the problems, difficulties, and misconceptions related to maintaining the accuracy and authenticity of content and establishes links between different subjects for educational purposes. The focus of his most recent writings revolves around the art of narrative.

Dr. Neddeau not only publishes his work, but also delivers presentations on his study at conferences of all scales, including worldwide, national, state, and local events. Before assuming

a tenure-track position in the California State University system, Dr. Neddeau worked as a teacher in California public elementary schools and as an adjunct faculty member at both public and private colleges. In 2019, Browning relocated to CSU Chico upon receiving a dual faculty appointment consisting of a 60% tenure in Arts Education and a 40% position in American Indian Studies. Before this, Browning had already released scholarly articles in American Indian Studies and Arts Education. In the summer of 2020, Browning applied to be the Chair of the Ethnic Studies ad hoc subcommittee at CSU Chico and was subsequently chosen as the chair.

**Jason Nice.**

Dr. Jason Nice, a White male Doctor of Philosophy earned his degree from the University of York in England. His area of expertise lies in the study of Early Modern European History, with a particular focus on creating historical narratives in art, particularly in printmaking. Dr. Nice held the General Education Committee Chair role from 2018 to 2022, including the summer of 2020 when Ethnic Studies legislation was implemented. Nevertheless, to execute the legislation, his committee required adequate participation. Consequently, he collaborated with the university to establish a standing committee under the leadership of Dr. Neddeau. Although Jason was not a committee member, he closely engaged with them due to its alignment with the general education domain in California. Although he did not have prior knowledge of Ethnic Studies, he acquired knowledge about the subject during that year. Jason and the director of the University Honors program have successfully incorporated Ethnic Studies into the curriculum. Jason collaborated with Dr. Browning Neddeau in 2021 to co-author an article titled "Navigating a New Ethnic Studies Requirement through Shared Governance with Integrity, Speed, and an

Antiracist Lens." This article will be published in The IAFOR International Conference on Education proceedings. Nevertheless, he does not perceive himself as an expert in this field.

**Susan Green.**

Dr. Susan Green, a White Woman professor at Chico State, recounts the formative experiences that led her to her field of study. Growing up in Minnesota in the 1980s, Susan was exposed to progressive and innovative teaching methods in high school. Her Spanish teacher used United Farm Workers comic books to teach Spanish, giving her a contextualized understanding of the language within the US community. Following her high school education, Susan enrolled at the University of Minnesota, where her high school teacher recommended exploring Chicano/a studies. Intrigued by the suggestion, Susan took a class in the subject and gradually became immersed. To her surprise, the department chair encouraged her to consider pursuing a major in Chicano/a studies due to her evident dedication and passion for the subject. This affirmation from a respected figure played a significant role in shaping Susan's academic and professional trajectory. Susan expresses her gratitude for her mentors and early Chicano studies exposure. She believes that her unique journey would not have been possible without their guidance and support. Acknowledging her privilege, Susan often highlights the stark contrast between her opportunities in Minnesota and the need for similar programs and resources in California. She laments this disparity and advocates for the importance of accessible education. Following her undergraduate studies, Susan spent two years at Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania on a Mellon post-doctoral fellowship. In 1998, she found her way back to California and was hired by Chico State, where she has been teaching for 25 years.



## **Institutions with Departments of Ethnic Studies**

### ***Sacramento State University (Sac State)***

#### **Andrea L. Smith-Moore.**

Dr. Andrea L. Smith-Moore is a Black Woman professor in the Ethnic Studies department, specializing in Pan-African Studies at Sacramento State University. Moore attributes growing up in Richmond and Oakland, CA, during her adolescent years as instrumental in her academic narratives. She received her Ph.D. in Cultural Studies from the University of California, Davis. Her academic brand focuses on Ethnic History and Socio-Cultural Production. She is a media, educational, and cultural curator consultant for DreamooreLLC. Moore's research is centered in Pan-African Studies, Hip Hop and Social Movements, African American Film, Sacred Womanism Studies, Critical Anti-Race Pedagogical Initiatives, and Black Visual Media Culture. She is also the director of the Cooper Woodson College enhancement program, a Pan-African retention program. Her academic journey began as a teaching assistant in UC Davis's African American Studies department. She also taught sociology courses at Los Rios Community College. She was an adjunct lecturer at UC Davis, Los Rios Community College District, and Sac State for five years. During this time, she realized her passion for teaching Black studies and Ethnic Studies. She wanted to be able to address the issue of racism without having to explain its existence. When a full-time position in Pan-African studies opened at Sacramento State, she applied and got the job. After being on the tenure track since 2015, she received tenure in 2019.

*Stanislaus State University (Stan State)*

**Mary Roaf.**

Dr. Mary Roaf is a Black Woman historian and educator with strong ties to historically Black schools and universities. She was raised in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and enrolled at Georgetown University, where she pursued a degree in international affairs and non-western history. Subsequently, she embarked on a postgraduate program in anthropology with a specific emphasis on education. Despite her aspiration to pursue a career as a K-12 education policymaker, she became a dedicated academic full-time. Mary has observed the transformation of the education system, including the privatization of public schools and the increasing prominence of charter schools. Subsequently, she assumed a position as a faculty member at California State University in Stanislaus to revitalize their Ethnic Studies program.

Mary's area of interest lies in examining organizational structures and processes to effectively address power abuse inside institutions. As a Black woman in academia, she offers a distinct viewpoint and actively advocates for adopting AB 1460 and promoting Ethnic Studies in California. She is dedicated to affecting change in education and social justice. Mary Roaf embarked on a 20-year professional journey in promoting social justice and equality in both K-12 schooling and higher education, commencing in 1993. Mary joined the Stanislaus State Ethnic Studies program in 2018 after teaching in a public school and participating in various outreach and education programs for young people. She obtained her M.A. and Ph.D. in Anthropology of Education from Northern Arizona University and Temple University.

## **Institutions with Colleges of Ethnic Studies**

### ***San Francisco State University (SFSU)***

#### **Amy Sueyoshi.**

Dr. Amy Sueyoshi is a Queer Japanese Provost at San Francisco State University and was born in 1971 in San Francisco. She grew up in the Bay area and attended an undergraduate school on the East Coast. Amy had a passion for organizing and considered herself a community organizer. After struggling academically, she found her passion for history while taking a women's history class at UCLA. She was particularly interested in the Cold War's gendered aspects, its impact on domestic technology, and the perception of items like bikinis. This newfound interest in history inspired her to pursue a career in academia, focusing on inspiring others through historical research. Amy's senior thesis compared the experiences of Asian immigrants at Angel Island and white immigrants at Ellis Island, further fueling her passion for historical work. Amy's mother instilled in her the importance of community growing up, as she was actively involved in the Japanese-American community despite being shy and not speaking English fluently. Amy understands the significance of community both for her mental health and in creating a sense of belonging for others. As part of her commitment to the community, she is actively involved in the LGBTQ+ community in San Francisco. She is a historian by training with an undergraduate degree from Barnard College and a Ph.D. from University of California at Los Angeles. Her research area lies at the intersection of Asian American Studies and Sexuality Studies.

*California State University Los Angeles (CSULA)*

**Anita Revilla Tijerina.**

Dr. Anita Revilla Tijerina is a Latinx, muxerista and joteria activist-scholar-chair of the Department of Chicana/o and Latina/o Studies at Cal State Los Angeles. She has been in this position for four years, starting around the time of creating Area F at the college. Before her role at Cal State LA, Anita worked at UNLV for 15 years, collaborating with the School of Education. She studied at Princeton and earned a Ph.D. in Education focusing on race and ethnic studies from UCLA. Throughout her education, Anita became increasingly aware of the importance of Ethnic identity and promoting critical consciousness among young people of color. She has been involved in activism since her time at Princeton, primarily working with Black and Brown activists. Anita grew up in San Antonio, Texas, in a low-income household, where she witnessed anti-Mexican sentiment both within and outside of her community. Her academic experiences, particularly at Princeton, exposed her to people who embraced and took pride in their ethnic identity, influencing her decision to pursue a career in education and activism. Anita's work has focused on studying and advocating for Chicana/Latina student activism, immigrant rights activism, and feminist and queer activism. In her previous position at UNLV, Anita faced challenges with the institution's lack of commitment to ethnic and gender studies. This motivated her to seek a position at Cal State LA, where she could work in a department that prioritizes and supports these fields of study. She is currently satisfied with her work at Cal State LA, where she can collaborate with faculty who share her goals and values.

**Lena Chao.**

Dr. Lena Chao, an Asian American Woman and the Interim Dean for the College of Ethnic Studies at Cal State, Los Angeles, has been at Cal State LA for over 30 years, primarily in the Communication Studies department. Chao received her B.A. in English Literature from the University of California, Los Angeles, and her M.S. in Print Journalism and Ph.D. in Communication Arts and Sciences from the University of Southern California. However, she has always been connected to Asian and Asian American studies through her involvement with colleagues and the program's launch. Lena has served in various capacities, both as faculty and administrative positions, and was asked to assist as Interim Dean when the previous Dean retired. She filled in temporarily in the fall of 2022 before continuing in the role until a permanent Dean is found. Lena's background in intercultural communication, affiliation with Asian and Asian American studies, and activism in the community have led to her affinity towards the College of Ethnic Studies.

**Miguel Zavala.**

Dr. Miguel Zavala , a Latino Man, grew up in Southeast Los Angeles After obtaining his bachelor's degree in Philosophy from UCLA, he returned to his community as a teacher at Nimitz Middle School, the second-largest middle school in the U.S. Building from his experience as a social studies and language arts teacher, he pursued graduate studies on the East Coast, where he obtained a master's degree from Cornell University; thereupon, he returned to California and completed his Ph.D. in Education at UCLA. Currently serving as Interim Associate Dean in the College of Ethnic Studies at CSULA, Dr. Zavala has a diverse background

in education. Before his current position, Zavala was the director of the Urban Learning Program in the College of Education at the same university. Before that, he worked at Chapman University and Cal State Fullerton. For the past six years, Zavala has been focused on integrating Ethnic studies into K-12 education, a movement that has gained momentum since 2014. As the Urban Learning Program director, Zavala brought Ethnic studies into teacher preparation and curriculum. Though he did not have the opportunity to study Ethnic Studies during his undergraduate experience, Zavala is passionate about making it more accessible and widespread. He was chosen for his current role due to his expertise in this area and his commitment to advancing the field.

**Serie McDougal.**

Dr. McDougal is a Black Male Professor of Pan-African studies at Cal State Los Angeles. He received his B.S. in Sociology from Loras College in Dubuque, Iowa. Additionally, he has an MA in Africana Studies from the State University of New York at Albany, NY, and a Ph.D. in African American Studies from Temple University in Philadelphia, PA. Serie McDougal is also the co-director of the Afrometrics Research Institute. While he did not start his career in this field, he developed a passion for Pan-African studies during his undergraduate studies. Realizing the lack of representation for Black students in the student body and curriculum, McDougal and his peers advocated for including Black studies at their school. His enthusiasm for the subject led him to pursue a graduate degree in African American studies, where he discovered his love for research. Dr. McDougal has now dedicated his life to teaching and research in Pan-African studies.

## **Interpreting and Implementing AB 1460**

Next, I provide campus histories of Ethnic Studies and the leadership experiences with implementing AB 1460 per campus.

### **Chico State and the “Opportunity to Give Permeance to Something”**

Chico State University has offered classes in Black Studies, Mexican-American Heritage, American Indian, Afro-Am, and Chicax Studies since 1968. Still, students cannot major in any of the ES disciplines. These courses are currently housed in its Department of Ethnic and Women's Studies, although they have at times been in many different colleges on campus. Despite being part of a more prominent college overseeing multiple departments, the Department of Multicultural and Gender Studies remained relatively small. It offered a single major in Multicultural and Gender Studies, while disciplines such as American Indian studies, Asian American studies, and African American studies had minors but no majors. Ethnic Studies courses were initially part of area F requirements. They were cross-listed with other departments outside the Department of Multicultural and Gender Studies because faculty across campus could teach the classes. The implementation of Ethnic Studies on campus coincided with the hiring of faculty in the field, allowing for the expansion of the department's offerings. I interviewed three leaders from Chico State, including Browning Neddeau, Jason Nice, and Susan Green.

In addition to the department's evolution, Chico State's requirement for diversity to encompass various forms of diversity has been debated for several decades. When the need for a new Ethnic Studies Area was introduced, the decision was made to exclude Ethnic Studies

courses from the diversity requirement. According to Jason, students were required to take a separate course to fulfill the diversity requirement, demonstrating a commitment to valuing different forms of diversity beyond racialized diversity:

We did have two graduation requirements, or we still do have two graduation requirements, and one of them was a diversity requirement, which is embarrassing. But the word enveloped all different forms of diversity, and there was quite a big debate, and that had been around for decades, and so that could be an overlay or a double count with a major course or a GE course, and over time there were probably like a hundred courses that have been added to that, so pretty expansive.

Furthermore, an effort was made to create a new General Education (GE) area on campus, which involved developing a brand-new GE area, which no one at the university had previously done. Creating this new GE area required careful consideration of social science departments and the potential impact on existing offerings. It necessitated determining which courses would be included or excluded and how to balance the curriculum across departments. Susan explains the history and evolution of Ethnic Studies at Chico State. She mentions that Ethnic Studies began with separate classes in Black Studies and Mexican-American Heritage, as the studies were controversial in the 1960s and 70s. These classes eventually expanded to include American Indian, Afro-Am, and Chicana Studies and were formed into the Department of Ethnic and Women's Studies (EWS):

And we've been in pretty much every college on the campus, and most of the positions in the classes were cross-listed. People had joint appointments or taught in some other department, and their class was cross-listed into the department at various times. Over the



past 50 years, it's been a department. It's been a program. It's been a center. And you can see how, you know. Discussions of Ethnic Studies have changed. You know, in the 1990s, the people were very interested in, you know, putting Ethnic Studies across the curriculum. It was a terrible philosophy because it took away our departmental status, and it took us a long time to get it back. And so we've become a department again in the last five years, and we have a permanent home now in the College of Behavioral and Social Sciences. But since I've been here at Chico State, I've been in the College of Humanities and Fine Arts, Behavioral and Social Sciences. An interdisciplinary college has been in the College of Undergraduate Education. And so it's been shuffled around and neglected for 50 years. And so, for us, 1460 was an opportunity to give permanence to something, you know, that has been here for 50 years.

Ethnic Studies began at Chico State with individual classes in Black studies, Mexican American Heritage because they thought Chicano Studies were too controversial back in the sixties and seventies, and American Indian studies. Eventually, it became the Department of Ethnic and Women's Studies. The department that houses the Ethnic Studies courses is known as the Department of Multicultural and Gender Studies. Still, the campus leaders are considering changing or returning to the previous name of Ethnic and Women's Studies. The speaker mentions ongoing discussions and debates about the department's title. Still, Ethnic Studies remains a minor component within the broader department.

Susan recounts implementing the Ethnic Studies requirement and expresses excitement about the passage of the requirement but mentions that the implementation process was more complex than initially anticipated. The COVID-19 pandemic and the shift to online

communication impacted the conversations and actions surrounding the implementation, which resulted in changes in how the implementation process happened. Susan explains how she believed ES supporters would have been protesting and advocating at the Chancellor's office had it not been for COVID:

We didn't agree that you know the Chancellor's office interpretation was our interpretation, you know, out in the field. I think one of the things that's really important and may get lost, you know, when we look at this, you know, 20 years from now is what COVID meant in all of this. Because COVID meant that none of us was in person, and conversations and fights that we would have had in person were had over zoom. And I think that really impacted how this played out. And so if we could imagine a parallel universe in which COVID didn't happen, this implementation might have happened very differently. I think we might have been down at the Chancellor's office, protesting, been at the Legislature, protesting, doing a lot of other things.

Although the campus formed committees and worked on drafting memos and selecting courses to fulfill the requirement, the Chancellor's office's interpretation differed from their understanding. The speaker discusses the challenges and constraints they faced in determining which courses would satisfy the requirement and the additional layer of "core competencies" introduced by the CSU Council for Ethnic Studies that had to be considered when selecting courses for the program. The speakers reflect on the perspectives brought to the Senate meeting based on the departments and campuses involved in the implementation process, highlighting the diversity of opinions and viewpoints. They acknowledge the importance of the funding and guaranteed enrollment that came with the requirement, so the orators see this initiative as an

exciting moment for Ethnic Studies and believe other states will learn from California's experience implementing an Ethnic Studies requirement.

Overall, the speakers at Chico State reflected on their challenges in changing their GE policy and implementing ES courses to be part of a new curricular area. They mentioned the fatigue among faculty members and the slow nature of shared governance. They expressed urgency in making the changes and appreciated the collaboration with Browning. The speakers discussed the difficulties in choosing courses for the ES program and breaking the rules to meet deadlines. They emphasized the need for involvement from multiple people and planning ahead. The speakers also acknowledged the need to ensure equity within the program and explored possible solutions. Finally, they recounted the complexities of implementing the Ethnic Studies requirement in the CSU system, including the impact of the pandemic and the interpretation of the requirement by the Chancellor's office. They discussed the challenges in selecting courses and the introduction of core competencies. The speakers highlighted the importance of funding and guaranteed enrollment and believed that California's experience would be a valuable lesson for other states.

### **California State University Los Angeles: “What’s Allowed and What’s Not?”**

A 1968 strike involving faculty and students, following the SFSU strikes, resulted in an Ethnic Studies program at CSULA in 1969. Originally part of the College of Natural and Social Sciences, the departments of Chicano Studies, Pan-African Studies, and Asian American Studies later formed a separate College of Ethnic Studies in 2020, making CSULA the second university to have such a college. Some time in 2024, CSULA is set to launch an American Indian

Indigenous Studies program. I interviewed four individuals from CSULA: Anita Revilla Tijerina, Lena Chao, Miguel Zavala, and Serie McDougal.

The Chancellor's decision to create an Area F for the CSU systems was made around the same time the College of Ethnic Studies was launched in the fall of 2019. Senior colleagues of color in Ethnic Studies played a significant role in advocating for these courses to be taught by scholars trained in Ethnic Studies, focusing on the criticalities of racial structures and ethnicity. However, this decision sparked controversy, leading to ongoing conversations about which courses should be allowed to fulfill the area F requirements. According to Anita, the only other courses allowed to fulfill these requirements were a few previously cross-listed courses with Women, Gender, and Sexuality Studies (WGSS) that focused on women of color and Black feminism:

And it was, you know, controversial. And I think there's always still conversations about what's allowed and what's not. The only other people who were allowed to do area F were people who were already cross listed. So there's a few courses cross-listed with WGSS. Women, Gender and Sexuality Studies, and honestly, I don't know which other ones. There's very few but they had courses that were, you know, women of color focused and you know, Black feminism, for example, the kind of feminism that we already cross-listed and transformed, and we're able to like to get an area, of course, out of that as well. Campus community members formed a committee for the implementation to reflect on and oversee the establishment of the program and its correct implementation. Some of the orators served on the curriculum committee and helped decide which courses would be transitioned to fulfill the area F requirements, which Anita describes below:

Some of the upper division courses we didn't want to make it into an F requirement because we didn't want students just taking them out of the blue. Right? So, like the F requirement ends up bringing people from Engineering or Business who resent taking diversity or Ethnic Studies courses, so we didn't want those students to be impacting negatively the experience of our majors and our minors. We picked primarily intro-level courses to be the F requirement, and this is what happened. So we offer almost all of our courses to fulfill one of the general ed requirements, and so we do often get students who aren't engaged like don't really care about the subject or don't know how to connect it to their field.

Anita explains advocacy efforts to primarily choose intro-level courses to fulfill the requirement to avoid negative impacts on the experience of the Ethnic Studies majors and minors by students who were not ready to engage with the critical subjects on a higher level.

The deans describe their role as primarily handling the paperwork necessary to implement the area F requirement, participating in discussions about which courses should fulfill these requirements by highlighting the opportunities and challenges of having many sections that fulfill general education courses, the importance of individuals in promoting and implementing Ethnic Studies on campus, and Dr. Melina Abdullah, a member of the Executive Board of the Ethnic Studies Council, who has been at the forefront of Ethnic Studies and the broader Los Angeles community for Black Lives Matter (BLM). Miguel makes distinctions between grassroots education and the institutionalization of Ethnic Studies:

This campus has been framed as a kind of activist campus, and I agree to a large extent, but I conjecture there's going to be a lot of informal community sort of

groups that have come to support. One example is the first Dean. Who is gonna be the first Dean? And then it became a Black Lives Matter movement to place Melina Abdullah. That's all over the news. You can research it as a scholar. But that's a small example, what I'm getting at like, I think there's a lot of community fervor about having to connect Chicana studies with East LA community groups, somehow, that I think they're the informal kind of leaders that are also helping move Ethnic Studies along. Did they create it? I don't think so, because there's internal institutionalization. Sorry.

Implementing the Area F requirement required significant work within the institution, which prompted the community to chime into the implementation efforts. Although off-campus communities did not institutionalize Ethnic Studies, they impacted the decisions made within the College. Lena and Serie described the campus community working diligently to implement the requirement in the first couple of years, and now they are seeing its benefits in enrollment and finances. Lena explains that the success of the College of Ethnic Studies led to additional funding:

You know when the College of Ethnic Studies got here, we were, some were in the tens of thousands [of dollars]. We are in the hundreds of thousands. And so it was like, Wow, okay, that's really great, and probably even more at this point, because again, our numbers have been so strong, our enrollments have been off the charts this past academic year. And so one of the first things the provost said to me, coming on board is 'your enrollments are so strong you're gonna get a bump in your funding'.

Ethnic Studies at CSULA has a rich history and has undergone significant development as it is influenced by student and faculty demands. Individuals like Dr. Melina Abdullah have been vital in supporting its implementation. The formation of a committee to oversee the implementation and the positive impact on enrollment further highlight the importance and value of Ethnic studies at this campus.

### **San Francisco State University: Empowered Through Systemic Considerations**

The history of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University dates back to the late 1960s when a group of student activists known as the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) demanded the establishment of an Ethnic Studies program. At the time, the university's curriculum largely ignored the experiences, perspectives, and contributions of marginalized communities, particularly African Americans, Asian Americans, Chicanos/Latinos, and Native Americans. The TWLF led a series of protests, strikes, and demonstrations in 1968 and 1969, demanding equal representation and visibility of underrepresented communities in the education system. These actions resulted in the longest student strike in U.S. history, lasting for five months.

As a response to the protests and to meet the demands of the TWLF, San Francisco State University established the College of Ethnic Studies in 1969, becoming the first college of its kind in the United States. The College initially consisted of four departments: Asian American Studies, Black Studies, American Indian Studies, and La Raza Studies (later renamed Raza Studies). The establishment of the College of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University was a significant step towards integrating the experiences and perspectives of historically marginalized communities into higher education. It provided an academic space for studying the

histories, cultures, and social issues affecting these communities, contributing to the overall diversification of the curriculum.

Since its inception, the College of Ethnic Studies has played a vital role in advocating for social justice and cultural understanding and examining societal power dynamics. It continues to offer diverse and interdisciplinary programs that explore the experiences of various Ethnic and racial groups, providing students with a critical understanding of the systems of inequality, racism, and social change. The establishment of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University has had a lasting impact beyond the campus. It has inspired the creation of similar programs and departments across the country, shaping the field of Ethnic Studies and contributing to the broader movement for multicultural education and social justice.

### **Sacramento State University: An Opportunity to Create an Anti-Racist Campus Climate**

The Sac State Ethnic Studies Department was created in response to the San Francisco State Third World Liberation Protests in 1968. Students and teachers worked together to convince the administration to establish the department, which led to President Robert Johns resigning in controversy in 1969. The department is now housed in Amador Hall and focuses on studies of Native American, Asian American, Pan-African, and Latinx groups. Establishing the Ethnic Studies programs brought co-curricular programs like the Cooper Woodson College Enhancement Program and the Full Circle Program. I interviewed one leader from Sac State, Andrea L Smith-Moore.

To date, Andrea has participated in meetings and assessments related to the implementation of AB 1460 within the California Faculty Association. There were also examples of structural racism on campus, such as an incident involving a professor and their partner



harassing students of color. This incident raised concerns about the safety and well-being of Black students on campus, a sentiment that had already been highlighted in a survey conducted in 2017-2018. In addition to addressing these concerns, the speaker advocated for healing circles and demanded action from the administration to address the needs of marginalized student groups. The AB 1460 requirement was seen as an opportunity to create an anti-racist campus climate that would promote inclusivity and support for ethnic minority students.

The university administration responded to these concerns by creating an anti-racist campus climate plan led by the executive officer responsible for diversity and inclusion, who also happened to be a lawyer. Committees were formed, and the speaker was involved in one of them, specifically working on issues related to representation. At the same time, the speaker noticed a lack of engagement from the Ethnic Studies department on the issue of AB 1460. They felt the university needed to take a stance on the legislation as an anchor institution committed to community partnerships. Using the university's mission and vision statements, the speaker drafted a letter opposing a document circulated by the chancellor that misrepresented AB 1460 and forced them to create the new Area F. The letter was then refined by colleagues and taken to faculty senate meetings.

In these meetings, the chair of the Ethnic Studies department acted as a spokesperson, with the support of other faculty members and students from the Ethnic Studies student association. The collective effort included strategic planning to navigate faculty senate rules and bylaws to ensure adequate representation. The speakers and their allies mobilized and staged pickets outside the faculty senate meetings to demonstrate the importance of preserving Ethnic Studies. Through these actions, the speaker and their colleagues aimed to raise awareness among

faculty members about Ethnic Studies as a discipline rooted in activism and social justice. They emphasized the history and significance of Ethnic Studies, created digital campaigns, and lobbied at the state capital to garner support for AB 1460. The faculty union and student unions played a crucial role in mobilizing the broader community and ensuring their voices were heard in the fight to preserve and strengthen Ethnic Studies.

### **CSU Stanislaus: Navigating and Confronting Campus Power Dynamics**

The Ethnic Studies program at Stanislaus University was established due to student demands in the late 1960s when a group formed the Minority Education Program (MEP) to advocate for a curriculum that reflected the experiences and perspectives of underrepresented communities. Through student-led protests and demonstrations, the need for an Ethnic Studies program became apparent. In response to these efforts, the university established the Ethnic Studies program within the College of Humanities and Social Sciences in 2021. The program offered courses that explored the experiences, histories, cultures, and contributions of various Ethnic and racial groups, including African Americans, Asian Americans, Chicanos, Latinos, and Native Americans. I interviewed one participant from Stan State, Mary Roaf.

Over the years, the program continued to grow and evolve by expanding its curriculum and attracting students from various majors interested in studying and understanding the experiences of marginalized communities. In addition to offering academic courses, the Ethnic Studies program also engaged in community outreach and activism. The program organized events and workshops, collaborated with community organizations, and hosted speakers and conferences to promote dialogue and understanding about race, Ethnicity, and social justice issues.

Today, Mary emphasizes a power struggle that has evolved throughout the implementation of AB 1460, particularly in the governance process since the University Education Policy Committee (UEPC) could lead efforts into decision-making subversion. To address this, the speaker and Banales organized an AB 1460 working group, which eventually offered a formal resolution to establish a Senate implementation ad hoc committee. The speaker highlights the significance of teamwork and integrating different stakeholders in the implementation process, such as faculty affairs, the Provost, the Senate, and student perspectives. They also express dissatisfaction with campus power dynamics, claiming that the Academic Senate has enormous authority but may be challenging due to shady management and entrenched professors.

Overall, the speaker and Banales are actively leading the implementation on their campus, emphasizing the need for cooperation and careful deliberation over speeding up the process. They must also manage power dynamics within the campus government system to achieve an effective and inclusive implementation. Mary describes how instituting Ethnic Studies has been fraught with difficulties and power disputes:

The degree of transparency or lack thereof of how the system works because that's the real, that's what really gets weaponized. We've got so many different layers of obviously really alarming white supremacy and authoritarianism, but like, when we peel all of those back, the way that all of our institutions are set up is just, that's where the real abuse of power is happening. I believe in studying up. A lot of anthropology is, 'oh, we're gonna study down', I study up, so I get into these organizations, I get into these institutions, and I love an org chart. I love to see what's the policy. What's the policy? Because that's some

of that my real interest with kind of bureaucratic and legal frameworks because, like sister Audre says, 'we can't tear down the Master's house with the Master's tools,' but like I said, I can whip the Master's ass with his tools and that's what I do.

Mary recounts the importance of sticking to the policy and notes that the conciseness of the policy expectations has given her power to make decisions that would have otherwise fallen into the hands of people with no Ethnic Studies backgrounds. Despite Senate engagement, the leadership of the university education policy committee sought to influence and obstruct the resolution. However, since the speaker was a Senator, she collaborated closely with the Senate to pass the resolution they desired. She also cites the dean attempting to exert authority over the department and an allegedly corrupt colleague opposing their efforts, including keeping her in an Interim Dean position to avoid permanence. The speaker understands that Ethnic Studies endure internal and external challenges, but she is personally committed to ensuring the Ethnic Studies program is successful.

### **California State University Los Angeles: Working Through Ongoing Conflicts**

Ethnic Studies at CSULA has a lengthy history, dating back to 1969. The demands of the students and faculty at the time influenced the program's establishment, which was part of the broader wave of activism in 1968, setting the campus apart from many other institutions, as the establishment of Ethnic Studies at CSULA had a strong foundation of support from both students and faculty. The program was established in 1969 and has recently evolved into the second College of Ethnic Studies back in 2020. The only exception to this is the absence of a dedicated American Indian or Native American studies department, which is currently a work in progress. The inclusion of this department is also the result of student and faculty demands for its creation.

The Department of Chicano Studies and Pan-African Studies at the university was initially part of the College of Natural and Social Sciences. However, about three years ago, a separate College of Ethnic Studies was created. While the department has a minor faculty, it has substantial enrollment numbers and is considered a service college. The history of Asian studies at the university is an ongoing struggle, as it was implemented much later and faced little support. It eventually became a department, but it still needs to work on recruiting majors. The university is now also launching an American Indian Indigenous Studies program.

Ethnic Studies has existed for over 50 years at CSU Los Angeles and was established through student advocacy, like the College of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State. However, Anita explains some historic patriarchal powers caused harm within some departments, resulting in conflicts that continue to arise when new resources or initiatives are introduced. She shared, “I think a lot of it was competition. People feel slighted just because they don't get the exact, same resources. But you know, sometimes you're gonna give somebody more resources because they're in need of it.”

Collectively, the speakers believe that Ethnic Studies can transform students by engaging them in current events and social justice issues. The programs have their roots in the movements of the late sixties, existing alongside the Third World Liberation Front and the East LA blowouts, and continue to exist today. The faculty are highly educated individuals, holding Ph.D. degrees in various fields such as Ethnic Studies, English, public health, and education. Additionally, there are instructors with MFAs in visual art, literature, and art history. Among them are community muralists who have dedicated years working within the community. Many of these instructors are activist scholars, actively engaged in virtual or on-the-ground activism.

They have a strong connection to the subjects they teach and often have firsthand experience as practitioners in their respective fields. This diverse and passionate group of instructors brings knowledge and experience to their courses. However, there are also moments when the discipline needs to be held and fought for to prevent erosion or questioning of its legitimacy.

There are ongoing struggles within each subfield of Ethnic Studies, and there is a need to define and establish boundaries for the field, which is particularly important in institutional settings to ensure the field is not watered down or dismissed. While the purity of disciplines is essential, there is also value in the intersection and intersectionality within Ethnic Studies.

### **San Francisco State University: Success Can Be Complicated**

The Black Student Union (BSU) and the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) joined forces to demand the College of Ethnic Studies at SFSU in 1969. This resulted in the longest student strike in university history, lasting several months. TWLF and the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), both primarily white groups, were the strike's planners. Because the institution was predominantly white at the time, most demonstrators were White, emphasizing the role of White allies in the battle against racism.

The university's College of Ethnic Studies has evolved and flourished since then. It is currently a full-fledged college with several departments. A new department, Race and Resistance Studies, became official in 2018, following a student hunger strike in 2016. The university's College of Ethnic Studies is unique because it includes distinct departments for each ethnic group, plus a Queer of Color Major option. Most institutions, on the other hand, have one Ethnic Studies department with a faculty member for each concentration area.

Amy describes that some CSUs prefer an Ethnic Studies program with a flexible faculty affiliation from multiple disciplines instead of a designated department. They describe that the university ensures that all departments under the College of Ethnic Studies function well together, yet note that maintaining cohesiveness and cooperation may be difficult, especially when resources are limited. However, having the College of Ethnic Studies as a separate organization inside the university administration provides a vibrant curriculum firmly ingrained in the institution. The chairpersons of the departments at the College of Ethnic Studies work hard to get along and collaborate, realizing they are all striving toward the same objective. It is not always simple, but working to guarantee the success and influence of the College of Ethnic Studies is essential.

### **Sacramento: Evading Cultural Taxation**

Andrea explains that the Ethnic Studies department at their institution was the first outside of San Francisco State to be established, just one month after the Third World Liberation Front strikes. Gregory Mark, a faculty member in Ethnic Studies, was involved in protests to create an Ethnic Studies department in the 70s. Now, the department covers studies on the “four federally protected groups”: Native American, Asian American, Pan-African, and Latinx groups. The department has had a small budget and has often been under attack at Sacramento State; at one point, a “Race and Ethnicity” requirement was created to potentially overshadow Ethnic Studies courses, which did not include the criticality of race and racial structures that Ethnic Studies requires. Andrea was one of the many faculty who pushed back against the watering down of the proposed curriculum. The speaker was involved in getting approval for Ethnic

Studies courses, and the department now has about 20 faculty members and a larger budget due to 1460.

Andrea shares that faculty in Ethnic Studies often face institutionalized cultural taxation as many students seek them out for mentorship and advice. Still, due to the lack of critical mentors, these faculty become overburdened and burned out. The department also has other programs, such as the Cooper Woodson College Enhancement Program, which provides a Pan-African retention program, and the 65th Street Corridor Community Collaborative, which offers tutorial and mentorship services to local schools. The Full Circle Program centered around Asian American studies and support for that student population. The speaker notes that faculty in these programs are not necessarily compensated, and the programs continue to need financial support from the administration. The institution's new president was previously a CWC scholar, which they believe will support their mission. Andrea says the Ethnic Studies department is permanently housed in Amador Hall and under the Social Sciences and Interdisciplinary Studies department.

### **Stanislaus: Lawfully Empowered**

Ethnic Studies was institutionalized at Stanislaus State in 1972. Mary mentions that Stan State is in Turlock, which is in the Central Valley of California, known for its intense white supremacy and organized white supremacist groups. The speaker has completed research on this topic and believes that the founder of Identity Europa, a white supremacist group, was a student at Stan State. They also mention that people from other parts of California, such as Los Angeles or the Bay Area, may not be familiar with the intense white supremacy in the Central Valley



after connecting with Black individuals in the community who have talked about Ku Klux Klan parades in Modesto, which is near Turlock.

Mary describes the establishment of Ethnic Studies at the university in 1972 due to student protests at Stan State, which they claim is not common knowledge on campus. She talks about where the Ethnic Studies office is: Bizzini, the oldest campus building. Very few faculty are in the Ethnic Studies program. Still, there needs to be dedicated Ethnic Studies faculty with expertise in various areas such as Black studies, Asian American studies, and Native American studies.

The Ethnic Studies program was systematically under-resourced and marginalized, with faculty salaries and resources being calculated based on a disadvantaging formula. Mary explains that there was no cohesive Ethnic Studies major or minor and that classes had to be outsourced to other faculty due to a lack of capacity. During the economic recession in 2008, there were protests by students advocating for Ethnic Studies, like the hunger strikes at Berkeley in 1999. While the students at Stan State are not known for being activists, there is a tradition of student activism, particularly in the fight for Ethnic Studies.

The dean initially wanted to cut Ethnic Studies severely, but the students protested, and an outside consultant was brought in to help change the department's perception. They explain that the implementation of AB 1460, a new graduation requirement, and the allocation of funding by the state helped to shift the positioning of Ethnic Studies at Stan State because they are now a department and have gained formalized department status. There are new tenure track lines and faculty members with expertise in Latinx studies, Native American studies, and Black studies. The new department is now working on retaining a faculty member in Asian American studies.

Mary concludes by mentioning that they have a full-time department coordinator and have worked hard to revamp the curriculum and create a scope and sequence for the majors and minors in Ethnic Studies. The lack of teaching and curriculum design training for scholars and PhDs in higher education was described as a "hot mess." Overall, Mary expresses pride in the growth and progress of the department at Stan State.

### **Thematic Tensions Across Campuses**

The interview results show some negative dynamics among Ethnic Studies professionals who are situated within the racialized organization. Despite a stated commitment to different views, isolated communities impede the communication and integration of various viewpoints. As we learned from the Colleges of Ethnic Studies, consensus is sometimes difficult for racialized groups to obtain, typically owing to a lack of cross-racial trust and exclusionary decision-making procedures. Conflicts are settled by returning to traditional methods rather than adopting creative ideas. BIPOC ideas are isolated, worsening the issue. Specific departments and programs get preferential attention, which perpetuates inequality. Non-BIPOC organizations may disregard resource issues in other divisions. Despite these hurdles, skilled leaders are known for handling complications. In this section, I review some conflicting dynamics from the interview while leaders navigate the racialized organization.

There was initial suspicion and uncertainty about the implementation process, but the faculty, administration, and other stakeholders eventually collaborated to ensure a smooth rollout. Faculty in Colleges of Ethnic Studies advocated for courses taught by Ethnic Studies scholars, resulting in a greater emphasis on race and Ethnic Studies, not "diversity," to meet

general education requirements. Power struggles within the campus governance structure were among the challenges, as was navigating complex decision-making processes.

From the interviews, I learned that many campuses began to identify classes to make mandatory shortly after the bill was passed. This identification process varied by campus, as some had GE committees identify the courses, some had directives from upper leadership to identify the courses, and some knew more intuitively about which courses would make for solid mandated Ethnic Studies courses. The Area F designation, created a considerable time after the bill was passed, caught some campuses, like Chico State, in a position to reevaluate who sat at the table to make the decisions.

Leaders emphasized the value of collaboration among various stakeholders, including faculty, administrators, and students. They also identified challenges such as the slow pace of shared governance and disagreements over implementing ethnic studies courses. Despite these challenges, leaders took proactive steps to ensure the policy's successful implementation, aiming for a more inclusive and anti-racist campus climate. Introducing Ethnic Studies has increased enrollment and been influenced by student and faculty demands, highlighting the ongoing need for support and advocacy for Ethnic Studies programs.

A recurring theme within the implementation was the value of collaboration and communication among all stakeholders, emphasizing the importance of campus leaders skillfully navigating power dynamics and decision-making processes to enable a seamless transition and handle any problems that may arise. The emphasis on courses taught by Ethnic Studies

researchers rather than a broad approach to "diversity" reflects a more profound, meaningful integration of race and Ethnic Studies within the curriculum, which is different from other diversity course mandates we have seen in the past. This emphasis can contribute to a more inclusive and anti-racist campus climate and a state-wide workforce, which aligns with the goals of Ethnic Studies programs across the California State University System.

### **Equitable Practices**

Several findings indicate that as part of their ethos, some university cultures value and honor diverse viewpoints. Efforts to reach agreement among racialized groups are actively sought and executed, encouraging a multiracial approach to structural improvements. All campuses uniquely ensured that BIPOC group decisions were made inclusively, considering their knowledge and viewpoints with the culture created to promote contributions from people of various racial backgrounds while also understanding the power that White ideas often enjoy inside bureaucratic processes.

The Chico State Ad Hoc committee shows us how BIPOC experts are actively sought and cultivated for their unique and relevant viewpoints. At San Francisco State University, conflicts are considered genuine problems that have been addressed collectively. Change efforts are welcomed as a community practice, with appropriate management support and involvement, guaranteeing a balance of BIPOC work and contribution. As demonstrated at Stanislaus State, BIPOC members feel encouraged to openly discuss their thoughts within professional interactions, producing an atmosphere in which anti-racism is everyone's aim. It is evident from the interviews at CSULA that formal leadership is responsible for securing enough resources,

with BIPOC groups lobbying for more assistance and resources to be shifted or shared strategically with those most suited to carry out initiatives; those overseeing the initiative allowed the ES experts to create the Area.

The tension surrounding equitable practices within academia, particularly in Ethnic Studies, underscores the challenges of navigating power dynamics and perceived inequalities. Amy tells us that issues such as favoritism, competition for resources, lack of trust, and internal conflicts highlight the complexities of promoting equity. Balancing the allocation of resources based on need versus equal distribution poses a significant challenge in addressing systemic inequalities while managing perceptions of fairness among individuals and departments. The debate over centralizing Ethnic Studies in one department or dispersing it across multiple areas reflects broader questions about integration and support for marginalized fields of study.

Concerns about "ghettoizing" Ethnic Studies reveal a fear of isolation within academia but also create a space in which ES holds agency without outside influence, which has been historically in conflict with such spaces. This tension demonstrates the efforts to prevent internal conflicts and points to the lingering impact of trauma and historical injustices within academic spaces. Fostering collaborative relationships, transparent decision-making processes, and addressing power imbalances are crucial to creating a more inclusive environment for Equity Studies and marginalized academic communities. By actively engaging with these tensions and working towards equitable practices, institutions can move towards a more just and supportive academic landscape where all voices are valued.

The following quote from Mary illustrates the difficulties of requiring social justice in general education clouds the need for critical studies that explore race since creating a social justice general education requirement would have limited students' course selection and affected their ability to graduate under the unit cap. Clustering all courses in one subject might marginalize Ethnic Studies and underline the need to be proactive and strategic in incorporating social justice education into the general education curriculum while retaining course variety.

The other challenge was actually on our campus. The faculty wanted to, and this was coming from the Chancellor's office at the time in 2020, trying to throw a helmet pass with that stupid social justice requirement. And you know, Title 5, is what created Area F. AB 1460 did not call for a whole new GE area to be created. I believe that was intentional because it made the process a lot more complicated. It made it a lot more contentious. And so because then you have a whole new area that affects the 120-unit graduation cap. And you know, high unit majors. And oh, my God, there's a whole new area. So what they wanted to do on our campus is they wanted us to just push all of the Ethnic studies classes into Area F, we said, no, we're not going to ghettoize Ethnic studies like that. We always have had Ethnic Studies classes distributed across different general education areas. And we're going to keep it that way. And we're gonna choose, be very strategic and intentional and selective, about which courses we decide as a department will go into Area F.

In terms of curriculum, the speaker points out that not all Ethnic Studies courses are automatically regarded for Area F. Mary clarifies that this was done on purpose to prevent

“ghettoizing”, or having all courses in one area, and to guarantee that Ethnic Studies are diversified among various areas of general education. Additionally, Mary maintains that Area F was created to make AB 1460 more complicated and force ES leaders to go through Academic Senates and other curricular areas without expertise.

Cooperation and Distributed Leadership profoundly influenced the creation of AREA F, notably the passage of AB 1460 and the individualized Ethnic Studies requirements on each campus via collaboration with Academic Senates, inter-departmental coordination, and administrative support.

The interviews also show how prior disputes and a lack of unity on campus in contemporary attempts to implement diversity standards underline how differences and friction among diverse groups may stymie good cooperation and slow progress in accomplishing critical objectives. This conflict points to the necessity of including diverse stakeholders in decision-making and implementation procedures, such as expert faculty and administrators. Establishing a task force of ES experts and committees to implement AB 1460 illustrates a collaborative approach to policy enactment inside the academic institution. However, they also shed light on power dynamics and tensions inside governance bodies, such as the Academic Senate, which may complicate collaborative efforts since the latter may need more insight to make the best possible decisions. In this way, there must be a distinct level of competence in leading Ethnic Studies efforts and teaching ES courses. Prioritizing Ethnic Studies researchers in course content and faculty selection increases students' chances of a high-quality, genuine educational

experience. It also tackles previous difficulties of untrained persons teaching courses for an unrelated benefit or without the necessary knowledge.

The narrators' stories indicate that cooperation, stakeholder participation, knowledge, and negotiating power dynamics are critical factors in implementing an Ethnic Studies mandate. By addressing these factors, academic institutions may encourage inclusive, high-quality educational programming consistent with their stated goals.

### **Who Can Teach?**

I observed significant tensions across campuses about who can teach Ethnic Studies; some were rooted in longstanding debates. Ten years ago, there was a significant disagreement on campus over implementing a diversity requirement at CSULA. Pan-African studies advocated for Ethnic Studies scholars to be allowed to teach these courses. In contrast, Chicano/a/x studies argued that Women and Gender studies should also be included if they had a diverse focus. This dispute led to contention between the two groups, hindering their ability to collaborate effectively. When the new fight for an Ethnic Studies requirement emerged, the lack of unity from the previous conflict potentially impacted their ability to work together. Some departments believed that Ethnic Studies could be cross listed within departments outside the College, and others believed that Ethnic Studies courses should only be in Ethnic Studies departments.

Anita speaks from an Ethnic Studies educator's perspective when she describes how disheartening it is to acknowledge that someone with a background in critical race studies in education would not have been allowed to teach in Ethnic Studies despite having expertise in race and Ethnic Studies. On the other hand, Anita acknowledges that it is essential to prioritize



Ethnic Studies scholars to ensure that individuals with the necessary knowledge and understanding of the subject matter teach the courses:

There has to have been a history of people pretending to be able to teach Ethnic Studies or diversity when they really couldn't, you know, either White faculty or even faculty of color, who haven't been trained at all in race and Ethnic Studies, or quote diversity.

Trying to get their courses approved just so that it could meet a requirement so their classes could get filled. So both things are true, right? Like there are people trying to get in to teach these courses because they just want to fill their classes, but don't have the expertise. And there are also people with legitimate expertise who could and should teach these courses. But I think ultimately, from our campus, what I hear people saying is: 'it should be Ethnic Studies scholars who get to vet these courses, and these faculty who are teaching them'.

There has been a history of people, both White faculty and faculty of color, attempting to teach these courses without proper training or expertise, either for personal gain or to fill their classes. Many Ethnic Studies researchers tell us that Ethnic Studies faculty have undergone extensive training to deliver pedagogically sound and racially critical lenses to students and thus are considered the experts on the Ethnic Studies curriculum (Tintiangco-Cubales & Duncan-Andrade, 2021; Nojan, 2020; Vasquez & Altshuler, 2017; Tintiangco-Cubales et al., 2015). At CSULA, there is consensus that Ethnic Studies scholars should have the final say in approving these courses and determining the faculty who teach them, which ensures that the courses are taught by individuals who have the requisite knowledge and expertise in race and Ethnic Studies,

rather than being filled by individuals who are solely focused on their interests or lack the necessary qualifications.

Further, the bill caused the individual entities who oversaw the implementation to draw boundaries and to create policies during the process to ensure Ethnic Studies could be properly institutionalized and taught by the proper educators. Susan at Chico State highlights the complications of considering Ethnic Studies across disciplines within the institution:

You know, in the 1990s people were very interested in, you know, putting Ethnic Studies across the curriculum, like writing across the curriculum. The philosophy was terrible because it took away our departmental status, and it took us a long time to get it back. And so we've become a department again in the last 5 years, and we have a permanent home now in the College of Behavioral and Social Sciences. But since I've been here at Chico state, I've been in the College of Humanities and Fine Arts, Behavioral and Social Sciences.

This quote implies the field of Ethnic Studies faced challenges in gaining recognition and institutional support within academia. The mention of efforts to incorporate Ethnic Studies "across the curriculum" suggests a push for greater visibility and integration of the field into mainstream academia. However, the speaker indicates that this approach had negative consequences, such as removing departmental status and making it harder for Ethnic Studies to establish itself as a distinct and respected discipline. The fact that it took a long time for Ethnic Studies to regain departmental status highlights the struggles marginalized academic fields face in gaining recognition and respect within higher education institutions. The speaker's mention of finally achieving a permanent home in the College of Behavioral and Social Sciences after years

of being placed in different colleges underscores the importance of institutional support for the sustainability and growth of Ethnic Studies programs.

There is complex and contentious history of implementing and institutionalizing Ethnic Studies programs within academia. The initial disagreement over the diversity requirement at CSULA between different Ethnic Studies departments and their preferred focus areas demonstrates the internal divisions and challenges marginalized academic fields face in advocating for their relevance and importance within higher education institutions. Anita's perspective sheds light on the issue of faculty expertise in teaching Ethnic Studies courses. The concern about individuals without the necessary background and training in race and Ethnic Studies teaching these courses, either for personal gain or to fill classes, raises general questions about the integrity and quality of education in these fields. The consensus at CSULA that Ethnic Studies scholars should be the ones to approve courses and determine faculty members reflects a commitment to maintaining the academic rigor and credibility of Ethnic Studies programs, while continuing to center the right experts.

Susan's experience at Chico State further underscores the struggles faced by Ethnic Studies programs in gaining recognition and institutional support. The challenges of integrating Ethnic Studies across disciplines and the negative consequences of losing departmental status reveal the barriers marginalized academic fields face in establishing themselves as legitimate and respected disciplines within academia.

Andrea from Sacramento State provided evidence of considerable interest in teaching in the Ethnic Studies department, with individuals from various departments to obtain funding associated with the requirement. However, the Ethnic Studies department, in collaboration with the Faculty Senate, emphasized the importance of courses being taught by Ethnic Studies professors to maintain the program's integrity.

The findings highlight the importance of unity, expertise, and institutional support in advancing Ethnic Studies programs within higher education institutions. By prioritizing the expertise of Ethnic Studies scholars, ensuring proper vetting of courses and faculty, and advocating for departmental recognition and support, Ethnic Studies programs have established themselves as an unavoidable component of academic curricula.

Andrea and Serie contribute to understanding the complexities surrounding boundaries in Ethnic Studies disciplines on college campuses. Andrea emphasizes the importance of setting clear criteria and limits for what qualifies as an Ethnic Studies course to prevent dilution or mission creep. At the same time, Serie highlights the evolution of each discipline within Ethnic Studies from interdisciplinary to self-contained, indicating a maturation and more defined approach in each field. Together, their perspectives suggest ongoing discourse is needed to define boundaries and characteristics while recognizing the unique contributions of each discipline within Ethnic Studies. This underscores the need for continued reflection on these fields' development and future direction.

Jason points out the need to balance allowing Ethnic Studies faculty to control the curriculum and ensuring that it goes through the regular processes of a General Education course. This balance is crucial for maintaining academic rigor and ensuring that the content of Ethnic Studies courses meets high standards. Incorporating Ethnic Studies, compared to other general education areas, requires additional oversight and support to effectively integrate Ethnic Studies into the general education curriculum to be mindful of not only meeting legislative requirements but also ensuring that Ethnic Studies programs can thrive within their institutions.

Anita discusses unqualified individuals teaching critical race studies and Ethnic Studies courses, which can lead to misinterpretation of crucial concepts. This highlights the importance of having knowledgeable scholars in Ethnic Studies to provide accurate and nuanced perspectives for students seeking to engage with the material effectively. The decision at CSULA to prioritize Ethnic Studies scholars in course approval is a positive move toward ensuring students receive a high-quality education from experts who can offer valuable insights on race and ethnicity. Students can benefit from a comprehensive and accurate understanding of these critical topics by prioritizing expertise in the field.

Interviews with participants in the two Colleges of Ethnic Studies highlight a need for cross-racial trust, most likely because they work closely with racialized departments. The differing approaches taken by Pan-African Studies and Chicano Studies reflect underlying tensions and conflicts that hinder their ability to collaborate effectively. The insistence by Pan-African Studies that only Ethnic Studies scholars should teach the courses suggests a lack of trust

and an effort towards self-preservation in individuals from other fields, such as women and gender studies, to address diversity issues adequately, even if those classes are taught by BIPOC. On the other hand, Chicano Studies' more inclusive approach demonstrates a willingness to incorporate perspectives from various disciplines, but past tensions and disagreements complicate their ability to work together.

Both Colleges of Ethnic Studies work through departmental conflict. Amy emphasizes the significance of deliberately engaging in cooperation and consensus-building rather than if agreement will arise organically, particularly among BIPOC individuals with varied viewpoints and experiences.

Anita's story illuminates the disputes within departments regarding the eligibility of individuals to teach Ethnic Studies courses and the definition of diversity criteria. As mentioned, the disagreement exemplifies broader scholarly arguments about representation, expertise, and diversity. These arguments interrupt the implementation of a new requirement (Area F), highlighting the potential hindrance of progress toward enhanced diversity and inclusion due to institutional politics. Anita advocates for including faculty outside of Ethnic Studies that have been previously cross listed.

Serie argues that the requirement is to remain taught by Ethnic Studies faculty only. He reminds us of the historical development of Ethnic Studies at CSULA, highlighting its foundational roots and the contributions made by students and teachers in response to their needs, which were not found in other departments that might have been eligible for cross-listing.

The enduring significance of this heritage implies that continuous communication and involvement are crucial for upholding the authenticity of Ethnic Studies programs, as they were established based on core ideas of empowerment and social justice within the discipline, unlike other disciplines.

In all, a compromise emerges since the courses designated part of Area F are taught by Ethnic Studies faculty within the College of Ethnic Studies, although non-Ethnic Studies professors teach some courses within the college. We learn from this conflict that effectively managing conflicts and power dynamics within the academic sphere is crucial in fostering inclusivity, diversity, and societal transformation. By comprehending the historical backdrop and persistent challenges inherent in Ethnic Studies programs, such as those offered at CSULA, we may strive to establish educational settings with greater equity.

The criticism about centralizing Ethnic Studies in one college also points towards broader issues of power dynamics and competition for resources within academia. The challenges in ensuring department cooperation indicate a need for more trust and communication between groups, further exacerbated by past conflicts. Safeguarding against external threats and internal conflicts underscores the importance of building trust and fostering collaboration within academic institutions. Addressing historical traumas and working through disputes over limited resources is essential for creating an environment where cross-racial trust can be nurtured, leading to more effective implementation of diversity initiatives like the Ethnic Studies requirement.

## **Challenges with Leadership**

One tension I observed across campuses took place in working or committee groups. In the summer of 2020, Chico State called for applications for an Ethnic Studies ad hoc subcommittee from the Academic Senate to get campus-wide representation. The narrators, Jason and Susan, applied to be part of this subcommittee that Browning led. Mehala Allen, the chair of the Senate Subcommittee for Education Policies, led the process then. Jason and Susan were chosen among seven others to join the subcommittee. Once formed, they decided on a chair and a vice chair. Browning was offered the chair position and accepted, while another member applied for the vice chair role. It is important to note that these positions were specific to the 10-person subcommittee rather than the university. The subcommittee primarily consisted of faculty members who were Ethnic Studies scholars from various departments within the university. Their original plan was to work on the committee from summer to spring. However, their work extended into the following fall semester. Despite this, they were already implementing AB 1460, a piece of legislation focused on Ethnic Studies.

The speakers at Chico State discussed challenges in changing their GE (general education) policy because it involves the Faculty Senate. Jason, Chair of the GE committee, emphasizes that one of the biggest challenges they faced during the implementation process was the slow and deliberative nature of shared governance, which is the process of decision-making involving multiple stakeholders; the decision-making process was time-consuming and required careful consideration and input from various parties. There was an urgency to make the changes in 2020, and they had to work quickly amid time constraints and pressure to implement them



within a specific timeframe. Jason comments that Browning played a valuable role in bending the rules and challenging existing processes:

So what Browning's committee did was choose the courses, and that was the hardest part. But like, if you're asking about like the technical aspects, we wanted this thing. What was it? Fall 21. When we launched it. We wanted it to be ready to go, and that required working with the registrar's office with curriculum services. All these groups aren't involved in the GE committee. And so, as Browning was going, we were trying to figure that out and make it and make it happen, they broke all kinds of rules, in order to get things into the catalog. Like, they cut us all kinds of slack to do this as late as we did, but at the same time I felt bad. The committee, Browning's committee, felt under a lot of pressure to work pretty quickly. And yet we were like so far past regular deadlines. And so implementation was pretty wild, and it required at least a dozen people.

Mary describes her involvement in an informal AB 1460 working group from 2020 to 2021 at Stanislaus. The group's goal was to collaboratively implement AB 1460 by involving various stakeholders, including Faculty Affairs, the Provost, the speaker of the Senate, and student voices. This committee later became the ad hoc committee through a resolution proposed by the Senate, but the dynamics of power and conflicts within the Academic Senate, which is the center of governance on their campus. They describe tensions between the administration and faculty, with students and other faculty members caught in the crossfire. Despite initial progress, challenges arose when it was time to pass a resolution in the Senate to determine how AB 1460 would be implemented on their campus. The University Education Policy Committee leadership, who were not deeply involved in the AB 1460 ad hoc committee, tried to take control and block

the resolution. As a Senator, the speaker worked closely with the Senate leadership to craft and bring forth the resolution but faced opposition from certain faculty members. They recognized that the opposition inadvertently painted themselves into a corner, ultimately enabling the passage of the desired resolution. However, the speaker mentions that the current challenge is the dean's attempt to control the department and an influential colleague who they describe as corrupt and undermining their work to reevaluate the Ethnic Studies curriculum:

I've asked, and we can't get a straight answer, so we never know, we don't really know what we're working with. We don't know if he's using that funding that was sent in earmarks for Ethnic Studies by the State legislature and the governor. There's just no transparency, and having said that, we used money to hire a second Black Studies, Ethnic Studies faculty member with an emphasis in Africana or Pan-African studies.

This quote implies a need for more openness and accountability in the distribution and utilization of funds. It emphasizes the significance of transparent communication and monitoring in resource allocation, particularly for initiatives promoting diversity and inclusion. Despite the lack of transparency, the hiring of a second faculty member in Black Studies demonstrates the university's commitment to supporting underrepresented areas of study. It also serves as a reminder of the importance of ensuring that resources are used effectively and in accordance with their intended purpose. It highlights the need of transparency and responsibility in the handling of money set aside for activities that promote diversity and inclusion.

A significant component in establishing required Ethnic Studies was a transformation in the governance structure of curriculum and course approval. Mary explains that Ethnic Studies

faculty are now in charge of implementation, which has produced friction with the University Education Policy Committee (UEPC), which wishes to maintain control over course validation:

The key component we knew had to happen was a shift in the governance structure of curriculum and approval of courses in placement of courses is that AB 1460 was very clear that ultimately it is Ethnic Studies faculty that are charged with leading the implementation of Ethnic Studies courses. The core challenge around that was that the university education policy committee saw that as a direct usurping of their power.

The Ethnic Studies department approves Ethnic Studies courses, and the speaker stresses that Ethnic Studies faculty are the experts in choosing whether courses fit the standards, which had traditionally been the UEPC work. Mary distinguishes how ES leadership followed the bill's implications closely:

The battle that ensued after AB 1460 was passed. The issue is with faculty governance and the Senate. The University Education Policy Committee wanting to have control, like they do over other courses of what goes into Area F, and we said, 'Absolutely not. Ethnic Studies as a department will have control, and as per AB 1460, literally, it's why Shirley Weber wrote the law the way she did it has to have that ETHS Prefix. No non-Ethnic Studies classes on our campus can fulfill Area F, period. The Ethnic Studies department has sole jurisdiction. I mean, they can shoot it down, but we're the ones who get to, because, we're in the process of having some upper-division courses counted in Area F, so that it's not because right now it's super imbalanced with all lower division courses.

This quotation emphasizes the power struggle between the Ethnic Studies department and the University Education Policy Committee over which courses are included in Area F (the Ethnic Studies requirement). The implications of this phrase imply disagreement over who gets to define the curriculum and substance of this obligation. It also emphasizes the necessity of autonomy and jurisdiction for the Ethnic Studies department and the impact of AB 1460 on the path of Ethnic Studies on campus. This circumstance emphasizes the importance of faculty governance, academic freedom, and the possible influence on the variety and balance of courses in the Ethnic Studies program.

The nature of equity work can create issues when individuals engage in coalitional work due to competitive natures, lack of trust, and perceived inequalities in resource allocation. Anita believes these issues are rooted in the perception of favoritism, may stem from a sense of competition, and may feel slighted when not receiving the same resources. However, the speaker acknowledges that sometimes individuals may receive more resources if they are in greater need:

When you do coalitional work, which is true in activism when you do coalitional work, those competitive natures that we've been socialized to have come up and and some people are good at doing collaboration, coalitional work in the community but not on campus because they don't trust each other, and all it takes is one or 2 people to like to create a real divide, and then the whole department ends up being at odds, so I would say that those did show up, not around area F, though it was more around decisions the Dean was talking about where to allocate resources and or perceive relationships, that the Dean was closer to this department than the other department, but I don't think those were rooted, in reality, I think a lot of it was competition.

The quote speaks to equitable decision-making by highlighting the challenges and complexities involved in ensuring fair and inclusive practices within academic institutions, particularly in the context of integrating Ethnic Studies. By discussing the potential issues related to ghettoizing Ethnic Studies or creating internal conflicts over resources, the quote emphasizes the importance of promoting equity and fairness in decision-making processes. It underscores the need to consider diverse perspectives, allocate resources fairly, and promote collaboration between departments to ensure that all voices are heard and respected. Ultimately, the quote suggests that equitable decision-making is crucial for creating a supportive and inclusive environment for Ethnic Studies and marginalized communities within academia.

Overall, the idea of equity in this excerpt pertains to fairness and allocating resources based on need, which can flare tensions. Amy talks about allocating funding for new hires for this very reason:

So I go back and forth like people say, “Oh, you're ghettoizing Ethnic Studies, if you put it all in one college”, right, or, “If you put it all in one department, you're ghettoizing it”. I found that it's a lot of work to make sure that all the departments get along. My predecessor, when I was Dean, Ken Montero, used to tell me that “You not only have the job of protecting the college from external attack, but, in fact, you have to keep the college from imploding internally”. Cause it's just a lot of traumatized people fighting over resources, right?

This quote shows how hard it can be to make room in academia for Ethnic Studies or any other field of study and directly demonstrates what it is like to be a racially underrepresented person in a racialized organization. The argument over whether to put Ethnic Studies in one

college or department or several raises issues about the effects of separating resources and support versus combining them. The fact that internal conflict and "implosion" need to be avoided in the college suggests that deep-seated problems and tensions in academia need to be dealt with for Ethnic Studies to thrive and be properly integrated into the larger academic landscape. This quote shows how important it is for different departments and stakeholders to work together, talk to each other, and understand each other to make the environment more welcoming and helpful for Ethnic Studies and its practitioners.

The focus on racially diverse individuals contributing to governance illustrates the importance of representation and inclusivity in shaping academic institutions. Including various stakeholders, including faculty, students, department chairs, and administrators, in decision-making processes indicates a commitment to shared governance. This practice not only values different perspectives but also acknowledges the unique contributions that individuals from diverse backgrounds can bring. It fosters a sense of empowerment among faculty and students, enabling them to actively participate in shaping the direction of the college or department.

On the same note, the emphasis on autonomy within the Ethnic Studies department recognizes the specific expertise needed to address issues related to race and ethnicity effectively. Faculty members' dedication to continuous learning and their holistic approach demonstrate a commitment to staying informed about developments in their field and understanding how their work fits into broader social contexts. These findings suggest that embracing diversity in leadership roles and promoting autonomy within specialized departments can lead to more inclusive and responsive educational environments. By valuing shared

governance and expertise within specific disciplines, institutions can better serve their diverse student populations while remaining adaptable to changing societal needs.

### ***Interpretation and Implementation of the Policy***

The discourse of power struggles inside the campus government structure, even with a shared sense of government, highlights the intricacies and potential conflicts that can occur when introducing new projects. We learned that addressing racial and hierarchical power dynamics and fostering transparent and inclusive decision-making processes is essential to avoid resistance or inefficiency.

I uncovered two distinct institutional processes and obstacles in understanding who leads the Ethnic Studies implementation efforts. The first university, Chico State, established an ad hoc group inside the Academic Senate to work on implementing AB 1460. Browning led the group, which included faculty members from other departments and Ethnic Studies scholars. Despite some delays in their efforts revolving around needing the correct experts at the table, they were able to begin implementing the policy.

In contrast, Mary discusses her participation in an informal working group that eventually evolved into the ad hoc committee to execute AB 1460 at Stanislaus. Although both narrators' stories seemed to focus on the role of the Academic Senate, Stanislaus' approach was more complicated than Chico's, with tensions and disagreements erupting between many stakeholders within the Academic Senate, the implementors, and the upper administration. Further, the lack of transparency in distributing and using money for Ethnic Studies at Stanislaus is troubling since it raised doubts about whether resources are being used effectively and for their intended purposes.

As witnessed in the power battles inside the Stanislaus Academic Senate, a lack of transparency can lead to tensions and conflicts within the university community.

The findings in this section accentuate the difficulties and complexities associated with adopting legislation such as AB 1460 in colleges. It emphasizes the importance of open communication, monitoring, and accountability in resource allocation to ensure that projects promoting diversity and inclusion are successful and efficient. Although ES experts may lead the implementation efforts, they must still know how to navigate within the confines of the shared governance system.

Exploring the management of Ethnic Studies within the general education curriculum uncovers two key aspects: lack of representation and autonomy. Browning's perspective highlights the importance of diverse faculty representation for student support, curriculum development, and revision in African-American Studies courses. Hiring experts in the field enhances academic offerings, ensuring relevance and quality for Ethnic Studies students. In contrast, Mary's account showcases the benefits of granting autonomy to Ethnic Studies departments. This independence allows for flexible decision-making regarding course offerings, ensuring faculty expertise drives curriculum development. Emphasizing continuous learning and staying updated on developments in Ethnic Studies provides students with a comprehensive education that aligns with the discipline's dynamic nature.

These insights demonstrate that campus management of Ethnic Studies can vary based on institutional structures, resources, and faculty expertise. While challenges like lack of



representation exist, intentional hiring practices can address these gaps and enrich curricular offerings. Granting autonomy to departments fosters innovation and responsiveness to emerging trends in the field, benefiting faculty members and students engaged in critical areas of study.

In her interviews, Mary emphasizes the importance of AB 1460, stressing its mandatory nature and the legal consequences for non-compliance, and the way that BIPOC individuals and groups have designed the law collectively. She highlights the need for institutions and individuals to follow the provisions of AB1460, regardless of personal beliefs, because it reflects the desires of BIPOC groups to make anti-racist education mandatory. Mary's remarks suggest that once a law like AB1460 is in place, ongoing debates or disagreements about it may be less significant than the fact that it must be obeyed. This underscores the power and finality of such legislation, emphasizing the importance of understanding and conforming to laws even when faced with differing interpretations or perspectives. Mary's statement also raises questions about how organizations and individuals navigate adherence to rules that conflict with their values, highlighting the delicate balance between legal obligations and personal beliefs. It invites reflection on how constructive dialogue can occur once new and challenging ideas emerge.

To understand how specific ideas are privileged over others, Mary's desire to learn about anthropology, legal frameworks, and bureaucratic structures is fundamental for her work to promote change within organizations. Mary's interest in these topics indicated an interest in understanding power and racism embedded in organizations. Mary demonstrates that people pushing for change need to learn how groups work on the inside by finding places where power

is being abused and work to make things more open and accountable by looking at policies and organizational structures. Mary's expression shows how important it is to learn about organizational structures and procedures, to question how power works in organizations, and to fight for a more fair and just society; she enforces that people can help break down oppressive systems in organizations by learning about the actions that include gatekeeping.

Mary recounts the value of transparency in the operation of systems and institutions. When there is a lack of transparency, individuals in authority may readily distort and weaponize information. The phrase also emphasizes that, although overt forms of oppression such as White supremacy and authoritarianism are concerning, the more subtle misuse of power often happens in the shadowy workings of organizations. This suggests that efforts to promote accountability, openness, and transparency at all levels of government and society are critical in countering systematic abuse of power.

As we learned from Chico State, hiring more Black faculty reinforces that formal leadership has headed in the right direction to create cultural conditions and structural opportunities during the implementation. The lack of faculty stakeholders highlights the importance of having diverse representation and expertise within academic departments, particularly in disciplines like African American Studies. The lack of African American scholars in this department hindered the development of a relevant and accurate curriculum, necessitating the urgent hiring of qualified scholars to fill this gap. This situation underscores the need for universities to prioritize diversity in their hiring practices to ensure that students receive a well-

rounded and inclusive education. It also emphasizes the value of having perspectives from different backgrounds in academia to enrich the educational experience for all students.

One reoccurring tension was the decision to cross-list courses within the department/college/ program rather than at the General Education (GE) Committee level. We learned from Jason, who stresses the need for input and collaboration from individuals directly involved in teaching and overseeing the courses. Using faculty expertise to inform the committee level suggests a more bottom-up than top-down decision-making process, where those with expertise and knowledge of the content and goals of the courses are primarily responsible for determining cross-listing arrangements. By involving department members in these discussions, there is likely a deeper understanding of how course content aligns with different disciplines and how students can benefit from a more interdisciplinary approach. Additionally, involving faculty members in these conversations can lead to better coordination and integration of course offerings within the department.

By addressing potential challenges such as reevaluating courses that may not be cross-listed but could benefit from being cross-listed, Jason demonstrates a proactive mindset toward improving course offerings and promoting interdisciplinary learning experiences for students. This introspective approach can lead to more thoughtful decisions regarding course structures and alignments with departmental goals. Decentralized decision-making, when it comes to cross-listing courses, should empower departments to take ownership of their curriculum design and

foster collaboration among faculty members toward enhancing the educational experience for students.

The College of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University, the oldest in the nation, was particularly interested in the passing of AB 1460 because it indicated a sense of expansion for ES throughout the CSU. However, leaders realized that it was not feasible for smaller institutions to have separate faculty dedicated solely to Ethnic Studies. As a result, Amy explains how the College had to accept the rigidity of AB 1460, which likely included designating an Area F:

I didn't want the departments to go off the rail, so I just had them follow the guidelines pretty specifically. The outcomes were drafted by folks in Ethnic Studies across the CSU. So we submitted, you know, whatever is our requirement that we designed, and if they all of a sudden say, 'Oh, this isn't what we designed', I would be like, 'No, you actually did design this way'. But then we realize that if we didn't create, or if the CSU did not create an area, then some campuses would be screwed. They wouldn't feel compelled to form an Ethnic Studies; they'd have to start from scratch.

If the College of Ethnic Studies had not advocated for the bill, it would have caused chaos and potentially affected other Cal State campuses; it was a necessary compromise for stability within the system. Amy acknowledges that there was initially suspicion and uncertainty surrounding the implementation of AB 1460 because they feared that a new, unplanned area would come with unforeseen restrictions:

I had to do a lot of work with the chairs, and then the chairs also advised me to do very specific things to make sure that the rollout was smooth. There was a lot of suspicion at

first, and I also was suspicious when I was an Associate Dean, I think, and we're just still talking about it, you know, at the beginning. But you know, whatever, we had to figure things out. And basically the Provost told me you need to make this happen; you know, without, like, a hunger strike. So yeah, so it took 2 years. But we made it happen, and I'm pretty happy about it. The previous provost was happy also. She congratulated me on getting it through the college without any drama (Sueyoshi, personal communication, 2023).

Amy outlines the importance of having a well-informed Ethnic Studies faculty teach these courses. It highlights the potential conflict with other departments wanting to teach these courses and how the support of the CFA (California Faculty Association) and Senate was crucial in preventing this. The passage also mentions a past battle over whether Ethnic Studies courses could fulfill specific requirements, with opposition from "White departments." However, the Ethnic Studies community successfully argued that any course, regardless of the department, could fulfill those requirements. This history of resistance and advocacy informs the decision to have only Ethnic studies faculty teach the AB 1460 courses.

### **Enrollment and Funding**

The policy change also created tensions resulting from increased enrollments and associated funding. At Sacramento State, the Dean and Associate Deans of the university, along with the Ethnic Studies faculty, played a primary role in shaping and implementing the new requirement. The Faculty Senate also had some influence over the process. Additionally, the university president, who had conducted research and work on Ethnic Studies, gave the Senate input from the research insights. In particular, the California Faculty Association supported the

application and implementation of AB 1460 within the Ethnic Studies department, motivated by the influx of faculty from various departments who wanted to teach Ethnic Studies courses to obtain funding associated with the new requirement. The Senate advocated for the courses taught by Ethnic Studies professors and insisted that they meet the criteria outlined in AB 1460. Andrea shared:

Everybody and they mama wanted to be a part of it, which means everybody and they mom wants the dollars that they think would be associated with this. And so what that meant is that everyone said, 'I can teach an AB 1460 class, whether they were in history, in math, in psychology, everywhere. And it's very important to the chair of Ethnic Studies and the faculty Ethnic Studies to say, no, you have to be an Ethnic Studies professor if you want to teach an Ethnic Studies course, and it has to be an Ethnic Studies course if it's going to be a part of AB 1460 so we were very specific in writing up that it has to say, he in. And was something we had to be very intentional about because again, very quickly I talked to you about a "Race and Ethnicity" requirement very quickly all hands came: 'I could do that, I can do that, I can do that'. They're not professors in Ethnic Studies.

Andrea recounts the perceived entitlement of AB 1460 funding from non-ES affiliates. In this way, Ethnic Studies powerfully established itself as a separate discipline with its own experts.

Another related tension is enrollment planning. CSULA leaders express that the metrics for success in the Ethnic Studies program are primarily based on enrollment numbers. With the current high enrollment, it is evident that the program is meeting the demand for its courses.

However, there is also a need to evaluate course creation to ensure that an appropriate number of courses are offered to accommodate the student's needs.

Further, the spike in enrollments following this mandate showcases a growing interest in diverse perspectives and histories because more students are opting into more ES courses. The increased funding opportunities have attracted faculty from various departments, enriching the academic landscape with multidisciplinary insights. However, ensuring that only qualified professors teach Ethnic Studies courses remains a crucial challenge to maintain the integrity and accuracy of the content delivered to students. The success metrics of Ethnic Studies programs at CSULA, such as enrollment numbers, collaborations with educators and community colleges, and post-graduation employment prospects, highlight the program's significant impact. Notably, graduates from related programs securing tenure-track positions at community colleges underscore the quality of education imparted by these programs. This progress aligns with broader societal goals aiming for inclusivity and cultural awareness. By producing competitive graduates who contribute to a more diverse workforce and promoting partnerships within the education community, Ethnic Studies programs play a vital role in shaping a more inclusive society.

### **Summary**

This chapter provided profiles of the ten orators from five CSU campuses. The second section gave the history of Ethnic Studies on the campuses, followed by thematic tensions found across campuses that explored who can teach ES, challenges with leadership, enrollment and funding, and equitable practices. The history of Ethnic Studies in universities has shaped leadership and execution in various ways, defining the programs' structures, problems, and

accomplishments. To ensure that ES continues to expand and have an impact, leaders in these programs must navigate historical tensions, advocate for resources, create collaboration, and adapt to changing institutional environments.



## **Chapter 5: Analysis**

As I described in Chapter 2, I combined the Distributed Leadership and Racialized Organizations tenants to examine the implementation of AB 1460 in the CSU context. Combining these theories allows for a more comprehensive approach to leadership within racially diverse organizations since racially marginalized groups are central to the decision-making process within this mandate. By acknowledging and centering the experiences of racialized communities within racialized organizations, the decentralized leadership works to navigate these systems to make meaningful changes. I have organized the findings through the combined tenants. These matrix statements were developed using the combined theory as I thought through the scenarios that would merit the labeling. This systematic thinking was informed by my years of experience in these organizations and within the Ethnic Studies community.

### **Purpose of Matrix**

I have combined the above tenets to create deductive reasoning to find instances and examples of this approach within the implementation. The matrix demonstrates what I was able to deduce from the combined theories. In my analysis, I found examples of each logic. In other words, the combined tenants act as themes that reflect the theoretical framework. The green text describes examples of the grounded theory, while the orange text describes counterexamples of these concepts. As the interviews revealed, the counterexamples have generally reflected ongoing racially problematic practices in the organization. I will not report anything below if

there are no clear examples or counterexamples (e.g., there is no example for “Respect for diverse ideas in siloed communities within campus”).

**FIGURE 2** COMBINING DISTRIBUTED LEADERSHIP IN RACIALIZED ORGANIZATIONS

	<b><u>DLT 1</u> FORMAL LEADERSHIP CREATES THE CULTURAL CONDITIONS AND STRUCTURAL OPPORTUNITIES.</b>	<b><u>DLT2</u> STATUS CONSENSUS.</b>	<b><u>DLT 3</u> PROFESSIONAL RELATIONSHIPS INCLUDE MUTUAL TRUST AND AGREEMENT ABOUT THE WAY TASKS ARE COLLECTIVELY UNDERTAKEN.</b>	<b><u>DLT 4</u> DECISION-MAKING NEEDS TO BE DISTRIBUTED TO AND COORDINATED WITH THOSE WHO HAVE, OR CAN DEVELOP, THE KNOWLEDGE OR EXPERTISE REQUIRED TO CARRY OUT THE IMPLEMENTATION PROCESSES.</b>
<b><u>ROT 1</u> RACIALIZED ORGANIZATIONS ENHANCE OR DIMINISH THE AGENCY OF RACIAL GROUPS.</b>	Culture of respect for ideas rooted in the campus culture.  Respect for diverse ideas in siloed communities within campus.	Racialized group consensus is implemented.  .Racialized group consensus is avoided.	Multi-racial efforts in structural implementations.  Lack of cross-racial trust.	Decisions about BIPOC groups are brought to BIPOC groups.  Decision-making about BIPOC groups is kept away from BIPOC groups
<b><u>ROT 2</u> WHITENESS IS A CREDENTIAL.</b>	Culture is designed in a way that all who have expertise can contribute to change.  Formal Leadership remains at the "top" of the hierarchy, although there may be better-suited individuals.	Awareness that White ideas are privileged by bureaucratic systems.  Only white professionals' ideas are heard, agreed upon, and implemented.	New ideas from BIPOC are pursued.  White ideas remain privileged.	Change initiatives are a community practice with the support and participation of proper management.  Change initiatives are hierarchical and include top-down directives.
<b><u>ROT 3</u> DECOUPLING IS RACIALIZED.</b>	Leadership acknowledges a balance between BIPOC labor and contribution.  "Raceblindness" in leadership.	Conflicts are viewed as valid and worked through.  Conflicts are solved by reverting to best practices, or "the way things are always done".	BIPOC feel free and unhindered to share ideas within professional relationships.  BIPOC ideas exist in silos.	As many diverse professionals as possible are involved because Anti-racism is everyone's goal.  Anti-racism is left to BIPOC because it is viewed as their problem to solve.
<b><u>ROT 4</u> RACIALIZED ORGANIZATIONS LEGITIMATE THE UNEQUAL DISTRIBUTION OF RESOURCES.</b>	Formal Leadership ensures there are adequate resources.  Formal leadership creates a culture in which certain departments and initiatives are privileged over others.	BIPOC groups advocate for additional resources.  Non-BIPOC groups might argue that department should "make do" with what they have.	Resources are reallocated or shared.  Programs/Departments seek/struggle to find resources.	Leadership is strategic about which resources are given to which professionals who can carry out the implementation.  Leadership figures experienced professional can work magic.

**Figure 2** depicts a theoretical matrix combining the tenants of Distributed Leadership with Racialized Organizations

### **(1) RO: Racialized Organizations Enhance or Diminish the Agency of Racial Groups**

As explored in Chapter 2, the first tenant of Racialized Organizations views the complexities of BIPOC professionals navigating their statuses as bureaucratic components of the institution. The actions or inactions of these individuals shift attention from the institutional obligation to implement substantial modifications in practice or policy that empower the BIPOC leaders.

#### ***DL: Formal Leadership Creates Cultural Conditions and Structural Opportunities***

The influence of formal leadership within racialized organizations is substantial, especially if formal leadership is not BIPOC. It shapes structural opportunities and cultural conditions that have the potential to either empower or restrict these racial groups. While we combine RO and DL, we can understand that in its most positive sense, there is a culture of respect for ideas rooted in the campus culture. From the interviews, the discourse around separate Ethnic Studies emerges from ongoing debates. Some claim that combining it in one college or department leads to segregation. However, it is crucial to recognize that the institution should not only safeguard itself from external dangers but also avoid internal collapse due to individuals who have experienced trauma competing for resources. Nevertheless, establishing an independent college dedicated to Ethnic Studies, with a supportive administration and its seamless integration into the General Education curriculum, has demonstrated efficacy and distinctiveness. Some campuses will argue that this embedded administration is a structural opportunity for Ethnic Studies to maintain logistically and thrive within the institution's holistic context.

**(+) Culture of Respect for Ideas Rooted in the Campus Culture.**

Browning realized that African-American academics were underrepresented in African-American Studies when establishing two courses per discipline that AB 1460 would require. The speaker recalls experiencing a sense of remorse due to their absence of expertise despite being tasked with assisting in writing these classes. To tackle this matter adequately, employing personnel with expertise in this academic discipline who could support curriculum revision and improvement would be crucial. Consequently, three African-American Studies academics were employed, and their contributions to curriculum evaluation have been invaluable. Additionally, the employment of additional faculty members to fulfill the demand for required courses has been facilitated. Browning remarked:

One of the areas with African-American Studies, and I remember feeling like I was apologizing because I was supposed to help write these two classes I mentioned, or two for each domain or discipline, and we didn't have any African-American scholars. I don't know [the] subcommittee, but we were trying to put forward these classes so that we put forward the classes instead of what we realized: We're going to need to hire people that know this area of scholarship, but they can help to revise and revisit this work. So now we have three African American Studies scholars, and they've been able to look through that curriculum more. It has enabled some quick hires, emergency hires, because we don't have enough faculty for the courses that are required.

Hiring more Black faculty reinforces heading in the right direction as formal leadership creates cultural conditions and structural opportunities during the implementation, which originally lacked the cultural condition but not the structural opportunity to hire.

***DL: Status Consensus***

Status Consensus is a principle from Distributed Leadership that describes the natural conflict of ideas among members within a change group (CITE). In this case, the original Ethnic Studies task force found that the CSU should create an Ethnic Studies graduation requirement. However, the responsibility for policy and implementation was passed onto each campus. Most ignored their faculty governance on the requirement despite having ample time to act as campuses with their agency. Shirley Weber's bill established a more hierarchical implementation process that would inevitably require a degree of agreement amongst multiple group members within the organizational hierarchy.

**(+) Racialized Group Consensus is Implemented.**

Lena describes the college as having racially diverse individuals who contribute to its governance. This includes the Dean and the department chairs, who form a significant part of the bureaucracy. However, the faculty and students also play a crucial role in shaping the college. They have a strong voice that empowers them to influence various aspects, such as curriculum and policy. The college values shared governance and actively involves different stakeholders in determining its identity and aspirations.

Similarly, the Ethnic Studies department at CSU Stanislaus enjoys high independence. They have complete autonomy in determining what meets the requirements of their area. The department is composed of faculty members who possess extensive expertise and are committed

to continuous learning, given the dynamic nature of their field. Additionally, these faculty members have a holistic approach, ensuring that they have a comprehensive understanding of their discipline and the broader context in which it operates.

**(-) Racialized Group Consensus is Avoided.**

Anita describes what happens when racialized group consensus has been avoided and a new initiative pops up that revives some of the tension, creating horizontal hostilities:

Yeah, I think it's complicated. Both Pan-African Studies and Chicano Studies have a 50-plus-year presence on campus. All of it is a result of student advocacy similar to the College of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State, and I think that they have been, you know, wonderful leaders in building these programs and having them exist. What was complicated about it is, I think, early on there were very much patriarchal-like powers at play that were harming people in our department and people. And, you know, in Pan-African Studies. I would say that they've had similar experiences. Not only not necessarily I don't know as much about their own experience as each other, but I also know that, for example, the patriarchal faculty in the Chicano Studies Department had some conflict with people with faculty in Pan-African Studies, but that was something that I stepped into, and that didn't feel good, because again, like, if you know, we even though we were small, the faculty of color we were super united against White supremacy.

I would say that folks here are similarly united against White supremacy. Still, the delusion of White supremacy, but here, because there's not a lot of White faculty or white administrators, who are the conflicts, you know who they're in conflict with. Sometimes,

that means that they are in conflict with each other. So what's happened now in my time that I can speak to is a culture shift. We're talking about like transformative justice practice. I have been a big advocate of getting us trained right by community folks who do transformative justice work so that we can know how to eliminate what you know what folks call horizontal hostilities. Right? It's like we're all at odds with society and all the awful things happening. So we're trying to build a more cohesive, collaborative experience, and a lot of the older faculty who we're constantly at odds with both women within the department, and you know, women outside of the department. A lot of them have retired or moved on to different spaces. And I think, just in general, like, we're trying. I'm trying, and some of my colleagues, to institute a feminist praxis in Ethnic Studies, and as a queer Chicana, I also am making sure that it is, you know, Queer and Trans-inclusive.

In all, power dynamics and conflicts within these departments impacted the college. However, Anita feels the college culture has shifted towards transformative justice practices and promoting a cohesive, collaborative experience. Efforts are being made to eliminate conflicts and institute a feminist praxis, as well as ensure that the department is inclusive of queer and trans individuals. The retirement or departure of older faculty who contributed to the conflicts has also contributed to this shift. Overall, the faculty in Ethnic Studies are united against white supremacy and are working towards creating a more inclusive and supportive environment.



**DL: Professional Relationships Include Mutual Trust and Agreement About the Way  
Tasks are Collectively Undertaken**

***(+) Multi-Racial Efforts in Structural Implementations***

The management of general education areas may vary across campuses, especially in Ethnic Studies. Many campuses have a General Education Committee that strives to balance granting Ethnic Studies its rightful place, allowing faculty control over the curriculum, and ensuring its integration into the regular general education process. However, unlike other general education areas, Ethnic Studies holds a unique racialized position regarding oversight, as it is built into the legislation governing it.

Ethnic Studies programs have complete autonomy in determining what courses fulfill the Ethnic Studies area. Additionally, they approach their work holistically, possessing knowledge about their discipline and demonstrating a comprehensive understanding of Ethnic Studies. Mary shared:

We, as the Ethnic Studies department, we decide. We have full autonomy in what fulfills the area. We have faculty with expertise and continuous learners because our field is very dynamic and holistic in terms of being very knowledgeable about the discipline.

***(- )Lack Of Cross-Racial Trust***

Anita tells us that the individuals involved in the process advocated for a diversity requirement for the curriculum. While Pan-African Studies insisted that only Ethnic Studies scholars should teach these courses, Chicano Studies took a different approach. They believed that individuals from fields like women and gender Studies should also be allowed to teach as

long as the focus was on diversity. The details of these discussions were not directly witnessed but were gathered through hearsay accounts, which online videos of their disagreements may also support. Unfortunately, their conflicting views and past tensions hindered their ability to collaborate effectively on implementing the Ethnic Studies requirement. This lack of cooperation resulted from a disagreement several years ago, which complicated the situation.

Amy reflects on the criticism they have received about centralizing Ethnic Studies in one college. They admit that it requires a considerable effort to ensure cooperation among various departments. The previous Dean, Ken Montero, would remind them that their responsibilities included safeguarding the college against external threats and preventing internal conflicts. This is because many individuals within the college have experienced trauma and engage in disputes over limited resources.

**DL: Decision-Making Needs to Be Distributed to and Coordinated With Those Who Have, Or Can Develop the Knowledge or Expertise Required to Carry Out the Implementation Process**

**(+) Decisions About BIPOC Groups Are Brought to BIPOC Groups.**

Jason describes they made sure that the decision to cross-list courses was not up to them but rather a conversation to be had at the department level, not the GE Committee level:

I really made sure that it wasn't up to us about whether the Ethnic Studies Department decided to cross list, of course, and there were going to be hard conversations with courses that maybe you are an English course that had been considered an Ethnic Studies course, but it's not cross listed, but that that conversation happens at the department level, not at the GE Committee level.

**(-) Decision-Making About BIPOC Groups Is Kept Away From BIPOC Groups.**

Susan says if the decision was solely up to Ethnic Studies scholars, they may not have chosen this implementation route.

If you had left it to just Ethnic Studies, scholars on campuses. would they have picked this avenue? No, they would not. So it was not the way in which I think anybody had envisioned things going, and, as you have rightly, you know, assessed by looking at it from the structural and institutional perspective.

She recaps by saying that including the areas was not the initially envisioned path, and it presented its challenges. According to Mary, the Chancellor's office felt the modifications were urgently needed, but there were purposeful legal inconsistencies to incite opposition on the campuses:

The Chancellor's office wanted the changes to happen quickly what the statute called for contradicted what was in the law, and this was done very intentionally to create a lot of resistance at the campus level. Especially because of what Shirley Weber did for 1460; it was a brilliant doing, not just envisioning Ethnic Studies as a graduation requirement but also crafting the language. And the chancellor tried to come up with this bogus watered down version as a Hail Mary pass to try to keep the governor and the California legislature from passing the law.

A couple of participants, including Mary, describe the bill itself as a strength or a point of ease in the implementation because by the time the campus community became familiar with it, it was already time to carry out the implementation process.

## **(2) RO; Whiteness Is A Credential**

This tenet discusses the ongoing negative stereotype that favors White professionals and undermines the professional abilities of BIPOC faculty, staff, and administrators. Eurocentrism is prevalent in academia, prioritizing European history and culture while marginalizing other cultural perspectives. We can also acknowledge the recent victory in advocating for a race-specific curriculum, which raises the question of whether there will be faculty well-versed in Ethnic Studies pedagogies to teach these courses and challenge the very concept of the tenet.

### ***DL: Formal Leadership Creates the Cultural Conditions and Structural Opportunities***

#### **(+) Culture is Designed in a Way that Experts can Contribute to Change.**

Amy discussed the potential for a more adaptable strategy by omitting the Area F designation. Still, they noted that a one-size-fits-all approach would not work, as smaller universities would find it challenging to fulfill the demands without faculty members specifically focused on the four Ethnic Studies departments. Ultimately, they had to accept their privilege of having a college:

You know that the College of Ethnic Studies wanted something more flexible right. But then we couldn't do a one. Size fits all implementation that was flexible. That would force a smaller institution like Cal State Maritime to then have, you know, actual Ethnic Studies faculty. So at some point we had to kind of concede, so to speak, like know that we were in a position of privilege. Right? And be okay with the rigidity of A B 1460, and then know that that was what was needed for the other CSU campuses for them to roll it out, if not, get appropriated by other departments.

Continuing in Amy's interview, they later expressed a faculty debate about creating new classes for Area F but was cognizant of the workload that would be placed on them with such a short turn-around time to confirm the core Area F. From this example, if creating courses new courses within a robust college would be too much work, then the same would apply for a much smaller institution.

**(-)Formal Leadership Remains at the “Top” of the Hierarchy, Although There May Be Better-suited Individuals.**

Browning voices frustration about members of the Ethnic Studies Ad Hoc committee lacking the knowledge and experience to support their strong beliefs. These people often pushed for their thoughts to be translated into policy or practice without knowing the procedure or the policies involved, which generated dissatisfaction and difficulties within the subcommittee. This dearth of knowledge and evidence-based reasoning made it more challenging to develop curricula that successfully complied with the legislation and the key ES competencies:

Some people come with strong opinions into spaces without the scholarship to back up their opinions, and they were sometimes frustrated, agitated, when their opinion wasn't being put into policy or practice, and that caused some challenges within the Ethnic Studies hoc subcommittee for people that were doing the work and had the expertise and background. We're feeling they're being pushed out by people who were louder and people who didn't have the scholarship, or they didn't understand what we're supposed to be doing.

In this case, the formalization of a subcommittee provided opportunities for non-experts to provide input that would go against the implementation requirements.

***DL: Status Consensus***

**(+) Awareness That White Ideas Are Privileged by The Bureaucratic Systems.**

Mary is interested in studying anthropological order to clarify gatekeeping activities. She also has a fascination with legal and bureaucratic structures, particularly organizational charts and policies, to understand the gatekeeping better and to determine who she should be advocating with:

The degree of transparency, or lack thereof, determines how the system works. This is what gets weaponized. We have so many different layers of alarmingly white supremacist and authoritarian behavior. But when we peel all those back, what we find is the plain old abuse of power that has become very commonplace.

In this case, the lack of transparency within this racialized organization causes a lack of status consensus and breeds conflict between the various levels of the bureaucracy. Mary notes that a guiding light has been the policy itself to be able to navigate the implementation in ways that may not have been obvious with just the call from the Chancellor's office alone.

***DL: Professional Relationships Include Mutual Trust and Agreement About the Way Tasks are Collectively Undertaken***

**(+) New Ideas from BIPOC are Pursued.**

There was disagreement about AB 1460, but Mary reminded everyone of the definitive nature of the law, "I mean faculty were still trying to talk about it as if they were able to weigh in. It's like, oh no, 'it's the law'."

*DL: Decision-Making Needs to be Distributed to and Coordinated With Those Who Have, or Can Develop the Knowledge or Expertise Required to Carry Out the Implementation Process*

**(+) Change Initiatives Are a Community Practice with the Support and Participation of Proper Management.**

Andrea highlights the nuances of making expert decisions when defining Ethnic Studies boundaries across campus disciplines.

We had to lay a foundation. So first and foremost, we got there was a meeting with a history professor who's like, Hey, I teach African-American Studies, for example. And this is a course that we would consider, for you know, an AB 1460 course. And we were like, that's great, but the prefix is going to say History; It's not going to say Ethnic Studies, so it's not an Ethnic Studies course even though the content could potentially have hit some of the marks of Ethnic Studies.

Because the content was not actually about being critical about power dynamics, opening Ethnic Studies in this way in which BIPOC people are the proxy could lead to mission creep away from a very clearly defined bill.

Serie provides a contextualization of the once-interdisciplinary nature of Ethnic Studies, and speaks to the maturation of each of the disciplines:

You know that the interdisciplinary nature of Ethnic Studies is important in that sense, but I don't believe that Pan-African Studies, Africana Studies, or Black Studies is interdisciplinary or multidisciplinary. I think of it as a unidisciplinary, a single discipline. I do think that, I mean the multidisciplinary or nomenclature, maybe it used to be true

when people were brought over from different disciplines, and they just taught classes about Black people. They just borrow from the existing theoretical frameworks from another discipline and apply them to Black people, but I think the discipline has grown to be its own self-contained discipline with its own approaches to information. I think now that the multidisciplinary claim is more politically and institutionally advantageous language to use than it is representative of the discipline in this maturation. I think it's outgrown inter- and multi-disciplinary disciplines.

Serie's analysis of the evolution of ES nomenclature reveals that the maturation of the four disciplines could explain the confusion around the perceived dependency on disciplines outside Ethnic Studies.

### **(3) RO: Decoupling is Racialized**

A racialized organization inevitably lends itself to the adoption of racialized ideas, assumptions, and values within institutions. This challenges the belief that institutions and their processes are neutral and unbiased regarding race. The argument suggests that racial norms are reflected in institutional hierarchies and policies and that a "race-blind" approach to institutions delegitimizes non-white behaviors, cultures, theories, values, and ideologies while upholding white bureaucratic and ideological systems. The tenet also discusses the impact of AB 1460, a policy that racializes curriculum, and raises questions about its equity and implementation burden on faculty.

#### ***DL: Formal Leadership Creates the Cultural Conditions and Structural Opportunities***

As we revisit Bensimon and Malcolm (2012), we are reminded that identity-based centers close equity gaps, yet Harris and Patton (2017) warn that these spaces lack the bandwidth to



impact change. We learned from Andrea's interview that ES faculty are responsible for coordinating these programs, which adds to the inequitable division of labor for racially underrepresented professionals (Ferguson & Bergan, 1973; Roemer & Schnitz, 1982; Halcrow & Olson, 2011). Andrea explains the cultural taxation of being one of a few BIPOC faculty that must also direct a cultural center without additional compensation or support.

And typically the faculty who work in Ethnic Studies are culturally taxed. Because they make up a particular set of identifications that aren't necessarily across the board on the campus so students come to them for mentorship advising. And also because of that Ethnic Studies and this campus has several different program programs underneath it, but the other piece is that we have these programs underneath our discipline that feed into other aspects of community building and mentorship building. That is common across college universities. But these are not things that the faculty necessarily are paid for. And so there is still this, this area of labor exploitation within our discipline even related to all of the all of the tasks that we do. So. I think it's important for me to continuously point out the fact that people should, you know, put their money where their mouth is and financially invest, uplift, and expand the resources so that we can, you know, have top-notch pedagogical approaches, top-notch, pedagogical evaluations, and professional development continuous professional development for the people who are teaching these courses.

AB 1460 has increased the number of BIPOC faculty, hopefully alleviating the concentration of race-based tasks, and support on one or a few faculty and also proof of

investment in these faculty who are expected to give more time and effort with fewer resources than their counterparts.

***DL: Status Consensus***

Amy describes how the college approaches disagreements without reverting to a conversation about the way things have been done in the past:

Obviously, they disagree with each other from time to time, but generally, they know that they're all on the same team. Yeah. And it it takes work like it's not like this is what I try to explain to people is that you can't just naturally expect BIPOC folks to get along. It takes a lot of work.

Anita speaks about departments being in conflict about who is allowed to teach Ethnic Studies courses, and the discourse around fulfilling an Area F requirement with faculty from outside of Ethnic Studies:

They [Pan-African Studies] were trying to get a diversity requirement, and similarly, they wanted the diversity requirement be just Ethnic Studies scholars. But I think Chicano Studies took a different sense. They wanted people who were like, you know, Women and Gender Studies to be allowed to teach these courses as long as it was like a diversity focus. They wanted, you know, they wanted to allow for the diversity? This is all hearsay. So you can talk to the original people. Hopefully. Because this is what I've heard since being here and there might be some videos online, too, of them arguing with each other. But what ended up happening was that they were at odds with each other. And so when this new fight came in, even though people wanted the Ethnic Studies, you know F requirement, they didn't.

This quote from Anita highlights how consensus between groups can become flattened to revert back to faculty from other areas outside of Ethnic Studies teaching the classes, but Area F disrupted this thinking.

Serie reminds us that Ethnic Studies at CSULA was built on a status consensus involving the entire campus community:

Ethnic studies on this campus goes back to 1969. So this is kind of like a campus that was built on the wave of 1968 and came from student and faculty demand. You know, it's different from a lot of places, I think, that have heavy students and some faculty demand here, too.

***DL: Professional Relationships Include Mutual Trust and Agreement About the Way Tasks are Collectively Undertaken***

As explored earlier, Browning (ROT 2, DLT 1) and Mary (ROT 2, DLT 3) share frustration when members of the campus community argue against the law and the mandate. This frustration revealed a lack of trust within those professional relationships as the implementation unfolded.

***DL: Decision-Making Needs to Be Distributed to and Coordinated with Those Who Have, Or Can Develop the Knowledge or Expertise Required to Carry Out the Implementation Process***

Amy describes using her status as an expert to describe the bill and the implementation to other experts before carrying out the voting process:

But then they asked me to make a video: talking about my own personal change, and how I felt about AB1460 and posted it on an ILearn page where we were basically soliciting a straw poll, and then we also had all the literature that you could read like the

original, amendment, all the things that were happening right? And then we we got all the votes, and to get a consensus for the college.

She goes on to ensure the expert voice continued throughout the process, “So I think we asked the departments to each submit a course or two that they wanted to put in area F, and the departments wrote up the proposals, and the committee that approved area F courses”...” was basically Chair’s council.”

Jason acknowledges the balance between the necessity of committee work on their campus and allowing Ethnic Studies faculty to have control over the ES curriculum:

I'm not sure how their campuses are handling it since it is a general education area, and most campuses have a General Education Committee like how to balance giving Ethnic studies, faculty and control over that curriculum but also having it flow through the regular process of a GE course right? Other GE areas don't have the same kind of oversight the way that was built into the legislation.

Jason’s quote suggests that effectively integrating Ethnic Studies into the General education curriculum while maintaining faculty control and academic rigor may be difficult. The quote also mentions the distinct oversight and considerations required for Ethnic Studies compared to other general education areas, which may require additional attention and resources to navigate successfully.

Browning continues the discussion by talking about the urgent need to hire the experts to sit at the table:

We didn't have any African-American scholars on the subcommittee, but we were trying to put forward these classes so that we put forward the classes instead of what we

realized: We're going to need to hire people that know this area of scholarship, but they can help to revise and revisit this work. So now we have 3 African American studies scholars, and they've been able to look through that curriculum more.

This quote highlights the importance of diversity and representation in academia, particularly in disciplines like African American studies. It suggests that without African American scholars involved in the curriculum development, there may be gaps or oversights in the content being taught. This lack of diversity can also impact the hiring process, as emergency hires may be necessary to fulfill the need for faculty with expertise in specific areas of study. To create a more inclusive and comprehensive educational experience, it is crucial to prioritize diversity among faculty and ensure that all perspectives are represented in the curriculum.

Mary expresses that finding other experts to collaborate with is part of finding balance within the implementation. It is a counterexample because Mary is identified to have the expertise and skill to carry out the tasks, but acknowledges that collaboration is part of the anti-racism work; the distributed agency demonstrates the balance needed to address the systems and practices that perpetuate racism:

I believe that we did inherit a legacy of Ethnic Studies that is really important in so many ways, and unfortunately, I believe that as a field, we also inherited just this violence and being under siege and the constant fighting and resistance. To me I'm really rethinking what does that look like for me? It doesn't look like fighting, it doesn't look like grinding and hustling, it looks like reclaiming balance, it looks like collaborating. Obviously fostering relationships with the larger community outside of the campus as

well as with like-minded individuals who have some integrity who actually care about the students.

Susan highlights that one of the best mechanisms for letting experts work is that the campus community respects them enough to let them complete the implementation. She also describes the context of the pivot from the Ethnic Studies experts agreeing which courses to make mandatory to the Academic Senate needing to review the courses after the Chancellor sent out the Area F requirement letter.

I think one of the greatest supports that we had was people largely left us alone and respected. We knew what Ethnic Studies was and didn't need somebody from the math department. So, the Academic Senate, unfortunately, had to carry out the technical letter [Area F] that came from the Chancellor's office, but our academic center was pretty good. They said, "You all are the experts. We leave it to you". Which was nice.

The chancellor's Area F requirement deemed the Academic Senate with the agency as the "experts" of course acceptance, but they were conscious of their skills and limitations, so they listened to the Ethnic Studies experts.

#### **(4) RO: Racialized Organizations Legitimize the Unequal Distribution of Resources**

Historically, there has been a lack of equitable resources allocated to implementing Ethnic Studies programs in universities. This lack of resources contributes to low faculty numbers in ES, inequitable tenure denial, and reinforces an intellectual oligarchy within the university. Despite the assumption that universities have the resources to provide Ethnic Studies to all students, there are concerns about faculty and programmatic capacities due to inequitable resource distribution across campus departments and the possibility that administrators not

associated with Ethnic Studies practices would not consult the ES leaders to allocate the funding. The narrators explained how they obtained and utilized their resources to bring the Ethnic Studies requirement to life, highlighting the need to address resource disparities to fully support the initiative.

***DL: Formal Leadership Creates the Cultural Conditions and Structural Opportunities***

Amy highlights the agency behind Ethnic Studies being its own college with embedded GEs before the requirement became law:

I do think that having it as its own college within an administration that values Ethnic Studies, it's also super embedded in the GE has been extremely, has allowed the college to be super robust in a way that it's not on any other campus should roll out.

Susan acknowledges financial structural opportunities that created points of ease in the implementation process: “We were good in that, you know. The money came to the college, and the college dean and the department would decide how money was spent, but other places didn't have that.”

***DL: Status Consensus***

Amy notices her role in supporting status consensus in accepting resources attached to AB 1460. Still, she understands that having additional resources could cause college professionals to argue over who gets which resources.

***DL: Professional Relationships Include Mutual Trust and Agreement About the Way Tasks are Collectively Undertaken***

Lena shares that resource allocation included financial support to develop Area F and core courses within their newly stated college:

Our VP for academic affairs clearly saw a value to this, and they invested the funding to build this college because it does require staffing. It does require investment in terms of developing curriculum, so the university did provide a lot of financial support to initiate the development of this college.

***DL: Decision-Making Needs to be Distributed to and Coordinated with Those who have, or can Develop the Knowledge or Expertise Required to Carry Out the Implementation Process***

Amy continues to support their role in equitable resource allocation. They received directions for implementations and precautions to work with the chair, and to get them to understand that the implementation was a positive initiative:

I had to do a lot of work with the chairs and then the chairs. They also advised me to do very specific things to make sure that the rollout was smooth because there was a lot of suspicion at first, and I also was suspicious when I was an associate Dean.

Miguel uses past experiences to support the current experts in this implementation. He describes how the institution is created in the way that the organization provides agency back to the faculty experts:

But what's interesting is like, I sometimes put on the hat of a faculty member who has created programs in a different college, but here is facilitating a process because faculty have to lead it from this college, and it can't be Dr. Chao and I. As a matter of fact, we'll get a grievance if we start creating stuff. It's not supposed to work that way. It's a, it's a faculty governance, very bottom-up approach facilitating those processes. I think that's the ongoing implementation that I see my role in.



In both cases, decision-making authority coordination and distribution occurred with those who possess the necessary knowledge or expertise to execute the implementation process.

### **Summary**

I held semi-structured interviews with ten leaders from five of the 23 CSU campuses, including Chico State University (Chico State), Sacramento State University (Sac State), San Francisco State University (SFSU), Stanislaus State University (Stan State), and California State University Los Angeles (CSULA). I described the campus history of Ethnic Studies and the narrators. Lastly, I summarized how I use a combined grounded theory, an analytical mix of organizational theories, Distributed Leadership, and Racialized Organizations for my deductive analysis of the narratives.

A combined theoretical grounding allows for a more comprehensive approach to leadership within racially diverse organizations since racially marginalized groups are central to the decision-making process within this mandate. By acknowledging and centering the experiences of racialized communities within racialized organizations, decentralized leadership offers one way for leaders to navigate these racist systems to make meaningful changes. The use of the grounded theory is deductive in this analysis because the theory has been used to guide data collection (the interview questions are rooted in the above theoretical framing) and analyses (matrix) to test the ideas of the theory against reality. In contrast, the inductive approach develops a theory from the data without using theoretical assumptions to guide the data collection. As the interviews revealed, the counterexamples have generally reflected ongoing racially problematic practices in the organization, which may not necessarily be the opposite of the original theoretical premise.

Some implementation challenges and successes emerged from the five campuses' ten narrators and cross-case analyses. Using the grounded theoretical framework, I analyzed in greater depth how the theories unpack the challenges and successes within a racialized organization that promotes shared leadership.

## **Chapter 6: Discussion and Conclusions**

This qualitative study gathered oral histories of Ethnic Studies leaders in the California State University system and examined the implementation of Assembly Bill 1460 through a combined grounded theory approach that both acknowledged the shared governance structures in the CSU and the racialized organization that racially minoritized faculty and administrative leaders navigate. Chapter 5 summarizes answers to the original research questions and the key findings from Chapter 4, discusses how the results relate to existing literature, considers the findings' implications for theory and practice, and then provides study limitations and contributions to the field. This chapter highlights key findings and then ends with recommendations for educators, scholars, and administrators interested in implementing Ethnic Studies.

### **Connections to Combined Theory**

This section discusses empirical examples in the interviews that connect to the combined, grounded theory. The discussions allow us to understand how the combined premises of the theories unfolded in practice.

#### **Racialized Group Consensus is Avoided**

Ethnic Studies departments must address racial and gendered power dynamics and conflicts within the departments. The tensions described have historical roots, as Anita mentions the racialized patriarchal powers that harmed individuals within the department in its early stages. These power dynamics have led to conflicts not only between different racialized groups within the department but also within the genders of each group. The shift towards

transformative justice practices and a more cohesive, collaborative experience is a positive development in addressing these internal conflicts. Training by community members experienced in transformative justice could be instrumental in helping faculty navigate and resolve these hostilities effectively.

Additionally, the initiative undertaken to institute a feminist praxis and ensure the inclusivity of queer and trans individuals signifies a commitment to creating an environment that values diversity and actively works against systems of oppression. While power dynamics and internal conflicts have impacted Ethnic Studies departments, apparent efforts are being made to foster unity, inclusivity, and social justice activism within these spaces. By prioritizing transformative justice practices, feminist praxis, and inclusivity of marginalized and racially underrepresented voices, these departments are moving towards creating a more supportive environment that aligns with their core values of challenging White supremacy and promoting equity.

### **White Ideas Remain Privileged**

Browning's frustration about inexpert participants on the Ethnic Studies ad hoc committee demonstrates that strong opinions without necessary scholarship or understanding can lead to conflicts within committees and hinder progress. An implication of this scenario is the potential for ineffective outcomes. Lack of expertise may result in proposals not aligning with legislative requirements or key competencies, leading to wasted resources and efforts needing realignment with intended goals. This situation also raises questions about inclusivity and representation in decision-making since non-experts occupy space meant for those with insight.

While diversity of perspectives is essential, all members should understand the task to be able to contribute and prioritize support and education for those lacking certain knowledge areas.

### **Change Initiatives are Hierarchical and Include Top-Down Directives**

Mary speaks about the need to move away from a culture of fighting and resistance within the field and towards a more balanced approach that involves collaboration with like-minded individuals who care about students. This shift towards collaboration fosters a more positive and supportive environment for those involved in the implementation process. It allows different perspectives and expertise to come together, enriching the program.

Susan's point about having the campus community respect the expertise of those leading the implementation is crucial. When experts are trusted to do their work without unnecessary interference or micromanagement, they can focus on what they do best and make decisions that are in the program's best interest. This level of autonomy can lead to more effective outcomes as experts can apply their knowledge and experience without restrictions.

### **Limitations**

This research focuses on California State University (CSU) campuses, although it does not seek to generalize to all CSUs. The sample extensively represents Colleges of Ethnic Studies since these programs have more faculty and individuals.

While the interviews provide valuable insights into academic experiences and attitudes on CSU campuses, the range of viewpoints is limited. Including noteworthy outliers, such as departments with unique experiences or issues, might have presented a more complete picture of faculty experiences across CSU campuses.

Faculty in various positions and departments at CSU campuses have diverse experiences, difficulties, and opinions. This range of perspectives underscores the complexities of these institutions' academic environments and the need to listen to varied viewpoints when comprehending the faculty experience. Further research into faculty experiences in various departments and positions across CSU campuses might help us better understand the difficulties and possibilities that change agents confront in higher education.

There was a question about student outcomes within the interviews, but because this project focused on the implementation, this data was left out of the analysis phase.

Lastly, this study focuses on Ethnic Studies from higher education vantage points, which can be viewed as erasing the earlier race-based studies by the communities they represent. Viewing Ethnic Studies in this present context is to acknowledge that this is the first time that structural whiteness is acknowledging and supporting these critical studies. The collective movement before its institutionalization would reveal greater historical insights.

### **Contributions**

This study is distinctive for its emphasis on recording and preserving the oral histories of Ethnic Studies leaders who have been essential in enacting policy reforms since they are inextricably linked to the more extensive account of the Ethnic Studies movement. Building on previous research on the institutionalization of Ethnic Studies, I performed ten oral history interviews with faculty members who were heavily engaged in the implementation process from three distinct kinds of campuses. The research intended to answer crucial questions: How have Ethnic Studies leaders perceived and carried out policy directives? How has the campus's historical setting affected leadership and implementation, especially regarding cooperation and

dispersed leadership while implementing AREA F? The insights gained from these interviews add considerably to an essential repository of narratives from Ethnic Studies leaders, providing vital resources for educators, administrators, and policymakers looking for practical techniques for implementing Ethnic Studies curricula. This research offers insight into policy implementation and leadership for social justice and fairness in higher education, which is particularly important given the rising awareness of systematic racism on university campuses. The results provide direction for academics, administrators, and policymakers as they navigate implementing the Ethnic Studies curriculum at racially diverse institutions, therefore preparing an active and varied citizenry.

### **Significance**

The fact that mandatory Ethnic Studies is a law rectifies past organizational harm that occurred when advocates introduced critical race courses. As these narratives show, the mandate returns agency to race and ethnic studies scholars. This study adds to the narratives and history of Ethnic Studies over 50 years after the first institutionalization of Black Studies. Moreover, the significance of this study stems from its examination of how Ethnic Studies leaders navigate and implement race-conscious policy within the racialized organization of the California State University system. This study provides a unique perspective on Assembly Bill 1460 implementation by combining grounded theory, an understanding of shared governance structures, and the experiences of racially minoritized faculty and administrators. The findings of this study are essential for understanding the challenges and strategies used by leaders in Ethnic Studies departments, as well as the implications for theory, practice, and policy. Furthermore, this study adds to the larger field of study by shedding light on the leadership practices of

racially minoritized individuals in academia and providing insights into the complexities of implementing race-conscious policies in higher education institutions. The study's limitations and contributions lay the groundwork for future research, providing valuable insights for scholars, policymakers, and practitioners promoting diversity, equity, and inclusion in higher education.

The orators contribute unique pictures of the history and progress of Ethnic Studies programs at their universities, underscoring the implications for leadership and implementation. The following are common themes interwoven throughout the history of the implementation.

- **Role of Faculty and Administration:** The participation and support of faculty and administration, or lack thereof, has substantially impacted the growth and establishment of Ethnic Studies programs. Several interviews discussed faculty conflicts, patriarchal power dynamics, and administrative decisions that have all impacted the success and difficulty of these programs.
- **Interdisciplinary Nature, Unidisciplinary Nurture:** Historically, Ethnic Studies have been considered interdisciplinary topics that overlap with history, gender studies, and sociology. This multidisciplinary influence allows for collaboration but also necessitates attempts to define and establish boundaries for the area within institutional settings. Some Ethnic Studies scholars believe ES is emerging as a discipline and need not look to other departments and studies for pedagogical or curricular support.
- **Resource Allocation:** Ethnic Studies programs have faced ongoing issues obtaining financial support, resources, and institutional recognition. Faculty members frequently



confront cultural taxation, and programs must push for financing and resources from administrators.

- **Institutional Acknowledgement:** The institutional acknowledgment of Ethnic Studies as an independent department impacts its growth and autonomy. Many programs need help establishing designated departments and official status.
- **Transformative Activities:** Ethnic Studies programs emphasize transformative justice activities and community partnerships. Implementing inclusive policies, advocating for representative faculty, staff, and administrators, and engaging with the community is critical to attaining these programs' aims.
- **Historical Conflicts and Collaborative Growth:** Recognizing and addressing historical conflicts in Ethnic Studies programs is critical for collaborative growth and accomplishing goals. The ongoing presence of interdepartmental conflicts needs efforts for unity, inclusion, and effective conflict resolution.
- **Evolution and Expansion:** Despite initial problems and conflicts, Ethnic Studies programs have evolved, grown, and varied over time. Introducing additional departments, majors, and interdisciplinary approaches demonstrates the programs' durability and adaptability.
- **Legislative Support:** Changes in legislation, such as new graduation requirements or financial allocations, can substantially impact Ethnic Studies programs' positioning and resources. Navigating these changes and securing legislative support are critical to program growth.

- **Commitment to Diversity and Inclusiveness:** Establishing Ethnic Studies programs demonstrates a commitment to academic diversity, inclusiveness, and social justice concerns. Curriculum modifications, additional GE areas, and graduation requirements are all efforts to foster diversity that reflects institutional beliefs and interests.

### **Recommendations**

The interviewed Ethnic Studies Leaders in the California State University System provided many tokens of wisdom and helpful insight to educators, scholars, policymakers, and administrators interested in mandating Ethnic Studies courses. The variety of organizational contexts on each campus is beneficial when modeling the requirement at other institutions that might also vary in size, availability of ES experts, and other relevant factors explored in this study.

#### **For Educators**

- **Advocate for Ethnic Studies Educators:** Most orators state the importance of Ethnic Studies courses taught by scholars trained in Ethnic Studies, focusing on the criticalities of racial structures and ethnicity.
- **Anticipate Community Support or Dissent:** We have learned from CSULA that external pressures and movements shaped the college's practices and actions regarding Ethnic Studies. This indicates that outside voices and activism can significantly impact the direction and priorities of academic institutions and highlights the interconnectedness and influence of broader societal movements on the internal dynamics of educational settings.

- **Think Proactively about Students Who Oppose Ethnic Studies:** Because these critical race courses are mandatory, there will likely be some students who are resistant to the culturally responsive pedagogy and curriculum. By focusing on intro-level courses as the general education requirement, not all students will be fully engaged or understand the significance of these courses in their areas of study. Consequently, as described by Anita, there is a need to balance exposing non-Ethnic Studies majors/minors to other points of view and ensuring they can apply the content to their academic and professional goals.

#### **For Scholars**

- **Add to the Ethnic Studies Narrative:** Education histories must continue to add to the ES narrative. There is still much to be recorded about the many aspects of the implementation and the progression of Ethnic Studies at all CSU campuses.
- **Implementation of the CSU ES policy and other ethnic studies requirements.** The CSU system is the first system of higher education to have this requirement, but other systems may be exploring the possibility. Therefore, it is important to continue examining the implementation challenges.
- **Impact.** The impact of K-12 ethnic studies has been explored (Dee & Penner, 2017). It would be important to examine the impact of AB1460 on college students' outcomes.

#### **For Administrators**

- **Recognize Institutional Differences:** The leaders I interviewed emphasized recognizing institutional differences and acknowledging privilege. They point out that a one-size-fits-all approach may not be feasible, particularly for smaller institutions requiring more resources

and specialized faculty to meet new requirements. Some institutions have advantages that aid in navigating policy changes more effectively.

- **Pay Attention to Faculty Capacity:** Implementing ES may be particularly daunting for smaller institutions with constrained faculty capacity and resources. It underscores the necessity of considering workload implications and setting realistic expectations when introducing new academic initiatives, especially when time is of the essence. Finding a balance between flexibility and compliance is crucial when enacting policy changes in higher education institutions. More extensive programs or departments may need to adjust to support smaller institutions successfully implementing similar initiatives.
- **Support the Experts:** Some administrators point to the supervision and monitoring of the experts establishing and executing the Ethnic Studies mandate. Area F indicated that departments must follow tight criteria and procedures and that some uniformity or consistency is imposed across campuses to guarantee compliance with these standards. The lack of a dedicated area for such studies may disadvantage specific campuses or force them to build their programs from scratch. It demonstrates a purposeful and intentional attempt to develop and sustain Ethnic Studies programs, which implies a degree of top-down control and influence over creating Ethnic Studies programs in the CSU system, as well as an understanding of the need for maintaining uniformity and support for these programs throughout campuses.

## **Conclusion**

In conclusion, this study explored the experiences of Ethnic Studies leadership in the California State University System through a Racialized Organizations lens after a state law passed requiring that students take Ethnic Studies to graduate. I reviewed the literature on Distributed Leadership and Racialized Organizations to understand the realities of these leaders during the implementation of a curriculum that varied greatly throughout the 23 campuses. This literature was then turned into a combined grounded theory with which I developed my research questions. In my interviewing efforts, I snowball-sampled 10 leaders from the 5 campuses that directly supported the implementation on their campus. From the interviews, I documented the unique campus histories of Ethnic Studies, followed by the main points of the campus implementation.

The interviews revealed several campus themes, including discourse about who can teach Ethnic Studies courses, challenges in leading the implementation, enrollment, and funding, and equitable practices throughout the process. Chapter Five included an analysis of the interviews using the grounded theory to explore how the bureaucracy and subsequent implementation were racialized. Overall, the narrators explained that collaboration, not silos, is key to anti-racism work; let the experts on a topic lead; institutions must bring seats to the table. The takeaways from this study are numerous and provide insight for other institutions or states interested in making Ethnic Studies a mandatory graduation requirement.

## **Appendix**

### Interview Questions: Oral Histories of Ethnic Studies Leadership in Racialized Organizations

#### **Narrator History**

1. Please tell me about your journey to where you currently are.

#### **Campus History**

2. What is the history of Ethnic Studies on this campus?
3. What are your thoughts on the interdisciplinary nature of Ethnic Studies?
4. Have Ethnic Studies or Area F courses always been in Ethnic Studies or whatever discipline they are in?

#### **Policy Implications**

5. Who are the formal and informal leaders of this implementation on your campus?
  - i. If the prominent leaders of this implementation leave, how sustainable are these changes?
6. What was your role in the implementation? Was there a shift from your usual duties?
7. How did your campus implement mandatory Ethnic Studies?
8. How was the curriculum decided? If, at some point, all Ethnic Studies courses were not automatically considered Area F, why is that?
9. What were some points of ease in implementing AREA F?
10. Does your campus policy differ from the Assembly Bill or Chancellor's Office mandate?

#### **Implementation**

11. What is the content of the courses being offered to meet these requirements?

12. What were strategies for change used in this implementation?
13. Were there changes to the courses or curriculum already established? Was this part of the mandate?
14. How would you describe the navigation processes of defining Area F?
15. How has the policy fostered growth within units?

### **Resources**

16. What kind of faculty is teaching these courses? How were they selected?
17. How did Area F funding influence unit/college/institutional decisions?
18. Did you hire/recruit more faculty to teach in AREA F?
  - i. How were these relationships formed?
19. What support was available to you or your department during this process?

### **Navigating the Racialized Organization**

20. What were some challenges in implementing AREA F?
21. Were there tensions between how you or your department/college/program envisioned implementing and navigating the bureaucracy?
22. How did identity/ identity politics play a role in implementation?

### **Distributed Leadership**

23. Did the policy prompt other departments to create courses aligned with Area F ? How has that impacted cross-listing options?
24. To what extent has the policy prompted other departments to create courses that align with the policy?

- i. How has that affected affiliate faculty and relationships among departments?

25. Did other departments outside Ethnic Studies advocate for a class to be considered for Area F?

### **Outcomes**

26. What does a successful implementation of AB-1460 look like?

- i. Are there metrics to measure the success or impact of the requirement?

27. What are the anticipated student outcomes of this new requirement? How has this policy influenced the student experience? What can students expect to experience from your program?

28. Anything else I should have asked about?



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## Curriculum Vitae

Bucket L. Manyweather, Ph.D.

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### EDUCATION

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**Doctor of Higher Education (Ph.D.)**, University of Nevada Las Vegas **Spring 2024**

**Master of Education: Higher Education Student Affairs (M.A.)**, University of San Francisco

**Bachelor of Arts: Ethnic Studies (B.A.)**, California State University East

Bay

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### PROFESSIONAL HIGHLIGHTS

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**Interim Director, Division of Equity and Community Inclusion**

**2023-Present**

San Francisco State University

#### Program Coordination

- Coordinated informative cultural events to promote unity, celebration, and appreciation of culture and history on campus to provide students the opportunity to connect with campus resources, staff and faculty.
- Developed and executed a comprehensive programming calendar, including workshops, events, and guest speakers, to address the needs and intersectional interests of students each semester.
- Collaborated with student organizations and campus departments to plan interactive events, such as panel discussions, guest lectures, and networking opportunities, that fostered community engagement and facilitated meaningful conversations around race, identity, and social justice through various modalities.
- Created and managed a drop-in office hours program, connecting students with faculty and staff who provided a variety of guidance, support, and networking opportunities to help students achieve their academic, social, wellness, and career goals.
- Developed and maintained positive working relationships with various campus departments, fostering a collaborative approach to promote a more inclusive campus environment.

#### Campus Climate

- Implemented data collection methods and conducted campus climate surveys to assess the experiences of underrepresented students on campus, using the findings to inform future programming and initiatives to better meet their needs, expectations, and pathways to success.
- Actively engaged with and supported individual students, offering guidance, mentoring, and resources to promote their personal and academic success as well as development as a student-leader on campus.

#### Leadership and Supervision

- Conducted regular staff meetings for professional and student-staff to communicate organizational goals, priorities, and expectations, fostering a sense of cohesiveness and alignment among the team.
- Established clear delegation processes and guidelines, ensuring that tasks and responsibilities were assigned effectively and equitably among staff members, fostering accountability and efficiency.
- Provided advising, coaching, and mentoring to students clubs, groups and organizations who strive to advance the SF State strategic values of equity and community in support of the mission, and served on-record as an advisor to registered student organizations.

**Engagement Specialist, Division of Equity and Community Inclusion**

**2018-2020**

San Francisco State University

Student Engagement

- Developed data-driven and community-informed programs that engage the community in current trends, data, narratives, and issues related to the success of marginalized students in higher education.
- Planned over 25 social and cultural events per academic semester to create a sense of belonging for underrepresented students in collaboration with campus partners and inter-departmental.
- Worked with campus partners such as other resource centers and the local community to plan, develop, and implement many activities, including lectures, seminars, and workshops.
- Served as a liaison to underrepresented student groups to plan and coordinate programming and events to advance their retention at SF State and increase engagement within those groups.

Outreach and Marketing

- Collected and monitored contact information for listservs to send out programs, events, and resources via Mail Chimp and campus email to encompass a breadth of community relations and outreach.
- Created online, web, and print marketing materials to capture student attention. Developed emails and other marketing used for engagement. Captured and posted programmatic events on social media to showcase activities for students.

Advisement and Retention

- Designed and offered remote and in-person academic advising and social programming to support students of included identities.
- Provided academic drop-in advising and support to provide resource information and referrals to campus support programs and co-curricular pathways.
- Provided comprehensive individual and small group advising to address obstacles to the success of students, including academic, personal, financial, or career-related issues.
- Conducted in-depth assessments of student needs, skills, abilities, and academic progress at SFSU to provide timely, appropriate, and critical resources as appropriate.

- Used advising strategies that support pathways to graduation for underrepresented students.
- Implemented and sustained academic support modules to assist students in identifying obstacles to success, thinking critically about possible interventions/resources, and engaging in self-assessment of healthy and successful strategies to support success.

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**GRADUATE ASSISTANTSHIPS**

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2022-2023	<b>Research Assistant, National Science Foundation, <u>M-Plans</u> Project</b> Remote
2021-2022	<b>Research Graduate Assistant, College of Education, Ethnic Studies Database Project</b> University of Nevada, Las Vegas
2020-2021	<b>Research Graduate Assistant, Book: <u>The History Of Now: Urban Education, Alternative Routes To Licensure And The Oral Histories Of Black And Latinx Educators.</u></b> DIO Press.
FA 2017	<b>Data Analyst, Centers for Diversity and Inclusion</b> Sacramento State University
SU 2017	<b>Communications Specialist, Student Equity and Success</b> Sacramento City College
SP 2017	<b>Program Coordinator, Graduate Academic Achievement &amp; Advocacy-Recruitment and Retention Center</b> University of California Davis
FA 2016	<b>Conduct Officer, Office of Student Conduct, Rights, &amp; Responsibilities</b> University of San Francisco

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**SERVICE AND PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIP**

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2023-Present	<b>Time, Place, Manner, Volunteer.</b>
2023-Present	<b>Black CSU Resource Center Group, Founding Member.</b>
2023-Present	<b>College Student Education International (ACPA), Member.</b>
2023-Present	<b>Incoming Student Operations Committee, Member.</b>
2023-Present	<b>African Student Association, Advisor.</b>
2023	<b>Residential Life Move-In Day, San Francisco State University, Ambassador.</b>
2022	<b>National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), <u>DEI Consultant</u></b>
2020- Present	<b>Association for the Study of Higher Education (ASHE), Member, Session Chair.</b>
2020-Present	<b>Jewish Student Life, San Francisco State University, Member.</b>
2019-2020	<b>Teaching Learning Community: Teaching the SFSU Student Strikes.</b> Contributor.
2019-Present	<b>Welcome Tables (Formerly Maps and Munchies), San Francisco State University. Volunteer.</b>
2019-Present	<b>California Council of Cultural Centers in Higher Education. Member.</b>
2019-2020	<b>Black Graduation/ Jabulani, San Francisco State University, Council.</b>
2018-Present	<b>Black Faculty and Staff Association (BFSA), San Francisco State University, Member.</b>



2018-2020 **Food, Housing Security, Basic Needs**, San Francisco State University, Member.  
2016 **Academic Integrity**, University of San Francisco, Graduate Representative.

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FACULTY APPOINTMENTS

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- 2022-2023 **Part-Time Instructor, Ethnic Studies 101: Introduction to Ethnic Studies**  
*Nevada State University, Las Vegas*  
This course critically examines the major historical, theoretical, and political questions concerning ethnic minorities in the United States. We will explore the unique experiences of Asian-Americans, Chicanos/as, Native Americans and African Americans by examining the history of colonialism, slavery, genocide, capitalism, and patriarchy in the U.S. This course will broaden one's understanding of how race and ethnicity intersect with gender, class, citizenship, and nation to demonstrate how power relations impact group identity, language in society and culture, forms of resistance, social oppression, social justice, and activism. We will also consider how one's particular worldview can be determined by the limitations of one's ideologies and cultural orientation.
- 2020-2021 **Instructor, Leadership Development and Engagement 313: Leadership and Social Justice**  
*University of Nevada, Las Vegas*  
This course examines how leadership processes can transform systemic social issues. Exploration of social change, activism, and advocating against social injustice; critical exploration of cultural identities; interrogation of systems of power, privilege, and oppression; and commitment to social justice within workplace leadership.
- 2020-2021 **Instructor, College of Education 202: Second-Year Seminar**  
*University of Nevada, Las Vegas*  
Second-Year Seminar (SYS) is a 3-credit course that explores issues relevant to contemporary global society through the reading of original literature from antiquity to the present day. Students study these issues within their larger contexts, which include aspects of literature, history, politics, economics, philosophy, and scientific discovery.
- 2019- 2020 **Lecturer, Race and Resistance Studies 380: Coloring Queer Imagining Communities**  
*San Francisco State University*  
Coloring Queer Imagining Communities is a core course for the Queer Studies Minor. It includes an interdisciplinary examination of the experience of queers of color in the U.S. through anthropology, sociology, history, literature, and cultural studies. The course specifically focuses on existing systems of oppression including racism, homophobia, classism, and transphobia.

- 2018-2019      **Lecturer, Ethnic Studies 321: Latinas in the United States**  
*California State University, East Bay*  
 Latinas in the United States examines the histories and experiences of the group focusing on their resilience and agency. Students explore structures of oppression and the diverse strategies used by different groups to resist these effects. Students analyze the intersection of race and gender in shaping cultural group members' lived realities and identities, and how multiple differences within cultural groups complicate individual and group identities. The course dives into key themes in Latina feminist thought and how these principles propel Latinas and others to become active participants in local and global communities, using Latina cultural production as a lens for analysis.
- SU 2018         **Lecturer, Ethnic Studies 389: Engaging Communities of Color**  
*California State University, East Bay*  
 Engaging Communities of Color is a service learning based capstone and provides an immersive opportunity in a real world supervised service learning internship. Students apply Ethnic Studies analytical perspectives that center on race, class, gender and sexual identities and engage with organizations reflecting their personal interests in social justice to gain first-hand experience in putting theory to practice.

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MANUSCRIPTS IN PREPARATION

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- Manyweather, B., " Many Hands Make Light Work: Distributed Leadership to Increase Black Student Graduation Rates in Higher Education." *Journal of Student Affairs*.
- Manyweather, B., "Moving Past Band-Aids to Address Racism: A Law-Based Analysis About Implementing Race-Based Curriculum".

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PRESENTATIONS

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- Lozano-Cuellar, C., Manyweather, Padilla, E., "Division of Equity and Community Inclusion" EOP Summer Bridge. 22 June 2023. San Francisco, State University. Contributor.
- Manyweather, B., Ngo, F., "Implementing AB1460(Mandatory Ethnic Studies) in the California State University System", ASHE Conference, 5 November 2021, San Juan, Puerto Rico.
- Manyweather, B., "Pronouns Matter," Professional Development. 15 October 2020, Virtual, Los Rios Community College District. Facilitator.
- Manyweather, B., "Transgressive Resources: Transgender and Gender-Nonconforming Students in the California State University System," 11 May 2018, University of San Francisco, San Francisco, CA. Master's Thesis Presentation.

Manyweather, B., “Beyond the Glass Ceiling: A Woman’s Work is Never Done,” Empowering Women of Color Conference, 17 November 2017, California State University Sacramento, Sacramento, CA. Workshop.

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#### IN THE MEDIA

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- Bravo, K. (2020). *University's head of diversity reflects on Black History Month*. SF State News. <https://news.sfsu.edu/archive/news-story/universitys-head-diversity-reflects-black-history-month.html>
- Calvo, L. (2019). FIVE-YEAR PROGRAM REVIEW FOR ETHNIC STUDIES. California State University East Bay. <https://www.csueastbay.edu/faculty//files/docs/5-year-reviews/18-19/18-19-5-yr-review-ethnic-studies.pdf>.
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- Kanada, P. (2018). City Snapshot! National Coming Out Day. Sac City Express. <https://saccityexpress.com/city-snapshot-national-coming-out-day/>