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IS IT LIKE TV: JOB SATISFACTION OF A FORENSIC SCIENTIST

Tharinia Dukes Robinson, Piedmont College
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Abstract: The image often portrayed of forensic scientists is one of them always experiencing a glamorous and satisfying job. The purpose of this study was to comprehend the fundamental nature of what it truly means to work as a forensic scientist. This qualitative study used the Forensic Scientist Experiences Interview Guide to conduct one-on-one structured interviews with eight forensic scientists to learn more about their experiences. The forensic scientists' daily experiences were explored to determine whether these daily experiences influenced job satisfaction. This study demonstrated that the day-to-day job responsibilities forensic scientists experience does not influence overall job satisfaction. Implications of this study are that forensic scientists may not be experiencing the significantly high job satisfaction alluded to in the media, but they do experience some level of job satisfaction. Further implications are that what yields satisfaction to the forensic scientists are not necessarily the aspects of the job or salary but the joy of helping victims, the community, and society. The results of this study will contribute to the significant gap in the literature on forensic personnel literature.

INTRODUCTION

As demonstrated by the barrage of television shows and other media, forensic science has never been more popular. The field has not seen such an interest in forensics since the 1970's when television shows such as *Quincy, MD* thrust forensics into the spotlight. In the 1980's interest in forensics seemed to dwindle. However, in the 1990's with the breakthrough of DNA analysis, forensic science once again became one of the most popular fields of study and work. Today forensic shows such as the *CSI* and *Law & Order* franchises have sensationalized forensic science and one of its key players, forensic scientists. These shows often depict forensic scientists as laid back, well dressed, stress free super crime fighters who experience enormous job satisfaction (Bassett, 2006; Kruse, 2010; Ramsland, 2009). This glamorization of the forensic scientist has become such a phenomenon that it has begun to impact university curriculums (National Institute of Justice, 2007; Stankiewicz, 2007).

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study was to examine how forensic scientists experience the role of job satisfaction in their daily employment setting. A phenomenological approach allowed the study to explore job satisfaction experiences among forensic scientists by asking questions about daily work setting experiences. The resultant research from the study will add information to the rather scant amount of data related to the variable job satisfaction when it comes to forensic scientists, thus filling the existing gap in the literature.

RATIONALE

The rationale for this study was to explore whether real-life forensic scientists experience high job satisfaction. Currently, there is a perception held by many outside the field that the work of a forensic scientist is glamorous, exciting, and not as stressful compared to some other professions (Sykes, Holland, & Shaler, 2006; Ramsland, 2009; Schweitzer & Saks; 2007; Warrington, 2008). The reality is that forensic scientists encounter a number of challenges, such as dealing with outside pressures from law enforcement and attorneys, organizational expectations, staffing issues, and the like that make the job of solving crime a very difficult task (Houck, 2006; Warrington, 2008). Because of such challenges, forensic scientists may be experiencing less job satisfaction than is perceived.

Significance of the Study

This study used basic qualitative methodology to describe the participants' perception of their experiences with job satisfaction working as forensic scientists. The information obtained from this research will contribute to the gap in the forensic science literature in the area of job satisfaction as it relates to forensic scientists. Furthermore, the results obtained could be utilized by forensic organizations as a reference tool to investigate job satisfaction. It is anticipated that this research will stimulate future research interest in the area of forensic scientist job satisfaction, forensic scientist stress, and all other potential occupational issues for which forensic scientists may most likely be susceptible. Acknowledgement of job aspects that potentially cause poor job satisfaction among forensic scientists could be used by organizations to minimize or eliminate negative aspects of the job, such as the prevention of case errors and burnout. Moreover, identifying aspects of the job that forensic scientists are dissatisfied with could assist forensic science organizations in assessing how or what can be done to improve poor job satisfaction in the workplace.

Nature of the Study

According to Leedy and Ormrod (2005), qualitative research focuses on phenomena that occur in the real world. This study observed the true nature of forensic scientist work and investigated whether the job has the high or significant satisfaction as perceived by those who think they know what forensic work entails. This basic qualitative research approach employed the methodology of one-on-one interviews. One-on-one interviews allowed more control over the line of questioning (Creswell, 2003). Employing an interview methodology was the best fit for this study because it allowed a more personal rapport with each participant. Developing a personal rapport was important because it assisted in getting a better understanding of the forensic scientists' job satisfaction because the participants felt more at ease to speak freely (Creswell, 2003; Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). Open-ended, semi-structured questions from the Forensic Scientist Experiences Interview Guide were used to collect information on job satisfaction experiences among selected forensic scientists.

According to Sproull (2002), an open-ended response format has several advantages. One advantage to using the open-ended response format is that such a format will elicit information that is original (Sproull, 2002). Another advantage is the opportunity for the participant to give opinions or add comments that are personal to them (Sproull, 2002). Lastly, when existing information on a given topic is limited, using an open-ended response format can potentially add new information (Sproull, 2002). Thus, the open-ended response format was ideal for this study because there was very little information on forensic scientists and job satisfaction and any information that resulted from this study would be a contribution to the forensic science and criminal justice community.

Review of Literature

There was limited research directly related to forensic science personnel, job satisfaction, or job stress. The literature review process involved extensive research on other areas of law enforcement with regard to job satisfaction and job stress. This research was conducted to demonstrate that due to the nature of the job it is possible that forensic personnel also experience similar issues as such law enforcement personnel as police, probation, corrections, and the like.

The literature review contained research that was retrieved from various sources including but not limited to professional peer reviewed articles and forensic science, criminal justice, and law

enforcement journals, books, databases, and psychological and sociological journals just to name a few. A common theme observed from the review of the literature was that although modern law enforcement personnel may be experiencing job dissatisfaction, literature or research on the topic was relatively non-existent except for short peer-reviewed articles on the subject. There was a plethora of information on law enforcement personnel (such as police, corrections, probation) as it related to stress but minimal information on law enforcement personnel as well as forensic personnel job satisfaction. Review of the literature revealed that there is definitely a need for continued research in the area of forensic science personnel as it relates to stress, job satisfaction, and many other potential job related concerns associated with forensic science personnel.

Job Satisfaction and Forensic Personnel

The image often portrayed is that forensic personnel are always available to immediately respond to a scene in record time, have endless resources available or that every forensic organization has every type of state of the art equipment imaginable just to name a few misconceptions (Finneran, 2003; Kruse, 2010; Ramsland, 2009; Schweitzer & Saks; 2007). On the contrary, forensic personnel are often overworked, have limited financial resources available and often work with common everyday or outdated tools rather than the fancy state of the art equipment seen on the popular forensic shows. Moreover, forensic personnel often deal with very real factors such as:

- The pressure that there are zero margin or tolerance for errors
- Massive amounts of evidence being submitted for analysis
- Dealing with demanding investigators and/or prosecutors
- High organizational and managerial expectations
- Being understaffed and overworked (Manzoni & Eisner, 2006; Sewell, 2000, 2006).

As discussed earlier, prominent leaders in the field (Goode; 2004; Houck, 2006; Williams, Rickard, & Fisher, 2005) concur that shows like *CSI, Law & Order, NCIS* and other similar entertainment shows convey the positive aspect of awareness to the field of forensic science. However, these scholars also concur that the negative aspect such shows convey is that of unrealistic expectations of forensic science by law enforcement, attorneys, jurors, and the general public. These high expectations are then placed upon the forensic scientist thus presenting a potentially stressed and dissatisfied forensic scientist. Such negative factors and working environment could have serious effects on the organization, forensic scientist, casework output, and casework results, which ultimately affects a victim's or suspect's life. As Kruse (2010) states, *CSI* forensic science is nothing more than wishful-thinking science.

The pressures and demands placed on the forensic scientist on a daily basis may cause him to experience stress that could lead to job dissatisfaction. Such manifestations could affect the organization's ability to retain the forensic scientist. According to a recent report by the California Crime Laboratory Review Task Force (2009), when it comes to retention of forensic scientists in crime laboratories across the state, some of the main reasons for unhappy forensic scientists include salary, lack of advancement opportunities, and burnout from heavy caseloads. It is important for the law enforcement organization to recognize any stressors the forensic scientist may be experiencing. Once these have been identified, the agency should immediately find ways to minimize or prevent stress in order to maintain or improve job dissatisfaction. Managing dissatisfaction is not

only detrimental to the employee's well-being but also detrimental to the well-being of the organization.

The Current Study

Due to the nature of forensic work, it was this study's assumption that forensic scientists experience varying levels of job satisfaction. Variables such as stress, unrealistic expectations, organizational demands, dealing with the courts and other law enforcement agencies, and many other variables play an immense role in the forensic scientist's daily work life. Moreover, various minute and often not thought of daily tasks that are necessary and often arduous add even more pressures for the forensic scientist. For example, when one thinks of forensic scientist, small daily tasks such as making copies, fielding calls on multiple cases, making case folders, returning evidence to agencies and a multitude of other laboratory tasks are not taken into account. Such daily tasks are not the images depicted by the fictional forensic scientists on television. The imagery presented to the public, which is somewhat unrealistic, is that of forensic scientists never getting anything wrong, they are in great physical condition, wear stylish clothes, and are extremely attractive (Goode, 2004; Kruse; 2010; Ramsland, 2009).

What this study did was examine job satisfaction among a small sample of forensic scientists to investigate their forensic scientist job satisfaction experiences. The primary goal of this study was to produce information that would contribute to the wide gap in the literature on forensic science personnel as well as stimulate further research in this area.

It was this study's expectation that initiating this small-scale study would bring understanding to or provide some insight about job satisfaction experiences of the forensic scientist personnel population. This researcher is very optimistic that this information will make law enforcement personnel more cognizant of factors that may cause their forensic scientists to become dissatisfied. Law enforcement personnel can then use this information as a framework to alleviate potential job dissatisfaction. It was predicted that this study would have limitations that may be helpful in guiding future research in the area of forensic scientist job satisfaction. It was further predicted that the shortcomings of this study would stimulate interest into the investigation of forensic scientist stress, attitudes, behaviors, and other similar areas.

Methodology

A qualitative research approach and the Moustakas (1994) phenomenological design is the theoretical framework guiding this study. The primary goal of this research was to understand and describe phenomena from the participant's point of view (Creswell, 2003; Leedy & Ormrod, 2005; Mertens, 2005). For this basic qualitative study, phenomenological methods were used to collect and analyze data as well as interpret the findings. The descriptive phenomenology method was the ideal approach to take for this study because this approach allowed the researcher to gather participants' perceptions or meaning of a specific experience or phenomena (Mertens, 2005). Additionally, this methodology allowed the researcher to learn how individuals function in their daily lives and get to better understand the lived experiences of individuals being studied (Creswell, 2003; Neuman, 2003). In other words, this qualitative approach allowed the researcher to gain a better understanding of how forensic scientists in a regional crime laboratory function on a daily basis. Most importantly, this approach allowed the researcher to gather perspectives as to how these daily duties contribute to job satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

Measures

A two-part Forensic Scientist Experiences Interview Guide developed by the researcher

was used to collect data from participants. The interview guide for this semi-structured interview consists of open-ended questions that serve to elicit responses. The first part of the Forensic Scientist Experiences Interview Guide consists of demographic questions such as age, gender, and educational level. The second part of the guide consists of questions related to experiences forensic scientists may encounter in their daily employment setting that could play a role in job satisfaction. The Forensic Scientist Experiences Interview Guide answered the researcher's questions as well as allowed for participants to give unsolicited information. This information also surprisingly proved useful in developing themes that were not initially anticipated by the researcher. The primary measures used in this qualitative study involved personal interviews using open-ended questions.

Data Collection Procedures

According to Creswell (2003), one reason a researcher may chose to use interviews to collect data is the fact that interviews allow participants to bring forth their views and opinions about the subject at hand. Data for this qualitative study was collected using one-on-one interviews with eight forensic scientists. A group setting for this study was not advantageous or the best method for this study as forensic scientists are exceptionally busy, are constantly under time constraints, and have varying work schedules. For this qualitative research study, the data collection technique used was methods and procedures recommended by Moustakas (1994) for collecting phenomenological data.

Audio taped individual semi-structured interview sessions were conducted asking each forensic scientist open-ended questions from the prepared Forensic Scientist Experiences Interview Guide. It was anticipated the interviews would last no longer than an hour in length. The primary reason for audiotaping the interviews was to ensure that credibility issues did not arise during transcription because pertinent information was lost or misinterpreted by the researcher. To ensure individual anonymity, the participants were protected by using a non-identifier such as Participant 1, Participant 2 and so forth on the Forensic Scientist Experiences Interview Guide. To ensure confidentiality, as each interview was completed the researcher stored the data in a secure location.

Data Analysis Procedures

In qualitative research, data analysis involves making sense of the text and image data that has been collected (Creswell, 2003). Equally, in qualitative research data analysis' main goal is to identify recurring themes from descriptions of individual's experiences and present the results as viewed through the eyes of the individual's who experienced the phenomena (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). The current study took the completed audiotaped interviews and transcribed verbatim producing potentially viable raw data.

In order to distinguish whether the quality of the raw data collected for the intended study was viable; an effective data analysis procedure must be in place. For this qualitative research study, the data analysis technique followed was a modified version of the Moustakas (1994) van Kaam's method of phenomenological data analysis. The modified version of Moustakas' van Kaam method for data analysis allowed the researcher to transcribe and analyze the raw data into useful information with regard to the job satisfaction experiences among selected forensic scientists. This raw data was used to extract any emerging themes from the interviews.

Participants' Demographic Characteristics

Certain demographic profile characteristics where gathered from the participants. Information with reference to gender, age, job title, area of expertise, years employed at current

locale, years employed within the forensic science field, education level, and salary information was gathered from each participant. The participant responses to these questions can be viewed in Table 1.

To maintain anonymity, participants were not referred to by name during the research process. Each participant was referred to as Participant 1, Participant 2, Participant 3, and so on. Eight participants who were chosen by the researcher because they were eligible for the categories that the study sought:

- Those employed as a forensic scientist 1-10 years.
- Those employed as a forensic scientist 11-21+ years.

The sample size, eight participants, consisted of four female forensic scientists and four male forensic scientists. The age range of the participants was 25 to 54 years old. The participants had experience working in the field of forensic science that ranged from 2 years to over 32 years. Though the forensic discipline of each participant varied, all participants had college degrees in chemistry, biology, or criminalistics. The participants had varying law enforcement agency experiences ranging from having never worked in a law enforcement agency setting prior to current employer to having worked for one or more other law enforcement agencies prior to current employer.

Table 1:Participant (P) Demographics

	Gend	Age	Job Title	Area of Expertise	Yrs at Location	Yrs in Field	Degree	Satisfied w/ Salary
P1	F	37	Sr. Criminalist	Controlled Substances	12	12	BS Criminalistics	Yes
P2	F	35	Criminalist	Biology / DNA / Crime Scene	5	6	BS Biochemistry	Yes
P3	M	54	Sr. Criminalist	DNA / Crime Scene Biology / Trace Evidence / Narcotics Blood Alcohol / Breath Alcohol	1.5	32.5	MS Biology	Yes
P4	F	35	Criminalist	Controlled Substances	3	5	BS Biology	Yes & No
P5	M	51	Sr. Criminalist	DNA / Biology / Crime Scene	15	21	BS Chemistry	Yes
P6	M	25	Criminalist	Blood Alcohol / Breath Alcohol	2	2	BS Biology	Yes
P7	M	47	Sr. Criminalist	Firearms / Biology	11	11.5	MS Criminalistics	Yes
P8	F	26	Criminalist	Biology	2	2	MS Criminalistics	Yes

Research Findings

Upon preliminary analysis of the participants' transcripts, recurring words and phrases emerged that allowed the researcher to categorize meaning units. These meaning units were an account of the researcher's understanding of the importance of the forensic scientist job satisfaction phenomena. The following key meaning units were observed:

- Fictitious portrayal of the job of forensic scientist
- Expect to get results quickly like on TV
- Forensic shows hinders process somewhat (CSI Effect)
- Satisfied with job
- Feeling of satisfaction from helping victim/community/society

Further analysis of the forensic scientist's interview transcripts was conducted using a modified version of the Moustakas (1994) van Kaam method. The transcripts' meaning units were analyzed more in-depth for emerging themes. Based on the textual data, specifically the meaning units extracted from that data from the forensic scientists' interviews, five central themes emerged:

- Comparison to forensics on TV
- Unrealistic expectations from others
- CSI Effect hinders job
- Job is satisfying
- Work affects lives of others

Major Findings

The focal point of this study was on the research question: How do forensic scientists' daily employment setting experiences play a role in job satisfaction? This study explored whether such things as day-to-day tasks, unrealistic expectations, and the like affected the job satisfaction of forensic scientists. The forensic scientists discussed an indisputable devotion to their current job and to the field of forensic science. The interview question responses from the forensic scientists demonstrated that the participants' day-to-day job experiences do not influence their overall job satisfaction. The essence of the participants' words imply that such as with any job you have little daily tasks that may prove exasperating at times but those tasks are not enough to cause overall job dissatisfaction.

The principal essence the researcher got from the interviews is that the forensic scientists truly enjoy their jobs and could not even imagine being anything else besides a forensic scientist. Each participant discussed the importance of their role in the forensic science process and how what they do changes the lives of the victims they serve. Taken as a whole, the feelings of each forensic scientist is that there is no other career they can picture themselves having and if they had it all to do over again they would still be a forensic scientist. Furthermore, participants' overall thoughts were that the satisfaction of knowing they are contributing positively to the community and society with their skills and knowledge outweighs any negativity that daily tasks, unrealistic expectations, or media perceptions can add to their jobs.

To recap, the major finding of this study is that even with all the misconceptions, work demands, and other challenges the participating forensic scientists overall are in general satisfied with their jobs as forensic scientists. Consequently, this study also found in the course of researching for this study that forensic scientist research is severely deficient. Thus, any data that results from this research may provide some insight into the job experiences of forensic scientists. This scaled-down research study will optimistically be the catalyst for studies on a much larger scale in the future.

Summary of Results

The purpose of this study was to comprehend

the fundamental nature of what it truly means to work as a forensic scientist. This qualitative study used a one-on-one structured interview format to examine the daily lived experiences of forensic scientists to explore whether these daily experiences influenced job satisfaction experienced. This study demonstrated that the day-to-day job responsibilities that forensic scientists experience does not influence overall job satisfaction. Forensic scientists must not only on a daily basis deal with heavy caseloads but must also deal with attorneys, courts, other law enforcement entities and the like (Dowler, 2005; Sewell, 2006; Sheehan & Van Hasselt, 2003). In spite of all these responsibilities, the forensic scientists reported to the researcher that they still experience great satisfaction with the job because they know that all that they do is helping victims, the community, and society as a whole.

Although there is literature to support job satisfaction experiences of various other law enforcement personnel, literature to support forensic scientist in areas such as stress, job satisfaction and the like is practically non-existent.

Implications and Future Recommendations

Study's Contribution to the Literature Base

This phenomenological inquiry provided an opportunity for forensic scientists to give individuals outside the field a glance into the real work experiences of forensic scientists. Information on the experiences of forensic scientists (stress, job satisfaction, and other physical or psychological issues) could not be located during the extensive review of the literature for this study. The participants in the study were encouraged to speak candidly about various aspects of their jobs as forensic scientists. The information resulting from these very open conversations will be a valuable contribution to the insufficient literature base that exists on forensic scientists.

This current study's review of the literature found that sub-specialties of law enforcement, particularly forensic science, lack research in quantitative as well as qualitative research (National Research Council, 2009; Sewell, 2000). The research data as well as results acquired by this study will be a springboard to filling the huge gap that exists in forensic scientist research. All information revealed during this study can give managers of crime laboratories an understanding of what forensic scientists are experiencing and thus aid them in identifying what experiences may potentially make their forensic scientists unsatisfied with their jobs. It is furthermore anticipated that this research will stimulate future research interest in not only the area of forensic science but also further study in forensic scientist job satisfaction, exploration of forensic scientist stress, as well as all other potential occupational issues for which forensic scientists may most likely be susceptible.

Implications

Forensic scientists must not only on a daily basis deal with heavy caseloads but must also deal with attorneys, courts, other law enforcement entities and the like (Dowler, 2005; Sewell, 2006; Sheehan & Van Hasselt, 2003). This research study examined the daily-lived experiences of eight forensic scientists working within a crime laboratory setting. The findings suggest that the day-to-day job responsibilities that forensic scientists experience does not influence overall job satisfaction.

Implications of this study are that forensic scientists may not be experiencing the significantly high job satisfaction that is alluded to in the media, but forensic scientists do experience some level of job satisfaction. Further implications are that what yields satisfaction to the forensic scientists are not necessarily the

aspects of the job or salary but the joy of helping victims, the community, and society are what yields job satisfaction. This study discovered that forensic scientists have a lot to say with regard to their experiences, the needs of the forensic scientist, and so on and they would like their voices to be heard. The study of forensic scientists' well-being in the workplace is an unexploited area of potential and much needed research.

Future Recommendations

As notated several times throughout this study, there are decades of research as it relates to the job satisfaction experiences of correctional officers, police officers, and other law enforcement personnel (Dowler, 2005). However, review of existing research demonstrated research on forensic science and forensic personnel is severely deficient. There are many possible reasons for this research deficiency in the area of forensic science. One major reason for the deficiency could be lack of funding for research.

According to the Committee of Identifying the Needs of the Forensic Sciences Community, National Research Council (2009), research in forensic science is not well supported with funding compared to other disciplines. This is a major limiting factor because not being able to find funding to support research stifles the field. In order for the field to stay current in the U. S., conducting research is a must in order for the forensic science discipline to advance as well as be comparable to other countries. It is strongly recommended that forensic organizations seek ways to obtain grants and other monies that will help advance continued research in forensic science.

If agencies can secure grants for research similar to grants like the Coverdell grant, then research in forensic science would make a significant breakthrough. Briefly, the Paul Coverdell Forensic Science Improvement Grants Program awards grants to both state and local agencies to assist in improving the quality and timeliness of forensic science (NIJ, 2012). Many agencies use such grant to cover forensic scientist overtime so that case backlogs can be eliminated. The grant can also be used to fund forensic scientists' training, conference attendances, laboratory equipment, supplies, and even allows for the hiring of forensic personnel as needed to eliminate case backlogs. Having grants like the Coverdell grant but for conducting research would be a step in the right direction to bring forensic science up to the levels of research in other law enforcement disciplines.

Another recommendation for future exploration is that of finding ways to encourage forensic scientists to conduct research in the field. Agencies must encourage and allow their forensic scientist to conduct research. Who is better at exploring the lived experiences of forensic personnel than forensic personnel? In addition to the other recommendations, future research should also include study of occupational issues for other forensic personnel such as crime scene responders, forensic nurses, evidence technicians, and so forth.

Lastly, based on literature review of law enforcement studies using various methodologies to research job satisfaction, it appeared that there has been success using quantitative as well as qualitative methodologies. This study used qualitative methodologies and although it makes a small contribution to the literature base further research on this particular topic is needed. It is recommended that a replication of this study be conducted using a larger population and quantitative methodology to gain knowledge as to the actual number of forensic scientists experiencing job satisfaction. If qualitative methodology is used again perhaps participants working at laboratories that are larger, in a different city, county, or system should be used as they may report different job satisfaction

experiences. Again, for both methodologies it is recommended that a larger sample size be used.

Future research with regard to forensic scientist job satisfaction could also widen to compare and contrast the satisfaction levels of forensic scientists from different disciplines (e.g. Questioned Documents, Trace Evidence, Toxicology and so on) to determine if one discipline experiences more satisfaction than another. Another potential area of research could even include how the CSI Effect factors into the daily-lived job satisfaction experiences of forensic scientists. As one can see and as stated earlier, the field of forensic science has many areas of research opportunities. The only thing needed is researchers willing to take on the daunting task or researching. Gathering data should not be an issue because there are forensic scientists who are ready and willing to provide any information a researcher may want or need. They are just waiting for someone to approach them and ask them to share their thoughts just as this study did.

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SOCIAL JUSTICE: THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

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Abstract: The author reviewed literature on social justice in society and discussed how education may serve to achieve the goal of obtaining social justice in our schools and society. The principle of social justice is that all persons are entitled to basic human needs regardless of differences such as economic disparity, class, gender, race, ethnicity, citizenship, religion, age, sexual orientation, disability or health. It includes the eradication of poverty and illiteracy and equality of opportunity for social development. Understanding both the nature and effects of diverse populations or gender cultures within schools is an important step in creating effective, equitable, school environments. This material hopes to be relevant to students, teachers, principals, school administrators and all education related organizations, since it provides a sense of direction to how to create a just and equitable teaching and learning environment that will enhance the development of efficient human capital.

INTRODUCTION

There is an intense growth in population diversity in our schools now than ever. This phenomenon is anticipated to escalate in the future. It is needless to say that this situation has some inherent challenges to offer in the educational system. Therefore, there is the need to retool the educational system to enable all stakeholders cope with the effects of diversity. In this paper there was a literature review on social justice in the society which includes the critical race theory, the sexual (gender) and organizational justice. There was an attempt to relate the literature reviewed to how education may serve to achieve the goal of social justice in schools and the society. There was a discussion on education and social justice from which proposals or recommendations were made. It is obvious that our schools will be a better place for teaching and learning if we practice the suggestions presented in this paper.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Social justice refers to concepts of justice applied to an entire society. It is based on the idea of a just society, which gives individuals and groups fair treatment and a just share of the benefits of society. Greenberg (1996) claimed that not only is justice a universally accepted value, but it is also one whose role in promoting the well-being of individuals and institutions has been broadly acknowledged. It can be further defined as working toward the realization of a world where all members of a society, regardless of background, have basic human rights and an equal opportunity to access the benefits of their society. Social justice derives its authority from the codes of morality prevailing in each culture.

The principle of Social Justice is that all persons are entitled to basic human needs regardless of differences such as economic disparity, class, gender, race, ethnicity, citizenship, religion, age, sexual orientation, disability or health. It includes the eradication of poverty and illiteracy and equality of opportunity for social development. For the sake of this paper I wish to limit myself to a few areas where social justice could be measured. These areas include class, gender, race, ethnicity and organizations.

Despite the ethnic differences, we must make sure that all children learn. We also need to nurture the human capital. According to Starratt (1996) social relationships are essentially artificial and governed by self-interest. The maintenance of social life requires a social contract in which individuals agree to surrender some of their freedom in return for the state's protection from the otherwise unbridled self-

seeking of others. Human reason is the instrument by which the individual can analyze in a more or less scientific fashion what is to his or her advantage and calculate the obligations to social justice called for by the social contract.

Critical Race Theory talks about the fact that when it comes to policy making, race is not mentioned based on the fact that racism is already institutionalized. On the other hand, Lopez (2003) puts it as an individual act and need not be generalized. He said that "racism is positioned at the individual level and ignores other ways in which it functions in the society" (p. 69). Racism, in other words, has been reduced to broad generalization about another group based on the color of their skin. It has become an individual construction as opposed to social or civilization constructs (Scheurich & Young, 1997; Young & Laibe, 2000, as cited in Lopez, 2003). Rather than subscribe to the belief that racism is an abnormal or unusual concept, critical race theorists begin with the premise that racism is a normal and endemic component of our social fabric (Banks, 1993; Collins, 1991; Gordon, 1990; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Scheurich & Young, 1997; Tatum, 1997; Tyson, 1998, as cited in Lopez, 2003).

The sexual (gender) division and labor is one of the most enduring and universal characteristics of work (Blau, 1984a; Brown, 1998; Gross, 1968; Pahl, 1988, as cited in Tallerico & Blount, 2004). The essence of the gender issues in organizations are based on some identified perceptions and alleged discriminatory acts against women at work places. People believe that women and men have important differences, and they extend this contrast to stereotypes about leaders as well. This assumption perhaps has rendered sexism to be probably a more powerful and personal agent of discrimination in the work world than even racism (Bloom & Erlandson, 2003). According to Epstein, 1988; Goffman, 1967, as cited in Riehl & Lee, 2003) gender identity is both a cause and effect: it structures how individuals encounter the world and is itself a product of that encounter. The major theories of organizational behavior have mostly been gender-blind, assuming either that most workers are male or that the gender of workers does not matter (Mill & Tancred, 1992; Shakeshaft, 1993, as cited in Riehl & Lee, 2003). In most developed countries, women dominate teaching. In many developing countries, men are the majority of teachers, especially as the age of students increases (Davies, 1990, as cited in Riehl & Lee, 1996). However, the low rate of women's participation in administration is a global phenomenon. A major problem confronting school leaders is how to redress the imbalance of a male-dominated leadership structure in charge of a female-dominated teaching workforce. Understanding both the nature and effects of gender cultures within schools is an important step in creating effective, equitable, school environments.

According to Riehl and Lee (2003) women leaders are well known for their characteristics such as: being able to motivate people, are critical analysts, caring, exhibit more democratic style of leadership, and behave in public as they do in private. They are more emotional, collaborative, focus on relationship, and work better with parents and the community. All educational leaders should be good stewards of gender and should be committed to creating positive school environments that are gender-inclusive, not simply gender-neutral. New conceptualizations of educational leadership, therefore, should embody the recognition that effective leaders are activists about gender.

Organizational Justice is about what goes on at the organizational or the school level. According to (Folger & Cropanzano, 1998, as cited in Greenberg, 2001), organizational behavior experts accept the idea that justice matters in all organizational settings. It is referred to as "the first virtue of social institutions" (Rawls, 1971,

p. 3, as cited in Greenberg, 2001). It is about how to deal with students, teachers, parents and the communities that our schools serve. It is based on the concerns of fair treatment of employees or stakeholders in an organization. According to Greenberg (1987), concerns about organizational justice have several key triggers, which include: when people receive negative outcome; when people do not get what they want; by violating the expectations of fairness; when resources are scarce; because of power differences created by role differentiation between people in organizations. Unfair treatment in organizations or schools demoralizes employees. It kills people's morale and productivity suffers. Organizational justice boils down to the point that all children can learn.

Discussion: Education and Social Justice

Educational Administration is worthy of criticism. It does not address issues on social justice and equity. However, with the new trend in the escalating demographic changes in many nations, something needs to be done about the historical and traditional perspectives and practices that prevail in our organizations (schools) to enhance social justice. If we do not act now it is going to hit us really hard in future. We have to do it now, we need to start something in our classrooms, and we need to provide a forum to hold discussions on student diversity in our classrooms.

The critical race theorist admits that there is a lingering pervasiveness of racism in society and that there is the need to understand its effects on communities of color (Lopez, 2003). It is obvious that racism affects communities of color, but these effects are not limited to only people of color, but it affects the entire society which includes the people of non-color. This is because by ignoring the literature and experience of the people of color based on the act of racism has created a gap with respect to how to approach the challenges posed by the rapid demographic changes in our schools today and more so in the near future. For instance, the demographic data on school children point to increasing numbers of minority students that school personnel work with.

Population projections indicate that by 2020, students of color will comprise approximately 46 percent of school-age population in the United States of America (Miller, 1995, as cited in Marshall, 2004). Reyes (1999, p. 2) also stated that "The increasing minority enrollments and shrinking minority administrator pool creates demographic and cultural mismatches in school leadership in the same country. To know what is at stake, in one study 80% of teachers surveyed reported they felt unprepared to teach such a diverse student population (Futrell, Gomez, & Bedden, 2003, as cited in Leonard & Leonard, 2006). College classrooms are changing from the traditional classroom of the past. Teachers are greeted with a more diverse population of students and are seeing many different types of learners. Diversity will continue to increase based on several research findings.

Research indicates that the idea to solve some of the problems created by the phenomenon stated above could be derived from the experiences of black leaders in education in the United States of America, who were able to build schools during the hard times of racism, however, much of their narratives and critiques have not been incorporated as central element in the literature of school administration, leadership, reform, and change. Women of color such as Fanny Coppin, Anna Cooper, Mary Bethume and several others worked very hard to educate their young ones during the intense days of racism (Murtadha & Watts, 2005).

People believe that women and men have important differences, and they extend this contrast to stereotypes about leaders as well.

This assumption perhaps has rendered sexism to be probably a more powerful and personal agent of discrimination in the work world than even racism (Bloom & Erlandson, 2003). These assertions made by researchers give a clear picture of how women are regarded as far as justice is concerned at work places and especially as leadership positions are concerned. However, it is a blessing that these assumptions about the low regard for women at work places and leadership positions have been laid bare for analysis. This is going to help the teaching profession as well as the leadership position in education, since we have more women in the teaching profession at all times. The women would be able to fill the many vacuums created as a result of the frequent departure from the profession by their male counterparts. Furthermore, based on the literature and research works on gender issues at work places and in the leadership position in schools, it was observed that women play a very positive and unique role as compared to their male counterparts. Relying heavily on the work of Riehl and Lee (2003), I have discovered the characteristics described by many researchers of women leaders in our schools. For example, women principals have demonstrated to have greater interest than men principals in the social and emotional development of students, to be more able and willing to help beginning teachers, and to be more effective at working with parents (Fishel & Pottker, 1979). Women elementary school principals tend to be more involved with faculty matters, to be more involved in instructional issues, and to deal with student matters more (Charters & Jovick, 1981). Furthermore, Eagly, Karau, and Johnson (1992) found that women principals tend to be more democratic and less autocratic, and to be more task-oriented than their male counterparts. They have shown to be more positive communicators (Gougeon, 1991). They also place more emphasis on parent and community involvement in the school (Adkison, 1981; Fishel & Pottker, 1979). They have demonstrated greater ability to resolve conflicts and to be somewhat less likely to invoke hierarchy and dominance in solving conflicts with students (Marshall & Mitchell, 1989). They are known for displaying warmth and approachability. The women placed a high priority on maintaining positive relationships among workers, and they were likely to find ways to share information with others in their organizations and beyond.

Based on the above characteristics and qualities mentioned about women leaders, there is every indication that the women leaders form part of the solution to the challenges that would confront nations as a result of the demographic changes underway. The characteristics of women leaders are great assets for the welfare of the students, teachers, parents and the entire community that the school is established to serve. These qualities of leadership would enhance both social and organizational justice. Therefore, more women should be encouraged to take up leadership positions in our schools. The stereotypes and assumptions about the effectiveness of women in leadership positions must be discouraged. We can count on women leadership at this crucial moment of diverse student population. We need culturally responsive teaching methods and leadership qualities now than ever. We are approaching a more diverse population era, which requires a more dynamic teaching method and leadership style similar to those demonstrated by the female principals above.

By definition, "Diversity refers to the ways in which we differ from each other, including gender, age, ethnicity, race, religion, exceptionality, and socioeconomic status" (Tileston, 2004, p. 69). There is the need to revisit the way teaching is done in our schools, because if proper methods of teaching to meet the needs of this new crop of students are not administered effectively, a greater portion of the population

would not benefit from the services of our schools in the future. The deficiencies in teaching may also contribute immensely to the drop-out rate of people of color. This would eventually affect the prospects of the nation in the future, by creating more unskilled labor. Lasley and Matczynski (1997) claimed that "Students of color demonstrate unique learning styles. These learning styles call for alternative teaching styles that play to the cultural and learning strengths of students."

Many students come to schools as members of different cultures. Spradley and McCurdy (1972, as cited in Benson, 2003) refer to culture as a set of standards for believing, perceiving, acting, and evaluating. According to Irvine and Armento (2001, as cited in Benson, 2003), culture has a powerful impact on the teaching and learning process. The wide diversity in the cultural background of today's students makes it imperative for educators to consider varying cultural norms in classroom relationships, because culture shapes the thoughts and practices of daily living.

As demographic changes alter the social, economic, and political landscape of communities, and demands for higher levels of participation increase, accomplishing these tasks is becoming increasingly difficult and complex. According to a study by Wilson, Cordry, Notar, and Friery (2004), teachers concur that they cannot do it alone, and for effective educational processes to occur in classrooms, parental help in partnership with educators is needed. Epstein and Salinas (2004) state that a school learning community includes educators, students, parents, and community partners who work together to improve the school and enhance students' learning opportunities. The home, school, and community connections make school subjects more meaningful for students. In addition, to learn at high levels, all students need the guidance and support of their teachers, families, and others in the community. For schools and teachers to involve communities in their activities, they need the leadership that will advocate and be committed to programs that will engage parents in the education of their children. Teachers, also need to regard family engagement as part of their work. There is the need for schools to conduct surveys to determine the needs of parents and students. Teachers should undertake home visits in order to develop relationships, learn about issues of race or culture of children, and their families. Developing personal rapport with parents is likely to encourage them to get involved in their children's school. Teachers should be non-judgmental about parents who stay away from their children's school, but rather find ways to get them involved in the school activities. For instance, organizing an "International Day Exhibition" will create the opportunity for people with different socio-cultural backgrounds to display their culture. Another way of doing things is to use churches, colored group organizations or community based organizations as points of contact with families. Schools should not presume that all parents have similar strengths. It is obvious that some parents do not feel comfortable in academic settings, either because of language barrier or dressing code. Thus, there is the need to help some parents to ease their fear of intimidation in academic settings, by making schools open and warm places for parents to feel comfortable, especially families with low income or socio-economic backgrounds. In addition, means of transport may also be arranged for some parents to get to the school. There is the need for flexible meeting hours as well. Schools and teachers should make it known to parents the kind of services or help that are needed in the school. Moreover, teachers should help parents know their roles by communicating with them.

PROPOSAL/RECOMMENDATION

In order to balance the equation and make schools more socially and organizationally just

places, we need to address the following components of our organization: the leadership styles, methods of teaching, the students' learning styles and the community's involvement in school activities. Since school classrooms are changing from the traditional classroom of the past, I propose that a culturally responsive method of teaching should be encouraged in our schools to enable all students to be served. Teachers are greeted with a more diverse population of students and are seeing many different types of learners. Diversity will continue to increase based on several research findings.

By definition, culturally responsive teaching is the concept of teaching with a pluralistic perspective. That is giving attention to race, gender, class, and multicultural perspectives. Gay (2000) defines culturally responsive teaching as using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, and performance styles of diverse students to make learning more appropriate and effective for them; it teaches to and through the strengths of these students. Culturally responsive teaching is a foundational concept of multicultural education as teachers infuse the curriculum with rich connections to students' cultural and linguistic backgrounds within family and community contexts (McCaleb, 1997; Rehyner, 1992, as cited in Belgarde, Mitchell, & Arquero, 2002). Students become active generators of knowledge, building new academic knowledge by making connections to cultural, community and home-based experiences.

Gay (2000) gave a description of the characteristics of culturally responsive teaching. She stated that, "It acknowledges the legitimacy of the cultural heritages of different ethnic groups, both as legacies that affect students' dispositions, attitudes, and approaches to learning and as worthy content to be taught in the formal curriculum. It builds bridges of meaningfulness between home and school experiences as well as between academic abstractions and lived sociocultural realities. It uses a wide variety of instructional strategies that are connected to different learning styles. It teaches students to know and praise their own and each other's cultural heritages. It incorporates multicultural information, resources, and materials in all the subjects and skills routinely taught in schools" (Gay, 2000, p. 29).

Banks (1994) defines multicultural education as a "way of viewing reality and a way of thinking, and not just content about various ethnic and cultural groups" (p.8). Multicultural education is for all cultural groups, and it is about bringing all groups closer together. A class on multicultural education should include issues related to race, gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, social class, religion, age, language, values, geographic origin, ability and other differences. Multicultural education can help us to create a more understanding, inclusive, and equitable society (Ravitch, 1991/1992). According to Sleeter and Grant (1993), the goal of multicultural education is to promote "equal opportunity in the school, cultural pluralism, alternative life styles, and respect for those who differ and support for power equity among groups" (p. 171). Banks (1993, as cited in Sutliff, 1996) reiterated that the goal of multicultural education is to create equal opportunities for all students by directing educational experiences that help them become knowledgeable and caring toward others. Teachers are not only encouraged to be sensitive to issues of gender, race, and multiculturalism, but are also directed to treat these issues as part of their educational responsibility. Multicultural education is defined in a sociopolitical context as "a process of basic education that challenges and rejects racism and other forms of discrimination and accepts and affirms the pluralism (ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious, economic, and gender, among others) that students, their communities and teachers reflect"

(Nieto, 2000, as cited in Strasser & Seplocha, 2005).

Multicultural education and culturally responsive teaching have one thing in common that is, both truly lead to the empowerment and the emancipation of students with diverse cultural backgrounds. Developing multicultural awareness and diversity disposition are keys to cultivating culturally responsive teachers who are able to meet the diverse learning needs of their students. Palmer (1998, as cited in Wang & Yu, 2006) said that "When I do not know myself, I cannot know who my students are. I will see through a glass darkly, in the shadows of my unexamined life and when I cannot teach them well"(p. 2). It implies that before a teacher goes in to teach, one must identify one's identity and work on one's own feelings and identifications. One needs to investigate one's politics and orientation as an educator to not be biased in facilitating the class. There is the need to create an environment which would enable teachers and students to connect with one another.

Teachers and administrators must lead exemplary life for other students to emulate. That is a way of enhancing the learning process of diverse students. This is because entering a new school or college, a new student is often filled with excitement. However, unfamiliar surroundings can often be stressful, and finding oneself in a learning situation where the sounds and sights are foreign can be scary. The student whose first language is not English needs a supportive environment and also needs to feel comfortable sharing with his or her course mates. Naturally, when teachers model specific behavior, the other students will replicate. Teachers have the ability to teach and at the same time learn from their experiences. For instance, using a world perspective facilitates and models tolerance. Set the standards high for your students' success; prepare them to respond to new ideas, sights, and values. Be open and expect your students to embrace diversity. Remember that if you do not believe in it, they would not either. Pretending to be color blind is not the best way or an effective way to teach. The inability of teachers to teach in a culturally relevant way is the greatest challenge facing education today.

From the foregoing, teachers should select textbooks and supplementary books that reflect culture, gender, and diversity within the world. Subscribe to magazines and journals that reflect the population of your students. Culturally relevant practices "build upon students' cultural and experiential strengths to help them acquire new knowledge" (Lipman, 1995, p. 230).

There is a general belief among teachers in Ghana, that "what you say and do in the classroom, what you teach and how you teach it, and what you do not say and do not teach will have a significant effect on the potential success or failure of a student." Therefore, what are the responsibilities of teachers to ensure that they are responsive to culture and recognize the impact of culture on teaching and learning? According to Lambert (1989, as cited in Benson, 2003), students may suffer from low achievement when they perceive that the school environment is incompatible with their own culture. According to Gay (2000), culturally responsive teaching strengthens one's own pride of ethnic identity and improves academic achievement. The primary goal of this kind of teaching is to empower students to critically examine the society in which they live and to strive for social change.

Teachers should endeavor to familiarize themselves with works outside the canon through reading, discussing, and preparing units. It is obvious that the preparation of units in the direction of culturally responsive teaching would not be an easy task for teachers, yet it is worth doing to save nations from future

catastrophe and provide a long term benefit for our society.

I think having discussions with and inputs from people of other cultures is one way of learning about diversity. We can read all the books about culture we want, but until we actually experience the culture, we cannot fully understand it. However, by talking with people from that culture, we can come very close to knowing how those cultures are.

Teachers should view the world through multiple lenses. This means seeing and understanding the world in more than one way. In a diverse society, the ability to think critically suggests that people are in tune with a world that is different and that their behavior reflects a respect for the differences of others. To be culturally responsive and find commonalities within a classroom, teachers must recognize that they must work toward social justice for their students (Kroeger & Bauer, 2004, as cited in Watson & Johnston, 2006). Teachers should understand how students differ in their approaches to learning and create instructional opportunities that are adapted to diverse learners (Watson & Johnston, 2006). They must develop a knowledge base and appreciation for teaching all students. Accepting diversity and celebrating that diversity within the classroom should be a day to day part of teaching. It is very important for teachers to develop personal bonds with students. It is a means to encourage students' growth and achievement. Through humor, sincerity, warmth, respect, and firmness, teachers can forge solid personal bonds with students that would ignite their motivation to excel. If they feel recognized and excited about learning, they will rise to meet much higher expectations. Never underestimate a student's capacity and will to achieve (Gerzon-Kessler, 2006). Ford and Trotman (2001) said that faculty needs self-awareness and understanding regarding their biases, assumptions, and stereotypes. Self-awareness comes from understanding one's own cultural values and norms, and recognizing that everyone is a product of his or her culture. Self-awareness would help teachers to recognize how their assumptions and biases influence their teaching and relationships with minority groups. Students must be placed at the center of teaching and learning, and minority students should experience a sense of membership, belonging and ownership.

Administrators and teachers must share the goal of changing the dominant power structure of current school organization and curriculum to make learning experiences more inclusive of and validating for students' cultural perspectives. We should refrain from working under the assumption that everyone had to learn English and adapt to Western institutional norms. We should also desist from forcing students to assimilate into the dominant mainstream culture. We must hold in high esteem the values of self-respect and also respect for others, which serves as the bedrock of successful culturally responsive education. Teachers should have the desire to teach with a holistic perspective that is to train the whole student. In culturally responsive teaching, faculty should not allow students to accept failure as an option because that would serve as a reflection of the failure of the teacher (Ford & Trotman, 2001). Since curriculum and instruction must become more culturally responsive, so too must assessment (Ford & Trotman, 2001). Teachers should not try to underestimate the abilities of diverse students because it is possible to find much strength in the diverse student which could not be measured by the conventional tests. A variety of measurements would give students a chance to demonstrate their understanding and learning in different ways.

Educators can promote educational equity practices by addressing both students' multiple intelligences and cultural influences on learning. Too often, institutions have developed systems for identifying and labeling students according

to their deficiencies, rather than building on their strengths, intelligences and cultural backgrounds. Fortunately, research shows that culturally responsive teaching methods and activities can address the needs of diverse learners (Baruth & Manning, 1992). If so, planning, teaching and assessment should be based upon learners' individual needs and intelligence. Individualized and culturally responsive learning experiences allow students to achieve at their own pace, provide positive reinforcement and help them reach their full potential (Teele, 1990).

Based on Gardner's work on multiple intelligences, educators can address all intelligences in everything they teach, by providing different projects that can give students the option to explore a topic using their strongest intelligence. Gardner (1993) regards multiple intelligences as providing a sound basis on which school educators can build teaching-learning practices. I admit that it is not going to be an easy thing for teachers, but it is time we put a brake on focusing too much on the whole class and begin to assess multiple intelligences by specifically focusing on one to three students. Teachers should develop an intelligence profile for these students that exemplify their strengths and weaknesses, as related to Gardner's seven intelligences. In order to tap different strengths that students have, teachers may present contents verbally, encourage the participation in web quests associated with the content, use computers to research subject matter, solve puzzles, experiment, use database, build sculpture, use videotapes, play music or listen to videotape background music. Also, encourage classroom discussion, provide group work or group editing, encourage individual class presentation, make individual questions welcome, provide hands-on projects, organize community service or volunteer activities, organize sight-seeing programs (field trips). In addition, organize storytelling, debate, cultural displays, musical performances, form singing groups and ask students to write short plays. One may introduce folk and creative dance, role playing, games and sports. Students may practice empathy skills, silent reflection, describing personal values, assessing one's own work and taking care of animals and plants. For effective work and greater achievement, create a positive environment in the classroom

Teachers should model attitudes that reflect an appreciation, understanding, and sensitivity toward all students, because certain attributes and practices associated with certain cultural groups may dictate how a student will behave and function in the classroom. Teachers can make a difference in the life of diverse students by casting away some biases inherent in the mainstream system of education where other cultures are not given much attention. The communication style is very important in education. Teachers must be aware of specific verbal and non-verbal communication styles that affect students' ability and motivation to engage in learning activities. It is obvious that communication can either kill or make alive. In most cases, students of different cultures are very sensitive to the environment based on the assumption that discrimination is bound to prevail in environments different from theirs. Listening is one of the most powerful means of establishing effective communication patterns with students. Differences in communication styles can affect the quality of relationships between students and teachers. Recognizing other communication patterns among diverse learners is important for providing meaningful learning activities. Some nationalities of Asian American students, for example, may avoid correcting fellow students' verbal mistakes, or avoid responding in a competitive manner in class discussions or recitations. Gay (2000) explained that these students may be influenced by "traditional values and socialization that emphasized collectivism, saving face, main-

taining harmony, filial piety, interdependence, modesty in self-preservation, and restraint in taking oppositional points of view" (p. 105). It is clear that the competitive instructional processes that often dominate American classrooms may be unfavorable for many immigrants.

Second language learners tend to be relatively quiet during lectures as they attempt to learn by listening to others rather than by speaking themselves (Cary, 2000, as cited in Weinstein, 2003). This lack of response may be troubling for some teachers; however, an acceptance of this behavior combined with the use of student collaborative learning experiences may better fit the needs of diverse students. Such behaviors are not an act of cognitive deficiency on the part of the diverse student, but rather based on the effects of cultural background. Teachers need to understand that not all students are like them. To enable teachers to develop a mutually respectful relationship with students requires considerable knowledge of their communication style, both verbal and non-verbal. Recognizing the differences, responding as a listener, and designing instructional activities that reflect students' needs are critical to a productive learning environment. For example, in some cultures women are not supposed to talk much in public; instead they do a lot of listening and gestures. Teachers need to design units to serve the needs of such students too. Here the teaching style should be diversified in order to accommodate everyone. Teachers need to be sensitive and quick to observe what goes on around the classroom.

Teachers are encouraged to engage students in group work as one of the basic tools for culturally responsive teaching, based on the fact that the cultures of some students center around group activities (Wheeler, 2002). For example, Native Africans, African –Americans, Asians and Hispanics are brought up in the extended family system which celebrates communal way of living and doing things. Success is celebrated by a whole group of the community, just as the effects of calamities are also shared by all members of the community. This is not the same with Anglo-Americans, who live individualistic lives; a culture that permeates the current educational system. According to (Nel, 1994, as cited in Sutliff, 1996) the objective of culturally responsive teaching is not to have students change their cultural beliefs and behaviors, but to help them adapt to specific situations and acquire coping skills. Therefore, cultural responsibility requires effort, but the outcomes can be tremendous. Gender issues have been ignored in our organization for a long time. However, there is the need to do cross-cultural study of both sexes. There is the need to study women in organizations. We need to know the potentials on both sides. If we intend to ignore women, then we run the risk of cutting potential workers into half.

Racial and group contexts should not be dismissed as unimportant for teacher preparation and the preparation of school leaders. The act of employing African American leaders mostly in large urban school districts that are under-funded, have scarce resources, significant number of uncertified teachers, and student underachievement should be discouraged because these issues can directly affect the performance and tenure of African American leaders and thus, kill their desire for leadership positions in schools in the United States of America.

Conclusion

The suggestions made above call for a change in the traditional way of doing things in our organization (schools). Administrators, teachers and students, all of whom have learned how to cope in traditional way of running the organization may be hesitant to change. They may entertain thoughts like after all, most of them were educated in the traditional way therefore, it is the approach they know best. The

new way of running the organization would be time consuming. It would increase cost by organizing training and other professional development activities. There may be some frustrations on the part of those who have been in their positions for a very long time. Nonetheless, it is worth doing if we intend to avoid cutting off majority of our students to be served in the future. It does not matter what good content we have, or what good curriculum we have, or what exciting lessons we teach; if we do not care about students and they know that, we do not have a chance to get to them. The emphasis here is one of equipping teachers in all fields of study to effectively deliver the goods in such a way as to serve the needs of all diverse students in our schools. Many of the research materials discussed in this paper support the assumption that students' cultural backgrounds serve as contributory factors to how students learn.

Furthermore, women are identified as potential workforce in school administration, which gives hope for recruiting more women into the leadership position. Moreover, there is the assumption that social justice breeds cooperation, enhances productivity of workers, and promotes the general welfare of the individual, group, organization (school) and the entire society. Education is a means to achieve this goal, because it creates an avenue for social capital and human capital development.

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GENDER AND CLASSIFICATION DIFFERENCES ON THE PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING, ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT, AND THE LEVEL OF FUNCTIONING IN RELATION TO ALCOHOL OR DRUG USE AMONG HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

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Abstract: The objective of this study is the impact of gender and classification differences on the psychological well-being (self-esteem, stress, and depression), academic achievement, and the level of functioning in relation to alcohol or drug use of students attending Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). The data was collected using a confidential, self-administered questionnaire package comprised of the following: (a) a socio-demographic information, (b) a Rosenberg's Self-esteem Scale, (c) a Global Stress Measure, and (d) a Zung Self-rating Depression Scale (e) Level of functioning in relation to alcohol or drug use (AOD) survey: he concept is measured by assessing the severity (low, moderate, and high) difficulty or impairment with serious and persistent signs and symptom attributed to Alcohol or Drug use relative to "Health Status, Emotional Stability, Family Relation, Social Support, Legal Problems, Job/Education, and Housing (The Sacramento Preliminary Assessment: Center for Substance Abuse Treatment: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 1999). Descriptive statistic and multiple analyses of variance were used. The purposively-selected sample was comprised of 140 students from three (3) HBCUs. Students shall have completed at least eighteen (18) years old to participate in the study – a selection criterion. There was a significant difference between males and females on the combined dependent variables. Also, there was also a significant difference among freshmen, sophomore, junior and senior on the combined dependent variables. The interactional effect of gender and classification on the combined dependent variables was not significant.

INTRODUCTION

The study examined the interrelationships among the "psychological well-being (self-esteem, stress, and depression)," academic achievement, and the 'level of functioning in relation to alcohol or drugs (AOD) pertaining to the gender (male versus female) and the classification (freshmen, sophomore, junior, senior) attending Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). In addition, the relationship between students' levels of self-esteem, stress, depression, and their levels of functioning in relation to their AOD use was explored. Furthermore, the study attempted to determine the significant group differences between the self-esteemed, the stressed, and the depressed as regards to their levels (low, moderate or high) of functioning in relation to their alcohol or drug use.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY—GAPS

Previous studies have examined the synergy between academic achievement and alcohol or drug use but not the "level of functionality while using alcohol or drug". This acknowledged gap is imperative because individuals function differently with varying levels of AOD use. In addition, conceptually, the interrelationships

among psychological well-being, academic achievement, and AOD across gender and classification of students with a focus on African-American students have not been explored. Also, measures used in previous research were not validated on African Americans

Interventions: Colleges and Universities

Psychological health and well-being, educational attainment, and misuse of alcohol was found to be associated with childhood economic disadvantaged among 97 (50 males, 47 females) Irish young people living in Dublin. Other social indicators, such as self-esteem, contact with the law, and suicidal ideations were found to be a salient in predicting the interrelationship among the mental health, the academic attainment and the substance misuse regardless of gender (Cleary, Nixon, & Fitzgerald, 2007).

Many HBCUs and non-HBCUs offer a wide range of services to help make students college years more satisfying, rewarding, and productive. Programs, such as psychological, educational, social, and personal development counseling are designed to empower students to self-actualize their intellectual and emotional potential, thereby strengthening their coping skills in an effort to thwart such temptations, such as the exposure to AOD, partying, and the development of emotional attachments, available on college campuses (Bucknell University, Lewisburg, PA: Author).

Columbia University, Teachers College, a non-HBCU, for example recognized the importance of its students' academic success and personal psychological well-being, and in so doing have on staff a Clinical Graduate assistance available to provide short term counseling to students. This service is deemed necessary to combat mental health issues, often induced by AOD use or by other psychosocial determinants. Students, who are experiencing unhealthy psychological well-being, self-sabotage their safe and successful participation in their academic pursuits (Columbia University, Teachers College: New York, NY: Author), regardless of gender.

The Genesis: Adolescents to Adulthood?

The transitional period between high school and young adulthood, college or university tenure involved, is marked by the formation of identity, the establishment of more mature interpersonal and intimate relationships, and the transition to new adult-type roles. It also is a time of increased alcohol use and abuse, primarily by miscalculating the capacity to drink, which can have long-term effects on both physical and psychological well-being and may have implications for the academic achievement of traditional adult roles. (White & Jackson, 2005). Gender, classification, race/ethnicity, marital status, college, employment, peer and family influences, individual temperament, and attitudes about drinking all influence drinking behavior, even more disconcerting their perception of substance abuse, in this group of students. Attending college may represent a special risk to emerging adults, as increases in alcohol availability and acceptance of drinking on college campuses may lead to increases in heavy drinking among students, with the greatest concern among freshmen. The non-student population of emerging adults also is an important target for preventive interventions, especially because people in this segment of the population may be less likely to mature out of heavy drinking patterns established during adolescence (Arnett, 2005). Thus, the transition from high school to young adulthood, across gender and classification, appears to be an ideal developmental turning point during which to target interventions to prevent the deleterious impact on students' psychological well-being and academic achievement.

Emerging adulthood is also marked by a variety of physical, bio-psychosocial developmental tasks, identity formation and the establishment

of more mature interpersonal intimate relationship (Arnett 2000; Schulenberg & Maggs 2002), which coincide with the timeline of the college experience. During this period of navigating through college or university students are also obtaining the education and training needed to enhance their chances of selecting an 'ideal' vocational production lifestyle.

These tasks shall be attained to make a successful transition to adulthood, and failure to attain mastery of them can subsequently result in loss of self-concept/self-esteem, stress, depression, and frustration, which can lead to a variety of unhealthy behaviors, including increased AOD abuse. "Paradoxically, alcohol use can impede the successful mastery of these developmental tasks and may exacerbate failures and increase stress (Schulenberg, Maggs & O'Malley, 2003, p. 2), depression, and ultimately self-confidence, consequently adversely impact students' academic achievement.

This study investigates gender (male, female) and classification differences as it pertains to their psychological well-being (self-esteem, stress, and depression), academic achievement, and their level of functioning in relation to alcohol or drug use. The significance of this study is validated by its aim to 'minimize or to close' the conceptual, sampling, methodological, data collection and design gaps discovered in previous studies.

Methodology

The Greater New Orleans area is comprised of three HBCUs. These HBCUs have been educating minority students for at many years. The relevance for HBCUs has been question, recently, by many educational leaders, politicians, and most imperative, donors from various benevolent organizations. HBCUs, however, continue to play many significant roles in the academic achievement of minority students, and while doing so, they also had to provide psychological, social and other tangible support services their students.

Sample and Procedure

The population consisted of Black and/or African-American HBCUs' students, who at the time of the study were at least eighteen (18) years old. A purposive sampling technique was used to select the 140 Black or African-American students, which was comprised of an equal number of males and females students. Faculty members at the various HBCUs facilitated the data collection. A self-administered instrument packet was used to collect data.

Instruments

The instrument packet was divided into five sections: (a) a socio-demographic information section; (b) a Rosenberg's Self-esteem Scale (reliability score of 0.93 and internal consistency of 0.99); (c) a Global Stress Measure Scale (coefficient alpha reliability of at least 0.84 and test-retest correlation of 0.85); (d) a Zung Self-rating Depression Scale (correlations of at least 0.75 and concurrent validity correlation values ranging from 0.59 to 0.75) and (e) Level of functioning in relation to alcohol or drug use (AOD) survey: he concept is measured by assessing the severity (low, moderate, and high) difficulty or impairment with serious and persistent signs and symptom attributed to Alcohol or Drug use relative to "Health Status, Emotional Stability, Family Relation, Social Support, Legal Problems, Job/Education, and Housing (The Sacramento Preliminary Assessment: Center for Substance Abuse Treatment: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 1999). Methodological verification can be found in the source publications from which the instruments were obtained.

Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics were used to describe the socio-demographic, independent and dependent variables to characterize the participants of the

study. Multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) and Pearson Product-Moment Correlation coefficients were used to analyze the relationships among the study variables and to verify the assumptions of MANOVA.

VARIABLES: DEFINITIONS

HBCU college student: Each member of this study was a student who has been attending a HBCU for at least two years of college and who has been classified as junior.

Self-esteem: As defined by Rosenberg (1965), self-esteem is a positive or negative attitude toward the self. Rosenberg's Self–Esteem Scale (1965) was used to assess the self-esteem levels of the immigrants in the study.

Stress: Stress is produced when as life situations are appraised as demanding, threatening or otherwise negative and insufficient resources are available to change or adapt to these situations (Cohen, Kamarck, & Mermelstein, 1983).

Depression: This is a concept defined as a Syndrome comprising coexisting signs and symptoms or as a disorder which has characteristic clusters and complexes of signs and symptoms which signify the presence of pathological disturbances or changes in four areas: somatic, psychological, psychomotor, and mood (Zung, 1965; Zung & Wonnacott, 1970; Zung, 1972).

Level of functioning in relation to alcohol or drug use (AOD) survey: The concept is measured by assessing the severity (low, moderate, and high) difficulty or impairment with serious and persistent signs and symptom attributed to Alcohol or Drug use relative to "Health Status, Emotional Stability, Family Relation, Social Support, Legal Problems, Job/Education, and Housing". (The Sacramento Preliminary Assessment: Center for Substance Abuse Treatment: Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, 1999).

Academic achievement: This variable will be measured by grade point average.

ASSUMPTIONS OF MANOVA

Sample: The minimum required number of respondents/cases in each cell should be equal to the number of dependent variables, which was five (5). This assumption was not violated, because the minimum was six (6). (Pallant, 2010)

Normality: Mahalanobis distances were calculated to check for univariate normality and multivariate normality and for outliers. The critical value to check for outlier and normality is 20.52 for five (5) dependent variables (Pallant, 2010). The data set had only one outlier, its value 24.60, which was not very high and therefore the case was not removed from the study.

Table 1: Box's Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices[a]

Box's M	141.365
F	1.089
df1	105
df2	4631.031
Sig.	.253

Tests the null hypothesis that the observed covariance matrices of the dependent variables are equal across groups.
*Design: Intercept + gender+ classification+ gender*classification*

Multicollinearity and singularity: MANOVA produced the best results when dependent variables are moderately correlated. Correlations that are greater than 0.8 are may produce unreliable results. The maximum correlation between the variables was 0.369. Singularly was not violated because the dependent variables had varying definitions and were also scored differently (Pallant, 2010; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

Table 2: Levene's Test of Equality of Error Variances[a]

	F	df1	df2	Sig.
Level of Functioning AOD	1.375	7	132	.221
Depression	.899	7	132	.509
Stress	.527	7	132	.813
Self-Esteem	1.266	7	132	.272
Grade Point Average	.883	7	132	.522

Tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the Dependent variable is equal across groups.

*a. Design: Intercept + gender + classification + gender * classification.*

Homogeneity of variance-covariance: These tests of assumptions were generated as part of the MANOVA output. Table 1 above depicts The Box's M Test of Equality of Covariance Matrices, testing the null hypothesis that the covariance across the dependent variables was not violated (p=.253 >= .05); significant value greater than .05. In addition, the Levene Test, as illustrated in Table 2, tests the null hypothesis that the error variance of the dependent variable is equal across groups. The assumption was not violated because all the dependent variables have "significant value greater than .05. (Pallant, 2010; Tabachnick & Fidell, 2007).

RESULTS AND FINDINGS

Table 3 presents the descriptive statistics of the sample that characterize the participants of the study. Of the 140 students in the program 59 (42.1 percent) were males and 81 (57.9 percent) were females. The vast majority 57 (40.7 percent) were freshmen, 36 (25.7 percent) were sophomores, 30 (21.4 percent) were juniors, and 17 (12.1 percent) were seniors.

Table 3: Demographics of Sample (N =140)

Demographic Descriptors	No.	Valid %
Gender:		
Male	59	42.1
Female	81	57.9
Classification:		
Freshmen	57	40.7
Sophomores	36	66.4
Juniors	30	21.4
Seniors	17	12.1

Table 4 below indicates that the average grade point average (GPA) was 2.99, on a 4-point scale. The lowest reported GPA was 1.80; the highest 4.0. The mean scores calculated were: self-esteem, 44.04; stress, 39.91, depression, 44.01; and level of functioning in relation to alcohol and drug use, 17.30. These scores as shown in Table 4, indicated that collectively the students were academically good; had a high level of self-esteem; were moderately stressed; were experiencing a fairly high level of depression; and had a fairly high level of functioning in relation to alcohol and drug use – implying minimal difficulty and impairment pertaining to alcohol and drug use (AOD).

Table 4: Descriptors of the Study Variables: Descriptive Statistics

	N	Range	Min.	Max.	Mean	Std. Dev.
Age	140	18	17	35	19.97	2.228
Grade Point Average	140	2.20	1.8	4.0	2.99	.530
Self-Esteem	140	36	14	50	44.04	6.95
Stress	140	30	25	55	39.01	5.94
Depression	140	41	24	65	44.01	6.33
Level of AOD	140	10	11	21	17.30	2.80

Multiple Analysis of Variance (MANOVA), Research Questions, Results

The analysis addressed the major research question on the relationship gender and classification differences on the psychological well-being (self-esteem, stress, depression), academic achievement, and the level of functioning in relation to alcohol or drug (AOD) use among Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) Students.

A MANOVA was performed that included the study variables: psychological well-being (self-esteem, stress, depression), academic achievement, and the level of functioning in relation to alcohol or drug (AOD); the dependent variables, and gender and classification; the categorical or fix factor variables. The resulting MANOVA matrices are presented in Tables 5, 6, 7, 8.

Study Variables Analyses

As depicted in Table 5, there was a significant difference between males and females on the combined dependent variables, F (5, 128) = 4.01, p = .002; Wilks' Lambda = .865; partial eta squared = .135. There was also a significant difference among freshmen, sophomore, junior and senior on the combined dependent variables, F(15, 354) = 1.99, p = .015; Wilks' Lambda = .799; partial eta squared = .072. The interactional effect of gender and classification on the combined dependent variables was not significant, F (15, 354) = 1.190, p = .277; Wilks' Lambda = .873; partial eta squared = .044.

Table 5: Multivariate Test[c]

Effect	Value	F	Hyp. df	Error df	Sig	Partial Eta Sq
Gender:						
Pillai's Tr.	.135	4.01[a]	5.0	128	.002	.135
Wilks' Lambda	.865	4.01[a]	5.0	128	.002	.135
Hotellings' Tr.	.157	4.01[a]	5.0	128	.002	.135
Roy's Largest Rt.	.157	4.01[a]	5.0	128	.002	.135
Classification:						
Pillai's Tr.	.213	1.982	15.0	390	.015	.071
Wilks' Lambda	.799	1.999	15.0	354	.015	.072
Hotellings' Tr.	.238	2.007	15.0	380	.014	.073
Roy's Largest Rt.	.145	3.776[b]	5.0	130	.003	.127

a. Exact statistics
b. The statistics is an upper bound on F that yields a lower bound on the significance level
c. Design: Intercept + gender + classification + gender * classification

Dependent Variables: Separately

When the dependent variables were considered separately, (see table 6), the main effect of gender was significantly related to self-esteem; F(1, 132,) = 7.55, p = .007; partial eta squared = .054; and grade point average; F(1, 132) = 12.47, p = .001; partial eta squared = .086. Classification was significantly related to "level of function in relation to AOD" F(3, 132) = 2.72, p = .047; partial eta squared = .058; Stress, F(3, 132) = 3.72, p = .013; partial eta squared = .078; and grade point average, F(3, 132) = 2.89, p = .038; partial eta squared =.061. The interactional effect of gender and classification was not significantly related to any of the dependent variables.

Table 6: Test of Between-subjects Effects

Source	Type III	df	Mean Sq.	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Sq.
Gender:						
Self-Esteem	347.836	1	347.836	7.55	.077	.054
Grade Point Avg.	3.156	1	3.156	12.47	.001	.086
Classification:						
Level ofFunct/AOD	62.299	3	20.766	2.72	.047	.058
Stress	373.282	3	124.427	3.72	.013	.078
Grade Point Avg.	2.188	3	.729	2.89	.038	.061

Error df = 132; Total df = 140

GENDER—SELF-ESTEEM * GRADE POINT AVERAGE

An inspection of the mean or average scores (see Table 7) indicated that females reported slightly higher levels of self-esteem (M = 45.60, SD = 5.61) than males (M = 41.90, SD = 8.00). Females, also reported a slightly higher mean or average grade point average (M = 3.12, SD = .47) than males (M = 2.87, SD = .56).

Table 7: Estimated Mean Differences: [Significant]* Dependent Variables across Fixed Factors

					96% Confidence Interval	
		Mean	SD	Std. Error	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Gender: Self-Esteem*	Male	41.90	8.00	.931	39.93	43.61
	Female	45.60	5.61	.931	43.54	47.23
Grade Point Avg.*	Male	2.83	.56	.069	2.73	3.01
	Female	3.12	.47	.069	3.08	3.35
Classification: Level/AOD*	Freshman	16.70	2.96	.373	15.90	17.38
	Sophomore	17.50	2.81	.514	16.51	18.55
	Junior	18.40	2.55	.504	17.40	19.40
	Senior	16.94	2.10	.701	15.76	18.53
Stress*:	Freshman	39.60	5.62	.781	38.01	41.16
	Sophomore	39.61	5.67	1.07	37.35	41.62
	Junior	38.30	6.24	1.06	36.21	40.40
	Senior	44.41	5.32	1.47	41.30	47.11
Grade Point Avg.*	Freshman	2.89	.566	.068	2.73	2.99
	Sophomore	3.11	.43	.094	2.90	3.27
	Junior	2.98	.47	.092	2.80	3.16
	Senior	3.14	.64	.128	2.99	3.50

* Variables were included in the table because of their significant ($p < .005$) relationship with the fixed factors, gender and classification.

Classification—AOD * Stress * Grade Point Average

An examination of the mean or average "level of functioning in relation to AOD" scores (see Table 7) indicated that juniors had minimal difficulty or impairment with no or minimal signs and symptoms (M = 18.40, SD = 2.55); followed by sophomores (M = 17.50, SD = 2.81); seniors (M = 16.94, SD = 2.10); and finally freshmen (M = 16.70, SD = 2.96). The mean or average scores on stress indicated that seniors (M = 44.41, SD = 5.32); followed by freshmen (M = 39.60, SD = 5.62); then sophomores (M = 39.61, SD = 5.67); and then juniors (M = 38.20, SD = 6.24). In exploring grade point average, the mean or average scores on grade point average indicated that seniors (M = 3.14, SD = .64); followed by sophomores (M = 3.12, SD = .43); then juniors (M = 2.98, SD = .48); and then freshmen (M = 2.89, SD = .56).

Post-Hoc Comparisons

Post-Hoc comparisons, (see Table 8) using Bonferroni, which perform each test at stringent significance level to prevent false positive results, revealed that pertaining to classification and "level of functioning in relation to Alcohol and Drug Use (AOD)", freshmen were significantly different from juniors. Juniors (M = 18.40, SD = 2.55) had a higher mean score than freshmen (M = 16.70, SD = 2.99). Seniors and sophomores were not found to significantly different.

Post-Hoc comparisons were completed only for classification because it is comprised of more than two categories or groups. The differences on gender pertaining to self-esteem and grade point average were explained above.

In addition significant differences regarding stress were found between: (a) "freshmen and seniors," "sophomores and seniors," and between "juniors and seniors." Seniors had the highest level of stress (M = 44.41, SD = 5.32); with sophomores, (M = 39.61, SD = 5.67); and freshmen, (M = 39.60, SD = 5.62) almost equal, and then juniors, (M = 38.30, SD = 6.24). Relating to stress, no significant differences were found between "freshmen and sophomores" and freshmen and juniors", and although classification and grade point average were significantly related (see Table 7), the Post-hoc comparisons did not revealed any significant differences between, freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors on the grade point average.

Table 8: Post-Hoc: Multiple Comparisons

					95% Confidence Interval	
		Mean Diff.	Std. Error	Sig.	Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Freshman	Junior	1.70*	.623	.044	-3.37	-.03
Stress:						
Freshman	Senior	-4.82*	1.60	.019	-9.10	-.53
Sophomore	Senior	-4.80*	1.70	.033	-9.36	-.24
Junior	Senior	-6.11*	1.76	.004	-10.82	-1.41

*Sig. (p)<.005

Discussion and Conclusion

The findings of this study revealed that gender was significantly related to self-esteem and grade point average, and that classification was significantly related to "level of functioning in relation to alcohol or drug used (AOD)", stress, and grade point average. Females had a higher average (M = 3.12) grade point average than males *(**M*** = 2.83). Also, females (M = 45.60) had a higher average self-esteem score than males (M = 41.90. The higher level of self-esteem could be a manifestation of their higher average grade point average, or vice versa, implying that being a good student and more importantly, these females being cognizant of their above above-average intellectual ability, could consequently develop high level of self-esteem.

Classification was found to be significantly related to "level of functioning in relation to alcohol or drug use". Reiterating, this concept is measured by assessing the severity (low, moderate, and high) difficulty or impairment with serious and persistent signs and symptom attributed to Alcohol or Drug use relative to "Health Status, Emotional Stability, Family Relation, Social Support, Legal Problems. Juniors had the highest average score (M = 18.40), with freshmen the lowest (M = 16.70). An explanation for both the findings would indicate that juniors are at a crucial time of the education attainment, a year from graduation, and had developed excellent coping skills and personal discipline. On the contrary, freshmen, with their new found "unabated" freedom tend to be engaged in more risky behaviors, such as excessive drinking and socializing, frequently resulting in social, emotional, legal, health, and familial concerns. Post-hoc was explored to ascertain the significant differences among the freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors pertaining to "level of functioning in relation to alcohol or drug use." However, the Post-Hoc comparisons on to "level of functioning in relation to alcohol or drug use" and classification, revealed significant differences between only freshmen and juniors, with juniors experiencing higher functioning or minimal difficulty or impairment of serious and persistent signs and symptom attributed to Alcohol or Drug use relative to "Health Status, Emotional Stability, Family Relation, Social Support, Legal Problems" in comparison to freshmen.

Not surprising the study revealed that seniors reported the highest level (M = 44.41) of stress, with sophomores and freshmen with almost identical scores of 13.61 and 13.60 respectively. A reasonable explanation is that seniors are under the relentless pressure of the need to graduate and freshmen and sophomores under the relentless pressure of survival – staying in school. Again, were there any significant differences among freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors pertinent to stress. The group differences that were found were with "seniors and freshmen", seniors and sophomores" and "seniors and juniors". An explanation similar to the previous is purported —that is seniors and the mandate to graduate, undoubtedly will experiences high levels stress.

Table 7 indicated that seniors (M = 3.14) had slightly her grade point average than sophomores (M = 3.11). Their need to matriculate into graduate and/or professional schools tend to motivate seniors to "do whatever it takes" to maximize the cumulative grade point average. The range of the mean grade point average (gpa) was 0.25—the difference between seniors' average gpa (M = 3.14) and freshmen' average gpa (M = 2.89)—which were found to be numerically insignificant and statistically insignificant. Albeit, that grade point average was found to significant related to classification, no significant differences were found among freshmen, sophomores, juniors, seniors pertaining to grade point average.

The fact that this study did not involve an extremely large sample, necessitates caution in generalization. It will therefore require an extensive study to warrant generalization of these findings to a large Historically Blacks College and University student population. As such the following recommendations seem appropriate: (a) a follow-up study that includes a larger sample size, (b) a sample that is comprised of HBCUs nationwide, with a regional question in demographics, (c) a structural equation modeling and/or factor analysis study that will facilitate the development of a conceptual framework (theory) about African-American students and the study variables, and (d) a qualitative or mixed method study aimed at capturing African-American students' perceptions of regard the research topic.

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How You be Speakin?: Assessing Urban, Rural, and Suburban Students' Attitudes toward Their Dialects

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Abstract: This study entailed surveying 153 students at a Historically Black College/University (HBCU) and a predominately White University in order to ascertain which nine independent variables were associated with their attitudes toward African American English (AAE). The African American English Teacher Attitude Scale (AAETAS) was used to assess whether attitudes reflected a 'low,' 'middle,' or 'high' attitude towards AAE. The AAETAS consisted of both 23 negative and 23 positive statements about AAE and speakers of the dialect. A multiple regression analysis and a post-hoc estimated marginal means were used to highlight the variables associated with these attitudes. Unlike most studies on AAE, this study concentrated on students in the southern part of the US. Furthermore, the students were pursuing teaching credentials, which is vital in that their dialects will more than likely be used in their classrooms. Because the Florida Consent Decree requires that undergraduate education majors take 5 linguistics/ESOL courses, assessing attitudes about language may give insight into the effectiveness of such courses. It will also reveal future teachers' attitudes about their dialect, as many of them speak AAE as will a number of their students. Besides incorporating the respondents' dialects, their hometown size (i.e. urban, suburban or rural) is part of the data.

Introduction

In the age of Hip-Hop Nation Language (HHNL) and text messaging, the English language continues to be relocated and reinvented. For example, Alim (2007) has presented a critical Hip-Hop Language Pedagogy (CHHLP) as a holistic approach to combating tensions in the education of linguistically marginalized youth. He further argues that educators should give students the sociolinguistic realities because they face subjugation in mainstream institutions. The research with using Hip-Hop in the mainstream classroom is prevalent (for research on using Hip-Hop for classroom instructional purposes see Sanchez, 2010; Alim, 2007). Like Hop-Hop Nation Language, texting has yielded English vocabulary forms that are not similar to mainstream English. For example, in Chicago, students' English essays at one of the nation's largest community college districts are often plagued with texting language. Some papers have morphological forms like *cuz* for *because, ok* for *okay,* and *2-nite* for *tonight.* A considerable number of students within this community college system are language minority students. Additionally, many of these students are speakers of African American English (AAE) .[1] AAE differs from HHNL and texting in that the former is systemic language structure spoken for generations whereas HHNL and texting are often a slang-oriented language utilized by mostly youth. In fact, Hip-Hop is a hybrid, transcultural linguistic and literacy practice of today's youth (Alim, 2011). AAE speakers are hardly part of the Culture of Power, which is in part, those who dictate the linguistic codes in America (Delpit, 1996). Therefore, their dialect of English is often faced with negative attitudes even though notions of standard English have little relevance to AAE as a legitimate system of communicating (Burns, Velleman, Green, & Roeper, 2010). The use of mainstream English and AAE among students is not only attributed to environmental factors like exposure to AAE, but its use is also related to other variables such as race, gender, age, and racial makeup of their school.

This article highlights the variables that are associated with students' attitudes toward AAE, and whether students' scores on the African American English Teacher Attitude Scale (AAETAS) reflected a "high," "middle" or a

"low" rating. Demographic variables such as size of hometown (rural, urban, and suburban), race, gender, age, racial makeup of university and exposure to AAE were used as independent variables in finding associations with students' attitudes. It is important to note that the students surveyed in this study were pursuing K-12 teaching credentials. Early studies have established that teachers' negative responses to a child's dialect negatively influence the child's academic performance (Bowie & Bond 1994; Taylor 1973). Furthermore, knowledge about attitudes is useful in understanding the origins of people's responses to them (Burns, Velleman, Green, & Roeper, 2010). Moreover, teachers play a major role in referring children to speech language pathologist for language-related issues (Van Keulen, Weddinton & DeBose 1998).

This study utilized Hoover, McNair, Lewis and Politzer's (1997)[2] AAETAS to measure attitudes. In addition, the following research questions were formulated in order to research the above-mentioned purposes:

1. What attitudes do selected Florida students exhibit toward AAE as measured by the African American English Teacher Attitude Scale?
2. What demographic variables (race, university attended, hometown size, gender, age, socio-economic status) and exposure-to-dialect variables (home/community, high school course work, university course work) are associated with these attitudes?

The variables were particularly important to this study because previous studies revealed that teachers' attitudes varied between races and on the grade levels at which the teachers taught. Moreover, these studies revealed that elementary and second school teachers hold attitudes that could operate to the detriment of the educational development of the child (Bowie & Bond 1994; Bronstein, Dubner, Lee & Raphael 1970). Previous studies also reflected that teachers who taught in urban or suburban schools produced contrasting attitudes towards children's language (Woodworth & Salzer 1971). However, few if any studies have been conducted to determine if primary language socialization is associated with the attitudes toward dialects of students who desire to teach. Besides primary language socialization, exposure to AAE was used as an important variable, because earlier studies have yielded contrasting results (Garner & Rubin 1986; Heath 1983).

Students' attitudes toward AAE may be attributed to the knowledge or lack-of-knowledge that they have about this dialect of English and the contrasting cultures between both teachers and students of color (Baugh 2000; Delpit 1999; Perry 1998). These attitudes may also contribute to a student's success or failure in the classroom. In addition, Smitherman (1998) noted that{} research on language attitudes consistently indicates that teachers believe AAE-speaking youngsters are 'nonverbal,' 'slow learners,' and 'uneducable,' and they possess 'limited vocabularies' as well as 'speak unsystematically' (167). Wolfram (1993) observed that more than two decades of research on language variation and language attitudes in American society have shown that dialect prejudice remains one of the most resistant and insidious of all prejudices in our society. Wolfram's statement on dialect prejudice also reflects that {}research on attitudes toward language is not new.

The greatest amount of research on attitudes toward language was conducted in the seventies and eighties; few studies were conducted in the nineties as well. The studies that were conducted in the 1990s consisted of matched-guised techniques in which the subjects rated taped recorded voices of both an AAE speaker and a standard English (SE) speaker (Doss & Gross 1992; Koch & Gross 1997), a likert-type

scale (Bowie & Bond 1994) and interview with open-ended questions (Tapia 1999). Furthermore, attitudes toward language seem to vary, and varying attitudes toward language consist of teachers viewing a student's dialect along a 'deficit/difference' continuum (Bronstein, Dubner, Lee & Raphael 1970). Besides a study of middle class African Americans attitudes toward AAE (Rahman, 2008), a study to examine attitudes toward AAE by people outside of the United States has been conducted (Cargile, Takai, & Rodriguez, 2006).

Speakers of AEE are at various points along the AAE continuum; moreover, support for AAE speakers may entail exposure to different types of languages (Burns, Velleman, Green, & Roeper, 2010). In fact, Green (2002: 242) stated that "two of the most common topics on AAE and education are teachers' attitudes and classroom strategies and instruction used in teaching AAE speakers to use mainstream English consistently in schools and other environments."

It is important to note that knowledge of AAE was not the focus of this study since research shows that teachers express attitudes about the dialect with little or no linguistic knowledge of AAE. For example, Perry (1998: 3) stated ". . . most teachers have little, if any, accurate knowledge about Black Language and are likely to harbor negative attitudes about the language and its speakers, primarily because of their sociopolitical location." Cutri (2000) reported that attention to how teachers' beliefs and attitudes influence classroom policies with language minority students is not widespread at either the preservice or in-service levels of teacher education; it is unclear how to facilitate examination of beliefs curricularly and pedagogically. How teachers view the home language of students and their families plays a significant role in teachers' expectations and respect for students' cultures (Perry & Delpit 1998).

This research was designed to assist those promoting Standard English Proficiency policies by providing them with information on the current attitudes of teachers. Teachers' attitudes are undeniably important because they contribute to the academic shortcomings of students who speak dialects of English other than the standard. For example, Baugh (2000) noted that teachers and speech pathologists misdiagnose AAE speaking children because neither is adequately trained in linguistics. In addition, Perry and Delpit (1998) highlighted the difficulty for students when teachers' attitudes are prejudiced toward their dialect. The authors noted, "The difficulty is particularly acute for those African-American students who speak Ebonics because many teachers fail to recognize their language as anything other than a substandard form of English. As a result, teachers may view Ebonics-speaking children as stupid or lazy (although these value judgments might be couched in more acceptable terms such as *disadvantaged* or *in need of language remediation*" (xiv). In fact, AAE has morphosyntactic, semantic, phonological, and pragmatic features that are both similar and different from Standard English. In spite of that, bidialectalism for AAE speakers should be the ultimate goal (Burns, Velleman, Green, & Roeper, 2010).

This study incorporated the racial categories designated on university admissions applications in the State of Florida as a demographic variable (American Indian or native Alaskan, Asian, Black or African American, Native Islander or other Pacific Islander, Hispanic or Latino/Latina and White). Respondents represented two universities, both a Historically Black College University [HBCU] and a predominately White University. The researcher classified the respondents' hometown area according to three levels, which are "rural," "urban," and "suburban." Gender, age and socioeconomic status (SES) were also included as variables. Three independent variables

ascertained exposure to AAE. One was exposure to AAE from a high school course, the other was exposure to AAE from a university course and the third one was exposure to AAE in the home or community environment (Appendix A). All the above-mentioned variables were used in the multiple regression analysis conducted in this study.

Previous Studies

Previous studies researched the attitudes of in-service teachers and variables such as race, grade level taught at the institution, gender, age, number of years teaching, dialect, level of teaching institution (Bronstein et al 1970; Granger et al 1977), grade level of the students investigated in the study (Naremore 1971), geographical location of teaching assignment (urban vs. rural), teachers' fields of college degree, teaching experience, racial composition of school and parents' education (Taylor 1973) as well as geographical location of teaching institution (Woodworth & Salzer, 1971). The variables that had the most impact consisted of level of institution, race, racial make up of school, SES of teachers and students' dialect.

The current study ascertained if the preservice teachers' 'hometown population' and 'primary language socialization were associated with their attitudes. Standard English is normally associated with White and educated people living in suburban areas, while AAE is associated with African Americans in either rural or urban areas. Most studies have concentrated on the language of the students (Colquhoun 1978; Di Giulio 1973; Granger et al 1977; Harber 1979; Hoover et al 1997; Shuy & Williams 1973). Previous studies have not concentrated on the dialect/language of the teachers, however. Teachers' dialect could be an important variable associated with their attitude toward dialects of English. Although Shuy and Williams (1973) used various dialects as stimuli in order to ascertain listeners' attitudes about a social standing of a dialect, heretofore no study has considered the teachers' dialect.

Although some of the earlier studies had considered the subjects' current teaching settings (urban or sub-urban), the geographical categorization of the teacher's hometown, the teacher's dialect of English and their exposure to AAE through either a high or college course are new variables. The nature of the hometown is an important variable because AAE speaking children are often found in both the rural and urban areas in the south. Researchers must also consider the fact that teachers also come from urban, suburban and rural areas. As a result, teachers from these areas are not only exposed to speakers of AAE, but many of them also have primary dialectal influences that should be noted. Teachers who were raised in suburban areas may not have had much exposure to AAE speaking children as teachers who were raised in either urban or rural areas.

Besides the hometown and the dialect of teachers, variables such as exposure to features of AAE through a high school or college course were included in the study because academic exposure to a dialect may be an important variable associated with attitudes toward it. In light of an extensive literature review, the variables (1) Primary hometown population of teachers, (2) Primary English dialect of teachers, (3) Exposure to features of AAE through a high school course and (4) Exposure to features of AAE through a college course are considered complementary to variables used in previous studies.

Preservice teachers' attitudes toward AAE have rarely been assessed, and it is important to note that Doss and Gross (1992) as well as Tapia (1999) used college students in their studies. The former used African American college students who may have been preservice teachers, while the latter used preservice teachers. Although Tapia's (1999) study included

preservice teachers who self-reported aspects of the dialect, it did not survey their attitudes in order to ascertain whether or not they held negative or positive attitudes. Preservice teachers' attitudes are probably shaped by their home and schooling as well as language socialization. Teachers attitudes may be also be shaped by their teaching experiences or lack of experience.

Another important aspect of this study is that it was conducted in a different geographical area than previous studies. This study was conducted in the state of Florida, which is the southern-most state in the contiguous United States. This is important because Florida is ranked as the fourth largest state in the US, and it is one of the states that include 13.6 to 26 percent of all African Americans living in the US (U.S. Census 2000). Primary geographical region most likely plays a role in language socialization. The southern part of the United States has a considerable number of African Americans, many of whom live in rural areas. Unlike many African Americans in the south, many African Americans in the northern part of the United States are primarily concentrated in urban areas. This contrasting geographical aspect should be considered in AAE studies conducted in the south since more African Americans are concentrated in the south than any other region of the US (US Census 2000).

METHODOLOGY

The AAETAS and a demographic questionnaire (Appendix A) were used to collect data answering these research questions. Hoover et al (1977) developed the AAETAS based on an earlier version. Hoover et al had developed a similar version of the AAETAS in 1976 at the Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching (SCRDT). It is a Likert-type scale that was based on actual statements made by educators and laypersons. The instrument followed a model developed by Taylor and Hayes (1971) for measuring teachers' attitudes. The AAETAS is a 46-item test (survey) whose scores range from 46 to 184. In several test administrations, the reliability of the scale measured from 0.89 to 0.93. After the survey was administered, a reliability analysis of each item was run using an SPSS computer program. Each item was determined to have an r coefficient of .30 or higher using Cronbach's alpha to measure reliability. Subsequently, the AAETAS had been utilized in teacher workshops across the country to explore teachers' attitudes toward AAE (Hoover et al 1997).

The AAETAS was based on reactions to statements that reflect high (above 160) and low (below 120) attitude scores. Besides AAE, some statements on the survey pertained to culture and some terms seemed outmoded. Nonetheless, the entire instrument was used in this study so as not to threaten its established validity and reliability. However, the statements on the AAETAS were rearranged as to allow most questions about language to come before questions about culture.

The AAETAS consists of 46 positive and negative statements about AAE. For example, a statement such as "African American English expresses some things better than standard English" was viewed as positive statement towards AAE, whereas a statement such as "African American English is misuse of standard language" was viewed as a negative statement towards AAE. Respondents were asked to choose from a four-point response Likert-type scale to rate each response. These were:

1 = Agree Strongly
2 = Agree Mildly
3 = Disagree Mildly
4 = Disagree Strongly

Thus, the AAETAS is comprised of 23 positive and 23 negative statements. The 46 items on the

AAETAS have a range of scores from 46 to 184 when scored. Hoover et al (1997: 386) noted, "on the attitude scale a high score (above 160 points) can be interpreted as a favorable attitude toward divergent speech patterns and the achievement potential of African American students, whereas exceptionally low scores (below 120) tend to show significant negative attitudes."

Unlike Hoover et al (1997) research with the AAETAS, the respondents' scores in this study AAETAS were classified as 'high,' 'middle,' and 'low.' These scores were based on the statistics from the continuous scores. In other words, the researcher used the range of scores, the mean, and the standard deviation from the current study in order to ascertain which scores were viewed as high, middle or low (Table 1). Hoover et al (1997) study did not indicate how the ranges of below 120 (negative attitude) and above 160 (favorable attitude) were established. Furthermore, categorization of scores as 'high,' 'middle,' or 'low' was based on the statistical analyses of data in this study, and these scores were compared with the ranges (high scores above 160 points and scores below 120) established by Hoover et al (1997). Hoover, et al (1997) provided three categories of scores by establishing that scores above 160 were interpreted as favorable, while those below 120 showed significantly (the authors' word) negative attitudes.

Table 1: Comparison of Constructs for the Previous and Present AAETAS

Hoover et al (1997)		Present Study	
Deficit	Under 120	Low	Under 110
Difference	120-159	Middle	110-153
Excellence	160 or above	High	154 or above

The four-point scale used in the original AAETAS was retained for use in the current study. This scoring system assigned numerical values to responses as follows:

(a) 4 points for a strong agreement with a positive statement;
(b) 3 points for a mild agreement with a positive statement;
(c) 2 points for a mild disagreement with a positive statement;
(d) 1 points for a strong disagreement with a positive statement;
(e) 4 points for a strong disagreement with a negative statement;
(f) 3 points for a mild disagreement with a negative statement;
(g) 2 points for a mild agreement with a negative statement; and
(h) 1 point for a strong agreement with a negative statement.

A sample of convenience consisting of pre-service teachers at the Florida University and the Orange University (fictitious names) were selected for this research. The subjects comprising this sample of 153 (N = 153) were identified through education courses at their respective universities. The sample consisted only of students who were education majors, and who were planning to teach elementary or secondary school in the state of Florida.

Both FU and OU are four-year public institutions in the state of Florida. Florida University is a predominately White university, whereas Orange University is an HBCU. The National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES 2002) reported that FU had a student population of 33,971, whereas OU had population of 12,126. In addition, FU had a white student population of 75.3 percent and OU had a black student population of 94.3 percent respectively (NCES 2002). Nearly all of the ten public universities with a predominately white student body and a predominately African American student body in the state of Florida have similar statistics (NCES 2002).

Data from the completed questionnaires were entered on an SPSS 10.0 statistical program. The AAETAS four point response Likert-type scale was utilized, and coded as explained previously. Frequencies, percentages, means, and standard deviations of responses for each item were tabulated. The positive statements were coded with numbers (i.e. from 4 to 1), and the negative statements on the survey were recoded in inverse fashion (i.e. 1 to 4) respectively.

Subsequently, responses were tabulated to show the sum of scores obtained from each AAETAS. Table 2 displays frequency distributions of preservice teachers by school, race and

Gender was used to answer Research Question 1 (What attitudes do selected Florida preservice teachers exhibit toward AAE as measured by the African American English Teacher Attitude Scale?). The frequency distributions were divided by preservice teachers' attitude score categories (e.g. high, middle and low). As mentioned earlier, unlike the original AAETAS research conducted by Hoover et al (1997), the current research used the range, mean and standard deviation of the continuous scores in order to describe the preservice teachers' attitudes toward AAE (See Table 2).

Table 2: Statistics for all Attitude Scores (n=153)

N	153
M	127.34
Mdn	129
Mode	132
SD	16.80
Range	85
Min	85
Max	170

A multiple regression analysis was conducted in order to answer Research Question 2, "Which variables are associated with these attitudes (i.e. race, school, size of hometown/urban vs. rural, age, gender, SES, dialect and exposure to AAE)? The multiple regression analysis ascertained which independent variables correlated significantly with the dependent variable. The multiple regression analysis also enabled the researcher to provide a post hoc estimated marginal means of score for independent variables that yielded significant p – values (Table 4).

It is important to note that since the researcher sought to ascertain variables that were "associated" with the preservice teachers' attitudes, the associational question in this study required "associational inferential statistics," which entail a multiple regression analysis (Gliner & Morgan 2000). Furthermore, a multiple regression analysis is necessary because a dependent variable is influenced simultaneously by several independent variables (Babbie 1998). Therefore, a regression analysis indicates the influence of the independent variables on the dependent variable(s). The significance level (p-value) for all tests was established at alpha (a) = 0.05.

RESULTS

As displayed in Table 2, the mean of all scores was M=127.34, which is in the 'middle' range. The median (Mdn=129) and mode (132) of all scores were higher than the mean, and they also remain in the 'middle' category. The standard deviation (SD=16.80) reflects that a little over 68 percent of all attitude scores were between 110.54 and 144.14 on the attitude scale. The minimum score was 85, which was in the 'low' category. The maximum score of 170 was in the 'high' category. There was a range of 85 points between the minimum and maximum scores. However, the scores between 85 and 109 fall less than one standard deviation below the mean of 127.34. Therefore, for the purposes of this study, they are considered as 'low scores.' The scores between 110 and 154 are considered as 'middle scores.' There were some preservice teachers who scored over 154, which is 1 standard deviation above the mean. Therefore, these scores are considered as 'high scores.'

Moreover, the mean, standard deviation and range were used to set the ranges 85 to 109 (low), 110 to 154 (middle) and above 154 (high).

The mean responses to the statements on the AAETAS ranged from 1.56 to 3.61. The highest means were assigned to statements 27, 33, and 32. Those means were 3.61, 3.50 and 3.44 respectively. The lowest means value (1.56) was associated with statement 9. All the statements on AAETAS (Appendix A) were made by teachers in the 1970s; therefore, the language reflects vocabulary and terms of that era. Statement 27 (*African Americans should try to look like everybody else in this country rather than wearing Bubas and Afros.*) received 111 "strongly agree" replies, and statement 33 (*African American children have the same potential for achievement in math and science as any other people*.) received 106 "strongly agree" replies. Statement 32 (*African American children can learn to read in spite of the fact that most readers are written in standard English*.) received 39 "agree" replies and 96 "strongly agree" replies. Statement number 9 (*It is not necessary for Black children to learn anything other than their own dialect of African American English in school)* received 105 "strongly disagree" replies and 28 "disagree" replies.

The items on the survey were interesting to note because they were actual statements made by in-service teachers during the seventies. Statement number 9 elicited attitudes about whether or not African American children should retain AAE in school, and a majority of preservice teachers revealed that African Americans children should conform to mainstream language. One hundred and thirty-three preservice teachers either "strongly disagreed," or "disagreed" with this statement. The fact that 19 preservice teachers either "strongly agreed," or "agreed" with this statement was interesting in that it reflects a 'high' attitude toward AAE. Statement number 9 is ambiguous because it is unclear whether it states that African Americans should learn only AAE in schools as opposed to another dialect, or whether they should learn only AAE and not math, science, algebra, etc. Statement number 27 elicited preservice teachers' attitudes toward African American dress styles (i.e. culture). A total of 141 preservice teachers either "strongly agreed," or "agreed" that African Americans should conform to mainstream dress (culture). The interesting aspect about this statement is that it did not pertain to language, and a large number of preservice teachers agreed with it. Both statements 32 and 33 addressed African American children's ability to "achieve" in math, science and reading. The fact that any preservice teachers disagreed with these two statements (i.e. 18 preservice teachers for #32 and 18 for #33) is alarming. A total of 12 items on several surveys were omitted, but the researcher included them in the calculation of all surveys.

In addition, a reliability analysis was conducted on the 46 statements completed on the 153 AAETASs. The reliability of the scale measured .8833 using Cronbach's alpha procedure. Although the reliability was high, statements 6, 9, 15, 22, and 29 were determined to have negative r coefficients of -.2002, -.0219, -.0341, -.0330 and -.1152 respectively. The negative coefficients were not large, and they only slightly affected reliability. They are:

- Statement 6: It is racist to demand that African American children take reading tests because their culture is so varied that reading is an insignificant skill.
- Statement 9: It is not necessary for Black children to learn anything other than their own dialect of African American English in school.
- Statement 15: The African American community concept of discipline involves not letting children "do their own thing" and "hang loose."

- Statement 22: African American children can't learn to read unless African American Vernacular English is used as the medium of instruction in the schools.
- Statement 29: The reason African American children have trouble learning in school is that they are not taught properly.

Possible reasons for the negative coefficients could be ambiguity in the statements, improper wording or the statement(s) reflected a complex sentence, which includes two statements (i.e. a dependent clause and an independent clause). For example, statement 6 contains two propositions, either of which could solicit different responses. Interestingly, the AAETAS reflected a reliability of .9067 when the five statements with negative r coefficients were removed; however, all statements were retained on the survey in the final analyses of the data. More important, the researcher would have had to reestablish the reliability and validity if the existing instrument were modified. Overall the range of r coefficients was from .0713 to .6999 for all 46 statements.

Preservice Teachers' Attitude Scores

Research Question 1

Each variable was analyzed for Research Question 1 (What attitudes do selected Florida preservice teachers exhibit toward AAE as measured by the African American English Teacher Attitude Scale?). The scores in the current study are disbursed in relation to the standard deviation. Therefore, scores under 110 points are considered as 'low,' scores between 110 and 153 points are considered as 'middle' and scores above 153 are considered as 'high.' According to Hoover et al (1997), scores below 120 showed significantly negative attitudes and scores above 160 showed favorable attitudes toward AAE. In the present study, some of the preservice teachers who fall into Hoover et al (1997) 'deficit' category, placed in the 'middle' category of the present study. Thus, one-third of the preservice teachers surveyed in the present study fit into Hoover et al (1997) 'deficit' category. This may have important implications for the future of AAE speaking children in Florida schools, where these teachers are expected to work.

Since the researcher conducted surveys at both a predominately white school and an HBCU, frequency divisions by school, race, gender and the three score ranges of high, middle and low are reported in Table 3. Preservice teachers at FU comprised 58.3 of the total sample, whereas preservice teachers at OU comprised 41.2 of the total sample. The categories of American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian, Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander and Hispanics were combined into an 'Other' category because each represented sample was not large enough for statistical analysis. The 'Other' racial category represented only 5.9 percent of all preservice teachers assessed. African American and White together comprised 94.1 percent of all preservice teachers surveyed. The female preservice teachers comprised 75.8 percent of the sample and male comprised 24.2 percent of the sample. There were 62 African American female preservice teachers and 18 African American male preservice teachers out of the 153 preservice teachers surveyed. White female preservice teachers comprised 51 of the total sample, whereas White male preservice teachers comprised 13 of the total sample. There were 3 female preservice teachers who reported 'Other' as their race, and 6 male preservice teachers who reported "Other."

The only African American male preservice teacher surveyed at FU represented a middle score. There were 14 African American males at OU who had middle scores and 3 who had low scores. In addition, African American males did not report any high scores. There were one high score, six middle scores and two low

scores among the 9 preservice teachers who classified their race as 'Other.'

OU had a total of 54 middle attitude scores, while FU had a total of 66 middle scores. Although OU and FU had nearly the same number of middle scores, OU had a total of 5 low scores while FU had a total of 13 low scores. Each school had 3 preservice teachers with high scores. Overall, 4.6 percent of the scores were categorized as high, 82.4 were categorized as middle and 13.1 percent of all the scores were categorized as low.

Table 3: Frequencies Preservice Teachers' Attitude Scores by School, Race and Gender (n = 153)

			School		
Race	Gender		FU	OU	Total
African American	Female	High	1	3	4
		Middle	15	39	54
		Low	2	2	4
		Total	18	44	62
	Male	High			
		Middle	1	14	15
		Low		3	3
		Total	1	17	18
White	Female	High	2		2
		Middle	40	1	41
		Low	8		8
		Total	50	1	51
	Male	High			
		Middle	10		10
		Low	3		3
		Total	13		13
Other	Female	High			
		Middle	2		2
		Low		1	1
		Total	2	1	3
	Male	High		1	1
		Middle		4	4
		Low		1	1
		Total		6	6

RESEARCH QUESTION 2

What demographic variables (race, university attended, hometown size, gender, age, socio-economic status) and exposure-to-dialect variables (home/community, high school course work, university course work) are associated with these attitudes?

Research question 2 includes the nine independent variables that were used in the multiple regression analysis. The multiple regression analysis was used to determine which independent variables were associated most highly with the dependent variable. For example, the multiple regression analysis ascertained whether language used at home was associated with

attitude score. In addition, a post hoc estimated marginal means comparison among the independent variables that yielded significant p – values (e.g. Language Used at Home and Hometown Population).

The categories of gender, school, race, language, course1, course2 and hometown population were assigned a numerical value (i.e. "dummy variable") in order to run statistical analyses (e.g. 0 = female, 1 = male, 0 = African American, 1= White, etc.). The multiple regression analysis in this study entailed using 7 categorical (nominal) variables and 2 numerical (interval) variables. The seven categorical variables were gender, race, school, language used at home, high course with AAE, college course with AAE and size of hometown, whereas the two numerical variables were SES and age.

Table 4 portrays all variables, both significant and insignificant, as a result of the multiple regression used in this study. *Language Used at Home* and *Hometown Population* had significant p –values. As a result, Language Used at Home and Hometown Population are associated with preservice teachers' attitudes to a considerable extent. This is an important finding because these two variables had not been used in previous studies. The additional variables that had not been used in previous studies, High School and College Course, did not yield significant p – values. Gender, School, Age and SES also did not yield significant p – values. Since Language Used at Home and Hometown Population yield significant p – values, an estimated marginal means plot was created to compare the means of these variables.

Table 4: Summary of Multiple Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Attitude Score Tests of Within-Subjects Effects

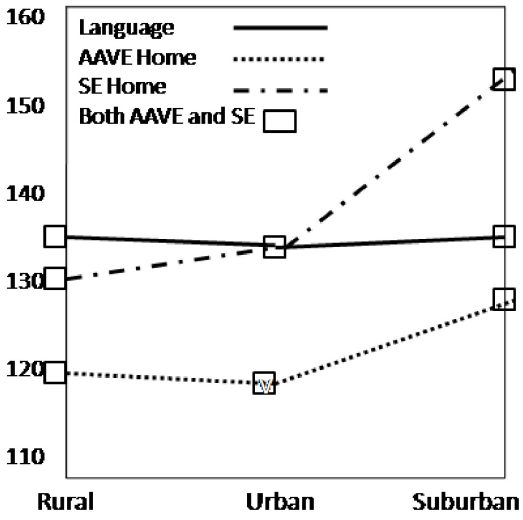
Dependent Variable: Score					
Variabe	SS	df	Mean Sq.	F	Sig.
Gender	151.055	1	151.055	.599	.440
School	17.799	1	17.799	.071	.791
Race	111.700	2	55.850	.222	.802
Language	2564.717	2	1282.359	5.086*	.007
Course 1	5.495	1	5.495	.022	.883
Course 2	23.107	1	23.107	.092	.763
HOMPOP	2376.313	2	1188.156	4.712*	.011
Age	553.102	3	184.367	.731	.535
SES	582.757	3	194.252	.770	.512

a R squared = .200 (Adjusted R Squared = .106)
*significant at alpha (a) = 0.05.

An estimated marginal means (EMM) plot revealed the estimates of the population marginal means for the variables selected (Figure 1). The means of both Hometown Population and Language Used at Home were compared in order to ascertain the differences and to view how these means are generalized to the population of preservice teachers. The EMM plot reflected that teachers who speak Standard English at home represent the lowest mean, regardless of their hometown population. The plot also revealed that the means of rural, suburban and urban teachers who speak AAE at home are virtually the same, with the mean of rural AAE speaking teachers slightly higher. On the other hand, the means of teachers who speak both SE and AAE are quite distinguishable. The rural bidialectal speakers had the lowest mean,

urban bidialectal teachers are slightly above rural. Interestingly, the mean of bidialectal suburban teachers is the highest of all teachers, regardless of their hometown size. This finding may mirror the fact that suburban bidialectal teachers' exposure to, knowledge of and use of SE and AAE influence their attitudes toward AAE.

Figure 1: Home Town and Language
Estimated Marginal Means



DISCUSSION

Over 75 percent of the preservice teachers were female. Over 52 percent of the preservice teachers were African American, while 42 percent of them were white. Almost 61 percent of the preservice teachers reported that SE was their primary language spoken at home, 15 percent reported that AAE was their primary language, and slightly over 24 percent reported to be bidialectical in their primary language environments (both SE and AAE). Preservice teachers from urban backgrounds comprised 43 percent of the sample, those from suburban areas comprised over 36 percent of the sample and rural preservice teachers comprised slightly over 22 percent of the sample.

One of the most interesting and troubling findings of this study was that low attitude scores were reported by a considerable number of preservice teachers. For example, some preservice teachers reflected low scores regardless of their gender, race or school representation. Only 5 percent of the preservice teachers reflected a high attitude score, a little over 82 percent reflected a middle attitude score, and slightly over 13 percent reflected a low attitude score. In addition, if Hoover et al (1997) original categories were considered, fully one-third of the preservice teachers reflected a deficit view of AAE. Females had lower attitude scores than males, but White males and White females had lower attitude scores than African American males and females. This is an interesting observation because the National Education Association reported in 2001 that 90 percent of all teachers in the country are White, while only 5 percent are African American (NEA 2003). Post hoc estimated marginal means comparison reflected that suburban bidialectal teachers had the highest mean of all teachers, whereas SE speakers had the lowest mean regardless of hometown population. The mean for rural, urban and suburban AAE speaking preservice teachers was higher than bidialectal rural teachers but the same for urban bidialectal teachers. Overall, the mean of bidialectal suburban teachers surpassed the means of all teachers by more than 15 points.

The racial makeup of each university was contrastingly different, for one university was predominately white and the other was predominately African American. This was important because the skewed school populations may affect the genralizability of the findings. In other words, because some universities in the state of Florida have large Hispanic populations, this may change the dynamics of attitude. Therefore, generalizability should be considered relevant only to those universities with similar demographic characteristics.

The findings of this study add to the research on teacher education by providing an index of

teacher attitude scores in the State of Florida. Although a plethora of research exists on the features of AAE and the educational implications on its speakers, this research has clearly shown that teachers' attitudes still vary after four decades of research on the dialect. This study suggests that negatively valuing students' languages may remain un-addressed in other Colleges of Education as well as the two studied here.

Cazden (1998: 50) stressed that, "Educators' attitudes toward language differences thus have an increased potential to influence educational outcomes: Positive attitudes reinforce opportunities for students to build on the language skills they bring to school; negative attitudes increase the risks often associated with language differences." By virtue of participating in the study**,** the preservice teachers in this study are aware that AAE exists and that it is a dialect spoken by many in the schools here in America. However, they have shown through this survey that the problem with language in the classroom may not lie with the students; instead, it probably lies with the educators themselves, just as Cazden claimed.

The results of this study also show that preservice teachers should be better educated about dialects as well as non-native languages in the classroom. Interestingly, students who are preservice education majors in the State of Florida public universities are required to take 5 linguistics/ESOL courses as part of a consent decree (Florida Department of Education [DOE] 1990). Though the Consent Decree addresses the civil rights of ELL students, (Day-Vines, et al., 2001) teachers are required to take course in language acquisition. It is these courses that will heighten future teachers' awareness of dialects. Yet, it seems that changing attitudes about dialects/languages remains impervious.

A number of preservice teachers in this study with low attitude scores (e.g. 85 out of 184 on the survey reflects a low score) have demographic characteristics of the in-service teachers today. This study shows that the deficit belief still exists among a considerable number of our preservice teachers. It is important to point out that many are African American. This is important because it not only reflects *linguicism*, which a form of linguistic prejudice used to produce an unequal division of power and resources between groups defined by their language (Phillipson, 1992), but it also reflects *intracultural linguicism*.

The results of this study also add to the body of literature that questions teachers' beliefs about native English speaking minority students as well as limited English Proficiency (LEP) students. Maybe the traditional methods used in our primary and secondary schools do not take into account research on language variation. Some of the African American preservice teachers who participated in the study vehemently denied speaking AAE, but unconsciously produced questions such as, "How much we get? (cf. How much do we get?). In other words, deletion of the /do/ marker is a feature of AAE. Although the preservice teachers in this study indicated their primary language spoken at home, some viewed AAE as synonymous with slang. If the teachers in this research are in denial about their own language use and/or lack knowledge of dialects, then they may not be concerned about the language use of their pupils. This is a crucial point because language use at home was a significant variable at $p < .007$.

CONCLUSION

The results clearly show that the attitudes of preservice teachers vary and that variables such as their dialect and geographical origin are associated with this variation. Large scale AAETAS studies with random samples that include Hispanic teachers would provide more concise data regarding preservice teachers'

attitudes towards AAE. Nevertheless, the results of this study and future studies should be shared with the preservice teachers as well as students in other disciplines, so that they can see the variety of attitude scores and discuss their implications. This study could serve as a reference for administrators in making policy decisions on the content of teacher education programs and research. Furthermore, like the State of Florida and a number of other states, undergraduate and graduate preservice teachers should be required to take a number of linguistics courses. This will allow more preservice teachers to study linguistic subsystems as well as learn English to Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) strategies and methodologies for dealing with English acquisition/learning. Educators and administrators should no longer posit claims about AAE being an unsystematic form of speech because a plethora of research on this dialect makes these claims tenuous. Instead, they should be seeking ways to help these speakers gain access to Standard English so that they can gain social mobility. Day-Vines, et al. (2001) discussed the implications of AAE for school counselors. The researchers list ways in which school counselors can support the academic career and personal/social development of students. They entail:

- considering their own attitudes, biases, and assumptions regarding AAE;
- promoting school climates that are more accepting and appreciative of the social and cultural richness of language diversity in general and AAE specifically;
- working conjointly with school personnel to enhance the educational achievement of students who present linguistic diversity; and
- developing psychoeducational strategies and interventions that promote linguistic appreciation and awareness to reinforce the importance of SAE acquisition and code-switching without disparaging students' discourse communities (p. 82).

The above-mentioned approaches to supporting students who are speakers of AAE could serve as a model for all administrators and teachers. Likewise, students must not only explore their attitudes towards their dialects of English, they must consider the social-political implications of speaking AAE in environments where mainstream English is valued. The Hip-Hop generation, some of whom are teachers, display varying attitudes toward their dialects. The issue at hand is that this generation would be better served to grasp the notion of bifurcated language use. That is, style shifting for pragmatic purposes. Style shifting is the alternation between styles of speech (Eckert & Rickford, 2001). In 2005, future President Barak Obama expressed his need to style-shift – and compared it to code-switching – in an interview with former NBA star Charles Barkley in the latter's 2005 book, *Who's Afraid of a Large Black Man*?

Now, by the time I was negotiating environments where there were those kinds of sharp divisions, I was already confident enough to make my own decisions. It became a matter of being able to speak different dialects. That's not unique to me. Any Black person in America who's successful has to be able to speak several different forms of the same language. You take on different personas as you need to, when you have to. And there's nothing wrong with it. It's not unlike a person shifting between Spanish and English. You're going to speak differently on the golf course with your buddies than you are with your cut buddies around the kitchen table. (p. 25)

Like the president of the United States, students should maintain their dialects while mastering the use of mainstream English. Learning mainstream English is a transition to bi-dialecticism, which is tantamount to bilingualism.

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INCARCERATION NATION: HOW EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS IN PRISONS "LOCK OUT" INCARCERATED JUVENILES

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Abstract: Research regarding the efficacy of educational programs that are intended to educate incarcerated juveniles is scarce. This position paper argues that the current incarnation of academic instruction prevalent in juvenile correctional facilities has failed to adhere to federal mandates outlined in the Individuals with Disabilities Education (IDEA) and No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Acts. Therefore, this failure effectively "locks out" countless students from receiving a quality education, and perpetuates their journey through the school-to-prison pipeline. The authors also posit that in order to remedy these academic maladies, and ensure that juvenile justice programs nationwide comply with local, state and federal mandates, additional federal funding needs to be allocated to academic programs that educate incarcerated youth.

INTRODUCTION

Due to the expansion of juvenile prison populations, especially among poor minority youths, there exists a continual need for research that examines the educational, social, behavioral, and personal lives of these forgotten youth (Zabel & Nigro, 2001). The most recent statistics from 2010, found that each day in the United States over 48,000 youth are confined in detention centers or correctional facilities per the order of a juvenile court (Mendel, 2012). This number excludes those who are pending placements or waiting for their trails to begin: that number is approximately 21,000 each day (Mendel, 2012). With close to 70,000 students being held in detention centers or correctional facilities each day, it is safe to say that incarceration of youth has become an epidemic.

The focus of this paper is to examine the application, and more specifically, the failure of educational programs in juvenile facilities to fulfill their legal requirements outlined in the Individual with Disabilities Education (IDEA) and No Child Left behind Acts (NCLB). Additionally, it is the position of the authors that mandated educational programs within juvenile correctional facilities are not providing incarcerated students with disabilities access to a Free Appropriate Public Education (FAPE); further violating their educational rights enumerated under the penumbra of section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act (1973).

JUVENILE JUSTICE

Juvenile justice and their detention began as a way to ensure the safety of young offenders by removing them from the walls of adult prisons (Twomey, 2008). At that time, courts intervened as *parens patriae* (the state as the parent) in a means to serve the child's best interest. However, in the past fifty years, rehabilitation and/or the child's best interest appears no longer to be the foci of the juvenile justice system.

There is no national oversight for the juvenile justice system. Each state, and many times local school districts, are able to construct their own ideals for juvenile justice. If a state receives funds from the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, there are requirements to which a facility must adhere. The means in which those

requirements are attained have been left vague. Therefore, a variety of accommodations, standards and procedures exist that accompany centers at each level of agency.

Incarcerated Youth's Right to an Education

The Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, The Rehabilitation Act, IDEA, NCLB, and numerous state statutes serve as legal foundations for guaranteeing incarcerated youths their educational rights (Robinson & Rapport, 1999); (Twomey, 2008). Furthermore, under the auspice of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), incarcerated youth are guaranteed the same educational rights as students who are not incarcerated.

With the reauthorization of IDEA in 1997, the focus of educating students with disabilities transitioned away from simply providing contact to equitable resources and procedural compliance to creating access to general education curriculums (McDonnell, McLaughlin, & Morrison, 1997); (McLaughlin, 1999); (Gagnon, 2008). Furthermore, section 300.149, part D of the IDEA, expands the responsibilty of states to monitor and ensure the rights afforded to incarcerated youth that are outlined in this law (Education, 2012).

As part of the amendment of Title 1 of the Elementary and Secondary Act, the No Child Left Behind Act (2001) was designed and intended to provide accountability for the academic performance of all children (Yell, Shriner, & Katssiyannis, 2006). Additionally, Title 1 (Improving the academic achievement of the disadvantaged), Part D, section 1401, of the No Child Left Behind Act, stipulates that all states that accept NCLB funding are mandated by law to provide incarcerated youth with:

(1) Access to a high quality and accountable education for students enrolled in juvenile justice schools (Education, 2012).

(2) Services that provide successful transition from institutionalization to further schooling or employment (Education, 2012).

(3) Support systems for youth who are returning from correctional facilities or institutions for neglected or delinquent children, in order to ensure the continuance of their education (Education, 2012).

Under NCLB provisions, incarcerated youth and juvenile justice schools are expected to demonstrate Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP), a measurement that determines the annual academic achievement of students (No Child Left Behind [NCLB], 2002). Additionally, educators of incarcerated youth are also required to meet the definitions of a Highly Qualified Teacher. These qualifications include, possessing a bachelor's degree, passing a teaching licensure examination from respective state, and demonstrating knowledge in the subject area they are teaching (NCLB, 2002). Finally, the intent of NCLB is to protect the education of incarcerated youth, by requiring states that receive federal funds to monitor and improve educational services provided in correctional facilities (Twomey, 2008).

Education

Types of Education

The right to an education is maintained even after a juvenile commits a crime and is incarcerated. The types of education vary on a student-by-student basis. However, if a student has a special need, according to the United States Congress, correctional agencies are legally mandated to carry out IDEA (Ochoa and Eckes, 2005). Services include but are not limited to: an individually tailored education in the least restrictive environment, related services that may assist a student's educational needs and transitional services from corrections to school, work or living independently.

According to National Evaluation and Technical Assistance Center for the Education of Children and Youth Who Are Neglected, Delinquent, or At Risk (NDTAC) in the 2007-2008 school year, 96 percent of all states offered these youth educational services (Read & O'Cummings, 2010). Also for the 2007-2008 school year, the U.S. Department of Education provided 165 million dollars in Title 1 funds to these institutions nationally. To put that number in perspective, in the year 2009, according to the U.S. Department of Education, the school district of Miami-Dade County, Florida, alone received 100,000,000.00 plus dollars in Title 1 funding. The literature highlights that with education, juveniles can indeed be rehabilitated and reintegrated back into as valuable members of society (Houchins, 2001).

Failure to Provide a *Quality* Education

Existing literature regarding incarcerated youth historically has centered on three connected paradigms: School dropout, the inability to become gainfully employed and youth/adult incarceration. Research has shown connections between students who dropout from high school, and the increased probability of these students becoming incarcerated during their lifespan (Arum & LaFree, 2008); (Blomberg, Bales, Mann, Piquero, & Berk, 2011). Research also indicates a linkage between *juvenile* incarceration and the likelihood of being incarcerated as an *adult* (Myers, 2003). Furthermore, current literature regarding incarcerated youth typically focuses on risk factors that lead to juveniles becoming incarcerated (Christle, Jolivette, & Nelson, 2005). These risk factors include; a youth's race, poverty level, family structure, a history of physical/emotional/sexual abuse, drug addiction and poor education. Although these factors are written extensively throughout scholarly literature, there exists a gap in research that concentrates on the educational experiences these youths encounter during their incarceration. Research also fails to thoroughly investigate the facilities, quality of teachers employed, appropriate access to resources, and types of curriculum used with juveniles in correctional settings.

Research that does exist on educational experiences suggests that incarcerated youths are denied access to *quality* educational services (Morrison & Epps, 2002); (Twomey, 2008). Historically, many juvenile correctional facilities fail to provide incarcerated youth with appropriate accommodations/modifications, and services outlined in the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act and other applicable laws (Casey & Kelitz, 1990); (Robinson & Rapport, 1999).

In addition to these academic malpractices, many incarcerated youth experience educational services that do not ascribe to state standards for public schools, many of their teachers do not possess appropriate certifications; and students are educated within short, infrequent classes that are not based on state curriculums (Twomey, 2008). Neither do correctional facilities provide incarcerated youth with efficient identification and assessment measures, appropriate access to Individualized Educational Plans (IEP), nor are students taught using individualized instruction from qualified teachers Leo94\l1033(Leone, 1994).

This inability to provide incarcerated youth an appropriate education is indeed problematic, because it exacerbates the continuance of systemic failure experienced by these youths. The lack of educational services afforded to incarcerated youth with disabilities is also quite disturbing, especially due to the disproportionate placement of youth with disabilities into juvenile correctional facilities.

Currently, incarcerated juveniles with disabilities constitute a substantial portion of the

overall incarcerated population (Foley, 2001). National demographics of incarcerated youth, suggest that a disproportionate amount of juvenile offenders are minorities, poor and labeled with some form of learning exceptionality and/or behavior disability (Zabel & Nigro, 2001). Information published by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, using data from (Casey & Kelitz, 1990), approximate that 35.6 percent of incarcerated youth have been diagnosed with a disability.

Additionally, it is well documented, that our juvenile justice system is overflowing with young African-American males. Coincidentally, the overrepresentation of African-American males is also reflected in our nation's public school special education system (Ochoa and Eckes, 2005). The percentage of students with disabilities who are also incarcerated is very difficult to calculate as few agencies collect comprehensive data with this information (Zhang, Hsu, Katsiyannis, Barrett, and Ju 2011). Also, at times, student records become lost in the shuffle from the educational system to the justice system. Students who are protected by the law (IDEA) may not receive the services they are entitled to simply due to misplaced paper work (Pesta et al., 2002).

Studies continue to highlight the disproportionality of students with disabilities who are incarcerated. Shelton (2006) discovered that 38 percent of the youth she worked with in the correctional institution had met diagnostic criteria for having a learning disability. The offender population was 70 percent African-American, and 96 percent of these juveniles had an IQ of 70-82, which is considered the low average range. Shelton (2006) questioned the effectiveness of the educational services which were provided by the correctional institution for this group of students with special needs.

These services have also been questioned by the stakeholders themselves. In the *Casey A. et al. v. Jon R. Gundry* et al. (2010) class action law suit, students sued Los Angeles County agencies. The students' claim was that they were not receiving a Free and Appropriate Public Education mandated under IDEA. The students won the case and reform is taking place at the Challenger Detention Center in Los Angeles.

In terms of standardized testing, research purports that incarcerated juvenile youth tend to score lower on standardized and intelligence tests, in comparison to non-incarcerated juveniles in the same age/grade demographics (Zabel & Nigro, 2001). However, research has neither shown whether these students displayed academic deficiencies prior to becoming incarcerated nor does that research speak to the quality of education these juveniles received while incarcerated.

Current literature speaks to the failures of educational programs and services provided to incarcerated youth under NCLB guidelines. Twomey (2008) highlights that in terms of Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP), 19 states did not include juvenile justice schools in their assessment of AYP. Additionally, several states are not providing technical assistance to low-performing juvenile justice education programs, are not meeting AYP monitoring requirements, and are hiring teachers who do not meet the definitions of a Highly Qualified Teacher (Twomey, 2008).

Finally, the probability of a juvenile recidivating is amplified by such factors as offense history, substance abuse, psychiatric disorder, and problems in schools (McReynolds, Schwalbe, & Wasserman, 2010). However, research indicates that providing incarcerated youth with a quality education is one of the most efficient methods in curbing youth recidivism rates, and reducing the possibility of being incarcerated as an adult (DuCloux, 2008); (Twomey, 2008). Data drawn from the Bureau of Justice statistical longitudinal study conducted from 1983-1994, con-

cluded that 52 percent of all *adult* prisoners released in 1994 were back in prison either due to committing a new crime or because of a parole violation (Justice, 2010). The recidivism rate for juveniles is similar and hovers around 50 percent.

Lack of Appropriate Teacher Credentials

Public schools continue to struggle for strategies and interventions to accommodate all types of learners. The field of education is constantly striving to create materials and lessons that stimulate a diverse population of learners. Response to Intervention (RTI) is public school's latest attempt to meet all students' varying needs. In a public school setting there are many people working to facilitate the learning of a single student. Yet in a correctional facility, the education department can be short-staffed and undertrained (Ochoa & Eckes, 2005). There is little a teacher can do to accommodate his or her students within the confines of a correctional facility. Without proper funding there continues to exist less qualified staff in correctional facilities, therefore those students who are most vulnerable are not being supported as IDEA mandates (Johnson, 1999).

According to Twomey (2008) there are no comprehensive national statistics on the education of incarcerated youth. Current literature points to disparity in certified teachers. Many of the teachers in correctional facilities are not special educators. Most of the teachers currently teaching these vulnerable youth populations are not proficiently trained. Since there is an overrepresentation of children of color, children from low socioeconomic status and children with special needs, it would seem that funding would be directly targeted to this particular population of tripled marginalized students. Yet, that is often not the case. Resources are lacking. Classes are often abbreviated and coursework tends to be meaningless (Twomey, 2008).

Why Incarcerated Students are "Locked Out"

Incarcerated juveniles are some of the most underserved and overly neglected collection of students. Educational practitioners, policy makers, and other key stakeholders have essentially ignored this group of marginalized students, thus compromising their acquisition of a quality education, and successful transition out of incarceration. Society has left far too many of these students to be raised by the courts and correctional facilities. Many of these forgotten youths have no advocate, encounter feckless educators, and endure an educational system that has failed them prior to and during their incarceration.

Further compounding this dilemma is the lack of funding for educational programs that specifically benefit incarcerated juveniles. In the current sluggish economy, it is extremely difficult to advocate for supplementary educational resources to *traditional* K-12 programs, let alone advocate these scarce resources to be allocated for incarcerated juvenile programs. For example, in order to mitigate teacher layoffs in many states and provide funding for academic programs nationwide, President Barack Obama earmarked ($90,856,384,775) 10.8 percent of the total stimulus funds ($840B) released under the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (U.S. Government, 2012) for educational services. However, none (0 percent) of these funds were spent on educational services that provided specifically to incarcerated juveniles.

Because of these maladies, it is the authors' position that *authentic* rehabilitation of incarcerated juveniles isn't the agenda for most juvenile correctional facilities. We argue that correctional institutions—as a system—are designed to create a perpetual cluster of second-class citizens. This cluster is referred to as the *criminal class*, and unlike most American citizens, the criminal class is denied some of the

most fundamental rights outlined in the U.S. Constitution, (e.g., right to vote and right to bear arms), even *after* they have successfully completed their prison sentence and are released. Upon release, the criminal class is discriminated from obtaining gainful employment, denied access to financial aid if they are convicted of certain crimes (e.g., non-violent drug convictions), and regulated to impoverished, crime-riddled communities without any hope of upward social mobility. Yet, society expects reformed citizens and becomes indignant when these individuals recidivate and commit another crime.

There is no tolerance for criminals within our society. The concept of rehabilitation has been lost and therefore, so are those who choose to commit a crime. No longer are we as a society willing to give second chances. The youth imprisoned today face an uphill battle to come back from the fringe of society. Prisoners are a "throw away" population. Our society does not discriminate youth offenders from adult offenders. In general, an offender is an offender regardless of age. Taxpayers are not interested in investing in youth offenders. The education or rehabilitation of these young offenders is shadowed by society's demand for punishment. The possibly of recidivism is too much of a reality for "those" children. They are beyond repair and make up a portion of the criminal class.

The creation of this class can be linked to the criminalization of school discipline in modern urban and suburban school settings. In current American schools, the process in which discipline is defined, managed, and implemented tightly resembles methods used in crime control (Hirschfield, 2008). Therefore, under the cloak of safety, this notion of structuring schools after prisons has encouraged numerous schools to operate within a context that "pushes" out far too many students simply due to misbehavior, or a false perception of misbehavior. When these students are "pushed out" their propensity for becoming incarcerated increases; the likelihood that they will be "locked out" from receiving a free and appropriate education also increases.

If we are to truly rehabilitate juvenile and adult offenders, society must prioritize and become invested into the life outcomes of these individuals, and not perceive them simply as criminals or property of the state. With the prison population vastly increasing each decade, the United States is at a critical point. It is time for educators, policy makers and other stakeholders to act. They must prioritize the academic services provided to "unlock" incarcerated youths.

How to Unlock Incarcerated Youth

The population of incarcerated individuals has increased steadily from 1972 to 2009 (Justice U.D., 2011). Most of these individuals first encountered contact with the juvenile justice sysytem when they were adolsecents. If we are to reverse the direction of incarceration rates in this country, access to a quality education must be in the forefront.

As federal, state and local governments continue to rally around accountability movement within our nation's schools, there is a population of students who continue to be disregarded—youths who are incarcerated. Students who are educated within a detention center or correctional facility may receive only a few hours each week of basic math and reading instruction (Dubin, 2012). Most of these students have already experienced school failure.

It is the authors' position that in order to remedy the academic maladies explained in this paper and finally unlock the futures of copious incarcerated youth, juvenile justice programs nationwide must begin to comply with local, state and federal mandates. Doing so is integral

to ensure an incarcerated youth's right to a quality education. These youths cannot continue to be silenced, forgotten and further marginalized into a systemic cycle of destruction.

The current failures of educating incarcerated youth, coupled with high recidivism rates, is evidence that there is a need for change. That conversion needs to begin with the direction and scope of educational services provided in juvenile correctional facilities. In order to bear witness to this change, local, state and federal authorities need to address and repair the following systemic dysfunctionalities found throughout too many juvenile prisons: funding, compliance to FAPE, IDEA, NCLB, and quality transitional programs issues.

Funding

Inequitable funding of educational programs, especially in urban and inner city schools, has consistently been an issue of contention among advocates of education, policy makers, and other community stakeholders. Unfortunately, the quest to equitably fund educational programs that serve incarcerated youth—who predominately come from these urban, inner city communities—is also neglected.

The authors understand that there exists political and social implications to certain cultures, predominately those of color, and a lack of funding perpetuates the cycle of offending. If correctional facilities are truly invested in rehabilitating and educating incarcerated youth, additional federal funds need to be earmarked specifically for academic programs located within juvenile correctional facilities.

IDEA, NCLB and FAPE

America continues its distinction from other developed countries throughout the world as a nation obsessed with incarceration (Mendel, 2012, p. 6). While other nations focus on educating their youth, the U.S. spends nearly twice as much to house adjudicated adolescents as it does to teach them. The nation must decide that all children are valuable, not as property to the state, but as future productive members of society.

Therefore, in addition to increased federal funding, the authors posit that individual states must ensure that all funding, which would have been appropriated to a youth if he/she were in a traditional school, continues to follow the student once he or she is incarcerated. While incarcerated, it is imperative that juvenile correctional facilities, hire, train and support highly qualified teachers, per NCLB requirements. These teachers need to be kept abreast of best practices, be familiar with current research regarding the education of incarcerated youth, and be innovators who help promote the importance of obtaining an education among incarcerated youths.

Furthermore, in compliance with IDEA, and NCLB guidelines, all educators and administrators who work with incarcerated juveniles must be cognizant of the implementation and procedural safeguards mandated to incarcerated students with disabilities. These students have multiple rights guaranteed under the FAPE clause of the Rehabilitation Act, and these rights must be protected. By not protecting these rights, and failing to provide these youths with exceptional resources, juvenile correctional facilities propagate systemic ineptitudes and strengthen the influence of the school-to-prison pipeline.

Transitional Programs

The original mission of the juvenile justice system was prevention and rehabilitation. It seems as of late, juvenile justice has only warehoused juveniles and denied them the justice. Transitional services are effective and proven ways to help elevate recidivism and the costs associated with detention (Houchins, 2001). Some transitional services that are known to be effective are vocational training,

interagency collaboration, and involvement of the family of the incarcerated youth (Coffey & Gemignani, 1994). Yet in times of economic struggle, the first funds to be cut are those that historically help marginalized populations. In order to rectify this, an increase in federal dollars earmarked for transitional programs for paroled incarcerated youth needs to come into fruition.

Finally, all students have a right to an education. Research has proven that educational outcomes are directly connected to delinquency (Hatt, 2011). No child in America should feel that he or she has lost an opportunity to obtain an education just because they are in prison; however, a study conducted by Hatt (2011), revealed that 15 youth who were incarcerated felt exactly that way. Many students felt that they were unable to be successful in school. The consequence of their alienation was to drop out of school. Furthermore, these students understood the economic ramifications of no education.

In order to acquire the lifestyle they had once dreamed that an education would provide for them, they worked on the streets. The financial support they were able to give to their families actually made them feel "proud of themselves," which is something school never did for them (Hatt, 2011, p. 476). However, since the method these youths use to support their families while working on the streets is generally illegal, it is inevitable that these youths get "caught up" in the criminal justice system.

These students have been neglected by a public school system. They are arrested, convicted, and sentenced. They become state property. Finally, they get tossed into a new system of rules and regulations called the juvenile justice system. While an education awaits them there as well, that education is fraught with problems due to limited materials, services and under-qualified staff with less than the necessary interventions to assist low performers.

As Dubin states (2012), the youths within the concrete block walls of a cell learn that society has left them and they must fend for their own rehabilitation (p.2). These notions of hopelessness must be eradicated. That elimination process starts with education. As a nation, we must provide incarcerated youths with a quality education if we are to "unlock" the potential that so many incarcerated youth possess, which in turn will help them in becoming productive citizens.

Future Implications

Youth today are incarcerated for "crimes" that would have resulted in detentions or suspensions in a different era. This criminalization of disciplinary issues has resulted in higher arrest rates and higher dropout rates among youth within historically marginalized groups. The impact this will have on communities and society as a whole has yet to be determined. It is essential that researchers examine these outcomes closely.

The suggested purpose for such research is to allow policy makers to gain a broader understanding of the laws and their ramifications. Future studies must provide a backdrop to the stories and circumstances these youth bring to the table in order to make thoughtful and meaningful policy reform. These studies will enhance the understanding of these juvenile's perspectives on their past, present and future.

Further suggested future studies would examine interdisciplinary collaboration as a key to "unlocking" these youth. These studies may also include exploration into the relationships between organizations and departments: How can these entities create alliances to work on behalf of the juveniles affected by the policies once designed to protect them? If implemented and funded properly, these future studies should

help to ultimately "unlock" the educational potential of incarcerated youth.

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THE MALE EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATIONALIST: A VIEWPOINT RESEARCHED ARTICLE OF CONCERN

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Abstract: This is a chronological examination of a male educator's personal experiences supported through biographical enquiry, analysis and research that encompassed twenty-five years of teaching early childhood/ elementary education in public schools. It incorporates specific, perpetual incidents in schools and school districts that reflect sexual discrimination, the adversity of collegial cooperation, blatant gender bias, misunderstandings, and the absence of practiced empathy towards male early educators. It offers insight and viable solutions to attracting and/or maintaining quality male educators in an overwhelmingly predominant female profession. This exposé is straightforward, honest and objective with supporting research as an advocacy for less than 1 percent of all teachers in the United States of America, the American male educationalist.

INTRODUCTION

> I am a nurturer, a male early childhood educator. I am kind, gentle, and creative with inspiration that utilizes an "outside of the box" approach to educating and engaging young children. I have over twenty-five year's classroom experience. I have taught primarily inner city, at-risk children during my primary teaching years and middle-class white females as preservice teachers at the university level. My passion for teaching, encouraging children, loving them and helping them grow was never altered by the difficult situations that arose because of my gender. (Anonymous, personal communication, November, 2012)

PROBLEM

The percentage of fellows entering or staying in the teaching profession, preschool-elementary aged children, is continually declining. Johnson (2008) indicates that the lack of men is a vital difficulty for education with profound gender partitions in the teaching profession that are contrary to the democratic and egalitarian values schools should promote. Government would not exist in contemporary United States (US) society with such an overwhelming majority of one gender, race, religion or culture over the other. Yet, the educational system since 1840 has been overwhelmingly lopsided with females dominating the teaching profession, especially at the early and elementary levels. Generations of children continue to learn sexist, gender relations. These relations regenerate a dominance of women into teaching (Johnson, 2008).

Porter (2008) confirms three recurrent explanations as to why males do not choose teaching as a profession:

- Salaries are low for teachers when compared to other professions.
- Teaching has been a largely female-dominated profession (overall 82 percent).
- For early and elementary education, there is a perceived stigma around men wanting to work with young children.

Men do not consider teaching a viable career option and many advisors, such as guidance counselors, drive them away from working with children. Evidence demonstrates that male teachers experience unique problems on the job with few or no adult males in a school. Male teachers report being isolated from colleagues or subject to greater scrutiny from administrators and parents. Men are subjected to ridicule or

misunderstandings from a society that does not reconcile traditional gender norms with them in a caring role (Johnson, 2008). It is no wonder the data shows a gradual decline in male teachers in the teaching profession as a whole.

BACKGROUND

> While serving in the United States Navy, prior to my teaching career, I remember having plenty of time to think during the boredom between terrors. I sat on a weather-worn wooden bench that overlooked a barren, hard-packed earthen field amidst the surrounding rubble of war and neglect. I watched young school-aged boys as they played a friendly game of soccer with a well-worn, threadbare soccer ball. Every one of the boys was barefoot and clad only in torn pants or shorts.
>
> As the boys ran and shouted to one another, I was captivated by their cheerfulness. They were covered with bruises and dirt from days of play. Their hair was over their ears and sticking out wildly, thick and black. Yet, amid the debris, confusion, destruction and utter poverty of their lives every boy was beaming wildly with a degree of happiness I had never before witnessed. I saw their smiles, was humbled, and wondered what their future might hold for them living within such dire, impecunious circumstances. I decided to become a primary school teacher to be a part of children's lives. I wanted to help. (Anonymous, personal communication, November, 2012)

In 1870 there were 40.9 percent male teachers encompassing all grade levels. In 2000, research determinations conveyed that men teaching in early childhood contexts represented between <1 pecent – <4 percent of all early childhood education (ECE) teachers (Cameron, 2001; Farquhar, 1997). Porter (2008) cited a 2004 survey conducted by the National Education Association which stated that male teachers' percentages have fallen from an all-time high in 1981 of 18 percent to an all-time low in 2004 of 9 percent. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2005) men make up 5.2 percent of what is classified as child care workers, 2.3 percent of preschool and kindergarten teachers, and 17.8 percent of elementary and middle school teachers, an 8.4 percent average in overall teaching population. Johnson (2008) reported that of all classroom teachers in the United States there were only 21.9 percent male in 2007. Females continue to dominate the public school sector in teaching. As of 2011, 97 percent of all preschool and kindergarten teachers were female and 81 percent of all elementary and middle school teachers were female according to the US Department of Labor Current Population Survey (http://www.bls.gov/cps/cpsaat11. pdf). The ratio of female to male teachers in K-12 (U.S.) schools is shown in Tables 1 and 2.

Since 1961 there has been a steady decline in the number of males entering and staying in teaching. I can honestly say that unless the personal commitment is there, and that a man is moved to make a difference amidst insurmountable odds, including low pay, prejudice, castigation, accusations and ridicule then this trend will only continue and worsen. To main

Table 1: Status of the American Public School Teachers, 2003, NEA

Year	Female	Male
1961	60%	31%
1966	69%	31%
1971	66%	34%
1976	67%	33%
1981	67%	33%
1986	60%	31%
1991	72%	28%
1996	74%	26%
2001	79%	21%

tain or attract male teachers there a few things that needs to happen.

Table 2: Teachers in Schools, 2008

Total:	3,451,315
Men	861,067
Women	2,590,249
Race/Ethnicity:	
White	2,933,590
Black	244,035
Hispanic	190,049
Asian/Pacific Islander	55,293
American Indian/Alaskan	29,349
Age:	
Less than 30	595,987
30-39	761,461
40-49	1,084,136
50-59	891,251
60-up	118, 048

The shortage of men teachers in early childhood and elementary education is pervasive internationally within industrialized countries (Nelson, Carlson, & West, 2006). For example, only 2.5 percent of early childhood caregivers in Sweden are men, and men teach only 6.1 percent of Sweden's preschool classes (Flising 2005). Even with the growing need for male role models in the classroom because of predominantly female single parent homes things have not changed for attracting or maintaining male early educators.

Teacher Preparation

> I did not listen to warning signs or see their implications as an undergraduate student of early education even though all of my classmates were female. They seemed so nice, encouraging and helpful at the time. All of my male peers were pursuing careers in business, accounting, engineering and other higher paying professions. I chose teaching. There were no courses on how women think or what to expect from personal relationships at work in public schools. There was no training on how to act as a male in an all women's world. (Anonymous, personal communication, November, 2012)

It is true when Zaman (2008) stated that the overwhelming cultural forces that dominate the selection of teachers for early education positions have not allowed for much integration of males. Zaman added that the work itself is inundated with female or "gendered" traits and meanings to "further control the profession" as early childhood teachers are females because they are more sensitive, more nurturing, and patient and kind, and that women are better suited to raise and care for young children (Zaman, 2008). Many of my undergraduate education professors discouraged me and questioned my choice to become an early childhood educator by being extra critical of my work and having "private" tête-à-têtes with me and negative, blatant comments in class about my gender.

Teacher: Elementary Education

> When I graduated from the rigorous qualifying licensing, testing and certifying undergraduate program, and met all of the requirements satisfying a degree in elementary and early childhood education (Nursery–6), most of the school districts in the immediate area were not hiring. Those that were looking for teachers needed candidates to fill upper elementary positions like fourth or fifth grade. I was even told that there "was no early childhood position" open and had to wait two years for an available position. I accepted a position teaching fifth grade for a large urban school district in the northeastern United States.
>
> After an extensive background investigation and interviews I began teaching in an urban school district in a self-contained, fifth grade classroom with 32 at-risk inner city children. The school

had one other male who was the physical education teacher.

I was outgoing, gregarious, positive and happy to be able to contribute to the lives of children. I was a war time veteran who sat in the back row of faculty meetings, because that was where the only available chairs were. There were few colleagues that showed genuine interest in my teaching abilities or in mentoring me. I determined through personal interviews with them that all of the "bad" children were put in my room, mostly African-American boys, and double repeaters, to relieve their stress. Until late in my public school primary teaching career my classrooms consisted of 70 percent males and overall 30 percent had defined exceptionalities as inclusive students. The African-American boys intimidated my white female colleagues while the African-American mothers intimidated me.

Those first three years of teaching were a dreadful experience for me. Nothing went right with collegial relationships, mentoring or administrative support. Every observation of my teaching by the principal or her appointee, was beleaguered with extensive, detailed, negative appraisals of my lesson plans, close and frequent examinations of classroom teaching and weekly meetings with her and other assigned district supervisory staff. I was under a microscope and could do nothing right. The critical and frequent scrutiny of my teaching capabilities eventually took its toll.

There was gossip, backbiting, rumor circulation, and false accusations by faculty members. Since I had no role model for acceptable behavior as a male teacher I was left to my own devices. I felt banished. I was a loner, ate in my room, avoided contact with colleagues and was stressed. I decided that leaving teaching was my answer to peace and comfort.

> I decided I had enough of that school and resigned my position amidst ever increasing enquiry, rumors and unfounded accusations. I had to raise my two children as a single dad. Two weeks after leaving the classroom as I walked my 1 and 3-year-old son and daughter to the park a former room mother of one of my students stopped me in the road; waved to me to come to her car, and asked if I was coming back to teach. She told me she heard "through the grapevine" that I was dismissed for molesting young girls. I shook my head and told her absolutely not. She left. I was very angered. (Anonymous, personal communication, November, 2012)

According to Riddell and Tett, (2006) A Headmaster (Principal) is quoted saying:

> Society is also wary about males—it's seen as not a job for a 'real' man, especially by parents. For example, last year I had a man in his fifties in the nursery who I appointed for six months maternity cover and one of the parents phoned me to tell me there was a paedophile in the classroom because she'd seen him through the window after hours. (p. 49)

During all of the adversity during my tenure as a teacher, I nurtured my children.

> I resurfaced with fortitude a few years later, remarried and added two more children to my family. My license had expired and teaching was not an option. In New York State a Masters Degree is required to maintain a teaching license

and I just could not afford it. A kindly Bishop of my church, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, listened to my story and authorized payment for my Master of Science in Education (MSED) degree. He believed in me and taught me to do the same. I was recertified after completing my MSED and passing subsequent Praxis exam with the highest grade of the year for the test in New York State. I relocated my family 1000 miles away to a large urban area in Hampton Roads, Virginia on the east coast where the schools were in desperate need of teachers. (Anonymous, personal communication, November, 2012)

Fourth Grade Charter School

I was hired to teach fourth grade in an inner city charter school that emphasized cooperation and success through tennis and high achievement standards. It was a remarkable program and my three years there were memorable, filled with hard work and dog-tired days engaging the children. The population of the school was 97 percent African-American and all children qualified for Title 1 guidelines. Administrators, colleagues and parents were generous, kind and brought me food for my family, clothes for the children and many nice thank you cards for that hard work. I was treated as an equal by all and worked with numerous men and women without incidents related to gender.

In this particular district it was decided that our school would be year-round. Any teachers who wished to transfer if they desired to remain on the ten-month schedule could. I was saddened by the Division's desire to keep the charter school open all year and needed time to care for my children at home. So, I decided to transfer to an opening for early childhood at a large preschool; a dream comes true. Little did I know that I was the only male teacher. (Anonymous, personal communication, November, 2012)

Early Childhood Teaching

I could only wear sandals to that school if I wore socks while my female colleagues could wear flip-flops with bare feet. It was a bit ridiculous, since a large portion of the day was devoted to physical activity with the children. I displayed to my principal wonderfully shaped bare-feet, but he still enforced the "socks with sandals for male teacher's" rule. He was the only other male in the building. He wore socks with his sandals. (Anonymous, personal communication, November, 2012)

According to Sexton:

> Putting a man, any man, in place of women in school will not do. A man who is less than a man can be more damaging to boys than domineering mothers. (Sexton, 1969, pp. 29–30)

> I was never terminated, but I was asked to resign to find a more suitable career because of my gender. "You would be happier working with men," and "Wouldn't you feel more comfortable at a higher level, like high school?" my colleagues and principals would say. I've been told that I was hired at the university level to fulfill affirmative action guidelines. (Anonymous, personal communication, November, 2012)

To begin with men and women are distinctively different. According to Connor (2008):

Men approach problems in a very different manner than women. For most men, solving a problem presents an opportunity to demonstrate their competence, their strength of resolve, and their commitment to a relationship. How the problem is solved is not nearly as important as solving it effectively and in the best possible manner. Men have a tendency to dominate and to assume authority in a problem solving process. They set aside their feelings provided the dominance hierarchy was agreed upon in advance and respected. They are often distracted and do not attend well to the quality of the relationship while solving problems.(p.1)

One late spring morning, after spending almost two hours on a bus filled to its capacity with four year olds ending at the zoo for a field trip with 500 four year olds, I was already exhausted at 11:30 am. Leading the children through a zoo, jam-packed with hundreds of other children in the hot Virginia sun magnified that exhaustion. By 1:00 pm it was time to return to school.

On the ride back through a miserable 100-degree Friday bumper-to-bumper traffic on a bus without air conditioning a disturbance began to unfold in the seat behind me. A four year old boy was punching a girl with a closed fist in front of the little girl's parent and her teacher, both females, sitting right next to the children. I turned around and gently asked the boy to stop hitting. He agreed to stop. I comforted the little girl with kind gentle words and the situation seemed to calm.

A few minutes later the same boy stood up and began to hit the little girl about the head and shoulders with his fist. He was really pounding her this time. She was covering her head and crying loudly.

I turned, arose and gently removed the boy from his seat to protect the little girl from further harm. She was crying and screaming. I offered the boy to his teacher and explained the situation calmly. I asked her to take care of the little boy. She moved him to another seat while she discussed the matter with the parent of the injured girl. I sat with the little girl and consoled her.

At the end of that day I received a call to meet the principal after school in his office. He admonished me in verbally, and in writing for "yelling" at a child and "scaring" a little boy in front of the other children. The principal listed the complaints of the teacher and parent who was talking during the entire time this child was beating the little girl, right in front of their eyes. I agreed that I had raised my voice enough to be heard over the sounds of the road on a bus filled with forty, four year olds and twelve adults all talking, singing and, at times yelling. I was wrong and the ladies were right. They had witnesses and I did not. I felt like carrying a camera around with me from that point on. I became a strategic loner. (Anonymous, personal communication, November, 2012)

This example illustrated Connor (2008) and the assertion that women are easily distracted and that men do solve the problems in an effective manner regardless of consequence. The teacher and the parent talked about the problem and the solution after the problem occurred. They ignored that fact that a little child was being hurt right next to them. However, the teacher and the parent fearing retaliation from the male teacher, forced the issue in their favor knowing that the male teacher would have no corroboration or witnesses on his behalf.

Alleged Impropriety

I was in principal or Department Chair offices at different schools and states numerous times throughout my teaching career for a sundry of allegations or misinterpretations by adult students, colleagues and parents. (Anonymous, personal communication, November, 2012)

These included:

- Making inappropriate or sexist comments towards colleagues.
- Exercising a too harsh voice tone or actions while assisting a child with their behavior.
- Ostensibly being unapproachable by colleagues, students or parents,
- Creating a hostile work environment for colleagues.
- Misappropriating funds from a fund raiser
- Not teaching the prescribed curriculum.
- Children sitting on my lap.
- Hugging children.

I really tried to be all that everyone wanted, but it seemed the more I tried the worse things got. No allegations were ever founded, litigated, or formally investigated and none ever went further than the Principals office or the "secret" personnel file each one kept on faculty for formal evaluation, promotion or tenure. It was acceptable for a female colleague to comment about my physical appearance and even touch me, but not acceptable for me to do that to any of them. My preschoolers never cried for long in my room. I nurtured them despite the threat of negative consequences. I hugged them and loved them. (Anonymous, personal communication, November, 2012)

Touch

Instead of letting children cry, American parents and teachers of children should keep them close, console them when they cry, and make sure they feel safe, according to Michael L. Commons and Patrice M. Miller, researchers at the Harvard Medical School Department of Psychiatry.

Commons and Miller (1998) said that early stress or separation anxiety causes changes in children's brains that make future adults more susceptible to stress in their lives. They concluded that our no-touch culture of training for independence, and self-responsibility increases the chance of PTSD occurring later in life. Parents and teachers must recognize that having children cry unnecessarily harms the child permanently by disrupting the nervous system so they're become overly sensitive to future trauma. The result, Commons and Miller (1998) said, is a violent nation that doesn't like caring for its own children, marked by unattached, nonphysical relationships. It is because our culture does not support infants, children or adults during stressful and traumatic events by initiating a hug, holding or nurturing.

Personalities that are isolated or separated need physical contact, which is known to be soothing, and medically proven to reduce blood pressure and so on. The pathways that remain in place after early development are determined by experience (as summarized in Todd et al., 1995). There may therefore be permanent alterations in stress-related neurotransmitter systems (such as the release of higher levels of cortisol) without touch or nurture.

The Commons and Miller (1998) study further elucidated that a significant, real resistance in American culture exists in caring for children, with punishment and abandonment, which has

never been a good way to get warm, caring, independent people.

Mazur and Pecor (1985) concluded in their study that developmentally appropriate physical contact between teachers and children is strategic in all early childhood programs. Cuddles and hugs, physical care talking, and setting limits are all part of a shared experience between children and their teacher. This nurturance creates and maintains trusting relationships. All teachers must provide children with physical nurturance.

Research overwhelmingly supports the nurturing and appropriate physical contact of children and teachers while schools are fearful to practice that behavior because of the possibility of litigation and expensive lawsuit settlements based upon loose allegations of impropriety by male teachers.

Literature Review

Nathanson and Young (2006) defined blatant mistreatment and bias against men as misandry. They further state, ". . . legal discrimination against men is part of a pattern with deep roots in culturally transmitted beliefs, not merely an isolated phenomenon." (p.311). The authors went on to explain that existing laws regarding affirmative action, pay equity, maternal custody, child support, pornography, prostitution, sexual harassment, and violence against women are biased against men because, "women need to be protected from the power of men in all aspects of daily life." (p. 311)

According to Simpson (2005) women often pursue traditionally male oriented careers for status, prestige and higher salaries and opportunities for advancement or power in the workplace. Men who assume non-traditional roles and occupations have much less to gain and much more to lose. They sacrifice pay, advancement, status and equality. They also must combat questions of masculinity and suitability for the job they have chosen. In the past a female workforce in early childhood and education was seen as normal and acceptable or 'women's work'. This gendered work assumes a female workforce and seeks to reproduce its workforce through gendered patterns of recruitment (Peters, 2007). He further states:

> The experts had to admit that there were only a few centres throughout Europe in which men made up a significant portion of the workforce. In most European countries, of all workers in early childhood services between 1 and 3 percent were men. (p.4)

To enhance their quandary, there is also no 'father figure' as a role model, because the role of fathers in the education of young children is not yet valued by society. Many of the studies or initiatives on this subject are based on the—predictable—dysfunction of the father (Peters, 2007).

According to Tonkens (2001) men do not feel like aligning themselves with the woman-mother version of early childhood education and care. This is not an acceptable source of inspiration or a reality for a man.

Gilbert and Williams (2008) conten that men are usually subjected to unwritten policies by school districts that restrict them from touching or having close contact with children as an effort to protect the children. These unwritten rules are perceived early in teaching careers, as evidenced by Cooney and Bittner's (2001) study with male preservice teachers which stated that in ECE it is understood that the rules for teaching or nurturing children are different for males than their female counterparts. These implicit rules are reflected in ECE texts and may have influenced and taught preservice teachers that "appropriate" touch is different for men and women. Men seemed to be enacting what King (1998) termed as "safe" conduct when teaching and interacting with children.

PREJUDICE

ECE teaching is an example of a gendered profession that is organized by images, symbols, and social understandings that allow for great distinctions in the enactment of gender roles (Sargent, 2005). In particular, women are viewed as the nurturing mother, and men wishing to work in this context are often assumed to be effeminate, homosexual, and/or pedophiles (Blount, 2005; Fifield & Swain, 2002; Weems, 1999).

Farquhar et al. (2006) argued that this position drives both homosexual and heterosexual men from wanting to work with young children—further reducing the presence of men in ECE. According to Gutmann (1987) there are profound gender separations in the teaching profession that run contrary to democratic and uncensored values that the public schools are expected to promote. The continuance of this practice will in fact allow children to learn a form of sexist gender relations. This practice and mind set continues to encourage women to dominate elementary and early childhood education while men are funneled into management or administrative positions perpetuating the idea that men rule women and women rule children.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Johnson (2008) indicates that a shortage of men as teachers of early and elementary education is an important problem for edification. Gender bias against males in the teaching profession is contrary to the values schools are expected to promote. He further states that as long as this inequality continues children will continue to learn bigoted gender associations and:

> Such relations continue to feed a preponderance of women into teaching and men into administrative or managerial positions, reinforcing the powerfully corrupt idea that men rule women and women rule children. (Johnson, 2008, p. 3).

> I was anxious to have the children come to the room. A female colleague leaned very close to me and rubbed her breast against my arm, back and forth a number of times. She whispered in my ear, "Have a nice day", and walked back to her room to greet her children.
>
> I wondered to myself if this was sexual harassment. Since other teachers in the building had done this throughout the day, when I was in the hall, at lunch, on field trips I was confused as to why they would? I further isolated myself, ate in my room and never left the classroom except to take the children places. Incidents like that continued. I relaxed a bit and complimented her on her clothing. She smiled and walked into her room.
>
> At the end of the day as the children were leaving the principal came to my room. He said he needed to see me for a few minutes in his office before I left for home that day. He let me in and closed the door. He began a forty-five minute inquiry/investigation into allegations of sexual harassment. My illustrious neighbor had turned me in for sexually harassing her. I was shocked. Needless to say, after a thorough investigation the allegations went unfounded. (Anonymous, personal communication, November, 2012)

According to Shoop and Edwards (1994) ". . . sexual harassment is more about power then it is about sex." (p. 30). Those authors' could not have been more right. My teaching career continued for the next ten years just as Shoop and Edwards would predict. It was all about power for my female colleagues.

Nathanson and Young (2006) predict this behavior by schools or co-workers by indicating that there is a double standard when it comes to treatment of men and women. The authors indicate that hatred is wrong for men to display against women but, acceptable when it is displayed from women to men; along with sexual overtures. Given the circumstances that exist in schools today and by my experience as a public school teacher Nathanson and Young make a correct assumption by stating that there is great obscurity in teaching young children that revenge or hatred is wrong if they are learning, as they are, that it is acceptable to hate or take revenge in some cases, especially when the woman is wronged or threatened. "Women need to be protected from the power of the man". (p. 311)

Gender Bias

There are five underlying facts guiding the covert and blatant bias exercised against men in the educational field by women colleagues and leaders. These systemic assumptions infect even the most liberal minded male administrators and leaders of public and private education. In fact some schools throughout the country will not hire men to teach primary grades because of the threat or anticipation of litigation regarding impropriety by a male teacher. These five facts as listed by Nathanson & Young (2006) are:

- More boys than girls face apathy and drop out of school.
- More young men commit suicide.
- Society is focused on female needs, wants, desires and problems (depression, sexual arousal, pregnancy prevention).
- Evil is an inherent result of male biology.
- Men are represented as a group and not as individuals.

Today, with staggering numbers of unwed or single mothers raising their sons without fathers there is a desperate need for men to step up and take charge. Boys cannot be expected to find role models and learn how to act like men without en around in their lives that exhibit decent, kind, loving and nurturing behaviors. Men who have accomplished much in their lives and are upstanding citizens with good strong morals and values must come forth and begin the effective change in our nation's schools. For that to happen there must be an attractive adjustment in salary so that men who have families can raise them without running to the food pantry every two weeks as I did for ten years as a teacher. Men must be allowed freedom of expression and the ability to make errors without the judgments of the majority raining down upon their heads. Men are needed in teaching. Attract them by offering incentives to pay their student loans or grants for entering the teaching field.

Conclusion

Gordon B. Hinckley (1994) stated:

> My plea . . . is a plea to save the children. Too many of them walk with pain and fear, in loneliness and despair. Children need sunlight. . . . They need kindness and refreshment and affection. (p.1)

It is incongruous to conclude that teaching is more appropriate for women than men because it involves the nurturing and love for children. The journey of teaching public early education was arduous, filled with adversity and impacted me forever. I believe that my commitment to children, love of teaching and excellent preparation helped me to be successful for those twenty years. I also believe that because of my faith and love of God I became a better man. I have devoted my life to the success of young children who are experiencing the consequences of addiction, adversity, poverty, prejudice, abuse or neglect. I never considered the consequences of that decision and only looked back to see the

smiling faces of those impoverished children amidst the rubble and devastation surrounding them. I know the children loved me and were exceptional learners. (Anonymous, personal communication, November, 2012)

Johnson (2008) concluded in his comprehensive study that:

> It is recommended that school districts or corporations adjust current programs to support and monitor on an ongoing basis new and veteran male teachers. Specific attention to gender issues would help men cope with the various negative experiences, such as greater scrutiny from school officials and isolation from colleagues. (p.9)

Nelson (2008) afforded some viable resolutions to maintain, increase and attract male teachers. He suggests seven possible solutions.

1. It should be an individual (parents, guidance counselors, and principals) and statewide effort. These entities need to invite boys to become teachers and offer them occasions to assist younger children.
2. Schools should become male-friendlier by decorating halls and classrooms with images of men with children who are engaged in learning activities.
3. There should be a learning environment that offers boys and girls opportunities to burn off energy.
4. Encourage teachers to talk to the father rather than always asking for the mother when calling home.
5. Make it a priority to interview and hire male teachers.
6. Encourage support for a "GI Bill" specifically designed to recruit more male teachers. After World War II the percentage of male teachers doubled because soldiers returning from the war were rewarded with free college education.
7. Finally, recruit young men from high school into pre-service teaching programs.

I would add:

- Let teachers teach.
- Let men teachers be men.
- Enforce Affirmative Action gender equality guidelines with consequences.

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"THINK COLLEGE NOW!": EXAMINING THE ROLE OF PARENTS' AND TEACHERS' EXPECTATIONS AND SUPPORT IN THE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT OF LINGUISTICALLY AND CULTURALLY DIVERSE STUDENTS

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Abstract: Studies examining the academic achievement of linguistically and culturally diverse students tend to focus on the socioeconomic, racial, and linguistic backgrounds of these students. While it is worth examining these root causes, it is equally important to analyze the influence family values and expectations, parental involvement, and support from teachers might have on students' achievement in schools. Drawing on data from a two–year long case study, this paper explores the way and the degree to which factors, such as family values and expectations, support from parents and teachers, might have influenced the academic achievement of Pedro, a middle school immigrant English language learner, who was institutionally recognized as an achiever. Findings suggest that the expectations Pedro's mother set for Pedro, her involvement in his education, support Pedro received from his teachers, and his academic background from his native land might have contributed to his academic achievement.

INTRODUCTION

Studies examining the academic achievement of linguistically and culturally diverse students tend to focus on the socioeconomic, racial, and linguistic backgrounds of these students (Anyon, 1981; Apple 1991; Cope & Kalantzis, 1993; Delpit, 1995; Heath, 1983; Irvine, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Schleppegrell, 2004). While it is worth examining these root causes, it is equally important to analyze the influence family values and expectations, parental involvement, and support from teachers might have on students' achievement in schools (Auerbach, 1995; Cummins, 1998, 2000; Delgado-Gaitan, 2004; Nieto, 2011; Valdes et al., 2010). It is especially crucial to do so because an increasing number of minority students, including English language learners and bilingual students, come to school, for example, with a various set of family values and expectations placed on them by parents that might not be known or appreciated by the school personnel (Valdes, 1996, 2001). Moreover, in addition to having to cope with the difficult transition to life in the United States, many of these students enter a school system where teachers' expectations might differ from those of teachers in their native land or those of their families.

Drawing on data from a two–year long case study, this paper explores the way and the degree to which factors, such as family values and expectations and support from parents and teachers, might have influenced the academic achievement of Pedro, a middle school immigrant English language learner. The school attributed the achiever status to Pedro based on the fact that he worked at grade level in writing, reading, and speaking two years after he joined a middle school with limited English skills from the Dominican Republic. The school also drew on the fact that Pedro made second honor twice within a single academic year to recognize him as an achiever. To have a clear understanding of how Pedro's achievement was achieved and institutionally represented, I primarily drew on the content of interviews conducted with Pedro and his mother to analyze what role family values and expectations might have played in his achievement. I went on to explore the way and the extent to which the involvement of Pedro's mother in his education and support

Pedro received from his teachers might have contributed to his academic achievement. Finally, drawing on findings of the study, I made recommendations for further research.

In the sections that follow, first I describe the school where this study took place. Second, I talk about the changes that took place at the school as a result of federal and state policies such as the No Child Left Behind legislation. Third, I describe the cultural and physical characteristics of the school, as well as the racial and socioeconomic backgrounds of the student body. Finally, I describe the city where the study took place, laying out its demographics.

Context of Study

The School

This case study was conducted at a middle school located in western Massachusetts. Because students' scores on standardized tests such as the MCAS (Massachusetts comprehensive assessment system) were considerably and consecutively low during the 2006-2007 and 2007-2008 academic years, the state threatened to transform the middle school into a charter school. Consequently, the school personnel, particularly the teachers, felt hard-pressed to prepare their students to pass the MCAS.

The school had many changes at administrative levels. In five years, there were six different principals who served at the middle school. A considerable number of teachers left the school due to a lack of school materials and support. Many students with whom I worked were transferred to another neighboring middle school as a result of these changes. At the time of the study, the school served approximately 1225 students of diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds. The majority of students who attended this school were predominantly Puerto Ricans of working class background, and they received free lunch. The following tables represent a graphic breakdown of the characteristics of the student population in terms of race, social class, gender, race/ethnicity, and language for the academic years, 2005-2006 and 2006-2007 (Massachusetts department of education, 2005-2006/2006-2007).

Table 1: Educator-Data: 2005-2006

	School	District	State (MA)
Total number of teachers:	109	2,308	73,593
Percent of teachers licensed in teaching assignment	72.5	79.9	94.4
Total number of teachers in core academic areas	98	1,889	62,301
Percent of core academic teachers identified as highly qualified	69.4	77.7	937
Student/teacher	11.3 to 1	10.9 to 1	13.2 to 1

Table 2: Enrollment 2005-2006

	School	District	State (MA)
Total Count of Race/Ethnicity/Gender/selected populations	1,230	25,206	97,2371
Race:			
African American %	16.9	25.4	8.3
Hispanic %	67.6	50.8	12.9
Native American %	0	0.1	0.2
White %	13.1	17.6	72.4
Native Hawaiian, Pacific Islander	0	0	0.1
Multi-ethnic	1.4	4	1.4

Table 2: Enrollment 2005-2006 (Continued)

	School	District	State (MA)
Gender (%):			
Male	49.7	51.5	51.4
Female	50.3	48.5	41.6
Selected populations (%):			
Limited English proficiency	21.1	13.7	5.3
Low Income (%)	82.7	76.2	28.2
Special education (%)	25.1	20.5	16.5
First language not English	31.2	20.3	14.3
Migrant	33.3	1.5	0.1

Table 3: Enrollment 2006-2007

	School	District	State (MA)
Total Count of Race/Ethnicity/Gender/selected populations	1,155	25,791	968,661
Race %:			
African American or Black	15.5	25.5	8.2
Hispanic	69.9 0.5	49.9 2.1	13.3
Asian	0.5	2.1	4.8
Multi-race, non-Hispanic	2.0	4.1	1.7
Native American	0.0	0.1	0.3
White	12.2	18.3	71.5
Native Hawaiian, Pacific Islander	0.0	0.0	0.2
Gender %:			
Male	49.8	51.7	51.4
Female	50.2	48.3	48.6
Selected populations (%)	20.7	13.7	5.6
Selected populations %:			
Limited English proficiency	20.7	13.7	5.6
Low Income	83.8	77.5	28.9
Special education	26.0	22.0	16.9
First Language not English	34.2	21.8	14.9

Table 4: E,ducator-Data: 2006-2007

	School	District	State (MA)
Total Number of Teachers	88	2,215	73,176
Percent of teachers licensed in teaching assignment	86.1	95.4	95.4
Total of teachers in core academic areas	78	1,792	60,604
Percent of teachers in core academic subjects who are highly qualified	77.6	80.7	95.1
Percent of teachers in core academic subjects who are not highly qualified	22.4	19.3	4.9
Student/teacher ratio	13.1 to 1	11.6 to 1	13.2 to 1

Table 5: Additional Teacher Information About School

Classroom Teachers	106
Guidance Counselors	3
Adjustment Counselor	1
Educational Team Leader	1
School Psychologists	1
School Nurses	2
% of Teachers with Advanced Degrees	62%

DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE CITY WHERE STUDY TOOK PLACE

The city where the middle school is located constitutes the third largest in Massachusetts and fourth largest in New England. It has the third largest school district in Massachusetts, operating 38 elementary schools, six middle schools (6-8), six high schools, and seven specialized schools. Through dialogue with teachers involved in this study and by reading the city local newspaper, *The Republican*, I learned that the city was racially and economically segregated. According to the 2007 U.S. Census Bureau, the demographics of the city and the state were as shown in Table 6.

Table 6: Demographics of the City and the State

Household Relationship	City	State (MA)
Population	Number	Number
Gender:	146,948	—
Male	71,184	2,998,038
Female	75,764	3,184,822
Age:		
17 or younger	40,127	1,450,671
18-24	13,603	488,929
25-44	43,472	1,844,004
45-64	32,782	1,602,468
65+	16,964	796,788
Average Age/Years	35.11	37.71
Race and Ethnicity:		
White alone	70,402	5,156,426
Black or African	33,582	363,095
American	338	13,708
Asian alone	3,101	292,537
Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander alone	59	626
Some other race alone	35,436	269,564
Two or more races	4,030	86,904
Hispanic or Latino	52,571	490,839

Methodology

Data Collection and Method

I systematically collected data for this study from 2006-2007 to 2007-2008. I was at the middle school twice a week over the course of these two consecutive academic years. Each time I went to the school, I spent approximately three hours, which were divided as follows: I spent about an hour observing Pedro in his ELL (English language learner) class; 45 minutes in his Math class; and another 45 minutes in his reading class on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

I was a participant observer in this study. This role enabled me to take field notes and videotape classroom interactions between teachers and students as well as between students and students. From videotaped class rooms originated transcriptions of student/ teacher and student/student interactions. These data allowed me to capture the teaching practices of Pedro's teachers' and Pedro's involvement in classroom literacy activities in which his teachers engaged him and his peers. In addition, I interviewed Pedro, his mother, and his female teachers.

The interviews took place at different settings: in the teachers' classrooms, in the school hallway and cafeteria. My data analysis is drawn primarily from the interviews that I conducted with the participants. Why using the interviews as my primary data source for analysis? Interviews, which are broadly defined as face-to-face interactions between researchers and informants and constitute an integral part of qualitative research, helped me have access to key verbal information about Pedro's cultural and family values and his mother's expectation of him to succeed in school and beyond.

Moreover, I chose the interviews as my primary data source for analysis because through interviews researchers and informants co-construct knowledge, which researchers can use to add to their data and clarify things that might seem unclear while interpreting and analyzing these data (Seidmen, 1991). Furthermore, interviews create space for the expression of feelings, which could be revealing and helpful to researchers in their attempt to map the multiple human dimensions of their informants. This might be very difficult for researchers to do if they only rely on statistical data collected through quantitative methods.

Seidman (1991) maintained that interviews allow participants to bring their authentic voice to the research in which they are involved. For example, interviewing Pedro allowed him to voice his respect for his mother. This enabled me then to capture the role family values and expectations played shaping the relationship between Pedro and his mother. Similarly, interviewing Pedro's teachers and his mother enabled me to understand how Pedro was represented as a student.

I did a content analysis of the interviews conducted for this study in order to examine the manner in which and the degree to which Pedro's mother felt she contributed to Pedro's academic achievement. Further, I narrowed my focus on the content of the interviews that I conducted with Pedro to gain a sound understanding of the extent to which family values and expectations might be the underlying reasons why he felt that he had to work hard to please his mother. Finally, through my analysis of the interviews I triangulated what Pedro's mother and teachers said about Pedro's achievement, in order to determine if their statements changed or remained the same over time and what conclusions can be drawn from them.

The Participants and Their Backgrounds

In addition to Pedro, four informants took part in this study. They were: Pedro's mother, Altagracia (a pseudonym); his ELL teacher, Ms.

Rosaria (a pseudonym); his math teacher, Ms. Carmen (a pseudonym), and his Reading teacher, Ms. Maria (pseudonym). Pedro immigrated to the United States from the Dominican Republic with his mother and an older brother when he was 11 years old. He reached seventh grade before arriving here. Pedro was known as one of the most motivated and studious students at the school. He was also known to be the kind of student who felt that he had to succeed in school, so that he would not disappoint his single mother. As Ms. Carmen repeatedly said, "He is the kind of student who feels that he has to make a lot of sacrifice to be in school and do well because he wants to please his mother" (field notes, March 2007). Pedro was very active in the classes where I observed him. In his ELL class, for example, Pedro was always eager to answer and ask questions, and to read aloud when his teachers called upon students to do so. He was also eager to verbally share and present his written projects in class. Pedro earned multiple awards and certificates for academic excellence. In addition, he was selected and recommended by the bilingual team at his school to the Latino/a Chamber of Commerce, which honored young future Latino/a leaders for outstanding academic achievements.

Pedro's mother, Altagracia, was a single mother in her early 40s. Prior to immigrating to the United States, Altagracia was a lawyer and practiced law for about a decade in her native land, the Dominican Republic. At the time of the study, she was working as a Certified Personal Care Assistant. Altagracia was known as one of the most involved parents at the middle school Pedro attended. According to the teachers involved in this study, Pedro's mother always attended parents meeting at the school and constantly inquired about Pedro's academic progress. I had the opportunity to attend a ceremony that the school held to honor students such as Pedro who made first, second, and third honors. Altagracia was at that ceremony, so were Pedro's teachers.

Ms. Rosaria is a Chicana in her 50s. She was born and grew up in Texas. She moved to western Massachusetts as a result of a divorce. While there, she decided to become a middle school ELL teacher. Ms. Rosaria was Pedro's teacher for about a year. She was known at the school as the most caring, loving, and strict teacher.

Ms. Carmen is a middle-age Puerto Rican woman. She had been teaching at the school for over five years. Pedro was in her in class for two semesters. She is known as a teacher who always advises students and set high expectations for them. Finally, Ms. Maria is a Caucasian woman in her 30s. She was Pedro's teacher for a semester. She had the reputation for being a very understanding and flexible teacher. I was able to confirm some of the characteristics attributed to these teachers through classroom observation and by dialoguing with them. The participation of these teachers consisted primarily in providing me additional information about Pedro's academic progress and his mother's involvement in the school.

Presentation and Analysis of Data

Pedro's academic achievement did not happen in a vacuum. Various resources contributed to his achievement. Through the analysis of the two interviews that follow, I demonstrated what resources that Pedro may have drawn on to achieve in school. These interviews were conducted with Pedro and his mother. My interview with Pedro's mother explores to what degree family values, parental support and expectations might have motivated Pedro to strive to succeed academically.

Literature on student academic achievement frequently examines the role parental involve

ment and support plays in fostering student achievement (Auerbach, 1995; Delgado-Gaitan, 2004; Hildago et al. 1995; Nieto, 2008; Valdes, 2001). Family resources influencing student academic achievement include basic unconditional support, caring (Noddings, 1992), and "funds of knowledge," (Moll, 1988) which students often draw on to achieve in school. One of the goals of this study was to find out to what extent the involvement of Pedro's mother in his education influences his academic achievement. To this end, I conducted an interview with her lasting about 45 minutes. The following is an excerpt of the interview, which was conducted in Spanish. Pedro's mother felt more comfortable being interviewed in her first language. The text of the transcript was translated into English.

TRANSCRIPT 1: INTERVIEW WITH PEDRO'S MOTHER

THEME: MOTHER'S ASSESSMENT OF PEDRO

Researcher (R): I started working with your son, Pedro, about two years ago. And today I'd like to ask you a little bit about Pedro. What can you tell me about Pedro as a student?

Pedro's mother (PM): He is very dedicated. He does his work. When he agrees to do something, he does it. I mean, he puts a lot of effort into it; he does his work, studies, and sets up his hours to study.

R: Do you help Pedro with his homework?

PM: Sometimes, yes. He tells me "mom, can you help me?" and I help him.

R: Sometimes, but it is not everyday.

PM: No, not everyday because he normally knows how to take care of his classes.

R: Oh! So, he doesn't need much help from you.

PM: No

R: Okay. Do you have time to help him? There are families that don't have time because they have to work two jobs. Therefore, they don't have time to help their sons or daughters. Is that true for you?

PM: No, I find time to help him.

R: So, your job doesn't get in the way?

PM: No, it doesn't.

R: Last year, for example, Ms. Carmen invited some parents to come help in class. If Ms. Carmen invited you to come to her class to help Pedro and other students, do you think you'd be able to do it?

PM: Yes.

R: Would you like to do it?

PM: Of course, if it is for my son.

R: How was Pedro as student before moving to the U.S.?

PM: He was very involved in his school. He was a good student with good behavior.

R: What is your assessment of his educational progress?

PM: I think he is doing well. Well, in two years, he has learned English, and he is doing well in his class as well.

R: Did he learn English before moving here?

PM: Very little.

R: Very little? I'm going back to my first question. You told me that you help Pedro sometimes. How many times does he ask you to give him a hand?

PM: When they give him certain type of homework, and when they give him something about the meaning of words in English. For mathematics, he has

asked me for help. For some projects too, and so on.

R: So, it is not a problem for you to help Pedro even though you work a lot.

PM: No, I help him. As long as he wants me to, it is not a problem for me.

R: Okay, if you don't mind, what is your level of education? Did you finish college in your country before moving here?

PM: I was professional, for many years.

R: What kind of profession?

PM: Lawyer.

R: Do you have any expectation of your son? If so, what would they be?

PM: To see him become a professional is my biggest expectation. That he becomes a professional, a good man, serious, honest, polite, hard-working.

R: Okay. Is there anything you would like to tell me about Pedro? Something that I could not think of or imagine. For example, something that is very, very unique about Pedro that I don't know.

PM: He is very affectionate and protective of me.

R: When Pedro comes back home from school, does he play with his friends?

PM: Yes, but at home.

R: How about outside of the house?

PM: No. I don't allow him to go out in the street; he plays with his family, his cousins in the house.

Interpretation and Analysis of Interview

Throughout the interview, Pedro's mother, Altagracia, represents Pedro as an independent, studious, serious, and hardworking student. She states, "He is very dedicated. He does his work. When he agrees to do something, he does it. I mean, he puts a lot of effort into it; he does his work, studies, and sets up his hours to study, too." According to Altagracia, before Pedro moved from the Dominican Republic to the United States he was "very involved in his school as well." She goes on to say that as a student in his native land, Pedro was "A good student," and had "good behavior." Altagracia sums up her son's overall academic progress in the following terms: "I think he is doing well. Well, in two years, he has learned English, and he is doing well in his class as well."

Clearly, Altagracia shows she is proud of her son and thinks highly of his academic achievements. When asked how often she helps Pedro with his homework, Altagracia replies "sometimes" and goes on to say that, "normally he knows how to take care of his homework." Altagracia wants Pedro to succeed in life. She hopes that he will become a professional and holds him to high standards. She wants Pedro to be "a good man, serious, honest, polite, hard working."

Based on the evidence presented above, it is reasonable to ask whether or not family values and expectations might have contributed to Pedro's academic achievement. In some cultures and families students are expected to abide by certain cultural norms and expectations. For example, Pedro's mother prohibited him from playing out door, which apparently Pedro did not rebel against. Altagracia stated that she does not allow Pedro "to go out in the street." She only allows him to "play with his family, his cousins."

In the following excerpts from the interview that I conducted with Pedro, he explains the way and the extent to which his mother and his female teachers supported him academically. He also talks about what motivated him to work hard and do well in school. The main source of his motivation appears to be his mother; throughout

the interview, Pedro refers to his mother as the impetus for his efforts: "I do it because I want to make my mom happy." Pedro also received encouragement and advice from his female teachers, another incentive to succeed in school.

TRANSCRIPT 2: INTERVIEW WITH FOCAL STUDENT PEDRO

A MAPPING OF LINES 1-37

1. R:: I've seen how you have progressed over time; last semester and this semester you made it to the honor roll. Can you tell me who really inspires you to work so hard to make it to the honor roll?
2. P: Umm . . . I don't really get help now because I know now better English. I do almost everything myself; my mom helps me a little; my brother helps me sometimes.
3. R: Umm.
4. P: I do it because I want to make my mom happy . . .
5. R: You want to do what?
6. P: Make my mom happy and . . .
7. R: Oh, you want to make your mom happy
8. P: . . . *and* to get better grades so when I go to other schools, they will accept me because I get good grades not because . . . you know.
9. R: Umm.
10. P: So, I just do my thing . . .
11. R: You just do your thing?
12. P: Yeah!
13. R: So, why do you wanna make your mom happy? Tell me.
14. P: Yeah, I don't wanna make her mad.
15. R: Aha, aha.
16. P: But, I like when she's happy; she gives . . . she gives me things because I get good grades, so that's good for me . . .
17. R: Aha, aha. Ok, tell me what really drives you, what really makes you wanna work so hard to . . . to do well in school.
18. P: Ummm . . . to get a good job in the future, you know . . .
19. R: In the future . . .
20. P: Yeah, to get a good job.
21. R: Umm.
22. P: Like my mother and my math teacher would say "think college now."
23. R: Umm.
24. P: And when I hear that, I'm always thinking about that.
25. R: What, what do they say? think college?
26. P: Think college now.
27. R: Think college now, ok.
28. P: So, when I hear that "think college now" makes me like think about what I'm doing now so I don't need, I don't need to be embarrassed in the future.
29. R: Ok, so you're trying hard so you won't be embarrassed in the future.
30. P: So I can be proud of myself when I was a child.
31. R: Oh! I see. You want to be proud of yourself when you are child, so looking back.
32. P: Yeah, when I look back, I gonna be like "oh [inaudible] . . . and all the things I did."

33. R: Ok, ok, tell me how your mom influences you . . . influences your education?

34. P: She always tells me like, ah, "did you do your homework?" she always knows if I'm lying or not. She's like "go do your homework."

35. R: Aha.

36. P: I always do, you know; but she always checks, and if she doesn't think so, she says "bring me the book bag!" She ckecks everything if I did it, you know.

37. R: So, she always checks if you did your homework.

General Interpretation of Data and Discussion of Findings

Many of Pedro's incentives to do well in school stem from his mother: getting good grades will please her (lines 4 and 6); bad grades will make her mad (line 14); his mother will reward him for good grades (line 8). Pedro's hard work in school is informed and nourished by the level of desire he has to please his mother. It appears that the respect he shows for and his attitude toward his mother have much to do with family values and expectations.

Pedro's mother plays an important role in making sure that Pedro does his homework. Pedro contends:

> She always tells me, like, ah "Did you do your homework?" She always knows if I'm lying or not. She's like "Go do your homework.". . . I always do, you know. If she doesn't think so, s he says, "Bring me the book bag." She checks everything if I did it, you know.

Pedro's mother expects him to do his work, and he in turn feels the need to live up to that expectation. By making her expectations explicit and enforcing her standards, Altagracia has instilled in Pedro a good work ethic. Pedro's desire to do well to please his mother is directed outside himself. However, he also points out self-directed reasons for his efforts. Beyond the obvious benefit of getting a good job, Pedro foresees profound benefits from doing well in school: if he works hard now he will not be embarrassed in the future (line 28); and he can be proud of his earlier achievements later in life (line 30). Pedro's mother expectation of him informs Pedro's great sense of ambition.

Pedro confirms some of what his mother says in the interview about his abilities as a student. Referring to Pedro, she says, "He doesn't need much help from me . . . because he normally knows how to take care of his classes" (lines 8 and 10). Pedro self-assessment of his academic abilities also validates Ms. Carmen's statement about his accomplishment in making the second honor role twice in a row: "Pedro did it all on his own. He is motivated. He wants to succeed. He wants to do good. He wants to please his mother. I mean he is just an outstanding student" (excerpt from interview, Fall, 2007). Pedro is aware of his achievements and therefore has confidence in his ability to succeed.

Pedro positions himself as a student inspired by and acting upon the advice received from both his mother and his female teachers:

> Like my mother would and my math teacher would say "think college, now," and when I hear that, I'm always thinking about that . . . When I hear that "think college, now" makes me, like, think what I'm doing now so I don't need, I don't need to be embarrassed in the future. . . . So, I can be proud of myself when I was a child. . . . When I look back, I gonna be like, 'Oh! . . . and all the things I did.'"

It is worth noting that Pedro does not show any reluctance to listen and trust his mother's and his female Math teacher's advice. The common

assumption about boys is that they are more inclined to listening to and looking up to their fathers and male teachers as role models. Pedro seems to defy this gender norm taking pride in talking about how his mother and female teachers motivate him to strive in school to succeed. As an example, Pedro describes himself as a student who works tirelessly to do well in school so that his mother and his teachers will not be disappointed.

Pedro translates his motivations into hard work and consequently was recognized for it by the school. Yet he seems to dismiss the institutional achiever status attributed to him. When asked whether he was proud of the achievement status that was attributed to him, he replied "I just wanna be good, pass the MCAS, and go to high school, you know." While Pedro appreciates the praise he gets from his teachers for making second honor, saying "it feels good, it feels good," (field notes, March 2007), he feels bad about his classmates who do not do as well in his classes. Pedro maintains, " But I feel bad about they didn't get good grades like me. Sometimes, I help them, but not like cheating. I help them before the test " (field notes, April 2007).

Pedro's ability to understand what his teachers do in class, his desire to help his struggling classmates, and his inner drive was not created in a vacuum. This suggests that he came to his teachers' classes with strong family values and expectations. Moreover, a fully devoted and formally educated mother raised Pedro and made sure that he did his homework regularly. Equally influential in his academic achievement status might have been his previous academic background from his native land.

Scholars in second language acquisition and bilingual education (e.g. Crawford, 2008; Cummins, 1988; Valdes, 2001) acknowledge that, for bilingual students who have already developed academic language in their first language, the transfer of that academic language to the target language is not so challenging once they acquire fluency. This seems to be the case with Pedro. He joined the middle school with apparently a strong academic background, but was initially stymied in his efforts to succeed academically; Pedro's interview suggests that the English language may have been a temporary barrier preventing him from successfully tackling early school assignments. However, as he gained confidence in his English, his academic abilities became apparent.

In sum, Pedro's successful academic trajectory in the United States seems to be linked to the support received from his single mother and teachers and expectations both his mother and teachers set for him. Pedro uses these resources to create his own successful path in his education. His achiever status notwithstanding, he is more concerned with his success on his own terms. This self-directed motivation, when combined with the external support from his mother and female teachers, helps drive Pedro's academic accomplishments.

Conclusions and Implications for Further Research

There are several conclusions from Pedro's story that one can draw. One of the conclusions is that the institutional labeling of Pedro as an achiever could have prevented the school personnel from fully capturing multiple factors (family values and expectations, support from his teachers and his mother, and his academic background from his native land) that led to Pedro's academic achievement. Pedro may have fit the institutional definition of an achiever by "doing school," that is, by finding ways to making second honor twice in one single academic year and being honored as a future Latino male leader for his academic accomplishments. At the same time, if institutional achievement status attributed to Pedro is not critically analyzed, this may prevent the school

personnel and others from exploring and documenting how his academic achievement was realized.

For example, unlike some immigrant parents who might not have the opportunity to be involved in the school their children are attending because some schools do not create linguistic, cultural, and communal space for these parents to participate in the academic pursuit of their children, Pedro attended a school where teachers embraced and spoke his language and reached out to his mother, who strongly supported and inspired him to strive to do well in school. These are resources to which many minority students who have been institutionally labeled as "non-achievers" or as "at risk students" may not have access.

Moreover, Pedro's female teacher, Ms. Carmen, made the effort to not only get Pedro's mother involved in his education but she also tried to establish a good relationship with her. This relationship enabled Pedro's mother to understand and be informed about what was going with Pedro at the school. Likewise, Ms. Rosaria was able to get to know Pedro's mother and had the opportunity to ask her any question that she may have had about Pedro. Again, these are resources that school institutional definition of achievement often does not seem to fully capture. Therefore, if Pedro's institutional achievement status is not carefully analyzed in its context, it may lead to the overgeneralization about the academic achievement of minority students, particularly English language learners and bilingual students. Furthermore, the institutional achiever label placed on Pedro does not seem to account how family values and expectations play a role in the way he positions himself towards his mother and his female teachers. Pedro feels that he has to strive to do well in school to please his mother and his female teachers because he does not want to disappoint them.

Again, given the limited scope of this study, its findings can't and should not be used to generalize about the academic achievement of linguistically and culturally diverse students, including English language learners and bilingual students. Nor should the findings be used to make generalization about the involvement (or lack there of) of minority parents in the education of their children. Nonetheless, findings of this study might help policy makers and teacher practitioners develop awareness about the ways in which factors aforementioned leading to Pedro's achievement shape relations between linguistically and culturally diverse students, their parents, and teachers, and inspire these students to strive to succeed in school. Such awareness will hopefully challenge policy makers and school district personnel to invest in programs aiming to create a liaison between families and schools, among other things.

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THE CASE OF AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES' AP CALCULUS TEST SCORES: A SNAPSHOT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AS PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE NATION

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Abstract: Historical factors that have promoted an educational environment that does not support equal access to quality mathematics education for African American males has existed in the United States before *Plessey v. Ferguson* and after *Brown v. the Topeka Kansas Board of Education*. In this report, Conflict Theory informs both the *Plessey v. Ferguson* decision and de facto segregation in education. Furthermore, conflict theory embraces reproduction models, the latter maintains that schools reproduce status through formal language and these institutions embrace the cultural dimension of the privileged as the model for success while viewing the cultural dimensions of students of color as deficiencies. Therefore, conflict theory's *cultural reproduction model* serves as the gauge for articulating the disproportionate and dysfunctional American educational system that has contributed to achievement gap in the mathematics education of African American males. Particularly, Advanced Placement Calculus and the disproportionate African American male achievement gap in this content area are the focus of this manuscript. While this paper provides a general comparison of test scores between Black and White American adolescent males in the District of Columbia (in order to highlight the issues of conflict and access), it has broader implications for African American males throughout the United States with regards to their learning and the training of those who instruct them.

"One cannot afford to lose status on this peculiar ladder, for the prevailing notion of American life seems to involve a kind of rung-by-rung ascension to some hideously desirable state . . . In a way, the Negro tells us where the bottom is: because he is there, and where he is, beneath us, we know where the limits are and how far we must not fall. We must not fall beneath him. We must never allow ourselves to fall that low. . ." James Baldwin (Writing in the second voice.)

INTRODUCTION

Pericles of ancient Athens said, "Because of the greatness of our city the fruits of the whole earth flow in upon us; so that we enjoy the goods of other countries as freely as our own."[1] If Pericles were given a contemporary voice that emerges from the western notion of representative democracy, what would he then say of the resources that flow into the private and public schools that canvas Washington, D.C.? What would he say about the education that public and private schools provide? Equally important, what would he say about those least served throughout all public schools in the Washington DC area? Though Washington, D.C., a city-state in arrested development, is far removed from the time of Pericles and his notion of a city-state, much like the plebian population of ancient Rome, the average African American male in D.C. (emphasis in this paper placed on teens and preteens), has no industrial wherewithal or financial resources to garner political advocacy. Nor, does it seem that the results of African American males' education positively appreciate (Greene, 2002; Martin, 2009) over time.

Like the authors of this article, there are some who do not assume that because Barack Obama is the first person of African descent (African

American[2]) to serve as President of the United States, we are now in a post-racial America (Hakim & Tawfeeq, 2010). Even though President Obama presides in the Oval Office, governing national and international issues, in the proverbial "backyard" of the White House exists failing schools mainly attended by African Americans. Among the issues facing these students, many of these African American adolescent males are intellectually bereft of schooling in AP Calculus, AB.[3]

The historical factors that have denied equal access to quality education, particularly mathematics education, have existed in America before the Plessey v. Ferguson decision (a 1896 ruling of the Supreme Court that codified de jure segregation). These educational inequities persist to current times, well beyond the Brown v. Board decision (Harris, 1993). For example, the often poorly resourced urban mathematics classroom might create cynicism among many African American males, as they face stereotypes about their intellectual abilities, limited access to quality mathematics instruction, and lack of access to qualified mathematics teachers (Irving & Hudley, 2005; Oakes, Muir & Joseph, 2004; Werekema & Case, 2005).

Despite well intentioned efforts at integration, such strategies as integrated schools, increased testing, and professional development of teachers have not proven to be a panacea for the education woes of students of color. Instead of focusing solely on integration as a solution to this dilemma, this paper discusses the need to critically re-examine the meaning of mathematics education in the context of pedagogies. This is particularly important in African American communities where there are alarmingly high dropout rates, gaps in academic achievement, disproportionate suspensions of African Americans males in high school, and low graduation rates (Fenning & Rose, 2007; Greene, 2002; Meier, Stewart, & England, 1989; Noguera, 2003). Along with these issues, African American males are the most stigmatized and stereotyped group in America (Cunningham, 2001).

We espouse conflict theory's reproduction model in its broad historical application most closely associated with power differentials related to class or social groups as a theoretical framework for articulating the issues facing African American males in mathematics. The cultural reproduction model, a tenant of conflict theory, views schools as perpetuating the divisions and separations of children by class; moreover, the dominant culture is viewed as the purveyors of the status quo (Boudon, 1974; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Carnoy, 1972; Carnoy & Levin, 1985; Persell, 1977). African American males routinely interface with "White Privilege," at both the conscious and dissident level as part of the cultural and educational milieu of the public school system (Harris, 1993). This interface may be a contributing factor to a crisis in their education. Those who do not drop out and pursue college often do not fare well on state, national or international mathematics assessments (College Boards, 2006; National Center for Educational Statistics, 2009; 2008; 2007a; Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study, 2007), extending this national crisis in education beyond the secondary level.

Testing and Social and Cognitive Fallout

The Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) has provided an indication of how well American high school students maneuver though mathematical tasks. PISA is an international comparison of the capabilities of 15-year-old students relative to mathematical literacy and problem solving. In 2006, PISA data revealed that America's 15-year-olds scored in the bottom 25th percentile among its international peers (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2007b). Furthermore, when statistics

of the PISA were disaggregated, the mathematical performance of America's population of 15-year-old African American students was lower than their White, Asian American, and Latino peers, as well as many of their international counterparts among First World Nations. The PISA also indicated that the achievement of African American males was less than that of African American females. Over the past 25 years, systemic outcomes on assessments, such as the PISA, have negatively impacted African American males in their social, educational, and economic lives more than any other racial or ethnic group, regardless of gender (Noguera, 2003). African American men historically have been perceived in American socio-political and socio-cultural discourse to be more suited for hard labor than for intellectual pursuits, especially with regard to pursuits that call for mastery of quantitative concepts needed for mathematical/scientific investigations (Gould, 1996).

The socio-historical rationalization for this distinction can be found in the early justifications for the enslavement of Africans in America. In addition, de jure discriminatory legislation such as the Black Codes were a post-antebellum measure enacted to control the social and educational mobility of Afrcian Americans (Franklin, 1995). The Black Codes, legal statutes and constitutional amendments, were enacted, in part, to restrict and limit the education of African Americans. One such example is the revised code of North Carolina, which states, "Any free person, who shall teach, or attempt to teach, any slave to read or write, the use of figures excepted, or shall give or sell to such slave any book or pamphlet, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, . . ." (McCaslin, 2010; Mendes, 1999).

This distinction has also created an environment in which mediocre performance by African American males on typical mathematics assessments is rewarded as exemplary and where alternative assessments (e.g., project based assessments, problem centered assessments, inquiry based assessments) are rarely utilized because they do not typically guarantee the *status quo* of intellectual ranking of the races (Martin, 2009). Though it might seem somewhat conspiratorial, some school administrators might find it beneficial to turn a blind eye to African American males who drop-out of their schools, particularly in and around school mathematics assessment time. Many schools receive state or school district progress grades based, in no small part, on students' mathematics assessment performance. Schools where African American males consistently perform poorly on mathematics assessments are more likely to teach towards the test, which is perceived as a sure solution to the problem of African American males' poor performance (Davis & Martin, 2008).

Based on the literature and information gathered from several national databases, we posit that the social-cognitive fallout of high stakes assessments have resulted in a maladaptive behavior, termed "*helpless"* response (Diener & Dweck, 1980). Diener and Dweck have also provided evidence of a second behavior that is adaptive, known as "*mastery-oriented*" response. Dweck and Legget (1988) offered the following:

> The helpless pattern, as will be seen, is characterized by an avoidance of challenge and a deterioration of performance in the face of obstacles. The mastery-oriented pattern, in contrast, involves the seeking of challenging tasks and the maintenance of effective striving under failure. (p. 256)

Dweck and Leggett (1988) proposed *performance* goals and *learning* goals as two approaches to intellectual achievement outcomes. Simply stated, for the former, grades earned on mathematics assessments are prescriptive and reveal to the learner "who he

is," while in the case of the latter, grades earned on mathematics assessments are descriptive and reveal to the learner 'where he is' along a learning continuum. Stinson (2008) provided a description of African American males who seemed to possess a *learning goals* mindset. The school systems where many African Americans, particularly males, are not performing well on assessments of mathematics assume that to increase the frequency of testing is an answer to low scores that measure mathematical learning. We argue that such schools systems and the administrators that run them have ironically developed a maladaptive-behavior that promotes a performance goal mindset. The unintended consequence prepares African American students, particularly African American males, to fail; thus, assuring a differential in social capital that is consistent with the tenets of conflict theory. School systems and state education departments facilitate this differential structure through their use of power and resources, particularly when they will not challenge the state's myopic view of mathematics assessments.

The fallout from this disparity of resource distribution can perhaps be extrapolated from the theme of the professional development prescribed for in-service teachers of mathematics (Obidah & Howard, 2005). One of the authors of this paper, experienced as a professional development service provider for in-service teachers of mathematics, revealed that schools that are considered *high need* tend to pursue in-service training that provides reactionary pedagogies that respond to low test scores, remediation, and promote skill based instruction, particularly as it relates to mathematical learning. Whereas in the schools that have access to more resources, the professional development is geared towards proactive pedagogies that promote advanced placement courses, mastery, and conceptual understanding (Oakes, Joseph & Muir, 2004).

In order to help at-risk African American male high school students master the competencies needed to navigate a college preparatory sequence of mathematics, pedagogies and assessments that facilitate and measure conceptual learning of this subject must be utilized in *high need* schools, (Tawfeeq, 2011). Such pedagogies and assessments would not mitigate the conceptualization of mathematical ideas, and just as important, they would not marginalize the cultural norms of the learner.

Davis and Martin (2008) suggested that pedagogies and assessments used in high needs schools emanate from skill-based learning. As a result, a bevy of teachers are incapable, unwilling, or marginally adventurous about implementing instructional tools such as problem-based learning and student-based learning. Because of this, African American males find themselves victims of dysfunctional educational systems. Moreover, the elementary notions of an equitable society are contradicted by the availability of successful pedagogies and assessments for selected schools while other schools struggle to provide the basics in education (Anderson & Tate, 2008; Oakes, 2005).

Advanced Placement Calculus

The College Board, a non-profit entity, is a nationwide clearinghouse of testing instruments that have been designed, arguably, to predict college students' preparedness for academic life (College Board, 2010a). With regard to the College Board's Advance Placement Calculus Exam AB, a certain score can ensure that students receive college credit for calculus courses prior to entering college. That is, if a student scores 3, 4, or 5, the College Board suggests that the university where this student attends provide them with credit for Calculus I prior to entering the institution. This credit is beneficial to students as Calculus I is the first of a three part Calculus sequence that is typically

taught at colleges and universities. As stated by the College Board (2010b), the suggested scoring reflects:

> The Readers' scores on the free-response questions are combined with the results of the computer-scored multiple-choice questions; the weighted raw scores are summed to give a composite score. The composite score is then converted to a score on AP's 5-point scale. While colleges and universities are responsible for setting their own credit and placement policies, AP scores signify how qualified students are to receive college credit or placement:
>
> | AP SCORE | QUALIFICATION |
> |---|---|
> | 5 | Extremely well qualified |
> | 4 | Well qualified |
> | 3 | Qualified |
> | 2 | Possibly qualified |
> | 1 | No recommendation |
>
> AP Exam scores of 5 are equivalent to A grades in the corresponding college course. AP Exam scores of 4 are equivalent to grades of A–, B+ and B in college. AP Exam scores of 3 are equivalent to grades of B–, C+ and C in college (p. 2).

Although the College Board has implemented support programs that help with developing Pre AP and AP programs in high need schools where many African American males attend, far too many of these young men still fail to take this exam. Even fewer, score at least a 3 or higher. For instance, in 2005, African American students scored the lowest number of 3's on the AP Calculus test (National Center for Education Statistics, 2007).

In a study by Oakes, Muir and Joseph (2004), a African American female student at a Northern California high school sued the California Board of Education (CBE) claiming that because she did not have teachers to instruct AP Calculus, she was not equally serviced by the CBE as were students in more affluent areas in the state. Such disparities have historically impacted the mathematical education of all African American students (Berry, 2003; Martin 2009; Tate, 1997; Walker, 2005). In the case of a limited number of upper division classes, Black seniors at high schools with predominately low socio-economic students might have a harder time meeting the prerequisites for college entrance (Burton, Whitman, Yepes-Baraya, Cline & Myun-in Kim, 2002). The outcome of this lawsuit does not necessarily benefit African American males, especially if there are no financial resources to pay the fee required to sit for the exam, such judicial victories like the one mentioned above become meaningless.

Though there are many success stories about Black males in mathematics (see Berry, 2003, 2008; Stinson, 2008), Black males are more likely than their female counterparts to be in lower level or remedial courses in high school (National Center for Education Statistics, 2006). Though graduation is an important milestone, in and of itself, graduation does not mean that students are equipped with the mathematical background necessary successful navigate through tertiary level mathematics education. This places them in the dilemma of being unable to choose a mathematically based college major for fear of not being able to finish in the traditional four-year period (NCES 2007; 2006). These phenomena are clearly found in the plight of African American male pre-college students in Washington, DC. We believe this plight

could be evidenced in the College Board's AP Calculus AB exam scores of these students. The 1997-2009 College Board's Advance Placement Calculus data presented in Tables 1, 2, and 3,[4] respectively, state the following:

- The national and D.C. mean scores for Black and White males;
- The total D.C. population of Black and White male exam takers; and,
- The national population of Black and White male exam takers (College Board, 2010a).

Table 1 respectively show the following, while the overall national mean AP scores for Black male and White male exam takers consistently differed by a little over 1 point, the mean score in the District of Columbia on average was about 1 ½ point (on a five point scale). However, in 2002, 2003, 2006, 2007, 2008, and 2009 the difference in mean scores was almost 2 to 2 ½ points in the District of Columbia. In either case, Black males on average did not score high enough to warrant pre-college course credit for Calculus I, while White males have consistently scored in the range that made them eligible to receive credit.

Table 2 illustrates that the number of Black males who took the exam increased minimally from 1997-2009 in comparison to their White male counterparts. In fact, since the year 1999, when the two populations nearly merged in terms of number of test takers, the number of White male test takers has increased significantly. In Table 3, the national difference between the two groups being compared seems to be more pronounced and suggests a greater growth rate for White male exam takers. However, from 1997-2009 the number of Black males taking the exam increased by 190.63 percent with an annual growth rate of 15.88 percent. Percentage wise, this is over twice the increase to that of White male test takers over the same time period. That is, White male test takers increased by 89.02 percent with an annual growth rate of 7.41 percent.

Table 1: Mean AP Calculus (AB) Scores

	Mean AP Exam Score/ District of Columbia		Mean AP Exam Score/National	
Exam Year	Black Males	White Males	Black Males	White Males
1997	2.13	3.12	2.12	2.98
1998	2.57	3.65	2.32	3.24
1999	2.17	3.76	2.24	3.19
2000	2.14	3.65	2.27	3.24
2001	2.57	3.67	2.24	3.22
2002	1.74	3.73	2.29	3.30
2003	1.43	3.98	2.29	3.29
2004	1.80	3.44	2.14	3.16
2005	2.36	3.49	2.10	3.16
2006	1.88	3.95	2.15	3.23
2007	1.65	3.59	2.07	3.16
2008	1.28	3.67	2.14	3.26
2009	1.76	3.67	2.04	3.24

Table 2: Calculus Scores of Black and White Males Taking the AP Exam

Exam Year	Black Males	White Males
1997	16	58
1998	23	80
1999	24	42
2000	28	83
2001	23	105
2002	31	120
2003	21	108
2004	40	122
2005	28	138
2006	33	129
2007	40	140
2008	65	126
2009	38	123

Table 3: Number of Black and White Males Taking the AP Calculus Exams

Exam Year	Black Males	White Males
1997	1634	39409
1998	1804	41360
1999	2002	45163
2000	2311	49931
2001	2399	53458
2002	2629	56450
2003	2766	60402
2004	2875	62460
2005	3227	64799
2006	3516	65500
2007	3771	70519
2008	4368	73443
2009	4749	74491

While the population of African American male test takers increased (percentage wise) at a faster rate, their national mean score from 1997-2009 is only about 2.17 and is slightly trending downward. There can be several reasons as to why the mean score for Black males during this time period has not increased concurrently with the number of Black male exam takers. One possibility is that the mathematics coursework taken by this growing population of young men, prior to taking AP Calculus, may not be as rigorous as the AP Calculus curriculum.

Identity of the Black Male as Learner of Mathematics

The conflict between African Americans and Whites for educational resources has left the former in dire circumstances. deMarrais and LeCompte (as cited in Knapp & Wolverton, 2004) posit that schools transmit these unequal power relationships between the privileged and the working class through:

> (a) *use of language and behavioral expectations of the dominant elite* (b) *differential treatment systems such as tracking,* & (c) *the reinforcing of the social and political status quo* (p. 659).

Delpit argues that students who lack the cultural capital of the culture of power almost always face academic failure or an education that is inferior to their privileged peers. Furthermore, she states, "Those with power are frequently least aware or least willing to acknowledge its existence" (p. 26).

Although individuals are viewed as passive agents in the conflict theoretical realm; for example, Freire's (2000) notion of the "Banking Model of Education" and the popular myth of the dysfunctional Black suggest a popular tent of Conflict theory in that students are treated as passives agents. Freire notes "the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiques and makes deposits which the students patiently receive, memorize, and repeat" (p. 72). Thus, those in power get to define others, and in doing so, the former set the rules for the rest of society. Furthermore, we espouse Gramsci's (1971) belief that the individual is an active learner who interacts with institutions to produce knowledge and culture. The inequities in mathematics education can be understood from a cultural reproduction perspective, which examines how class-based differences are evident in curriculum content as well as in the cultural and linguistic practices embedded in the formal curriculum.

Proponents of the cultural reproduction perspective believe that schools perpetuate the divisions and separations of children by class, and the dominant culture are the purveyors of the status quo (Boudon, 1974; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Carnoy, 1972; Carnoy & Levin, 1985; Persell, 1977). For example, Anyon (1980) makes the stark case that our urban public schools are stratified by class to include different instructional practices and treatment of student in such ways that poor and working class students are prepared to follow and upper

class students are prepared to lead. Subsequently, we have adopted the cultural reproduction model for discussing the educational inequalities experienced by African Americans males. The cultural model posits that cultural incongruities such as language, socialization, enculturation and other cultural dimensions are vital to maintaining privilege.

Stinson's (2008) research with post-structural theory posits that African American males have a monolithic world view because of the oppressive nature of life as a "Black male in America." Therefore, a need to identify their "group" independent of oppression is important.

We suggest that the larger society subjectively reacts to African American males. African American males have become more communal during the process of their oppression and they attempt to find cohesiveness in the "telling" of their oppression to one another. A perfect example of this "telling" can be found in Hip Hop and more specifically Rap music (Rose, 1994; Kitwana, 2002) in which storytelling and the sharing of the male experience represent one of more constructive elements of the art form."

The larger community rarely explores what it means to be an African American male. Instead, many people prefer to limit his image to brutish and inappropriate in a thriving educational context. As a result, he is deemed ineligible for the benefits of privilege.

Harris (1993), on the other hand, defines "whiteness" as "the legal legitimation of expectations of power and control that enshrine the status quo as a neutral baseline, while masking the maintenance of white privilege and domination" (p. 1715). More importantly, being white means being a part of the *Culture of Power* (Delpit, 1995); that is, those who control the political, linguistic, and educational power in society. Schools transmit unequal power relationships, valuing systems of the privileged. Therefore, the majority of White students in America are given the resources for a more robust educational experience (e.g. advanced placement courses, superior educational resources, higher per-pupil dollars, and well-trained teachers). In contrast, poor and working class families (from where many African American male students), hail are often underfunded "factory schools" that train for the knowledge and values of twentieth century jobs of an antiquated industrial America (Tate, 2005).

Further impacting "factory schools" with large numbers of at-risk Black male students whose home life is economically impoverished are the large number of uncertified or under-prepared teachers of mathematics (Obidah & Howard, 2005). Schools that might otherwise offer classes that undergird the basics of middle division mathematics courses at the level of collegiate mathematics (e.g., calculus I & II) are forced to redirect their resources. This is due to the inability of many teachers to effectively facilitate the learning of advance mathematics due to a lack of training, or by the mere fact that so many students in these high schools are taking non-advanced courses (Burton et al, 2002; King, 1996).

Cultural Attributes and the Learning of Mathematics

African American males' inability to become fluent and dexterous in mathematics has limited the social and economic avenues that most jobs requiring such skills yield. This lack of fluency and dexterity in mathematics has limited the job opportunities for African males. Therefore, an inferior mathematics education inhibits their civil rights (Moses & Cobb, 2001). The ability for high school students to successfully engage their mathematics teacher in discourse may prevent the former from advancing along the learning continuum rests with the curriculum and learning opportunities facilitated by the teacher of mathematics (National Council of

Teachers of Mathematics, 2000). For high school students, the general mathematics credits requirement, as mandated by most state departments of education, is three to five courses during their high school tenure (National Center for Education Statistics, 2006). Besides the access to the formal language of the privilege, culturally responsive teaching ensures the educational success of African American males in mathematics, linguistics, business and other venues.

Gay (2000) defines Culturally Responsive Teaching as using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, and performance styles of diverse students to make learning more appropriate and effective for them; it teaches to and through the strengths of these students. Heath (1983) conducted an ethnographic study of the enculturation and socialization processes of an African American and a White community in adjacent North Carolinian communities. The communication styles, sentence forms, and purposes for language use differed between the two groups. Heath discovered that the episodic African American style of communicating posed a disadvantage in school. Teachers, as well as others, were unable to make a distinction between what they considered poor Standard American English and a style of communicating passed down for generations, with its own system and distinct structure. The episodic mind is a derivative of oral based cultures that are common in West African and the African Western Diaspora. The episodic learning style exhibited by many African Americans represents thinking that is the sum total of immediate cultural modifications entwined with past cultural constructs and informal education. When we mention "episodic mind" in this analysis, we are also referring to an *intellect* that does not reveal concepts in discrete chunks that have a particular linear sequence. The episodic mind considers the minor details of narration equal to major details. In the episodic mind, while the subplot does exist; there is no minority in the discourse, and all is equal. For example, when an African American student is asked to tell a story, the inanimate object in the background is as important as the animate object in the foreground. Moreover, the end of the story is never more important than the beginning or the middle of the story. Another example of this discourse pattern can be explained by the following. When a class of African American 10th grade students is asked to write a paper about a work they read in class, due to the episodic writing style of many African American students, the teacher might view their papers as having superfluous information. That is, the work of these students might be considered by teachers who are acculturated in, as Popkewitz (2004) called it, a *Puritan Curriculum*, as being off-task, non-linear, void of logically driven syllogism, and lacking focus.

Mathematics is considered to be a construct independent of culturally motivated discourse patterns. Moreover, no one racial or gender group inherently accumulates mathematically insight more readily than another group. Furthermore, researchers of literacy and multicultural education have identified African American children's episodic minds to be of importance to their identity and learning. As a result, we encourage more research investigating in how this type of mind impacts the learning of logical based systems such as mathematics (Foster, 1992; Gay & Howard, 2000). Sociolinguistics and the African American community:. Despite the unforgiving exactness of math and sciences, how they are conveyed and learned can depend on the language uses of both the student and the teacher. Their contextual applications often depend on the perceived ability of the learner to convey theory and articulate practice. Such research may provide new insight into the learning of mathematics by African American

males, as culturally responsive or relevant pedagogy.

The relationship between how we are taught and access to social and cultural capital is not new and is well documented in Jean Anyon's (1980) article on *Social Class and the Hidden Curriculum of Work*. The teaching of mathematics is not free of attitudes or behaviors that inform learning theories and pedagogies as they relate to African American learners. Historical, social, and economic oppression of African Americans have not served to promote the African American male student's "intellectual being." The process of how one emits ideas is very different than how one would sort out a meaningful interpretation of these ideas, which helps in concept building. This Episodic Mind concept very well might be a cultural product of the African American experience, yet devalued because it is so dissimilar from the cultural capital that explains "Whiteness."

Delpit (1995) argues that students who lack the cultural capital of the culture of power almost always face academic failure or an education that is inferior to their privileged peers. She states that, "Those with power are frequently least aware or least willing to acknowledge its existence" (p. 26). Hall (as cited in Gudykunst et al, 1996) espoused a cultural framework whereby cultures can be situated in relation to one another through communication styles. He characterized cultures as either "low context" or "high context." Low Context (LC) cultures tend to be direct, precise, dramatic, open, and based on feelings or true intentions, whereas high context (HC) cultures tend to be indirect, ambiguous, maintaining of harmony, reserved and understated. Hofstede (1980) espouses similar culture dimensions using "individualistic" and "collectivist" concepts. Individualistic is similar to "low" context, whereas collectivist is similar to "high" context. African American culture is more along the collectivist, HC continuum whereas the culture of power within the American educational system is more along the individualistic, LC continuum. The latter dimension promotes linearity and individualism. The HC values of African American children are incompatible with those of the LC school culture (Taylor, 1990). As a result, it is imperative for African American children to acquire cross-cultural competence as a way of achieving academic success in schools, particularly the mathematics classroom. Something related to this discussion is the issue of *culturally pragmatic diversity*, which refers to differences in values, norms, or social conventions from culture to culture that shape the way one speaks or determines what appropriate behavior is and what it is not in a given situation (Jia, 2007).

The Education Achievement Gap and Access

The unjust educational inequities experienced by African American males are often manifested in achievement gaps on standardized tests, lack of advanced placement mathematics courses in school, lack of qualified teachers to instruct such courses, unequal distribution of resources to facilitate learning of mathematical material, and the failure of the 'No Child Left Behind' policies to account for the increasing dropout and push-out rates for African American males. For example, Darling-Hammond (2007) emphasized that the policies such as Annual Yearly Progress reports of the 90 percent underfunded No Child Left Behind (NCLB) federal mandate places schools that serve the neediest students in a punitive position. As a result, many schools are either 'pushing out' low achieving students or excluding their test scores from the data in order to meet the NCLB 'Adequate Yearly Progress' benchmarks. Facilitating the high dropout rates of many low achieving students increases a school's aggregate mathematics test scores, while ignoring fundamental problems

related to equity, social justice, and the right to a quality education.

Migration patterns within the U.S. have contributed to the segregation of communities and schools. Frey (2005) noted that "if a place appeals to immigrants, it tends to have the opposite effect on people who choose to move domestically" (p. 43). Overall, the migration patterns to the U.S. and within the U.S. reflect diverse student populations all over the country. However, little attention has been given to the rising segregation and increasing diversity on the racial composition of our public schools (Frankenberg & Lee, 2002).

Some of the most segregated schools are located in the Midwest and the North East. The State of Michigan, for instance, has one of the most segregated school systems in the country, with sixty percent of all African American students attending segregated schools (Putnam, 2006). Furthermore, schools in cities like Chicago, Cincinnati and Detroit lead many schools in the nation at this distinction, and have some of the lowest mathematics scores for Black males based on national assessments (NCES, 2008). In November of 1987, former US Secretary of Education William Bennett labeled Chicago's public schools the "worst in the nation" (Lee & Slaughter-Defoe, 2004). Not much has changed since.

Although Whites remain the most segregated racial group in America, a number of middle-class African Americans continue to move to predominately White suburban areas in order to escape the high crime rates, poorly functioning schools as well as the economic and socio-political challenges in the inner cities (Gollnick and Chin, 2010). Divergent world views and socio political agendas emerge when African Americans are prevented from obtaining jobs that are meaningful and that have the potential to bring them into the middle class; divergent world views occur when a considerable population of people of color are prevented from securing mortgages in economically strong communities, and where there is little or no fiscal equity when it comes to educating their children. Either with the deliberateness of a political agenda or the routine efficiency of systemic 'modern racism,' their White counterparts often benefit from the challenges many African Americans face (Bartos and Weher, 2002). Bartos and Weher note that a goal between parties is not mutually acceptable if it has a positive payoff for only side. If almost all of the schools with advanced mathematics placement courses, highly qualified mathematics teachers and a plethora of resources are in predominately White, upper class areas, then this is not mutually acceptable for African Americans and other people of color because it has only a positive payoff for White Americans.

Conclusion

This disparity in resources is more than happenstance or the luck of the draw; it is rooted in a clash of cultures founded in the history of racism. It is part of the classic narrative that conflict theory represents, a differential in economic, social and cultural capital where the dividing lines are race and class. The most vulnerable casualty of this conflict is the African American male. He continues to be academically left behind. Nowhere is the view of him in America's rear view mirror clearer than that of the mathematics classroom. His ticket to success is outdated and undervalued. More resources, beginning in the primary grades, are needed in the classrooms where he is finds himself languishing, particularly in academic subjects such as Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM). Greater incentives need to be brought to bear in order to encourage qualified mathematics teachers, particular teachers of color to enter the public schools he attends; teaching methodologies need to be encouraged that are

aimed at tapping his natural intellect and abilities, instead of watering them down; and state of the art teaching tools need to find their way into the classrooms where he is the learner. Educating him well in the math and sciences may transform conflict theory into conflict resolution. A culturally responsive approach to math may be a solution in empowering African American males and other students of color. Furthermore, mathematics, calculus in this case, should not be immune to real world issues. In fact, Gutstein and Peterson (2005) espouses social justice math whereby "real world" issues (e.g. domestic violence, arrests) within the community/culture are being addressed by using mathematic. Moreover, Murrey and Sapp (2008) highlighted two key objectives of a first-ever conference on math education and social justice on the Brooklyn campus of Long Island University. The objectives were:

> 1.) increasing success in math for students of color and those disadvantaged by poverty and
>
> 2.) identifying socioeconomic issues in the students' neighborhoods that can be better understood through a mathematical lens (p. 52).

Chartock (2010, p. 119) notes that although there are some criticisms of social justice math as "watering down the discipline and using a political left-wing perspective," the current approaches that have been in place for decades seem to be incongruent with the learning styles of African American males.

These disparities inevitably pose a colossal challenge for mathematics classrooms in our nation's schools that serve many children of color, particularly when they are held to the same performance standards as their White counterparts. Students in schools with the highest minority enrollments have less than a 50 percent chance of getting a mathematics teacher with a license in the field (Oakes, 1990). Given the current conditions of schools in predominately African American communities, there is a need for a socio-political and economic approach for improving the schools and the academic performance of African Americans males in mathematics. In light of the educational achievement gap of African American males, educators and the community should revisit the plight of the late Jaime Esclante, an East Los Angeles high school mathematics teacher who inspired the 1988 Warner Brothers movie *Stand and Deliver*. In a predominately Chicano area populated with underachieving students, in the 1980s, Mr. Esclante understood that culturally responsive teaching would be effective in teaching his students AP calculus. More important, Mr. Esclante's success reflected that the relationship between the school (i.e. the educator) and the student is vital to the latter's success more so than any genetic or environmental factors. Similar to Mr. Esclante, educators of urban and African American adolescent males should become more proactive about issues related to teaching upper division and AP mathematics to this population.

This paper provided a particular glimpse of *conflict and access* between those who have been historically empowered by unfettered access to quality educational opportunities and those who have been kept systematically disenfranchised. This state on *conflict and access* was viewed, in part, through the lens of testing with regards to mathematical knowledge and school resources.

NOTES

1. http://public.wsu.edu/~brians/world_civ/worldcivreader/world_civ_reader_1/pericles.html.

2. African American and Black American will be used interchangeably.

3. Advanced Placement is Registered Product of College Boards and has two exams for calculus, namely AB and BC. The AB exam is the first taken in the sequence.

4. The data for Tables 1, 2, and 3 were gathered from the College Board's Summery Report webpage.

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THE CHALLENGE OF EQUAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL: THE ROAD TO EXCELLENCE AND EQUITY IN AMERICA'S SCHOOLS

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Abstract: This study reviews what researchers have learned about racial disparities in school suspension. The study explores the impact that school suspension has on children; including the possibility that frequent out-of-school suspension may have a racially disparate impact on student achievement and dropout rate. Furthermore, schools low on both demandingness (high standards for academic and behavioral performance) and responsiveness (caring and concern) had the largest racial discipline gaps. These findings highlight the characteristics of school culture that may not meet the developmental needs of children and may contribute to disproportionate disciplinary outcomes for Black students.

INTRODUCTION

The Black-White achievement gap has long been a concern of educators in America (Darling-Hammond, 2010; Howard, 2011; Ladson-Billings, 2006; Murphy, 2010; Paige, 2011; Rothstein, 2004; Singham, 2005). Federal policy in the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 (NCLB) requires that schools disaggregate student achievement data by race and ethnicity. A recent national report on Black and White student achievement provided an informative breakdown by state (Vanneman, Hamilton, Baldwin Anderson, & Rahman, 2009). On average, the nation had a 31-point Black-White gap in eighth grade mathematics achievement on the National Assessment of Educational Progress test.

In 2006, the Program in International Student Assessment (PISA), the most recent PISA test administered, reported that U.S. 15 year-olds ranked 25th out of 40 countries in mathematics and 24th out of 40 countries in science. That put our average on the same level as Portugal and Slovakia, rather than Australia, Canada, and South Korea. Of all the industrialized countries, the U.S. had the greatest percentages of students at or below the lowest level of proficiency in mathematics and science, called level 1, "limited knowledge" (U.S. Department of Education, 2008). This statement is true not only for science and mathematics, but also for reading (Bracey, 2009).

Most telling, however, is the effect of the achievement gap on U.S. performance. White students, on the one hand, had an average scale score (combined mathematics, science, and reading) that was higher (512) than the average student performance of the 40 other countries (500). Black students, on the other hand, had an average scale score that was lower (421) than the average student performance of the other countries (500) (U.S. Department of Education, 2008).

All groups in the United States do least well on measures of problem solving. The aforementioned data suggest that the United States' poor ranking in national and international tests is substantially a product of unequal access to the kind of intellectually challenging learning measured on these national and international assessments. U.S. students in general, and historically underserved groups in particular, may be getting access to scientific information, but they are not getting as much access to problem-solving and critical thinking skills needed to apply this knowledge in a meaningful way (Darling-Hammond, 2010).

Recognized less often is the accompanying disparity in school suspension rates for Black

and White students. Not only are Black students, especially males, suspended three times more often than their White counterparts (Wallace, Goodkind, Wallace, & Bachman, 2008), but also Black students are often punished more severely for similar misbehavior than White students (Losen, 2011). Further, Black females are suspended four times as often as White females (Losen & Skiba, 2010). What might be referred to as the "racial discipline gap" has been documented since the 1970s (Children's Defense Fund) and found in discipline records and surveys from single schools (Gregory & Weinstein, 2008; Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002), multiple cities (Gordon, Della Piana, & Keleher, 2000), statewide samples (Gregory, Cornell, & Fan, 2011), and nationally representative samples of parents (KewelRamani, Gilbertson, Fox, & Provasnik, 2007). The disproportionality based on race remains after removing the effects of socioeconomic status (Gregory et al., 2011; Raffaele Mendez, Knoff, & Ferron, 2002; Skiba et al., 2002).

Subgroups experiencing disproportionate suspension from school miss important instructional time and are at greater risk of disengagement and diminished educational opportunities (Losen, 2011). Suspended students are more likely to be truant; drop out of school; receive low grades; perform less well on state, national, and international tests; and experience increased risk of antisocial behavior following suspension. A review of the available evidence suggests that the racial discipline gap may contribute to the parallel gaps in academic achievement and graduation rates (Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010).

On July 26, 2012, President Barack Obama signed Executive Order—White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for African Americans. The President's July 26 executive order established a government panel to promote "a positive school climate that does not rely on methods that result in disparate use of disciplinary tools." "African Americans lack equal access to highly effective teachers and principals, safe schools, and challenging college-preparatory classes, and they disproportionately experience school discipline" (Executive Order—White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for African Americans (2012). Because of those causes, the report suggests, "over a third of African American students do not graduate from high school on time with a regular high school diploma, and only four percent of African American high school graduates interested in college are college ready across a range of subjects" (Executive Order -- White House Initiative on Educational Excellence for African Americans, 2012).

In recognition of the trends observed in measures of the achievement gap, the purpose of this paper was to examine racial discrepancies in school discipline for Black and White students. Uneven educational outcomes for various subgroups are unacceptable, as stipulated in the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001 regarding disaggregated subgroups. All children are expected to have the educational opportunities that will allow them to have successful outcomes. As related specifically to discipline policy, racial disparity in school suspensions is not only morally wrong, but also may demonstrate non-compliance with existing law.

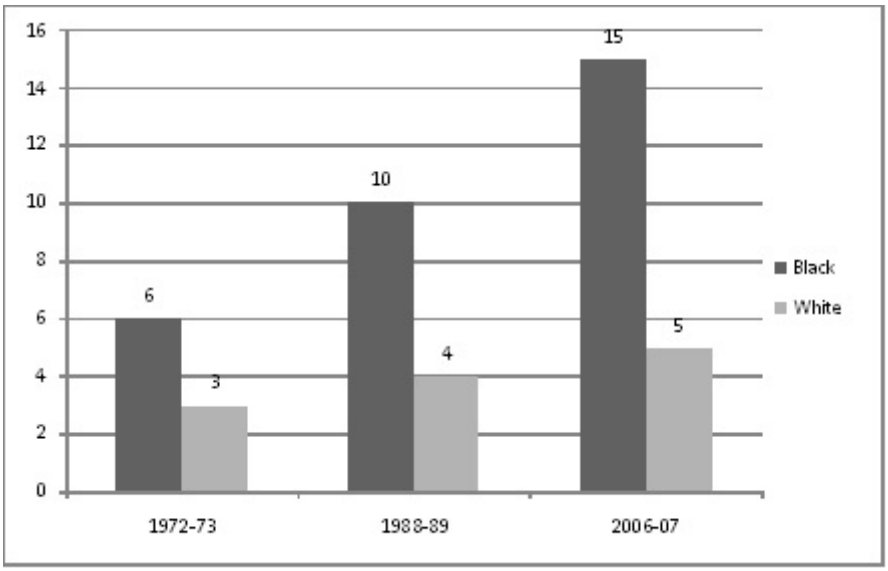
Frequency and Racial Disparity in School Suspensions

Policies that result in out-of-school suspensions and expulsions are described as "exclusionary," because they remove students from school (Losen, 2011). The emphasis of the analysis in this paper is focused on "out of school" suspensions, rather than expulsions, because the numbers of suspensions is significantly higher than the numbers of expulsions. According to

the U.S. Department of Education (2006), more than 3.25 million students, or nearly 7 percent of all students enrolled in K-12 schools, were estimated to have been suspended at least once. In contrast, the same U.S. Department of Education data estimated 102,077 expulsions.

Existing data strongly suggest increasing use of exclusion as well as clear patterns of racial disparity. School suspensions have risen steadily since the early 1970s, and racial disparities have increased considerably as well (Losen & Skiba, 2010) (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Racial Impact of the Rising Use of Suspension.

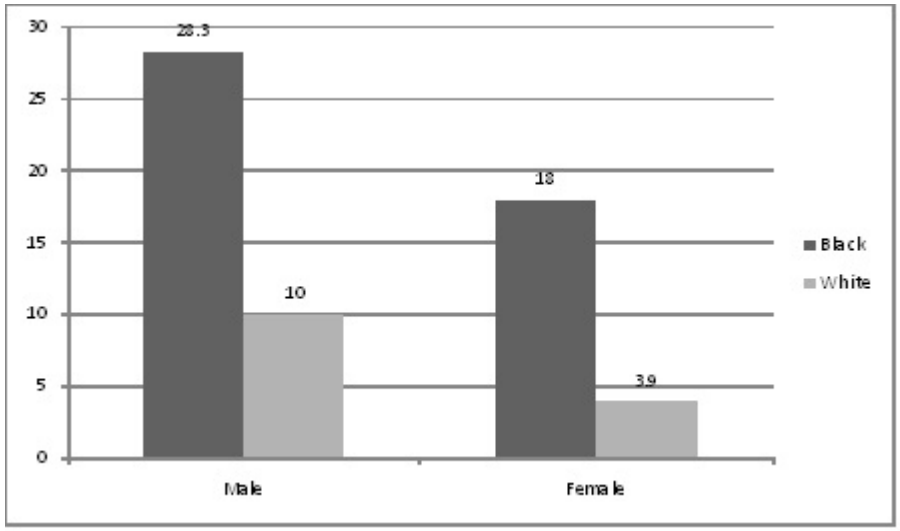


The data show substantial increases for all students, with a growing racial discipline gap. Specifically, K-12 suspension rates have more than doubled since the early 1970s for Black students. Concurrently, the Black-White gap more than tripled, rising from a difference of three percentage points in the 1970s to over 10 percentage points in 2006, when more than one out of every seven Black students enrolled was suspended from school at least once.

Middle School, Race and Gender

According to a recent report, *Suspended Education: Urban Middle Schools in Crisis* (Losen & Skiba, 2010), racial and gender disparities at the middle-school level showed much higher rates than appear when aggregate K-12 data are analyzed. For example, based on Office of Civil Rights (OCR) data from every state in 2010, 28.3 percent of Black males in middle school were suspended, compared with just 10 percent of White males. Moreover, 18 percent of Black females were suspended, compared with just 3.9 percent of White females. Further analysis of the data for 18 of the nation's largest school districts found that in 15 of them, at least 30 percent of all enrolled Black males were suspended one or more times (Dillon, 2010). Across these 18 urban districts, hundreds of individual schools had extraordinarily high suspension rates—50 percent or higher for Black males (Losen & Skiba, 2010). The *Suspended Education* report, based on OCR data, is accessible in greater detail on-line (see Figure 2).

Figure 2. Middle School Racial and Gender Disparities in School Suspensions



Can Current Racial Disparities in Suspension Be Justified?

The data clearly demonstrate that some student subgroups receive a disproportionate number of exclusionary punishments. Why this situation exists is examined in this section. Are higher suspension rates linked to the severity of misbehavior? Are there educationally justifiable outcomes of suspension? What impact do suspensions have on students who are removed from school?

Link Between Suspension Rates and the Severity of Misbehavior

Research on student behavior, race, and discipline has found no evidence that Black students' overrepresentation in school suspension is due to higher rates of misbehavior (Kelly, 2010; McCarthy & Hoge, 1987). In a large-scale study of 21 schools, Bradshaw and colleagues (2010), found that Black students were overrepresented in office discipline referrals compared to other subgroups.

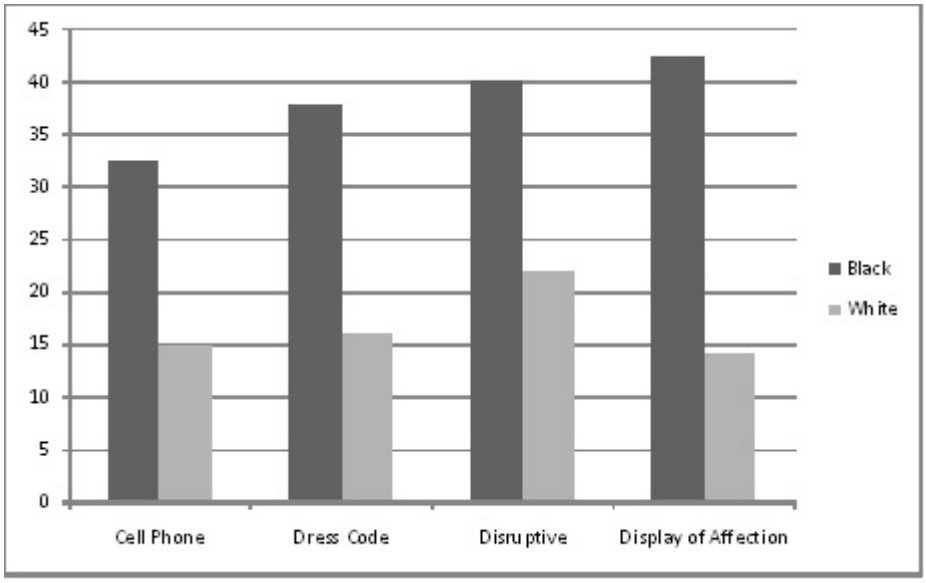
Other studies suggest that racial disproportionalities in discipline are greater in the offense categories that are subjective or vague, and vice versa (Losen, 2011). Specifically, Skiba and colleagues (2002) reviewed racial and gender disproportionalities in school punishments in 19 urban middle schools and found that White students were referred to the office significantly more often for offenses that are relatively easy to document objectively (e.g., smoking, vandalism, leaving school without permission, and using obscene language). Black students, however, were referred more frequently for behaviors that seem to require more subjective judgment (e.g., disrespect, excessive noise, threatening behavior, and loitering).

In short, the researchers concluded that there is no evidence that racial disproportionalities in school discipline can be explained by more serious patterns of misbehavior among Black students (Skiba & Horner, 2010). It appears that White students are engaging more often in those misbehaviors that can be documented and counted without much subjectivity or discretion. However, for those offenses that require a judgment by teachers, school administrators, and others, Black students are disproportionately disciplined more frequently. This suggests two possibilities: perhaps Black students focus their misbehavior on those types of behavioral

transgressions that call for a subjective judgment of such misbehavior, or perhaps Black students are being unfairly treated when it comes to disciplining such misbehavior (Losen, 2011).

Similar conclusions are suggested by an analysis of recent data from North Carolina concerning first-time offenders. Black first-time offenders were suspended at higher rates than White first-time offenders for the same minor offenses, including cell-phone use, dress code, disruptive behavior, and public displays of affection (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. North Carolina Black/white Suspension Rates



As shown in Figure 3, far higher percentages of Black first-time offenders received out-of-school suspensions than White first-time offenders for similar offenses (Losen, 2010).

Lack of Educationally Justifiable Outcomes of Suspension

Most school suspensions are not for weapons, drugs or violence. Skiba and Rausch (2006) reported that only 5 percent of all out-of-school suspensions in the state they studied were issued for disciplinary incidents typically considered serious or dangerous, such as possession of weapons, drugs, or violence. The remaining 95 percent of suspensions fell into two categories: *disruptive behavior* and *other*. Accordingly, the high rates of disciplinary removal from school currently seen in American schools cannot reasonably be attributed to necessary responses to unlawful or dangerous misbehavior (U.S. Department of Education, 2006). What, then, are the arguments that might justify harsh and frequent exclusion policies?

Three reasons appear to account for the common use of out-of-school suspension for non-violent or continual misbehavior: (a) suspension to get parental attention, (b) suspension as a deterrence, and (c) suspension to improve the teaching and learning environment (Losen, 2011). Each one will be discussed in turn.

Suspension to Get Parental Attention. The expectation is that more parental involvement will reduce disruptive behavior and, in turn, improve the learning environment. Assuming that a child's persistent misbehavior is a

reflection of serious problems or weaknesses attributed to family or home conditions, there is little reason to believe that removing a child from school to spend more time in such a dysfunctional setting will improve future behavior.

Even for the most effective parents, a child's suspension can have harmful ramifications. According to the Academy of American Pediatrics (2003), children who are suspended are often from a population that is the least likely to have supervision at home. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, children growing up in homes near or below the poverty level are more likely to be suspended or expelled. Children with single parents are three times as likely to be suspended or expelled from school as children with both parents at home, even when controlling for other sociodemographic factors. Children most likely to be suspended or expelled are those most in need of adult supervision and professional help. Thus, there seems little reason to accept the assertion that suspension will result in productive parental support for the children most likely to be excluded from schools.

*Suspension as a Deterrence***.** According to the American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force (2008) and other documentation (Kafka, 2012), there is no evidence that zero-tolerance disciplinary policies and their application to non-violent misbehavior improve school safety or student behavior. Further, in their review of the available research literature on suspension, Losen and Skiba (2010) found that students suspended in sixth grade are more likely to receive office referrals or suspensions by eighth grade, prompting researchers to conclude that suspension may act more as a "reinforcer" than a punisher for inappropriate behavior.

Raffaele Mendez (2003), who studied longitudinal data on students from 150 schools in Florida, found a strong relationship (after controlling for other at-risk factors) between the number of sixth-grade suspensions and the number of seventh- and eighth-grade suspensions. She pointed out that frequent use of suspension alone has no measurable positive deterrent or academic benefit to either the students who are suspended or to non-suspended (observer) students. Others indicated that many urban school districts that suspend large numbers of students provide no real assistance to help them correct their behavioral problems (Raffaele Mendez & Knoff, 2003). In sum, research offers little support for the theory that suspensions deter future misbehavior.

*Suspension to Improve the Teaching and Learning Environment***.** Obviously, suspending disruptive children might improve teaching conditions by relieving some of the teacher's stress (Lunenburg & Cadavid, 1992). However, if suspending large numbers of disruptive students helped improve instruction and the learning environment, better academic results should be expected. But this does not seem to occur. Instead, research on the frequent use of school suspension has indicated that, after race and poverty are controlled for, higher rates of out-of-school suspension correlate with lower achievement scores (Skiba & Rausch, 2006).

Often, student misbehavior is attributed exclusively to students themselves, but researchers and practitioners alike know that the same student can behave very differently in different classrooms (Losen, 2011). Disruptions tend to increase or decrease with the skill of the teacher in providing engaging instruction and in managing the classroom (Lunenburg & Irby, 2011; Summers, 2012). Researchers also have found a strong relationship between effective classroom management and improved educational outcomes (Emmer & Evertson, 2012; Evertson, Emmer, & Worsham, 2012). And these skills can be learned and developed (Green, 2010). Moreover, research suggests an

inverse relationship between student misbehavior and a teacher's ability to engage students (Osher, Bear, Sprague, & Doyle, 2010). As engagement increases, misbehavior and suspensions decrease. Yet despite these apparent relationships to classroom management and quality of instruction, educators often treat student misbehavior as a problem originating solely with students and their parents (Losen, 2011). This ignores the potentially key roles played by teachers, school administrators, teacher professional development, or the school system itself (Lunenburg & Ornstein, 2012).

Impact on Students Who Are Suspended from School

The notion that schools should remove disruptive students so that well-behaved students can learn violates a commitment to equal educational opportunity for all students. One review of research explored why students drop out of school. The researchers concluded that systematically excluding problematic students from school contributes to student drop out. And failure to provide adequate resources and supports for such students can contribute to persistent misbehavior (Kim, Losen, & Hewitt, 2010) and thereby increase their likelihood of dropping out.

Another study suggests that many students who eventually drop out had exhibited at-risk indicators, including truancy, poor grades, and persistent antisocial behavior, suggesting they need more support or intervention, but adequate help was never provided (Balfanz, 2003; Fabelo, Thompson, Plotkin, Carmichael, Booth, 2011). Consequently, some states and school districts have taken the initiative to treat suspensions and other indicators of misbehavior as early warning indicators of dropout risk. For example, the Massachusetts Department of Education published a report highlighting the high-risk dropout indicators and the need for earlier interventions, citing "numerous suspensions" as among the leading indicators (Vaznis, 2010).

Further, the exclusion of these students presents immediate risks to their academic success in school and overall well-being. According to the Academy of American Pediatrics (2003), without the services of trained professionals (such as pediatricians, mental health professionals, and school counselors) and without a parent at home during the day, students with out-of-school suspensions are far more likely to commit crimes. When youngsters are not in school, they are more likely to become involved in gangs, fights, and to carry a weapon. And the lack of professional assistance at the time of exclusion from school, a time when a student needs it most, increases the risk of permanent school dropout.

In sum, links between suspensions and negative outcomes—such as dropping out and heightened risks to students' mental and physical well-being—raise serious questions about the justification for suspending children, especially for relatively minor violations. Most expected benefits of suspension have not been documented to date (Fabelo et al., 2011).

Theoretical Framework

It is important to ascertain what school or educator characteristics can account for the disproportionality in suspension rates for Black and White students. Decades of research on school climate have highlighted the role of student perceptions of the school environment that has relevance for student outcomes (C. Anderson, 1982; Lunenburg, 1983a). This suggests that the application of a school culture/climate framework may prove useful in identifying patterns in suspension rates for Black and White students.

Anyone who visits more than a few schools observes quickly how schools differ from one

another in their beliefs, feelings, and behavior. For example, schools can be flexible or rigid, supportive or unfriendly, innovative or conservative. Organization theorists documented the important role that culture plays in the lives of organization members (Deal & Kennedy, 1984; Ouchi, 1981, 1982; Peters & Waterman, 1982, 2004; Schein, 2011).

A Typology of Organizational Culture

Bulach and Lunenburg (2008, 2011) developed a framework that suggests four distinctive *culture phenotypes* likely to be found in public schools. These phenotypes are clearly describable and differentiated from one another in terms of the metaphorical language elicited from school participants.

I drew upon the literature to develop a theory of organizational culture. As discussed earlier, the theory posits that organizational culture is the *root metaphor* of an organization, all the beliefs, feelings, behaviors, and symbols that are characteristic of an organization (Schein, 2011). That is, the culture of an organization does not merely describe what an organization is like; it describes the essence of the organization itself (Bulach & Lunenburg, 2008, 2011). With this concept as an organizer, I developed a taxonomic structure of organizational culture. The resulting taxonomy has six interlocking dimensions that define the culture of a school: (a) the history of the organization; (b) values and beliefs of the organization; (c) myths and stories that explain the organization; (d) cultural norms of the organization; (e) traditions, rituals, and ceremonies characteristic of the organization; and (f) heroes and heroines of the organization.

I knew from direct observation and from the extant literature that schools differ markedly in their organizational culture. This was no new discovery. But I wanted to go beyond this. I examined the culture of schools by survey methods as well as by using the more typical ethnographic approach. I sought to map the domain of organizational culture, to identify and describe its dimensions, and to measure them in a dependable way which would minimize those limitations that are necessarily inherent in every instrument which must, in the final analysis, rely upon some form of subjective judgment.

I constructed the Instructional Improvement Survey (IIS) (Bulach, 2002; Bulach & Lunenburg, 2008, 2011) that permits us to portray the organizational culture of a school. The IIS is composed of 96 Likert-type items which principals and teachers can use to describe the culture of their school. The instrument is administered in a group setting, or online using Survey Monkey; it requires approximately 30 minutes to complete. The IIS is of intrinsic interest to the staff, and the findings from it can be used for the purposes of staff self-evaluation. The scores that have been devised for describing the culture make good "factorial" sense. In addition, they make practical sense and are consistent with present theoretical knowledge about the nature of organizations.

I analyzed the culture of 195 elementary and secondary schools selected from three different regions of the United States: East, Midwest, and South. This analysis was based upon the description of these schools given by more than 2500 respondents. The 96 items in the IIS were assigned to 11 subtests which I delineated by factor-analytic methods. Four of these subtests pertain to characteristics of the faculty group as a group (group trust, group openness, group cooperation, and group atmosphere), the other seven to characteristics of principal and teacher leadership (sense of mission, parent involvement, teaching, discipline, time on task, leadership, and expectations). From the scores on these 11 subtests I then constructed, for each school, a profile, which depicts the school's organizational culture (Bulach & Lunenburg, 2008). By comparing the profiles of different

schools, I can see the distinguishing characteristics of their respective organizational cultures. Furthermore, by analyzing the profile of a given school, I can estimate the quality of its culture.

Next, I examined the profiles for the 195 schools to see whether the profiles themselves constellated in a fashion that would allow us to differentiate meaningful types of organizational cultures. They did. I were able to identify four organizational cultures, and found that these could be arrayed along a continuum defined at one end by a *High-Performing School Culture*, and at the other end, by a *Laissez-Faire School Culture*. The continuum I devised is far from perfect. Although I maintain some caution in ranking the cultures linearly, for heuristic purposes the ranking schema provided a useful approximation to identify cultures I could demarcate.

I identified four organizational cultures. I named these "High-Performing," "Enlightened," "Permissive," and "Laissez-faire." Based on the 11 subtests of the IIS, I conceptualized the High-Performing School as highly demanding (i.e., high standards for both academic and behavioral performance) and highly responsive (i.e., students perceive their teachers as caring and concerned about them). Enlightened Schools are demanding and directive but not responsive. Permissive Schools are more responsive than they are demanding. I described Laissez-Faire Schools as disengaged, neither demanding concerning academic and behavioral performance nor responsive to student needs, and they do not structure learning nor monitor student performance or behavior effectively (Bulach & Lunenburg, 2008, 2011).

Research on School Cultures

In a sample of approximately 7,000 high school students from the National Educational Longitudinal Study of 1988, Shouse (1996) investigated school differences on academic press (similar to Bulach and Lunenburg (2008, 2011) *demandingness* and sense of community (similar to Bulach and Lunenburg *responsiveness*. Shouse (1996) found that a school culture characterized by both academic press and a sense of community was associated with higher achievement gains, especially in low socio-economic status schools. He concluded that the combination of high academic press and high community was protective for low-income students who may not have academic resources to draw on in their homes and communities. Similar findings were reported in a large-scale Texas study (Jackson & Lunenburg, 2010).

Lee and Smith (1999) examined the combined effects of academic press and social support on achievement in a sample of Chicago middle school students. They found that students with more social support learned the most if they also attended schools characterized by high academic press. This finding is significant, because it indicates an interaction between academic press (demandingness) and social support (responsiveness) in producing what Bulach and Lunenburg (2008, 2011) term a *high-performing school*. A high-performing school culture proposes that students are more adaptive to teacher demands when they are made in the context of a responsive, encouraging relationship in a school that is also highly demanding (i.e., high standards for academic and behavioral performance) using Bulach and Luneburg (2008, 2011) school culture typology.

Using the same national data set (National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988), Gregory and Weinstein (2004) found that student connection (positive regard for teachers) and regulation (behavioral order in the classroom) predicted growth in achievement through the high school years. Specifically, a combination of high teacher connection and high teacher regulation predicted the greatest achievement for low-income adolescents. High teacher connection reflects *responsiveness* in Bulach

and Lunenburg (2008, 2011) school culture typology, and high teacher regulation reflects one dimension of *demandingness* in the Bulach and Lunenburg (2008, 2011) model.

In a nationally representative sample of high schools from the High School Effectiveness Study, Pellerin (2005) examined teacher warmth (similar to Bulach and Lunenburg (2008, 2011) *responsiveness* and academic press (similar to Bulach and Lunenburg, 2008, 2011) *demandingness*. Pellerin found that schools high in teacher warmth and academic press had the least amount of class cutting, tardiness, lack of preparation for class, and absenteeism, compared to other schools.

In a large-scale, statewide sample of 199 schools, Gregory, Cornell, and Fan (2011) found that schools low in structure (Bulach and Lunenburg (2008, 2011) *demandingness* and support (Bulach and Lunenburg (2008, 2011) *responsiveness* had the highest schoolwide suspension rates for Black and White students after statistically controlling for school demographics. Furthermore, schools low in both structure and support had the largest racial suspension gaps.

A major implication of Gregory and colleagues (2011) findings highlight the importance of an academic dimension of structure for discipline outcomes. The researchers noted that even in a culture of low support, the degree to which students perceive that teachers pushed them to work hard and tackle challenging assignments (high academic press) was associated with lower suspension rates compared with schools with low academic press. These findings extend previous research showing teachers' expectations for student success are related to the development of students' academic self-concept (Lunenburg, 1983b) and achievement over time (Kuklinski & Weinstein, 2001). A similar process is likely to occur at the school level and in relation to positive behavioral outcomes. Further, a culture of high academic expectations could have a socializing effect. That is, students may internalize the academic mission of the school and become more invested in following school rules (Lunenburg, 2005).

Another possible explanatory association between academic press and low suspension rates has to do with how staff perceive and react to student misbehavior (Lunenburg, 1991). Perhaps in schools with high academic expectations, staff may respond less punitively to student misbehavior and successfully reengage misbehaving students in the learning process, because of their greater emphasis on developing academic talent compared to staff in schools with low academic expectations. Or high rates of student misbehavior may result in teachers lowering their expectations (Lunenburg, 1984; Lunenburg & O'Reilly, 1974).

A related issue to the link between school culture and suspension rates is the wide suspension gap between Black and White students. Researchers have concluded, after controlling for race and poverty, that the attitude of a school's principal toward the use of suspension correlated highly with its use (Losen, 2011). Principals who believe frequent punishments help improve behavior and those who tend to blame behavioral problems on poor parenting and poverty also tend to suspend more students than those principals who strongly believe in enforcing school rules but who regard suspension as a measure to be used sparingly (Lunenburg & Irby, 2006; Rausch & Skiba, 2005; Skiba & Rausch, 2006). This evidence suggests that factors other than student behavior (in this case, principals' beliefs) can influence suspension rates.

In sum, the five aforementioned studies examined achievement-oriented outcomes or disengagement from classroom activities as they relate to school culture (Gregory, et al., 2011;

Gregory & Weinstein, 2004; Lee & Smith, 1999; Pellerin, 2005; Shouse, 1996). Using a model of school culture (Bulach & Lunenburg, 2008, 2011), the current paper addresses the question—whether a positive school culture (high demandingness) and (high responsiveness) accounts for school disciplinary outcomes. Based on previous research, I conceptualized that a high-performing school includes a combination of "demandingness," an academic dimension and an affective dimension, termed "responsiveness." Given past research, I conceptualized demandingness in two different ways—including a behavioral dimension related to school rules and an academic dimension related to academic success, which seem to be interlinked.

Further support for the link between behavior and scholastic success is provided by Irving (2002) who found that teachers who are warm demanders build trusting relationships with low-income, minority students. Taken together, prior research on school culture suggests that schools with high demandingness/responsiveness should be beneficial not only for both Black and White students, but also for closing the suspension gaps between Black and White students.

Other Explanations for Suspension Gaps

Studies of racial differences must consider four key sociodemographic factors: urbanicity, poverty, racial composition, and school size. First, urban, low-income schools tend to have higher rates of self-reported misbehavior than suburban, wealthy schools (Skiba, Rausch, & Ritter, 2004; Stewart, 2003). Second, schools with more students who qualify for free or reduced-priced meals (an index of family poverty) have higher rates of victimization, delinquency, and suspension (Gottfredson, Gottfredson, Payne, & Gottfredson, 2005; Raffaele Mendez et al., 2002). Third, racial composition is another sociodemographic factor related to higher suspension rates. For example, schools with higher percentages of Black students have higher rates of suspension (Raffaele Mendez et al., 2002) and higher rates of teacher-reported victimization (Gottfredson, et al., 2005).

In short, inequities in suspension rates are supported by the increasing resegregation of schools over the decade of the 1980s and 1990s (Darling-Hammond, 2007). In 2000, 72 percent of the nation's Black students attended predominantly minority schools, an increase from the low point of 63 percent in 1980. The proportion of Black students in intensely segregated schools also increased. More than a third of Black students attended schools with a minority enrollment of 90 percent to 100 percent (National Center for Education Statistics, 2001). Furthermore, for all groups except White, racially segregated schools are almost always schools with high concentrations of poverty (Orfield, 2001). Nearly two-thirds of Black students attend schools where most students are eligible for free or reduced-price lunch (National Center for Education Statistics, 2000).

A final school sociodemographic factor is school size. Several researchers reported that larger schools experience more student misbehavior and violence than smaller schools (Astor, Meyer, & Behre, 1999; Duke, 2002; Gottfredson & Gottfredson, 1985; Klein, Cornell, Fan, & Gregory, 2010). A recent meta-analysis of 57 studies on school size favored small schools across a wide variety of student and organizational outcomes, including academic achievement, school culture, student engagement, and cost-efficiency (Leithwood & Jantzi, 2009). Taken together, prior research suggests measures of school urbanicity, student poverty, racial composition, and school size are important factors that may account not only for greater suspension rates for all students but also racial suspension gaps.

It has been reported that schools with high Black enrollment tended to suspend more White students and more Black students and to have higher suspension gaps (Gregory et al., 2011; Raffaele Mendez et al., 2002). Of special interest, then, is why the discipline gap widens in schools with greater numbers of Black students. Put another way, why would Black students be suspended at a higher rate in schools where, in some cases, they constitute the numerical majority population of the student body? Could processes related to disparate impact and implicit bias lead to greater reactivity to Black student behavior and more severe discipline sanctions (Losen, 2011)?

Disparate impact is considered unlawful under Office of Civil Rights (OCR) regulations (Zehr, 2010). Under the *disparate impact* theory, a method of discipline that is racially neutral on its face but has a discriminatory effect may be found unlawful, excepting sufficient justification such as educational necessity. Even if a school's action is found to be justified, it still may be unlawful if equally effective, less discriminatory alternatives are available (Kim, Losen, & Hewitt, 2010).

The disparate impact approach enables enforcement agencies to address intentional discrimination veiled behind apparently neutral practices as well as unconscious or *implicit bias*, where there is no conscious attempt to discriminate (Bower, 2006). The prevalence of implicit bias, including racial bias against Blacks, is well supported in psychological research (Kang, 2010). Such bias may affect the choice of a policy or practice resulting in disproportionate suspensions for minority children. Similarly, disciplinary decisions made by individual teachers with unconscious racial bias may cumulatively add up to large racial disparities at the school or district level (Graham & Lowery, 2004; Losen, 2011).

Another explanation is that the neighborhood conditions of predominantly Black attendance zones could have an effect on student attitudes and engagement in school that engenders conflict with school rules and expectations. Based on extensive observations in high poverty, Black neighborhoods, E. Anderson (1999) outlined in his book *Code of the Street* how students might experience conflict with school authorities. Attitudes of self-assertion, independence, and toughness that are prevalent in some inner-city neighborhoods are unsuitable in school settings where compliance with school rules and authority is expected.

Further, a recent study found that schools with larger compositions of Black students tend to administer more severe discipline for student misbehavior, even when taking into account the poverty of enrolled students, delinquency, drug use, and the disadvantaged neighborhood surroundings (Welch & Payne, 2010). The authors argue that their findings support the *racial threat hypothesis*, which means that where there are larger percentages of Black students, there is more social control. An earlier large-scale study of 45 urban, suburban, and rural schools supported the racial threat hypothesis (Lunenburg & Schmidt, 1989). The authors found differences in pupil control ideology, pupil control behavior, and quality of school life among urban, suburban, and rural schools. Urban schools were significantly more custodial in both pupil control ideology and behavior and had lower quality of school life scores.

Conclusion

Disproportionality in suspension rates for Black and White students remains a problem in American schools, especially in middle schools and high schools. Schools with the highest suspension rates were those perceived by

students as low in demandingness and responsiveness, based on Bulach and Lunenburg (2008, 2011) school culture typology. This conceptualization was amply supported in the research, albeit slight variations in terminology used by different researchers. One implication, based on previous research, is that efforts to improve student behavior and lower suspension rates should consider the potential role of school culture. Schools in which the students experience neither a strong sense of caring and concern (responsiveness) nor high standards for academic and behavioral performance (demandingness) appear to be the most vulnerable. Identification of those schools is not on its own sufficient, however. The Black-White suspension gap, in many cases, parallels the Black-White achievement gap. In many schools, Black and White students tend to have very different educational experiences. This is a matter of social justice.

In its simplest form, social justice is linked to redressing institutionalized inequality and systemic racism. Harvard philosopher, Rawls (2010), argues that social justice is defined by four principles. The first is based on equality of treatment of all members of society (equal rights and liberties). The second is based on all people being regarded as individuals. The third involves giving everyone a fair chance (equal opportunity). The fourth involves giving the greatest social and economic benefits to those least advantaged. It is what Gloria Ladson-Billings (2006) has noted as an "education debt" owed to those denied equal access for hundreds of years.

The application of these four principles of social justice to education would mean that more resources should be allocated to improve circumstances of those historically least served by the system rather than treating all individuals equally. The notion of social justice suggests that treating all people equally may be inherently unequal. Rawls (2010) argues that all education stakeholders are obligated not only to safeguard individual's rights, but also to actively redress inequality of opportunity in education. This notion posits that educational leaders are obligated to examine the circumstances in which children of color and poverty are educated. This includes racial inequities in school discipline.

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DISTINGUISHING WISDOM FROM KNOWLEDGE: WOMEN OF COLOR PERSPECTIVES ON MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

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Abstract: Despite growing concern with teachers' multicultural aptitudes and the recruitment and retention of teachers of color, little has been done to connect the two in order to better understand the perspectives and multicultural competencies of teachers of color. Thus, this study was based on the argument that learning more about teachers of color perspectives on multicultural education could potentially inform the efforts associated with their recruitment and retention. Drawing on Critical Race Feminism, this study seeks to fill in some of these gaps by focusing on the perspectives of female preservice teachers of color by attempting to respond to the following questions: (1) what are the perspectives of female preservice teachers of color on multicultural education? And, (2) how do Women of Color's lived experiences affect the way they perceive Multicultural Education? Three major findings emerged as a result of this interrogation: (1) female preservice teachers of color assess Multicultural Education through their lived experiences, (2) Multicultural Education is seen as the link that connects past, present and future generations for female preservice teachers of color, and (3) Experiencing oppression influences how female preservice teachers of color perceive multicultural education.

INTRODUCTION

The National Collaborative on Diversity in the Teaching Force (the Collaborative) published a report in October 2004 that assessed the diversity of the United State's teaching force. In this report the Collaborative reveals that the number of teachers of color nationally "is not representative of the number of minority students (students of color)" (p. 5), and that "statistical projections show that while the percentage of students of color in public schools is expected to increase, the percentage of teachers of color is not expected to rise" (p. 5). This is an alarming projection considering that research shows that teachers of color have a positive impact in students of color school experiences. For example, the presence of teachers of color in schools is directly connected to closing the achievement gap (King, 1993; Klopfenstein, 2005; National Collaborative on Diversity in the Teaching Force, 2004), and minimizing the trauma many students of color experience as a result of being educated by teachers from cultural backgrounds different than their own (Wilson, 1991). Consequently, some scholars have made a call for an increase in the recruitment and retention of teachers of color (Achinstein, Ogawa, & Sexton, 2010; Ford & Dillard, 1996; King, 1993; Wilson, 1991).

Besides the demographic discrepancy, the literature also makes a compelling case for the importance of teachers' competency on the implementation of a multicultural curriculum and pedagogy (Irvine, 2001; Keengwe, 2010; Sleeter, 2001). Ford and Dillard (1996) point out that this is relevant to all teachers regardless of their racial/ethnic background, as "for both the teacher and student of color, embracing multiculturalism is more complex than simply being born a person of color. That is, being Africa, Asian, Hispanic/Latino, or Native American guarantees that an individual has a perspective; but it does not guarantee a multicultural perspective" (p.232). However, despite this growing concern with teachers' multicultural aptitudes and the recruitment and retention of teachers of color, little has been done to connect the two in order to better understand the perspectives and multicultural competencies of teachers of color (Tan, 2003). I argue that learning more about teachers of color perspectives and their multicultural aptitudes will better inform the efforts associated

with their recruitment and retention. Drawing on Critical Race Feminism, this study seeks to fill in some of these gaps by focusing on the perceptions preservice teachers of color have on Multicultural Education. Given that the great majority of teachers are female (Keengwe, 2010), this study will specifically concentrate on the perspectives of females preservice teachers of color and is guided by the following questions:

Q1: What are the perspectives of female preservice teachers of color on multicultural education?

Q1.1: How do Women of Color define Multicultural Education?

Q1.2: How does the intersectionality of identities (i.e. race and gender) influence the way Women of Color conceptualize Multicultural Education?

Q2: How do Women of Color's lived experiences affect the way they perceive Multicultural Education?

Q2.1: What aspects of their biographical accounts have led them to understand multicultural education as they do?

Literature Review

Defining Multicultural Education

Despite the fact the term *multicultural* "has become widely accepted in both academia and public discourse" (Grant, Elsbree, & Fondrie 2004, p.184), defining Multicultural Education (MCE) is probably one of the most contentious theoretical debates in the realm of preparing teachers to work with diverse groups of students. This is due to the lack of agreement among scholars (Castagno, 2009). In fact, Grant et al. (2004) assert, "the lack of an agreed-upon definition continues to be a barrier [to advancing the understanding of multicultural issues in education]. . .[and often] leads to competing interpretations and notions" (p.198). Banks (2004) argues that these disagreements are directly connected to the way MCE has historically evolved. First, MCE developed along with the birth of ethnic studies and the interest to insert the history and culture of ethnic minority groups into the curricula of schools and teachers education programs. Second, multicultural educators realized that just inserting content into the curricula was not enough, and thus pushed for "structural and systemic changes in the total school …to increase educational equality" (Banks, 2004, p.13). Third, other oppressed groups in society (e.g. women and people with disabilities) began to demand the incorporation of "their histories, cultures, and voices into the curricula and structure of schools, colleges, and universities" (Banks, 2004, p. 13). Fourth, also called by Banks as "the current phase," MCE scholars shifted focus to pay more attention to the development of "theory, research, and practice that interrelate variables connected to race, class, and gender" (p. 13).

Since these four phases are presented as a historical evolution, it could then be argued that some of their characteristics are long gone. However, they all have influenced the various ways in which MCE is conceptualized and practiced today (Banks, 2004; Grant et. al, 2004; Nieto, 2004; Sleeter, 2001). As a result, some prominent scholars in the field have developed typologies to summarize the plethora of approaches to Multicultural Education (Banks, 2004; Gibson, 1976; McLaren, 1997; Nieto, 2004; Sleeter & Grant, 2003). Gibson (1976) developed one of those typologies where she divided the various MCE definitions into four categories: benevolent multiculturalism, cultural understanding, education for cultural pluralism, and bicultural/multicultural education. Another scholar that came up with a typology was McLaren (1995) who argued that MCE could be divided into conservative, liberal, left-liberal, and critical. A third typology was created by

Sleeter and Grant (2003) which included teaching the exceptional and culturally different, human relations, single group studies, multicultural education, and education that is multicultural and socially reconstructionist. Though only these three typologies are mentioned here, there have been other academics that have written other models (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997; King, 2004; Nieto, 2004).

Similarly, Banks (2004) identified multiple dimensions to MCE: content integration, knowledge construction, prejudice reduction, and empowering school culture. Those who support the *content integration* approach focus on how content about people of color and women "should be integrated, and where it should be located within the curriculum" (Banks, 2004, p. 6). In many instances this is reduced to simply "adding-on" to what is already in place (Banks, 2004; Butler & Walter, 1991). As *knowledge construction*, multicultural educators refer to the multiple ways in which teachers can assist their students in understanding how "the knower's specific position in any context, [is] always defined by gender, class, and other variables" (Tetreault, 2003, p.160), resulting in a production of knowledge that is subjective and biased (Hill Collins, 1991). Advocates of MCE as a *prejudice reduction* strategy tend to concentrate on students development of racial awareness, and acquisition of democratic values (Allport, 1954; McGregor, 1993). Finally, as an *empowering school culture*, scholars such as Nieto (2003) consider that "multicultural education needs to be accompanied by a deep commitment to social justice and equal access to resources" (p. 8) that goes beyond adding new content or raising awareness. This reform is to permeate every single aspect of the educational system and support social action (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Sleeter & Grant, 2001). It is important to note that though these MCE definitions are presented as separate entities, in actuality they overlap in terms of goals and processes. Thus, we find, for example, that those who advocate for a radical educational reform include a prejudice reduction approach among their methods.

The literature also indicates that there is a gap between MCE theory and practice where theory is further developed than practice, and practice is often disjointed from theory (Gorski, 2010; Grant et. al, 2004; Schoorman & Bogotch, 2010). For instance, Schoorman and Bogotch (2010) indicate that while MCE courses are present in teacher education programs "it remains less clear how these perspectives transfer into school-based practice, and as a consequence, raises questions about the limitations of such coursework" (p. 80). Along the same lines, Gorski (2010) points to how Multicultural Teacher Education "most often is operationalized in ways that are inconsistent with multicultural education theory" (p. 4) because it mostly focuses on cultural sensitivity and practical curricular practice, but not on issues "concerned with power, equity, and oppression" (p.4).

Multicultural Education and Teacher Preparation Programs

One point where scholars seem to converge is in regards to teachers' preparation programs. That is, the literature indicates that it is imperative for preservice teachers to get ready to work with an increasingly diverse student population (Banks, 2004; Castagno, 2009; Grant et. al, 2004; Gorski, 2010; Irvine, 2001; Nieto, 2003; Sleeter, 2001). For example, Keengwe (2010) conducted a study in a midsize public university in which he examined the effects of a cross-cultural communication project where White American monolingual female preservice teachers were matched with English Language Learners (ELL) from Asia and the Middle East to hold a series of conversations. Keengwe found that the majority of the preservice teachers held stereo-

types against their ELL partners that led them to experience feelings of anxiety, fear, and shock prior to engaging in conversation due to their lack of cross-cultural understanding. Keengwe concluded that "preservice teachers [need to] be provided with initial cultural diversity training to enhance their experiences interacting with students from other cultures" (p.203). In another study Gayle-Evans and Michael (2006) assessed preservice teachers' awareness of multicultural issues and found that preservice teachers' views on MCE deepened after taking a class that focused on it. As a result, Gayle-Evans and Michael recommend that pre-service teachers increase their cultural awareness in their preparation programs through MCE classes if they are to "enter the classroom believing that all students can learn" (p.50).

Other studies point to the shifting perceptions of preservice teachers. Hill-Jackson (2007) analyzed data collected from White and middle class preservice teachers taking a multicultural education course where she identified three shifting perspectives during the semester long course. First, preservice teachers go through the unconscious multicultural perception stage where the "learner is blinded or unaware of the multiple realities of other racial groups' experiences" (p. 30). Second, during the responsive multicultural perception stage, many white preservice teachers "are introduced to the cultures of others and become curious but not totally accepting as it relates to the new knowledge about other cultures" (p. 31). Finally, in the critical consciousness multicultural perspective stage, White preservice teachers "change to healthier multicultural perspective" (p. 32). Yet the researcher estimated that less than one percent of the preservice teachers "will be drawn to this stage during a course unless they endeavor on their own to analyze the world and their worldviews" (p. 33).

Most studies conducted on preservice teachers perceptions of MCE focus solely on white females (Keengwe, 2010; Sleeter, 2001;), and others look at the MCE perceptions of in-service teachers of color (Gay, Dingus, & Jackson, 2003; Villegas & Davis, 2008). All in all the literature points to a major gap in understanding the perspectives of pre-service female teachers of color. In what follows, I briefly review the theoretical framework that guides this study.

Theoretical Framework

Critical Race Feminism

This study recognizes the role that social identities play in a person's perception and understanding of a situation (Ford & Dillar, 1996; Hill Collins, 1991). Therefore, Critical Race Feminism (CRF) was selected as the theoretical framework for this study precisely because it places race and gender, as well as other social identities, as central to women of color's lived experiences and worldview (Crenshaw, 2003). Namely, CRF addresses the workings of patriarchy and racism in maintaining women of color in subordinate positions, and highlights the intersectionality of race and gender in their experiences (Wing, 2003). CRF draws on Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Feminist Theory; however, it challenges the essentialism posit by the kind of feminism that "subsumes the variable experiences of women of color under the experience of white middle-class women" (Wing, 2003, p. 7), and critiques CRT's assumptions that "women of color's experiences were the same as those of men of color" (Wing, 2003, p. 7). More concretely, as Wing (2007) puts it, "women of color are not merely white women plus color or men of color plus gender" (p.7).

Accordingly, CRF turns to the work of Black and Chicana Feminists by embracing their standpoints and epistemologies. For instance, CRF recognizes the Black Feminist Thought standpoint that theories created by Black women offer "an interpretation of Black women's experiences and ideas by those who participate

in them" (Hill Collins, 1991, p. 15), and acknowledges that, "Chicana feminists constructed a feminist ideology based on their specific experiences as women of color" (Garcia, 1997, p.7). Hence, I draw on the work of various Black and Chicana feminists (Brock, 2005; Garcia, 1997; Hill Collins, 1991; hooks, 2000; Martinez, 1997; Mora, 1986; Nieto Gomez, 1997) to analyze the data and present the findings of this study.

Research Design

Data Collection and Analysis

I collected data with five women of color taking a multicultural education class I taught during the fall 2009 semester in South West State University (pseudonym). This class is required for all education majors before they enter the Teachers Education Program. I invited all my students who identified as women of color to participate in the study, which makes this a convenience sample (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006a). I assured them that neither accepting nor rejecting my invitation would affect their grades, as their participation was completely voluntary. Although I received seven positive responses, only five participants followed through, primarily due to schedule constrains. In terms of specific racial/ethnic background, participants self-identified as: African American, Hispanic of Mexican ancestry, bi-racial Mexican-Hawaiian, Mexican-American, and Chicana. I honor participants' self-labels as part of my Critical Race Feminism framework in recognizing that people often identify certain way based on specific contexts, histories, stories, and power structures that have lead them to do so (Brock, 2005). Participants' profiles will be further discussed in the findings/discussion section.

My methods of data collection included semi-structured interviews (Hesse-Biber, 2006a), and document analysis (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). In following CRF as my theoretical framework, it was very important for me to consider aspects such as reciprocity, reflexivity, anonymity, social justice, and ethics (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006b; Naples, 2003). I negotiated some of these by assigning pseudonyms, engaging in self-reflection, letting participants know that they could withdraw at any point without consequences, keeping my promise not to have participants' grades be affected by the study, addressing issues related to power, privilege, and equity in the discussion, and putting participants' voices at the center. However, one of the aspects I struggled with the most was assuring reciprocity. In other words, what would participants get out of this study? After much reflection I was able to reconcile this concern by inviting participants to consider this study as an opportunity to further reflect on their learning, and contribute to the generation of knowledge that could potentially benefit them as female preservice teachers of color as well as those coming after them.

Further, CRF informing my methods meant giving participants opportunities to assert their voices through the telling of their lived experiences in their own voices while engaging in dialogue (Brock, 2005; Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006b). Thus, I decided to conduct semi-structured interviews that took the form of dialogues where I responded to participants' stories with empathy, further questioning, and even with the sharing of a personal experience that connected to the one they were sharing with me. I also selected three different written assignments participants completed throughout the semester as part of my data collection process. Two of the documents were short papers, one where they narrated two personal experiences with two different kinds of oppression (e.g. racism, sexism, heterosexism), and the other where they wrote their own definition of multicultural education based on readings and class discussions. The third document was a five-to-seven page assignment

titled "social identity paper" where participants had to address two of their social identities, reflect on the ways in which they have been socialized by looking at power, oppression, and privilege, and connect it to pedagogy. I chose these particular documents to conduct my analysis as they directly asked the students to refer to their lived experiences while drawing on MCE literature. Interviews and documents were manually coded into four categories: intersectionality of social identities, lived experiences, influence on pedagogy, multicultural education definition. These codes allowed for the emergence of themes through crystallization that were then analyzed by applying CRF lenses to give meaning to the data and solidify the findings.

Method of Soundness

As a feminist of color, it was very important for me that participant's voices were not misrepresented. Therefore, to ensure the soundness of the study, I used data triangulation (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006a; Marshall & Rossman, 2006), drew on feminists of color literature (Brock, 2005; Garcia, 1997; Hill Collins, 1991; hooks, 2000; Martinez, 1997; Mora, 1986; NietoGomez, 1997), and had two colleagues read this paper for feedback. Furthermore, I engaged in multiple dialogues with one particular colega mexicana who is familiar with feminist research, which in return provided additional support to my method of soundness. Our dialogues helped deepen my thinking and challenged me to further reflect on those ethical considerations I was struggling with (i.e. reciprocity, power dynamics). I also made sure to immerse myself on the data by transcribing and listening to the interviews multiple times and doing four levels of reading of each paper, (one per code), as a way to minimize the possibility on missing the points my participants were trying to convey (Marshall & Rossman, 2006).

Role of the Researcher

As Naples (2003) has suggested, "if researchers fail to explore how their personal, professional, and structural positions frame social scientific investigations, researchers inevitably reproduce dominant gender, race, and class biases" (p. 3). Therefore, I became hyper conscious of my positionality in this research as the person in charge of grades for all of my participants. My fear was to "contribute to colonialist practices and further marginalize the lives of [women of color]. . . even as they are brought to the center of analysis" (Naples, 2003, p. 5). As mentioned before, I kept my word not to have participants' grades be affected by their contribution to this study; thus, I made a conscious effort to negotiate my dual position both as a teacher and as a researcher.

At another point where I confronted a similar situation was during the interviewing process. That is, I tried to temporarily suspend my role as a teacher by opening myself to listening without passing judgment (Zuniga & Nagda, 2001) or trying to "correct" what the women were telling me about Multicultural Education. I also avoided challenging them, as I was used to doing it in class, to refer to particular authors or readings. This was mostly difficult when the women said something that contradicted what we had covered in class, but I had to let it go for that moment as I wanted to honor their participation and appreciate their honesty.

Moreover, as a woman of color myself, there were points in which my story connected with that of my participants, but also there were many in which our experiences greatly differed given the diversity of our backgrounds and lived experiences. I was born and raised in Venezuela; I identify as an Afro-Latina/Afro-Venezuelan. I migrated to the United States in my early 20s and had only been living in the South West for a little bit over a year at the time the data was collected. This positioned me as a

learner in the sense that the South West was a context I was only superficially familiar with. All of the participants had strong ties to the area because their families had been there for generations. Although I know what is like to be positioned as a woman of color in U.S. society, I do not know what is like to grow up Chicana, Hispanic, Mexican-American, African-American, bi-racial Mexican-Hawaiian in the South West as my participants do. I must also acknowledge that as much as I tried to make my participants feel comfortable and trust me, the sole fact that I was their teacher and had only known me for a couple of months might have had an impact in their responses. Namely, they might have tried to impress me or, on the other hand, actively avoided sharing certain pieces of information or reflections in order to maintain a certain image in front of me.

Findings and Discussion

Three major findings emerged as a result of my engagement with the data through CRF lenses: (1) female preservice teachers of color assess Multicultural Education through their lived experiences, (2) Multicultural Education is seen as the link that connects past, present and future generations for female preservice teachers of color, and (3) Experiencing oppression influences how female preservice teachers of color perceive multicultural education. Before I begin to discuss my findings I will offer a brief description of each participant's profile:

Korina: is a biracial Hispanic-Hawaiian 19 year old woman on her second year of college. She is heterosexual, single, and identifies as being part of the lower middle class. Although she lived in Hawaii for three years during her childhood, she was born and raised in the South West.

*Jenny***:** is a Hispanic of Mexican descent 23 year old woman, on her second year of college. She is heterosexual in a domestic partnership, and mother of two. Jenny identified as working class. She was born and raised in a rural town in the South West.

*Dina***:** is a 41 year old Chicana on her third year of college. She is heterosexual, single, and mother of two. Dina's social class identity is fluid as she recognizes that she has been in and out of the middle class at various points in her live. She was born and raised in a medium size city in the South West.

*Yvette***:** is a 43 year old African American woman on her third year of college. She is heterosexual, single, and mother of three. Yvette identified as being part of the middle class. She was born and raised in a small city in the South West and lived in the South East for a period of four years.

*Valentina***:** is a 20 year old Mexican-American with strong tights with her family living in northern Mexico. Valentina was on her second year of college at the time I collected data for this study. She is heterosexual, single, and identifies as being part of the working class. She was born in the South West, but travels often to a border city in Mexico to visit relatives, Valentina asserts that part of her feels as if she had been born in Mexico.

Knowledge and Wisdom: Female Preservice Teachers of Color Assess Multicultural Education Through Their Lived Experiences

Patricia Hill Collins (1991) theorized about Black Feminist Epistemology where she distinguishes the difference between *knowledge* and *wisdom* arguing that Black women use "concrete experience as a criterion of meaning" (p. 208). That is, knowledge is associated with book learning and information acquired through formal education without considering lived experiences, while wisdom is the use of concrete lived experiences to assess knowledge. Moreover, Hill Collins explains that "in the

context of race, gender, and class oppression, the distinction is essential. Knowledge without wisdom is adequate for the powerful, but wisdom is essential to the survival of the subordinate" (p. 208). Thus, African American women resort to the use of wisdom to challenge and survive the system that has oppressed them for so long. Accordingly, knowledge without wisdom lacks credibility.

When it comes to schooling, women of color are subjected to an educational system that gets them accustomed to a form of learning that mainly consists of acquiring dominant groups' knowledge (i.e. white mascunilist epistemologies), which for the most part is in direct opposition with their lived experiences (Brock, 2005). Nonetheless, women of color still invoke to the wisdom Hill Collins refers to. All the participants of this study manifested ideas that resembled both knowledge and wisdom. That is, when I specifically asked them to define MCE, every single one of them mentioned definitions they had learned through schooling limited to "celebrating diversity" and teaching for tolerance (Banks, 2004; Nieto, 2004; Sleeter & Grant, 2003). However, when I followed up with questions that pushed them to further explain their thinking or provide specific examples, their responses were always in direct contradiction with their original definition. To be exact, the women's reasoning encompassed a critical consciousness and reflected a social justice agenda based on their lived experiences with sexism, racism, classism, linguicism, and xenophobia. For example, Yvette, at first, defined MCE as being framed in a colorblind ideology (Sleeter, 2001) by claiming that "deep down we are the same, labels don't matter, at the end of the day we are still people that have worked and learned hard all day and come home to do whatever life has inshore for when they get home;" but later passionately affirmed that "we need to teach our children about racism, especially those of color, so that they won't get hurt." She then added, "as an African American woman I have learned [that]…as parents and teachers we need to make sure to teach our kids to recognize and talk about racism so that they know how to address it and change it." Yvette's colorblind assertion is consistent with the White masculine knowledge usually espoused in schools; yet, her later affirmations connect more with her wisdom as an African American woman living in a racist society (Hill Collins, 1991).

Likewise, Valentina and Jenny asserted almost verbatim that MCE was about teaching about different cultures and celebrating diversity, however, when asked to give examples of what kinds of MCE strategies they would implement in their classrooms Valentina said "I have learned that being a heterosexual Mexican America female doesn't necessarily mean that I have to stay at home and to cook and clean and take care of kids," thus, "I'm planning on having my students read books that help them break down male/female stereotypes." Meanwhile, Jenny affirmed "because I've always felt discriminated by sexism as a Hispanic female, I will not force my students to chose only socially appropriate toys or activities . . .I plan to allow them to express themselves however they want despite their gender." The intersectionality of identities and their positionalities as minoritized people seems to have helped these women develop a critical consciousness around the way they plan to practice MCE (Garcia, 1997). This is something that Korina also clearly stated, "because I am not of the dominant race I can relate to my students and their families. I would take the experience I lived as a biracial Hispanic-Hawaiian female and re-create the good and change the bad." More specifically Korina pointed, "as multicultural educators we have to create activities that allow our students to look at their social identities and relate to the world around them on a deeper level."

On a similar note, Dina makes a direct link with how her lived experiences as a Chicana will influence her work as a future teacher:

> I've already been down that road of the pain of having to be exploited, judged for my color, so the positive side is that I have so much more to give as an educator because I know I don't want to treat anybody like that, I don't want anybody to feel uneasiness because of who they are, to feel like they are not worthy, to feel like there's something wrong with their culture, their language, their skin color, that to me it's so very important.

Though the participants do not necessarily demonstrate awareness of it, the distinction between knowledge and wisdom vibrate throughout their words, as if both concepts had unconscious parallel co-existence within their worldview. By looking at the data through CRF lenses and specifically applying a Black Feminist Epistemology, the distinction between knowledge and wisdom becomes alive.

Connecting with the Past and Imagining the Future: Multicultural Education as an Intergenerational Process that connects Past, Present, and Future

Chicana feminist, community organizer, and educator Elizabeth Martinez (1997) argues for the responsibility Chicanas have to be involved in political action and social change, "[Chicanas] have a responsibility larger than their immediate families –a responsibility to the whole familia of La Raza, the whole family of oppressed peoples. And a responsibility to their own unused talents, brain, energy" (p. 80). On a similar vein, Black feminist Rochelle Brock (2005) uses Cherrie Moraga's words of "Stretch or Die" (as cited by Brock, 2005, p.19) to explain her own desire as a Black educator to pull together various elements from her context to participate in the creation of a better future for her students, "I want to stretch critical pedagogy, Black feminist thought, and my ways of knowing to encompass the past and present so as to create a hopeful future; if not, my silence will bring a death to change and hope of students I so badly want to help" (Brock, 2005, p. 19).

Every single one of the women in this study articulated thoughts connected to Martinez's sense of responsibility with those who have been oppressed, and Brock's desire to connect past, present, and future. Namely, participants expressed a clear understanding of the critical role their positionalities play in connecting the generations before them with those coming after them. Valentina, for example, pointed out during her interview, "there are so many students that need encouragement, and I want to be able to encourage students to succeed." More specifically, the way Valentina conceived this to be possible was by letting her future students know about the struggle leaders of color had gone through to fight for equity:

> when I become an educator I want to be a teacher that reaches out to these at-risk students. . .I would like to make it clear to them that no matter what gender, race, circumstances, anyone can succeed in life. . .I will teach them that it will be challenging depending on circumstances at home, in school, and out in the streets that'll make them want to quit, but that they can't give up. I would teach them about Dr. Martin Luther King on how even though he struggled with racism and segregation, he overcame that and changed the history of America forever . . .I'll teach them about Cesar Chavez who fought for immigration rights. Without these types of people that take a stand for what they believe in, and not

> just settle for being discriminated against because of their race, we would not be where we are.

Here, Valentina establishes a direct relationship between the social justice work done by Dr. King and Cesar Chavez, her position as an educator, and the potential success of her students, by doing so she is stretching elements from her context and connecting them to past, present, and future. Yvette, on the other hand, further personalized her line of connection between past, present and future by positioning herself as being part of the legacy of African Americans who fought for equity, "I have always identified myself as a African American (black) women [sic] living in a world full of great opportunities, when I think back to the reason why I have the right to live as a African American women in our society I go back to my for fathers [sic] that pave and worked hard for me to be able to live the life I am living today." More concretely, Yvette refers to the work of Civil Rights activists and family ancestors (e.g. parents and grandparents) as the ones to get credit for her becoming "a strong African American woman." Furthermore, Yvette's perception of being a direct beneficiary of the hard work done by those that came before her, made her develop a sense of responsibility with her future students, "I want to push education all the way till my students reach college level so that they will know that it is possible no matter what you want to be in life."

For Korina, who was mostly raised by her single mother, the connection between elders and future generations stemmed from her mother's example, "when I saw my mom graduate from college and venture out to do more for herself and constantly learn new things, I saw more for myself and what I could contribute to society, my mom made so many sacrifices for me, I feel, in a way, that I need to pay back by contributing to my students' education."

Once again participants' intersectionality of identities and lived experiences are reflected in their framing of MCE. In this particular case, the women have a strong sense of responsibility to contribute to making it better for the next generation by exalting the work of those who came before them. This clearly arised as the participants discussed their plans as future educators.

Desert Women Know About Survival: Experiencing Oppression Influences Multicultural Education Perspectives

Desert women know
about survival.
Fierce heat and cold
have burned and thickened
our skin. Like cactus
we've learned to hoard,
to sprout deep roots,
to seem asleep, yet awake
at the scent of softness
in the air, to hide
pain and loss by silence,
no branches wail
or whisper our sad songs
safe behind our thorns.

Don't be deceived.
When we bloom, we stun.
Pat Mora (1986)

All the women who participated in this study expressed thoughts and emotions that could easily be related to the message the Chicana Feminist Pat Mora conveys in her poem *Desert Women*. That is, they spoke of survival, silence, pain, loss, and awakenings, in addition to hardship, *lucha* (struggle), and *entereza* (firm integrity and strength). Jenny, for instance asserted that "Racism is a problem I have faced all my life. On top of the fact that I am 'just a woman,' I am Hispanic, which to most white people means 'Mexican' and a baby making

machine." Furthermore, she explained how facing oppression affected her self-esteem to the point of becoming a "self hating Hispanic. I did everything to make it known that I was born in the US and was American and not some 'dirty Mexican.'" This sense of self-hate led Jenny to reject part of her own family, "I hated my father's parents for being Mexican, I even pretended that I didn't understand Spanish so that when they would come to visit I wouldn't have to talk to them." Notwithstanding, Jenny later experienced a moment of awakening that made her acknowledge the internalization of the oppression (Padilla, 2001) "I used to laugh at the occasional Mexican joke until I realized they're making fun of me, they're calling me dumb, and telling me I am not welcome in the United States of America when I was born here." Interestingly enough, Jenny clearly recalls her turning point and the hurt that came along with it,

It was during last semester, I read a book called *The Devil's Highway* about a large group of immigrants who died crossing the border. . .it was a true story and even after reading it some white people in my class were ignorant enough to say out loud in front of me that Mexicans need to stay in their own country and figure out their own problems. It was devastating, I ran home crying and my heart has been broken ever since.

Similarly, Dina expressed how being a woman of color has made her a target of racist sexism (NietoGomez, 1997), "I've had individuals assume that I can't speak English, that I'm on welfare or food stamps, or that I am uneducated solely based on my skin tone and the fact that I'm a Chicana. . .these things are both presumptuous and hurtful." Yet, Dina also pointed how she has kept her "entereza [firm integrity and strength] through it all," supporting Mora's metaphor of Desert Woman who know about survival, and develop a thick skin in the face of hardship. In this regard, NietoGomez (1997) argues that, "as minority women, the Chicanas have had to fight racism, sexism, and sexual racism" (p.86) that oppresses them as "members of a non-Anglo group in a society that values only one culture" (p. 86). Additionally, NietoGomez adds, "the Chicana encounters sexism in a society that associates social and economic power, authority and superiority with male dominance and male control. . .[and] sexist racism [by recognizing] only the needs of the single, Anglo and middle class women" (p. 87). In agreement Martinez (1997) adjoins that in spite of the oppression Mexicans have "a tradition of strong women. . .who have survived much physical hardship, who have had leadership roles in our struggle to win back the land" (p.81). I would argue that the women I worked with in this study can be included as being part of this tradition of strong women resisting and surviving hardship, as their words describe.

Further, even though all the women showed awareness of the existing racism and sexism in their lives, and their negative effects, they also viewed being women of color as a privilege and a major source of strength. Dina asserted that "I am who I am and what an asset it is to be multilingual, multicultural, and multifaceted, those people who hurt me have only made me stronger and pushed me to keep going." Yvette pointed that "being a Black woman is very important to me and I feel that it really explains who I am. If I didn't have these identities I couldn't have the things that make me so proud of myself." More specifically she referred to having the advantage of experiencing child-rearing, "I did take advantage of a great privilege in life, the joy of giving birth to wonderful children," and to having the advantage of the presence of elders who shared stories that helped her cope with racism:

> my parents and grandparents would always tell me how it was for them back in the day dealing with segregation and

> all, that gave me the strength I needed to put up with anything that came my way, knowing that they went through it and still remained strong inspired me to keep going.

Again, out of the pain came out strength, like the cactus in Mora's poem. In this theme, one more time, the data reflects how the intersectionality of identities (i.e. race and gender), along with lived experiences, have impacted participants' sense of self. What is more, those experiences have influenced their vision of MCE in their future classrooms. A case in point is Jenny's account of how her experiences with racism "affect the way I would handle racism in my own classroom. . . . I hope that the pain that I have endured and what I have learned can help to comfort my students and teach them about overcoming the situation." Dina takes it a step further and talks about teaching students to resist the oppression, "we need to teach our students about how to use their agency to prevent being exploited, underserved, or abused by the system." While Yvette reflects on the importance of having students learn to refute discrimination, "I want them to be adverse in all of the aspects of discrimination towards any kind of race, gender, sexuality or whatever."

Conclusion and Implications

The literature makes a compelling case for the increase in recruitment and retention of teachers of color as well as for the importance of teachers' multicultural competences. If these are to be made possible, more attention needs to be paid to the voices, experiences, and perceptions of teachers of color; otherwise, any effort to address these recommendations may not be effective based on the fact that the educational system in the United States has historically been defined by White male standards. Furthermore, the lack of research that specifically addresses the views and perspectives of female teachers of color on MCE suggest that the efforts currently made to work with teachers of color are not necessarily informed by their needs. This seems problematic given the declining numbers of teachers of color, and the rising percentages of students of color in public schools.

As the findings of this study suggest, female preservice teachers of color have a particular way of framing their understanding of multicultural education that is tightly connected to the intersectionality of their identities (particularly those of race, and gender), and lived experiences. This directly speaks to the importance of developing pedagogical practices that allow preservice teachers to openly and consciously reflect on their lived experiences and set of identities. This becomes particularly critical for women of color, as the participants in this study demonstrated, because of the unconscious distinction they are making between what can be constituted as knowledge and what is recognized as wisdom in their conceptualization of MCE. Perhaps providing female preservice teachers of color with the time, space, and skills to become aware of this distinction would enable them to have a clearer understanding of their curricular and pedagogical decisions. This, in turn, would allow them to further develop their multicultural abilities and competencies in a conscientious manner that engages an increasingly diverse student body. Therefore, I urge researchers, practitioners and policymakers to take these factors into consideration when attempting to recruit preservice teachers of color, as well as when making instructional and curricular decisions about teacher education programs.

Though I strove at addressing how the participants' social identities intersected with one another, most of my focus concentrated on their race and gender. Perhaps the findings would have been different had the participants been asked to reflect on their privileges and blind spots. Thus, I propose this topic be further

investigated through the exploration of the intersectionality of other social identities (e.g. sexuality, [dis]ability, religion). This would paint an even richer picture of the complexities associated with the perspectives of females of color planning to become teachers.

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EDITORIAL

ARIZONA ON MY MIND

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> "[R]ace prejudice seems stronger in those states that have abolished slavery than in those where it still exists, and nowhere is it more intolerant than in those states where slavery was never known."
>
> Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*

Many researchers have developed theories and models on conflict and methods for reducing, resolving and analyzing conflict. The reasons conflicts occur and techniques used to approach conflicts can be studied best through using models, such as the Escalation Model. Models can help provide practitioners with a sequence of how a conflict begins and develops. Models also offer avenues for managing and resolving conflict. This essay will examine the Arizona immigration phenomenon using the Escalation Model.

Reuters, a trusted news source for breaking news, reported the following on the topic of immigration in Arizona on April 19, 2010:

> Lawmakers in the Arizona Senate voted 17 to 11 to approve the bill, widely regarded as the toughest measure yet taken by any U.S. state to curb illegal immigration. The state's House of Representatives approved the measure last week. Governor Jan Brewer, a Republican, has five days to veto the bill or sign it into law.
>
> Immigration is a bitterly fought issue in the United States, where some 10.8 million illegal immigrants live and work in the shadows, although it has been eclipsed in recent months by a healthcare overhaul and concern over the economy.
>
> The law requires state and local police to determine the status of people if there is "reasonable suspicion" that they are illegal immigrants and to arrest people who are unable to provide documentation proving they are in the country legally.
>
> It also makes it a crime to transport someone who is an illegal immigrant and to hire day laborers off the street." I believe handcuffs are a wonderful tool when they're on the right people," said Russell Pearce, the Republican state senator who wrote the bill.
>
> We want to "get them off law enforcement and get them on the bad guys," he told Reuters. Opponents of the Arizona law, some of whom held a vigil outside Brewer's home on Monday to urge her to veto the measure, say it is unconstitutional and would discriminate against Latinos.
>
> "You cannot tell if a person walking on a sidewalk is undocumented or not ... (so) this is a mandate for racial profiling," said Pablo Alvarado, director of the National Day Laborer Organizing Network.
>
> Alvarado said his group would call on the federal government to intervene and was considering legal action to overturn the bill. (Reporting by Tim Gaynor and David Schwartz; Editing by John O'Callaghan)

Historically, all of Arizona became a part of the United States in 1848 and then in 1858 with the Gadsden Purchase. Before that time Arizona was part of Mexico and later a territory that was part of the United States victory in the Mexican American War 1848. In 1863 the Territory of Arizona is established and President Abraham Lincoln appointed territorial officials. This land was populated with native peoples and cultural Spanish and Mexican settlers which became the largest group then and now. In 2000 the Rural Health Office of the University of Arizona reported there were significant race/ethnicity differences between the U.S. and Arizona. Arizona had fewer Whites, Blacks, and Asian Americans than the U.S. ratios, but more Hispanics and American Indians (rho. arizona.edu).

The New York Times reported that in regards to immigration laws many states "have proposed or enacted hundreds of bills addressing immigration since 2007" since a federal effort to reform immigration, nationally, failed (NY times.com). The National Conference of State Legislatures reported a record number of laws enacted were 222 and 131 resolutions in 48 states (NCSL.org). Arizona's new law, SB 1070: Support our Law Enforcement and Safe Neighborhoods Act, will make being illegal a state crime. This new act also includes provisions adding state penalties for trespassing, harboring and transporting illegal immigrants, alien registration documents, employer sanctions and human smuggling (NCSL.org).

The conflict emerged over time due to Arizona's political and geographic proximity to Mexico. Many people have voiced opinions and are upset over the lack of border security with many aliens crossing illegally over the borders through Arizona into the United States (John Kyl.org). Others are concerned with the drain on the states' social services, including public schools, health-care facilities, criminal justice system, and welfare. The new bill was crafted to deal with identifying, prosecuting and deporting undocumented immigrants (azimmigration compliance.com).

The above factors have contributed to the growing public sentiment against immigration, which has escalated overtime. Over half a million illegal immigrants attempt to enter Arizona each year and this has caused public discontent and forced voters and lawmakers to pass hard-line anti-illegal immigration law. Many citizens feel that since 1976 Arizona's illegal immigrants has more than quadrupled from 115,000 then to over 500,000 now (azleg. com).

Politicians, like Representative Russell Pearce (R) led the Proposition 200 drive based on public outcry. The public response was based on the ideology that citizens of Arizona viewed the immigrants coming to America as wanting to receive free stuff and that as an illegal they should not be entitled to benefits. Although this cause has been a rallying cry from the recently formed *Tea Party,* the attitude toward non-citizens has been growing over time. The conflict has escalated to the national forum and spawned debates everywhere on the concept of illegal immigration.

In states that share the borders with Mexico, there have been many immigration rallies against the Arizona type legislation. In some states the protests have garnered almost one million participants. Some individuals feel that if Arizona is able to pass legislation of this nature that Texas, California, Florida, New Mexico and other states will attempt similar laws. Conversely, many Americans agree with the Arizona rule that resources dedicated for US citizens and legal immigrants should be used for them exclusively. Furthermore, many believe illegal immigrants should go back to their home countries.

The Arizona law provides for the state to guide their destiny as they broaden the federal law on

immigration. This law, will become effective on July 29, 2010 also requires that immigrants regardless of status carry their alien registration documents at all times. The ideal of racial profiling, which is forbidden, has become a main problem with the SB 1070. How then can an officer of the law identify whether someone is not lawfully allowed to work, live and thrive in the United States?

The nation is watching Arizona's struggle with immigration. Arizona's validation of their restructuring of immigration policy has caused other states to discuss their needs and develop a plan of action to resolve this issue. This common ground on illegal immigrants and immigration policy may allow states to further discuss and perhaps solve immigration issues once and for all.

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