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ABSTRACT

This monograph reviews the literature in three key domains (home, school, and public policy), each of which appears to foster achievement in African American children. Three core sections comprise this review. The first section looks at the research on family influences, including socioeconomic factors, the socialization of achievement, the influence of parental attitudes, and student individual differences. The second section concerns school influences; and it covers: private Catholic schools, private non-sectarian schools, independent alternative schools, public schools, exemplary programs, and successful instructional techniques. The third section is on public policy influences; and it discusses: racial desegregation, social class integration, the effects of desegregation on minority college attendance, relative achievement at predominantly white versus black colleges, the effects of desegregation on career success, and black support for desegregation. A final section presents summary and conclusions including some of the following observations: (1) African American children benefit academically from home environments that are supportive of cognitive development and academic pursuits; (2) parenting programs that focus in part on parental teaching strategies and on how to organize homes around learning would be fruitful; (3) African American children achieve in welcoming schools with high expectancies; and (4) teachers, parents, and communities must be oriented toward shared achievement goals. Included are 118 references. (JB)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

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FOSTERING HIGH ACHIEVEMENT IN AFRICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN: Home, School, and Public Policy Influences

INTRODUCTION

The education of poor and minority children continues to be of great concern to educators and public policy makers, particularly in light of recent demographic projections that this segment of the childhood population is expected to increase dramatically into the next century (Pallas, Natriello, & McDill, 1989). The problem before educators is that, while all young children have the basic cognitive skills and the potential to learn (see Ginsburg & Russell, 1981), barring serious learning disabilities or mental retardation, many poor and minority children are failing to reach their intellectual potential.

Amidst a backdrop of generally poor performance, as indicated by lower *average* achievement scores and higher *average* rates of high school dropping out (see Ascher, 1987; Dossey, Mullis, Lindquist, & Chambers, 1988; Mullis & Jenkins, 1988), there is substantive evidence that poverty and minority status do not necessarily predict negative academic outcomes (e.g., Benson, Yeager, Wood, Guerra, & Manno, 1986; Boardman, Harrington, & Horowitz, 1987; Clark, 1983; Coleman, Hoffer, & Kilgore, 1982a; Griffin & Johnson, 1988). Yet, high achievement among children at risk for school failure is a relatively neglected research area (Bempechat & Ginsburg, 1989; Slaughter-Defoe, Nakagawa, Takanashi, & Johnson, 1990). From a practice-oriented point of view, this is regrettable, because much can be learned from the experiences of "at-risk" high achievers that can be used to help low achievers reach their intellectual potential.

This review examines the literature in three domains — home, school, and public policy — and probes factors in each that appear to foster achievement in African American children. It also provides

suggestions for future research. As will be shown, children benefit academically from home environments that are supportive of cognitive development and academic pursuits. Across different school settings, children seem to prosper intellectually when high expectancies are set and maintained, and when principals, teachers, parents, and community members are oriented toward shared achievement goals.

FAMILY INFLUENCES

Research on home influences has examined families directly, through ethnographic, interview, and correlational approaches; and indirectly, through the study of "negative prediction defiers," that is, individuals who grew up in extreme poverty and then overcame early disadvantages to become successful students and career professionals.

SOCIOECONOMIC FACTORS

Most children who are raised in more favorable family environments show the benefits, both academically and socially. In a study of the diversity of achievement in black children, Luster and McAdoo (1991) found that, overall, high achievers (compared to low achievers) had relatively intelligent and educated mothers, came from smaller families that were financially more secure, and had a more supportive home environment. A risk index they constructed for cognitive and behavioral outcomes showed that those children whose family situations were more positive had better cognitive and social outcomes. Children exposed to multiple risks, conversely, were more likely to experience academic and adjustment problems.

SOCIALIZATION OF ACHIEVEMENT

It is possible that the more favorable family environments described by Luster and McAdoo might be ones in which children are best socialized to achieve. Clearly, in some families, the socialization of achievement operates in ways that produce a relative match between the child's learning skills, attitudes, and motives and the demands of the school

(see Bempechat & Ginsburg, 1989; Epstein, 1989). In other families, achievement socialization operates in such a way that children have difficulty realizing their full potential, so that they fall behind in their school work and develop poor attitudes, low expectancies and maladaptive achievement behaviors (e.g., learned helplessness).

Current research suggests that high achievement may be fostered by optimal *cognitive socialization* — how parents influence the basic intellectual development of their children — and *academic socialization* — how parents influence the development of attitudes and motives that are essential for school learning (Baker & Stevenson, 1986; Epstein, in press; Stevenson & Baker, 1987; Milne, Myers, Rosenthal, & Ginsburg, 1986).

Cognitive Socialization. Studies of mothers' teaching styles in high and low achieving children reared in poverty suggest that the former may have mothers who are more effective tutors of their children (see Rogoff & Gardner, 1984). For example, Scott-Jones' (1987) study of poor high and low achieving first graders showed that mothers of high achievers integrated learning activities into daily household events, had more books available to their children, and maintained academic (as opposed to behavioral) goals for their children in anticipation of later schooling. In contrast, mothers of low achievers seemed to take on a formal, teacher-like approach to teaching, yet often made statements to their children indicating low expectations. Scott-Jones argues that these otherwise well-intentioned mothers may not have had the skills to adequately help their children with schoolwork.

Norman-Jackson (1982) reported that families of preschoolers who later became successful readers encouraged verbal interaction that was initiated by the child, provided more explanations, taught them their ABCs, and played "school" with them. In contrast, families of children who later became poor readers discouraged verbalizations more, particularly those that were child-initiated.

Academic Socialization. Interestingly, providing help with homework may not be a necessary component of the successful child's background, as several retrospective and ethnographic studies have shown. Instead, these studies highlight the salience of academic socialization practices, such as parental and/or significant other support for education, future time orientation, and a belief in the education ethic, despite widespread evidence of discrimination in the workplace (Boardman, et al., 1987; Edwards, 1976; Lane, 1973; Lee, 1987; McLeod, 1987; Prom-Jackson, Johnson, & Wallace, 1987).

For example, in individual interviews with 21 high achieving adolescents, Edwards (1976) found that students recalled that, although their parents could not provide much help with homework, due to their own limited education, they strongly encouraged their children to do well in school. Further, the students reported similar support from older siblings, members of the extended family, teachers, and school counselors. In addition, their beliefs about academic success indicated an orientation towards the future and a belief in the education ethic. For example, the students strongly agreed with the statement, "Blacks who work hard achieve as much as whites."

In an ethnographic study of low-income high and low achieving African American elementary school children, Clark (1983) showed that high achieving children had parents who had prepared them from an early age for the role of student. They fostered a positive attitude towards learning through their teaching behaviors at home (reading, communication skills, problem solving, and decision-making skills). These parents sacrificed, both financially and socially, for their children's education, stressed the value of education for their futures, monitored their academic progress closely, and fostered an internal sense of control and responsibility over academic outcomes (see also McLeod, 1987). According to Clark, their parenting style could best be described as authoritative, rather than authoritarian or permissive.

In contrast, parents of low achieving children were rather permissive in their parenting styles. They had little or no involvement with their children's schools, were unaware of their children's day-to-day school progress, and maintained no consistent expectation that their children would engage in academic activities with any regularity. Not surprisingly, these parents reported having little sense of control over events in their own lives.

Influence of Parental Attitudes

While the influence of parental beliefs on student achievement may appear to be very subtle, it can be a powerful predictor of academic success. Indeed, a considerable amount of evidence demonstrates that parents' attitudes, expectancies, and beliefs about schooling and learning guide their behavior with their children and have a causal influence on their children's developing achievement attitudes and behaviors (Ames & Archer, 1987; Bloom, 1985; Eccles, 1983; Entwisle, Alexander, Pallas, & Cadigan, 1987; Entwisle & Hayduk, 1988; Haggard, 1957; McGillicuddy-DeLisi, 1985; Marjoribanks, 1979; Miller, 1986; Phillips, 1987; Seginer, 1983; Sigel, 1985; Wagner & Spratt, 1988; see Bempechat & Wells, 1989; Dweck & Bempechat, 1983). Moreover, parents' beliefs do not necessarily have to be explicit. Often, subtle aspects of beliefs and behavior — of which parents may even be unaware — can be very influential.

Students' Individual Differences

Several researchers have studied individuals reared in poverty who, in adulthood, have attained levels of education and professional status that might not have been predicted from their beginnings. They are called "negative prediction defiers" (NPDs). Studies of these individuals are interesting because they shed light on individual psychological differences

in resilience to poverty. Greater internal locus of control and resiliency in the face of difficulty appear to characterize NPDs.

Internal Locus of Control. Boardman et al. (1987) studied 49 successful black and white women, 29 of whom grew up in poverty and whose parents were high school dropouts. Relative to controls, these NPDs were significantly higher in internal locus of control, lower in orientation towards external rewards, and more willing to help others get ahead in their careers. Relative to white NPDs, black NPDs reported using altruism significantly more often as a way to cope with stress and conflict.

In a larger study that included men, black women were the most internally oriented, perhaps reflecting the fact that they had to overcome both racism and sexism in addition to early economic disadvantage (*TC Today*, 1986). This study also pinpointed the long-term influence of a supportive individual, often a teacher, in the educational and career trajectory of NPDs.

Coping Skills. Abatso (1985) examined achievement as a function of coping skills among black community college students. She found that high copers, relative to average and low copers (as defined by the Lazarus Coping Instrument) were higher achievers. They had higher self-concept of ability, more internal locus of control, and a larger repertoire of strategies for coping with challenge; showed greater resourcefulness in the face of academic difficulty; were more persistent; and had better study skills. In addition, high copers made use of more resources available on campus when they needed assistance.

Another recent interview study of successful (i.e., GPA >2.5) and unsuccessful black (i.e., GPA <1.5) middle and high school students corroborates some of Abatso's findings (Pollard, 1989). Pollard found that successful students reported using more active problem solving strategies than unsuccessful students (e.g., seeking out help when faced with difficulty).

Influence of Encouragement. Successful students were also more likely than unsuccessful students to have a higher self-perception of ability and report more support for educational endeavors from parents, extended family, and others, Pollard (1989) found. Thus, it appears that NPDs benefit from early and continued encouragement for intellectual endeavors, and this encouragement need not necessarily come from one's parents.

Psychological Resiliency. Further, individuals who overcome early and severe disadvantages may be psychologically more resilient to the stressors associated with poverty. The mechanisms underlying this resiliency are not well understood, and further research is needed. For example, it could be that NPDs may have a biological tendency toward easier temperaments (see Kagan, 1984). This might bolster them in their pursuit of academic excellence in the face of obstacles.

SCHOOL INFLUENCES

PRIVATE CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

The relationship between the Catholic church and the education of African Americans is a long and enduring one, dating back to 1828, with the opening of the first black parish school (Franklin & McDonald, 1988). These schools were primarily segregated, in keeping with both segregation laws of the South and church policy of parochialism, which encouraged immigrant Catholics from different origins to worship among themselves. By the end of the 1950s, following the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown vs. the Board of Education*, the desegregation of Catholic schools became church policy (Franklin & McDonald, 1988). According to Franklin and McDonald (1988), blacks became increasingly attracted to Catholic schools by the 1950s, when inner city public schools began deteriorating. It is estimated that five percent of blacks send their children to private schools (Ascher, 1986). According to the 1980 census, poor children in private schools constitute four percent of all black students living in poverty, and more than half the blacks in Catholic schools are not Catholic (Ascher, 1986).

Catholic schools provide a fertile environment for the study of high achievement in poor and minority children, as evidence has been emerging that such children have much higher academic outcomes in Catholic, relative to public and secular, private schools. Much of the research that has addressed this question has been survey-based.

Student Achievement. In research that has received a great deal of attention, James Coleman and his colleagues, using data from the High School and Beyond study (HSB), demonstrated that poor and minority

students have higher levels of mathematics and reading achievement and lower dropout rates in Catholic as compared to public and secular private schools (Coleman et al., 1982a; b; Coleman & Hoffer, 1987). Relative to high SES students in each type of school, low SES students achieve greater gains in mathematics and reading in Catholic versus other private and public schools. Similarly, black and Hispanic students have higher levels of math and reading achievement in Catholic as compared to other private and public schools. Dropout figures are very compelling. The general dropout rate is 3.4 percent for Catholic schools, 11.9 percent in other private schools, and 14.3 percent in public schools. The rate for blacks in Catholic schools is 4.6 percent, as compared to 14.4 percent for blacks in other private schools, and 17.2 percent for blacks in public schools. The comparable rate for Hispanics is 9.3 percent (Catholic), 22.9 percent (other private), and 19.1 percent (public). When SES is examined by quartile, dropout rates in each SES quartile are lower in Catholic than in the other two sectors.

In addition, Catholic schools tend to equalize the effects of family living situations, such that verbal and math outcomes of children from single-parent homes are similar to those of children from two-parent families (Coleman & Hoffer, 1987). This is not the case in other private and public schools, where children from single-parent homes have inferior academic outcomes relative to other children. Furthermore, coming from a single-parent home greatly increases the likelihood that a public, but not a Catholic, school student will drop out of high school.

In a recent study of 13 Catholic and public high schools, primarily in the New York City area, researchers found that somewhat more than half the public school seniors graduate each year, compared to 95 percent of Catholic school seniors (Hill, Foster, & Gendler, 1990). Further, the prestigious Regent's Diploma (indicative of the successful completion of a rigorous college preparatory program) is awarded to about five percent of public school students, but over 66 percent of Catholic school graduates. Finally, with regard to the SAT exam, 33 percent of public, but 85 percent

of Catholic students take the exam. The comparison of outcomes showed that while less than 30 percent of public school students scored above the national average for black students, more than 60 percent of Catholic students did so.

Finally, Marsh's (1991) study of public and Catholic schools (both single sex and coeducational), while not examining ethnic differences, revealed that Catholic school students made larger gains academically in the last two years of high school than did their public school peers. Again using the 1980 cohort of the HSB data set, Marsh found that Catholic school students in their junior and senior years were more likely to earn credits in academically oriented courses, concentrate in mathematics and science, be in an academic track and take honors and advanced courses, score significantly higher on standardized tests, spend more time on homework, and go on to college. They were less likely than their public school peers to be concentrated in vocational courses or be enrolled in the vocational track.

Tracking. Using data from the first follow-up of the HSB study, Lee & Bryk (1988) examined the effects of tracking in public and private Catholic schools. With a sample of approximately 4000 students, they found a much larger proportion of students in the academic track in Catholic than in public schools (43 percent vs. 23 percent). Further, relative to the public schools, student background was less strongly related to track placement in the Catholic schools. The correspondence between educational aspirations and track placement was stronger in the Catholic than the public schools. That is, 71 percent of Catholic eighth graders had plans to go to college; 72 percent were in the academic track by tenth grade. The parallel correspondence for public schoolers was 53 percent with college plans in eighth grade against 38 percent enrolled in the academic track by tenth grade.

Interestingly, the educational aspirations of Catholic students were less likely to deteriorate over the high school years than those of public

school students. Also, these researchers showed that Catholic students who transferred to public schools were less likely to stay in the academic track than if they had remained in the Catholic school system.

Curriculum. Perhaps the most compelling findings have to do with differences in the curriculum, comparing the same tracks in the Catholic and public schools. In Catholic schools, students in the general track took one year more of math instruction and almost six months more of foreign language instruction than general students in public schools. Catholic students in the vocational track took one year more of math than public school students in the vocational track. In Catholic schools, the difference between tracks in terms of the educational experience of students appears to be smaller than it is in public schools. Catholic schools clearly impose stronger academic standards on all students, regardless of track placement.

School Climate. Coleman argues that the combination of close supervision, high expectations, and sense of community in Catholic schools provides an environment for learning that is positive for at-risk children. Several studies appear to corroborate Coleman's findings. For example, a study by the Catholic League for Religious and Civil Rights examined achievement in 54 Catholic schools during the 1978-79 academic year (Blum, 1985). A full 70 percent of students were poor and minority children. Many of those who had transferred in from public schools were well behind in reading and mathematics skills. Over time, achievement improved such that students performed above national norms in some areas and were within six months of national norms in other areas. While these students were not children of the elite, their parents tended to have slightly more education than similar parents in public schools. In addition, one quarter of the schools had no admissions criteria, and many accepted transfer students from public schools who had very weak academic records and behavior problems.

Using data from the first wave (1980) of the High School and Beyond study (HSB), Keith and Page (1985) conducted a path analysis in which they showed that, controlling for background and ability, Catholic school attendance was a significant predictor of high achievement. A further examination revealed that Catholic schools exert their influence on minority students largely through the requirement of more stringent coursework.

While finding that Catholic schools were perceived as more stringent with regard to discipline, such stringency did not account for academic achievement or post-secondary outcomes. Nor did any affective variables that were surveyed, including self-esteem, locus of control, academic self-concept, and educational aspirations. Instead, Marsh (1991) reports that the gains witnessed in the last two years of high schools on the part of Catholic school students were attributable to the encouragement of academically more challenging coursework, a finding that corroborates previous research (Keith & Page, 1985; Lee & Bryk, 1988).

While the evidence suggests that Catholic schools are operating to offset the educational disadvantage associated with poverty and minority status, several researchers have questioned the validity of such findings. The primary issue is that of sampling and self-selection into private Catholic schools. There is always the possibility that low-income and minority parents who choose to send their children to private schools differ in fundamental ways from their counterparts whose children attend public schools. Indeed, it could very well be that Catholic school parents may be more committed to the academic discipline of parochial schools. For example, Blum (1985) reported that Catholic school parents were strongly motivated to give their children a quality education and were willing to make sacrifices for their children's schooling.

Critics have also argued that the positive findings associated with Catholic school attendance are attributable to the student population, rather than to the school itself (Goldberger & Cain, 1982; McPartland & McDill, 1982; Salganik & Karweit, 1982). For example, McPartland and

McDill (1982) note that disadvantaged students are not equally distributed among Catholic and public schools. Catholic schools may be more academically oriented because they have greater numbers of students who are advantaged. However, as noted by Hill et al. (1990), many inner city Catholic schools educate the poorest children and admit children who both have behavior problems and are far behind their grade level academically. Despite this, the authors acknowledge that in their comparison of schools, the average student in a Catholic school has somewhat more advantage over the average public school student in terms of family income, parent education, and family stability.

Salganik and Karweit (1982) argue that Coleman's call for greater discipline and higher standards in public schools is too simplistic because, unlike private schools, public schools are not able to admit only motivated students, nor are they able to dismiss students who will not learn. Again, however, Hill et al. (1990) report that the expulsion rate for public and Catholic schools is the same: 3 percent. And, in these times of diminishing enrollments in all schools, Catholic schools may not be able to afford to be very choosy in their admissions policies.

It could also be that teachers in Catholic schools approach their craft in fundamentally different ways from their public school counterparts. Catholic and public school teachers may have different educational philosophies, adhere to different achievement beliefs about the educability of disadvantaged children, and engage in differential teaching practices. These are unresearched questions that are worthy of study.

All criticisms aside, there are organizational factors associated with the management of Catholic schools that go beyond the issue of selection bias. Hill et al. (1990) argue that, unlike public schools, Catholic schools (1) are strong organizations that pose no barriers to individual initiative, (2) have a clearly articulated mission for their students in which preparation for college is a priority, (3) maintain strong social contracts in which each member of the school community is responsible to him or herself and to others, (4) achieve their academic goals through one central

curriculum, in which all students are expected to learn and where there are few distinctions according to ability, (5) are deeply committed to parent involvement; (6) operate as problem solving organizations, (7) maintain their own character by hiring similar individuals, and (8) consider themselves accountable to those they serve — children and their parents. The authors argue that these are factors which can be replicated in all schools.

Private Non-Sectarian Schools

Speede-Franklin (1988) suggests that elite private schools were desegregated as a result of three factors. First was the moral view that the more privileged were obligated to do what they could to redress social inequalities. Second was the obligation under law, following the Supreme Court's decision in *Brown vs. The Board of Education*, to desegregate all public educational institutions. This was coupled with tax regulations that required compliance with racially non-discriminatory practices in order for independent schools to maintain their tax-exempt status. Finally, the realities of changing demographics, involving declines in enrollment among traditional populations and the increasing numbers of minority children, have made the recruitment of minorities an imperative for survival. Minority enrollment in elite private schools grew steadily through the 1980s, such that children of color constituted 11.2 percent of total enrollment in 1986-87 (Speede-Franklin, 1988). Black students are the largest minority group in such schools, comprising four percent of total enrollment, as compared to 19 percent of total enrollment in public schools (Cookson & Pursell, 1991).

Family Factors. Two recent studies of African American parents who chose private schooling for their children reveal the diversity of their goals for their children. Arnez and Jones-Wilson (1988) surveyed 409 parents whose children were enrolled in private, non-sectarian schools,

Catholic schools, and non-Catholic parochial schools. Most families were intact, with well-educated, professional parents. A factor analysis of the reasons they offered for having chosen private schooling yielded three factors: positive perceptions of the school's program (derived from what other parents and teachers reported), academic and social characteristics of the schools (i.e., values), and the quality of the school and its programs (i.e., quality of teachers and curricula). The latter was the most important for these black parents. Overall, they shared a belief that private schooling would provide a better education and preparation for the future than would public schooling.

In a study of parents' educational goals for their children, Slaughter, Johnson, and Schneider (1988) interviewed black, white and Asian middle-income parents in seven schools representing independent elite, independent alternative, and Catholic schools. They identified six response patterns for why these parents had chosen private schooling for their children: *authoritative,* in which parents saw themselves as most responsible for their children's education and wanted to maintain some measure of control or influence over teachers and administrators; *deliberate,* in which parents perceived that the school would provide academic and social training that might not be available at home or in the public schools; *humanistic,* in which parents stressed the kind of people they wanted their children to become, and believed that the relationships that could foster these goals were available in the private school of their choice; *moral,* in which parents believed that ethics and morality were critical components of the curriculum; *practical,* in which parents wanted a caring, supportive, and respectful environment for their children; and *traditional,* in which parents believed that academic goals were best fostered in private schools.

While all parents displayed each of the response patterns, black, relative to non-black, parents were characterized more by the authoritative, deliberate and practical patterns. Slaughter et al.'s study

highlights the value of studying within-group differences in the education of black children.

Research on the composition of blacks in prep schools consistently shows the diversity of this population. A recent study of over 100 black sophomore and senior boarding school students revealed a diversity in family SES (Cookson & Pursell, 1991). Forty percent of fathers and 33 percent of mothers had graduate degrees. While the parents of white students tended to be employed in finance and management, parents of black students were professionals (i.e., doctors, educators) or blue collar workers.

While many black students in elite schools are middle-class, many others are poor and are recruited through talent identification programs. A Better Chance (ABC) in Boston and Prep for Prep in New York are programs that seek out, screen, place and track minority students in elite private schools. For example, ABC was begun in 1963 as a partnership between Dartmouth College and 23 leading independent prep schools (Griffin, 1990). Dartmouth's concern was to raise the proportion of blacks at the college. The general idea was to identify gifted high school students and offer intense academic training during summers (Summer Transition Program) in preparation for admittance to college prep schools, including all male, all female, and coeducational boarding and day schools.

Student Achievement. Interestingly, standardized test scores are not the best predictors of academic performance (grade point average, GPA) among ABC students. In the first and second year at the prep school, the ABC Academic Performance Indicator, which is based on data from each student's sending institution, is a better predictor of GPA. In the second year, the ABC Comprehensive Admissions Assessment, an overall assessment of the student based on information on students' applications, is also a better predictor of GPA than standardized scores (Griffin, 1990).

Wessman (1971-72) studied 82 boys who were in the summer transitional program at Dartmouth. The attrition rate in the first two years

in prep school was 20 percent; at the beginning of the fourth year, it was 26 percent. In the first two years, 19 percent of the boys maintained good academic averages (A or B), while 34 percent held adequate averages (B-, C, C+), and almost half (47 percent) maintained poor records (C- or below). According to school records, 30 percent of the boys had no social adjustment difficulties, 40 percent had minor transient problems, and 30 percent had serious problems.

The majority of the students (75 percent) reported their experiences as positive ones. Many felt more confident about their academic skills, believed that their intellect had been broadened, had a greater sense of direction and higher goals. Many also felt more at ease socially. Many students, however, also reported experiencing greater anxiety and tension. All of the boys who had graduated by the end of the third year went on to college.

Perry (1973) studied all students in the first eight years of the ABC program, and found that ABC students had caught up to their classmates academically by their senior year. At that time, the ranks of the ABC students were evenly distributed, with the median rank just below the middle (47th percentile). About 20 percent of ABC students dropped out of their schools, compared to an estimated 30 percent dropout rate for non-ABC students. Perry matched 47 ABC students on academic ability and family background with 47 candidates for whom program funds were not available. Of the latter group, only 27 students went on to college, as compared to 44 of the ABC group. Further, many more ABC students than non-ABC students went on to top quality colleges.

Finally, at the college level, Perry matched 64 ABC students with controls at three selective colleges. There was no difference in academic performance between the groups at one school; ABC students were slightly higher at the second, and controls were slightly higher at the third. A full 99 percent of the 1011 ABCers who had graduated by 1971 went on to college, and of these, 40 percent went directly on to graduate or professional schools.

Long-Term Effects on Graduates. Several retrospective studies have been conducted on ABC graduates. These have shown that students have benefited academically from their participation in the program, but that their success came at a personal cost to some.

It appears that former students have chosen careers in mathematics and science at rates greater than those of blacks who did not attend prep schools, and equal to rates for the overall population (Griffin, 1990). Alumni indicated several influential factors in their career decision, including high self-perception of math ability, enrollment in advanced courses, and exposure to an influential teacher.

Prom-Jackson et al. (1987) conducted a retrospective study of 767 low-income ABC graduates, 80 percent of whom were black, and found that self-perception of academic ability was the best predictor of GPA, followed by task orientation, personal orientation, and mothers' value on education. The authors note that these students varied widely with respect to family background. They came from single- and two-parent homes, small and large families, and their parents had varying degrees of education. However, many students perceived that their parents had placed a high value on education and the pursuit of high status careers. A recent interview study of 38 men and women who graduated from the program over twenty years ago similarly revealed that those who did well recalled having parents who emphasized the value of education and who enjoyed reading (Zweigenhaft & Domhoff, 1991). These adult graduates, most of whom were the first in their immediate families to go to college, also recalled the influence of other relatives who had attended college, as well as the importance of mentors, such as teachers or businessmen and women.

A major issue facing blacks in prep schools that is only just beginning to be addressed is that of social adjustment. Several studies have indicated that blacks feel marginalized by virtue of their race, and that low-income students in particular feel doubly marginalized by their social class. These students are likely to experience intense feelings of isolation,

in that they do not fit in well at school and may no longer be accepted by their peers at home (Anson, 1987; Cookson & Pursell, 1991; Fordham, 1991). Many of Zweigenhaft and Domhoff's (1991) interviewees recalled the pressures of living two lives, that of a student at an elite school and a poor black child back home. Many reported that they no longer had interests in common with friends, many of whom came to resent them. Many lost friends as a result, and also experienced strained relations with parents.

Fordham (1991) has recently suggested that black students in private schools are required to be both black (thus affirming the school's commitment to recruiting blacks) and "unblack" (in that they have to adhere to rules set out by Euroamericans). According to her, academic success in a Eurocentric context requires that students separate themselves from their ethnic identity. She argues that this process serves to *deconstruct* the black student's ethnic identity, resulting in the experience of a great deal of conflict and ambiguity.

Special School Supports. Many schools, now sensitive to issues of acclimation, have initiated support programs for students of color. Royal (1988) suggests that parents can be better prepared for the experiences that their children will encounter if schools provide this information through community outreach programs, which are not recruitment efforts per se, but rather attempts to explain such elements as the admissions process. By providing families and communities with such crucial information, many initial problems faced by families can be minimized. In addition, schools themselves will be better prepared for minority students if they listen to the suggestions offered by their parents. Finally, Royal (1988) suggests that schools can communicate the value of diversity by increasing the proportion of minority teachers and administrators and incorporating multicultural education into the curriculum. According to Fordham (1991), schools can communicate that students' ethnic identity is "safe," and that success for black students is a prerogative.

Independent Alternative Schools

One trend in the education of African American children has been the increase in the number of independent schools for black students. According to Ratteray (1990), whose Institute for Independent Education maintains a database on such schools, there are now some 400 of them, 80 percent of which are owned or operated by blacks, serving 52,000 mixed SES students (Ratteray & Shujaa, 1988; Ratteray, 1990). While most of these schools were started in the 1970s, some are 50- or even 100-years-old. One half are owned and/or supported by black churches, while the rest are owned and/or supported by families, community organizations, and businesses.

Ratteray's (1990) survey of 32 school administrators and 399 families found that these schools have several factors in common. They tend to be in urban areas, to be neighborhood schools, and to be all black; they emerged as a response to deteriorating social conditions in the inner city; they promote academic excellence; and they operate autonomously of the larger organization that supports them. Interestingly, not all schools surveyed stress African American culture in their curricula. A subsample of 35 parents who were interviewed in depth revealed a range of responses to African-centered education. Some enthusiastically embraced such a curriculum as being important in the overall development of their children, while others were indifferent, focusing instead on the importance of high academic standards. At present, there are no systematic data on the academic achievement of children in these schools.

Public Schools

Public schools have not remained stagnant in the face of increased enrollments of African American and other minority children in various private schools. The most recent trends in the public education of African

American students have been the emphasis on Afrocentric education and the establishment of public schools for black males.

Afrocentric Education. A major architect and proponent of Afrocentric education, Asa Hilliard, argues that minority groups have experiences deliberate or unconscious attempts to deprive them of equal access to educational opportunity. In addition, he believes, minority groups have been miseducated in that they have not been taught about their own group's contribution to history and culture (Hilliard, 1984). The monocultural curriculum used in many schools is seen to foster institutional racism by neglecting the contributions of persons of color to scholarship (Pine & Hilliard, 1990). According to Hilliard and other advocates of Afrocentric education (including Hale-Benson and Asante), black students' self-esteem will increase by virtue of their studying their ancestral past and by increased exposure to minority teachers (Asante, 1991; Pine & Hilliard, 1990).

The development of Afrocentric curricula has been somewhat controversial. Albert Shanker (1991) and Diane Ravitch (1991) have both expressed their concern that the call to include the work of "non-dominant knowledge sources," that is, the work of individuals not respected by the larger community of scholars, is potentially dangerous because theories with little or no scientific backing could be taught. Ravitch has also argued that there is no evidence that students who study their ancestral past and accomplishments become high or higher achievers. In fact, she has asserted, Asian Americans, as the highest achieving and most educated ethnic group in the U.S., are exposed to little or no information about their own particular history in current curricula. This comparison may be inappropriate, however, for in general, Asian American families place a high priority on education, and they may be communicating this value through their educational socialization practices (see Ginsburg, Bempechat, & Chung, in press). But it is true that African American

students in Catholic schools are subject to the same monocultural curricula as their counterparts in public schools.

It is possible that the only sure way to determine the effectiveness of Afrocentric curricula on achievement and self-esteem is to put these hypotheses to a direct test. Many educators have begun this process by designing schools exclusively for black males.

Black Male Academies. The primary impetus for black male academies is the heightened concern over the relatively poor performance of black males in public schools. A major goal of this effort is to increase self-esteem. The underlying assumption is that an increase in self-esteem will result in increased academic achievement. To date, there is no evidence that Afrocentric education curricula increase the self-esteem of minority students, so research is needed to document the assertion. Further, while black females may be doing somewhat better than their male peers, females are also experiencing severe academic difficulties. For example, in Milwaukee, only 24 percent of male and 30 percent of female seventh graders score at or above the national average level in reading. The data for math are 22 percent and 26 percent for males and females, respectively (Milwaukee Public Schools, 1990).

A review of several proposals for black male academies reveals several common themes. First is the view that an Afrocentered curriculum is necessary to correct false impressions of blacks and other minorities created by Eurocentered curricula, and to increase the self-esteem of black students. For example, in their proposal to Prince George's County Public Schools, Curry and Murphy (1990) argue that the current school curricula "depletes the self-esteem, self-knowledge and sense of efficacy of non-white students..." (Part 1, p. 10). Second is the call for greater numbers of black male and female teachers, so that students can experience firsthand that professional careers are not the province of whites only. Third, planners suggest that in-service training on black history is vital to the success of these schools, and that teachers should be knowledgeable about

the culture and language of black males (African American Male Task Force, Milwaukee Public Schools, 1990; see also Carter & Gibbs, 1990; Dual, 1990; Ujamaa Institute, 1990; see Ascher, 1990, for an extensive discussion of black male academies).

Also common are the recommendations that these schools function as "effective schools," that is, that teachers and administrators view all children as being capable of learning, that high expectations be held for all, that parents be encouraged to participate in their children's learning, and that schools train parents in this all important task, so that the bond between school and home is strengthened. These recommendations are ones that have been demonstrated to work well in all schools for all students. It can be argued that such recommendations would likely orient principals, administrators, teachers and parents toward a common goal of high achievement. The instructional focus, high expectations, and shared ethos that might prevail are distinguishing factors of successful ghetto schools (Boyd, 1991), Catholic schools (Hill et al., 1990), and successful black schools from the end of the 19th century through court ordered desegregation (Sowell, 1974; 1976). Such recommendations are at the core of many successful programs, such as Comer's School Development Model. Slavin's Success for All program, and Levin's Accelerated Schools, which are discussed below.

However, it is important to mention three caveats. First, it does not appear to be the case that black students suffer from poor self-esteem. In fact, research has indicated that black students tend to have average or above average levels of self-concept relative to white students. A recent study of fifth through eighth graders showed no differences in self-esteem even between high- and low-achieving black students (Madhere, 1991). Black students may still have a healthy self-concept, even if they believe that their culture is undervalued in our society.

Some research has suggested, however, that positive orientation towards one's group may enhance achievement (Bowman & Howard, 1985; Gurin & Epps, 1975). For example, in their study of black youths (14-24

years) in three-generation families, Bowman & Howard (1985) found that those who recalled receiving positive race-related socialization messages about self-development, racial pride, racial barriers, and humanitarianism/equality (i.e., importance of hard work, discipline) had higher self-efficacy scores and higher grades that those who recalled receiving no such messages. It appeared that families that operated as effective buffers against prejudice enhanced their children's academic outcomes. It is possible, then, that black male academies may serve this purpose, and research should examine the extent to which these new schools can also serve as buffers against prejudice.

Second, it is not at all clear that poor achievement is the result of low self-esteem, and that an Afrocentric curriculum will improve black students' self-esteem. Conceivably, African American students in Catholic schools follow a monocultural curricula, and this has not adversely affected their academic performance. From a research point of view, it will be difficult to determine if increased academic achievement is the result of exposure to Afrocentric curricula or to subsidiary effects of these curricula. That is, if black parents demand that schools immerse their children in their own history, and if they think this will make a difference in their children's achievement, they may very well become more involved in their children's day-to-day school progress. This, in and of itself, can help to improve children's achievement (see Epstein, 1989).

Third, there is no doubt that the public school teaching force ought to be more representative of the diversity of the population. However, it is important to note that there is no evidence indicating that students' academic performance and self-esteem increases as a result of exposure to same-race teachers. Indeed, relatively few teachers in Catholic schools are persons of color. Instead, the available research suggests that achievement is fostered by caring and sensitive teachers, regardless of race or ethnicity, who believe all children can succeed (Ladson-Billings, 1990).

Multicultural Education. Many state boards of education have agreed that a purely Western interpretation of history is inappropriate, particularly in light of the increased diversity of U.S. society and increasingly global nature of the economy. For example, the New York State Social Studies Review and Development Committee (1991) recently released a report in which it found the existing curriculum to be too Eurocentered in its disregard for the history and achievements of indigenous peoples, too limited in its range of examples (i.e., using too few references to women and minorities) and culturally insensitive in its use of language (i.e., use of the term "Oriental"). It recommends that the curriculum be overhauled so that it becomes "culturally inclusive," and includes the scholarship of individuals of both sexes and all racial and ethnic backgrounds. Such a curriculum, the report argues, will serve to increase students' self-esteem.

While most scholars agree that it is important to develop a more diverse curriculum that better reflects the contributions of all members of our diverse society, some have expressed the concern that multicultural curricula may be more divisive than unifying. For example, Arthur Schlesinger (1991), a member of the New York Task Force, voiced his fear that a revised curriculum could emphasize individual races and ethnicities to the point where students might be encouraged to classify all Americans according to race and ethnic group. He argued that "an ethnic interpretation of American history...is valid up to a point, but misleading and wrong when presented as the whole picture."

Shanker (1991) argues that the issue of multiple perspectives is itself racist because it assumes that a given child's perspective is determined by his or her race/ethnicity. There is no one single black, or Hispanic, or Jewish view of history. In spite of these concerns, it is clear that, as a simple redress for past exclusions, much can be done to revise our curricula across subjects so that the scholarly contributions of women and persons of color are included.

Exemplary Programs

Research on school factors that foster achievement has focused the management of schools, including their ethos or climate; and their type (public vs. private vs. parochial), curricula, and instructional strategies. As shown in the previous sections and below, common aspects of management and instruction characterize successful schools regardless of their type.

School Development Program. School reform movements over the past several years have stressed that initiatives involving extensive parental and community input can be successful in turning around troubled public schools. In particular, James Comer's School Development Program has experienced wide acceptance among educational researchers and community leaders.

Comer argues that, while the effective schools movement emphasized strong school leadership, strict discipline, basic skills, and high achievement, it did not address the relationship between the children's school adjustment and their family and cultural background (Comer & Haynes, 1991), and, thus, systematic organizational reform is needed from within the school. He argues that raising levels of academic achievement is not a sufficient goal for inner city educators. Educators must also prepare children to become responsible, contributing members of society, and they can meet this goal by being attentive to the relationships that children have with family members, teachers, peers, and the community. In an atmosphere in which the psychological and social needs of those who serve and are served by the school are met, a sense of shared goals prevails (Anson, Cook, Habib, Grady, Haynes, & Comer, 1991). The model he developed is designed with the black experience in mind. To date, the evidence suggests that this approach is successful in fostering both academic achievement and social skills.

Comer's New Haven Schools Project was initiated in 1968, in the belief that problems facing inner city schools could only be solved through the collaborative efforts of school teachers and administrators, parents, and community mental health workers (Comer, 1980). The two target schools chosen (Baldwin and King) were among the lowest achieving public schools in New Haven, and were composed primarily of low-income, minority students. The goals of this project were to improve the school and psychological atmosphere to facilitate learning, improve academic and motivational skills, foster a shared sense of responsibility between parents and school staff members, and develop a relationship between the schools and the Yale Child Study Center.

The intervention project was an intensive effort, consisting of an administrative team of teachers, principals, and support personnel; school committees on curriculum, personnel, and evaluation; a mental health team from Yale; a pupil personnel team (psychiatrists, social workers, principal, nurse, community relations worker, special education teachers, and aides); a parent program (in which parents worked as teacher aides); a focus program to bring students who were one or more years behind in math or reading up to grade level; workshops to bring parents and teachers together; and an extended day program.

Over time, the New Haven Schools Project resulted in significant improvements in children's behavior and learning. (Comprehensive evaluations are currently underway; D. Slaughter-Defoe, personal communication, February 6, 1992.) For example, students enrolled in the Baldwin and King schools had higher mathematics and reading scores relative to children in other New Haven Title I schools. Within these schools, when children who had been enrolled for more than two years were compared with students enrolled for under two years, those with a longer stay averaged eight months higher in reading and five months higher in math. At the end of five years, there were no differences between these groups (Comer, 1980).

A follow-up study of 48 students (24 of whom had attended a Project school and 24 who had not) now in the same middle school revealed that Project students were two years ahead in language arts and one year ahead in math, relative to their non-Project peers (Comer & Haynes, 1991). The Project students were also more likely to be student leaders and less likely to exhibit behavior problems.

Success for All. In the Baltimore Public Schools, the Success For All (SFA) program of Robert Slavin and his colleagues includes elements similar to Comer's New Haven Schools Project (Madden, Slavin, Karweit, Livermon, & Dolan, 1989). The SFA program is a collaborative effort of the Baltimore Public Schools and Johns Hopkins University. It is focused on the pre-kindergarten through third grades, and aims to ensure that all children arrive in third grade with adequate skills in reading, mathematics, and language. The SFA initiative includes one-on-one tutoring, assessments of pupil progress every eight weeks, a half-day preschool and full-day kindergarten, a family support team (two social workers and one parent) that provides parent education and encourages parent participation in their children's schooling, ongoing teacher training, special education for those previously assigned to it, and an advisory committee composed of the school principal, a program facilitator, teacher representative, social worker, and the Hopkins staff.

Evaluation of the first of five years showed that SFA participants outscored matched controls in reading by an average effect size of +.50. Also, referral and placement into special education were much reduced relative to the previous year.

Stanford Accelerated Schools Project. Henry Levin (1987; 1988) argues that the basic premise of compensatory education programs — that disadvantaged children who have fallen behind need less demanding instruction with no specific timetable — may actually do children more of a disservice by assigning low status and communicating low expectations to

students as well as teachers. He argues instead that disadvantaged children must be held to exacting standards and specific deadlines in order to close the achievement gap between themselves and other students. In his Stanford Accelerated Schools Project (SASP), in which disadvantaged children are brought up to grade level by the end of sixth grade, Levin advocates fast-paced curricula that engage students' interests and foster motivation. The "whole school" approach of this program is similar to Comer's New Haven Project in that the intervention emphasis is not on any individual curriculum or grade.

The SASP advocates school-based management, where decisions are made by the school principal, teachers, and parent representatives. The elements of the program include clear goals for students, parents, and staff; regular student and school assessments; monitoring of nutrition and health; instructional strategies that include cooperative learning and peer tutoring; use of community resources (i.e., local businesses and social service agencies); parent participation and training; and an extended day component, during which senior citizens and college students provide one-on-one assistance with schoolwork. Because the program is relatively new, objective evaluation measures of children's academic skills are unavailable.

Berkeley Mathematics Workshop Program. As a professor of mathematics at Berkeley, Uri Treisman noticed that African Americans were underrepresented in degree programs in math and science, and that their performance in math was particularly low. He began the Mathematics Workshop Program (MWP) after informal observations of 20 Chinese American and 20 African American students yielded insights into why black students might be faring poorly (Fullilove & Treisman, 1990). Students in both groups displayed very different learning and studying strategies from one another. Chinese American students tended to study in groups that they joined early in the semester, they combined study and social time, studied an average of 14 hours per week, and actively sought the help of a teaching fellow when they encountered difficulties. Further,

they shared information that was important for success, by checking each other's work and providing helpful pointers. In contrast, black students tended to separate study and social time, they studied alone, and were less likely to seek out the teaching fellow for assistance. All of the Chinese students excelled in the course, while all the black students failed.

The MWP was initiated to simulate the learning and study strategies of the successful Chinese students. The program is designed as an Honors program, and enrolls students (80 percent black and Hispanic) who declare an interest in a career in mathematics. Students are organized into groups of 5-7 members who work together twice a week in two-hour sessions. Analyses of the achievement of blacks in the first level math course from 1973-1984 showed a significant increase in the number of blacks enrolled in the course and earning credit for it. A comparison of black students enrolled and not enrolled in the MWP revealed that the failure rate of MWP students was significantly lower than that of non-MWP students. For all students, the probability of earning a B- is positively correlated with math SAT scores (SAT-M). However, MWP students in the *lowest* SAT-M triad did not differ from non-MWP students in the *highest* SAT-M triad in the probability of their earning a B- or better grade. Further, higher college persistence rates were recorded for MWP participants than non-participants. And, the proportion of MWP persisters in the lowest SAT-M triad was *higher* than the non-MWP persisters in the highest triad.

Treisman suggests that the benefit of MWP program is that it "created academically oriented peer groups whose participants value success and academic achievement" (Fullilove & Treisman, 1990, p. 476). In so doing, students spent more time studying and may have generalized the skills and strategies they learned to their other courses.

Successful Instructional Techniques

In a recent review, Crawford (1989) and Stein, Leinhardt, and Bickel (1989) concluded that effective instruction with at-risk students is behaviorally focused, with an emphasis on mastery learning. Further, at-risk students are best served when the teacher provides direct instruction in reading and math. In the tradition of cognitive scaffolding (see Rogoff & Gardner, 1984), direct instruction involves demonstration by the teacher, guided practice, and corrective feedback. Effective instruction also involves frequent monitoring and assessment of pupil progress, high expectations, and feedback that is performance-based. Stein et al. stress the need for academically oriented classrooms in which students spend a great deal of time on tasks, actively engaged in appropriately challenging materials. Indeed, Natriello & Dornbusch (1984) found that students exposed to more challenging standards were more likely to attend class and more likely to do well in school than students who were exposed only to teacher warmth and support.

Researchers and educators have realized that the acquisition of cognitive skills also depends very much on the development of "metacognitive" skills, or strategies that help children learn how to learn, such as self-monitoring (see Crawford, 1989; Stein et al., 1989).

Brophy (in Crawford, 1989) argues that Chapter 1 students learn best when teachers clearly structure content, use overviews, outline lessons, highlight main points, and review mastered material. His research suggests that low SES students will benefit more than high SES students from questions that are not overly difficult and that ensure a high success rate.

Larrivee's (1989) observational study of teacher behavior confirms the value of some of the above mentioned techniques. In her examination of teachers of mainstreamed students, she found that effective teachers used frequent positive feedback, minimal punitive feedback, and sustaining feedback to students who answer questions incorrectly. For mainstreamed

students in particular, Larivee notes that positive and encouraging feedback, high success rates, and lack of criticism are very important in enhancing achievement.

The emphasis on lack of criticism is somewhat disconcerting from a motivational standpoint. While it is true that already disadvantaged children should not be made to feel worse about their academic skills than they may already feel, it is important that educators not fall into the trap of exposing children to "success only" schedules of reinforcement. Such schedules have been shown to foster maladaptive achievement cognitions and behaviors, such as a lack of persistence and learned helplessness (see Dweck, 1975). In fact, the evidence suggests that teachers do children a disservice by protecting them from mistakes. Children are better served by learning experiences that include a mix of success and failure, coupled with extensive modeling on how to strategize in the face of difficulty (see Dweck & Bempechat, 1983). Teaching strategies that may make children feel better in the short run may actually prevent children from realizing their potential in the long run (see Bempechat & Ginsburg, 1989, for a more detailed treatment of this issue).

33

PUBLIC POLICY INFLUENCES

Despite some early negative findings, research on the effects of racial and social class desegregation on academic achievement has converged to show that it has been successful in improving levels of achievement, heightening expectations and occupational aspirations, increasing access to higher education in general and to higher quality colleges and universities in particular, and improving occupational outcomes.

RACIAL DESEGREGATION

Armor (1972) evaluated Boston's METCO program and others like it, in which inner city students were bused to suburban schools. When comparing these students to their non-bused siblings, he found no significant improvements in academic achievement on the part of bused students. While no improvements in educational or occupational aspirations occurred, Armor noted that bused students may have already had high aspirations. Follow-up interviews revealed that bused students were more likely to begin college relative to their non-bused siblings, but by sophomore year, they were no more likely to continue to be enrolled in college. However, those who remained in college were more likely to be in higher quality colleges and universities.

A similar follow-up of ABC private school graduates also showed that they were more likely than matched controls to attend college and be enrolled in better institutions. Armor suggests that one positive effect of attending middle-class suburban or prep schools might be in the exposure students get to better guidance counseling and better contact with college recruiters.

Rosenbaum and his colleagues (Rosenbaum, Kulieke & Rubinowitz, 1987) examined a unique desegregation program in Chicago in which poor black families were moved into a middle-class white suburb. Mothers felt the suburban teachers, relative to their children's former city teachers, were more helpful, responded better to their children's educational needs, treated them better, and went out of their way more for the children. Some mothers did note, however, a few incidents of racial bias from some teachers and a higher rate of placement in special education classes, which may have resulted from higher school standards. Despite this, there were no significant differences in grades black students obtained at the suburban school relative to those they obtained at the city school. This indicates that students may well have benefited from the higher expectancies and standards posed by the suburban school.

Social Class Integration

In a series of studies, Crain and Mahard (1982; 1983; Crain Mahard & Narot, 1983) showed that desegregation plans can indeed raise academic achievement. A meta-analysis of 93 studies revealed that desegregation works best to raise academic achievement when it begins early (by kindergarten or first grade), occurs in predominantly, but not overwhelmingly white institutions (in the North, institutions that are 10-20 percent black; in the South, institutions that are 10-30 percent black), and includes the entire metropolitan area of a city. The authors suggest that the benefits of desegregation may result from social class, rather than from racial integration, since the presence of middle-class students, regardless of ethnicity, appear to be raising achievement. A middle-class school is one in which minimum competency in basic skills is generally taken for granted, behavior and motivational problems are less severe, and teachers and students share a common view of their respective roles and goals.

Crain and Mahard interpret the achievement advantage associated with early integration experiences as reflecting higher expectations that

teachers may hold for younger children, when achievement differences are less noticeable and misbehavior is less of a problem. In addition, older students (black and white) have more racial biases, which may make social adjustment more problematic.

A later study of desegregation in 200 high schools showed that, within a few years of desegregation, tests scores for blacks were higher in predominantly white schools (60-85 percent white), relative to predominantly black (Crain et al., 1983). Further, the performance of black students at the high school level was better if they had attended a predominantly white junior high school. This corroborates their earlier finding on the benefits of early desegregation experiences. It could be, as suggested by Krait's (1991) interview study of successful black students on predominantly white campuses, that early experiences dealing with whites serve to "thicken their skin," making later adaptation smoother. Schofield's (1989) three-year ethnographic study of the relationships between white and black students that developed at a new middle school under voluntary integration may also lend support to this view. In the school's first year, arguably a difficult one because of novelty and uncertainty, blacks rated the school more favorably compared to their previous school, and whites reported seeing little or no difference relative to their previous school. Over time, intergroup behavior became more positive, although attitudes were somewhat slower to change.

It appears, then, that middle-class schools offer better resources, better attitudes on the part of teachers, and exposure to higher expectations and standards than inner city schools. There is also the possibility that middle-class schools convey different messages about future possibilities (Crain & Mahard, 1983). Black students in integrated schools may see greater possibilities for higher education and career paths, and this may account for the greater locus of control found among blacks in integrated schools (relative to their peers in segregated, inner city schools). Indeed, students who have attended desegregated schools have more positive views about future interracial relations (Scott & McPartland,

1982), believe they will have fairer opportunities to get good jobs (McPartland & Crain, 1980), and believe more strongly that occupational opportunities are available to them (Crain & Weisman, in McPartland & Braddock, 1981).

Effects of Desegregation on Minority College Attendance

How is access to higher education affected by earlier desegregation experiences? As mentioned above, Armor (1972) showed that METCO students who persisted in college and ABC students were more likely to attend higher quality colleges. Twenty years after the establishment of ABC, 99 percent of its graduates had attended college (Zweigenhaft & Domhoff, 1991). Using data from the 1966 survey sponsored by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Crain (1970) found that adults who had attended desegregated schools were more likely to have graduated from high school and enrolled in and graduated from college. Braddock (1980) surveyed 253 black full-time students in predominantly white and black Florida colleges and universities. He similarly showed that blacks who had attended desegregated high schools were significantly more likely to attend desegregated colleges and universities than their counterparts who had attended segregated high schools. This effect held after controlling for gender, social class, and residential location.

In a later study, Braddock and McPartland (1982) demonstrated that, after controlling for individual differences in academic preparation and geographic location of high schools and colleges, high school desegregation experiences were related to college attendance, especially attendance at desegregated colleges. Further, each year of elementary or secondary school desegregation experience increased the probability that students would enroll in a desegregated college. Finally, Willie (1991a) points out that, according to College Board records, at the height of desegregation, two thirds of blacks aged 18 to 25 years had graduated from

high school and were enrolled in college, the same proportion as for whites.

Relative Achievement at Predominantly White vs. Black Colleges

In addition to the increased probability of attending college (and higher level institutions), the evidence suggests that black students perform better at predominantly white colleges than at predominantly black colleges. Aires (1983) compared the National Teacher Examination scores (NTE) of black and white students on five black and ten white campuses. Controlling for SAT, he found that blacks and whites at white schools outperformed their peers at black schools. Specifically, blacks at white schools scored on average 37 points higher on the NTE exam than blacks at black schools. In an argument similar to that offered by Crain and Mahard, Aires suggests that the resources of the white institutions, rather than pre-college differences in achievement, account for the observed NTE score difference.

Nettles' (1988) recent survey corroborates Aires' results. His study of almost 5000 black and white students in 12 predominantly white and 6 predominantly black colleges and universities showed that whites on white campuses were the best prepared for college, with the highest high school GPA and SAT scores. Blacks in black colleges were the least prepared, and had the worst study skills. Blacks at white colleges were found to be well-prepared, with good high school grades, but relatively low SAT scores, and good study skills. These students were also more satisfied with college than their black peers at black schools, but felt more racially discriminated against and reported the least academic integration of the four groups.

The latter could be related to the greater likelihood of black attrition at white, but not black schools. Braddock (1981) found that 40 percent of blacks at predominantly white institutions, relative to 25 percent of blacks at predominantly black schools, had seriously considered

dropping out of college. Academic and social integration (i.e., grades, involvement in campus activities) for blacks at white schools appeared to be more of a problem than it was for their peers at black schools.

Effects of Desegregation on Career Success

How are career choices affected by desegregation experiences? It appears that blacks who attend desegregated schools develop networks, select college majors, and find jobs in non-traditional occupations to a greater extent than their peers from segregated schools (Braddock, Crain, & McPartland, 1984; see McPartland & Braddock, 1981). A study of occupational aspirations demonstrated positive benefits attributable to desegregation experiences. Using subsamples of males and females from the National Longitudinal Study of 1972 high school graduates, Dawkins (1983) found that large numbers of black males and females expected to join professions in which blacks had typically been underrepresented. Those who had no desegregation experiences were significantly less likely to anticipate a professional career. Further, these higher expectations on the part of those who had experienced desegregation persisted for four years after high school graduation. These effects were strongest for southern males.

Crain (1970) conducted a retrospective survey of black males who had completed their secondary education by 1960. He found that those who had attended desegregated schools were significantly more likely to hold jobs in such areas as sales, crafts, and the professions (33 percent) than those who had attended segregated schools (12 percent). Further, both black and white students who attended desegregated elementary and secondary schools, and blacks who attended predominantly white colleges, are more likely to work in desegregated firms (Braddock, McPartland & Trent, in Braddock et al., 1984). Similarly, in a two-year follow-up of black subsamples from the 1980-81 National Longitudinal Sample (NLS), Braddock and McPartland found that northern blacks from predominantly

white high schools were more likely to have white co-workers (in Braddock et al., 1984).

Black Support for Desegregation

The call for all black public schools has worried some educators who have followed the forward progress of desegregation. Willie (1991b) notes that many black parents have become disillusioned with desegregation, primarily because their children's achievement still lags behind that of whites. However, according to a recent poll he conducted, the majority of black parents in Boston (71 percent) still say that they would choose integrated over segregated schools, and expressed concern that the end of court-ordered busing would place their children's education in jeopardy.

Willie suggests that the underlying problem is that the burden of busing fell on black families. He notes that in many cities, many more blacks than whites were bused, and/or were bused for more years than were whites. Also, in some cases, blacks have been denied the opportunity to be the majority in a given school. Further compounding these difficulties is the fact that many blacks have been excluded from the design of desegregation plans. Thus, the implementation of desegregation has been unfair, and this has eroded black support. In light of the gains made by black students under desegregation, Willie argues that, rather than pushing for monies allotted to desegregation to be put towards all black schools, parents should continue to fight for the betterment of all public schools.

Citing the positive influence of desegregation on academic achievement, self-esteem, and life outcomes, Hawley (1981) argues that schools can desegregate effectively by (1) desegregating students as early as possible, (2) encouraging interaction between black and white students in academic classes and extracurricular activities, (3) avoiding ability grouping and tracking, (4) maintaining a "critical mass" (10-20 percent) of minority students, (5) fostering a sense of community within a school (e.g.,

maintaining small class sizes), (6) minimizing the movement of students out of the school in order to maintain a stable student body, (7) recruiting a diverse staff and teaching faculty, (8) recruiting principals and other administrators who are committed to desegregation, (9) supporting continuing staff development on effective desegregation, and (10) enlisting the support and involvement of parents and community members.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

FAMILY INFLUENCES

How does the research described in this paper inform practice? The literature on home influences in African American families suggests that the importance of parental educational socialization practices — both cognitive and academic — cannot be overstated. Thus, it would be fruitful for parenting programs to focus in part on parental teaching strategies. Parents who learn how to organize their homes around learning, and, in particular, how to engage their children to better meet the demands of the school, will better prepare their children to meet the demands of the school.

The research also suggests that the messages parents communicate to their children about learning and schooling, while often subtle, can be very powerful in their children's developing notions about achievement. Caregivers who communicate the importance of effort and of taking responsibility for personal academic outcomes may foster in children greater persistence and diligence in the pursuit of achievement goals. Of course, caregivers do not have to be a child's parents. The variety of retrospective studies consistently shows the powerful effect on high achieving black adults of a mentor; mentors often made all the difference in encouraging children's academic pursuits. Mentoring programs, which are sometimes integral to business-school partnerships, hold the promise of fostering high achievement.

While much research has underscored the importance of parental educational socialization practices in children's academic achievement, little is known about the ways in which high achieving black families differ from one another. The educational value orientations of families can be

quite complex, as the literature on private school choice has shown. More research on within-group differences will deepen an understanding of the home factors that mediate high achievement in African American families.

School Influences

Schools concerned with their students' lives, not just with academic performance, communicate a more sincere preoccupation with children's healthy development. James Comer's work, in particular, highlights the potential for success when the school is made a welcoming, rather than a threatening place for parents and children. The importance of a strong bond between home and school cannot be more strongly stressed.

Across all schools, it seems that achievement is fostered by high expectancies and standards. Henry Levin has successfully challenged the notion that children who are at risk for school failure need to be treated as if they cannot master challenging coursework. Similarly, Catholic schools have demonstrated that poverty, minority status, and divorce do not necessarily have to hold children back. They have shown that children "at risk" are more than able to meet the challenge of demanding coursework. The issue of self-selection may never be completely resolved. However, in a time of diminishing enrollments, Catholic schools do not appear to be as selective as many have argued, and it is possible that the problem of self-selection may have been somewhat overstated.

On the whole, private, non-sectarian schools have lived up to their promise of educating poor, African American children and youth. The success of these students in some of the nation's most challenging schools is evidence that scholarship programs must continue to play an integral part in increasing minority student access to elite schools. As researchers have noted, however, these schools must take a more active approach in acknowledging and fostering the ethnic identity of students of color.

The larger body of research on desegregation has similarly shown the positive effects associated with racial and social class integration.

Particularly if it is begun early, desegregation experiences tends to increase students' academic achievement through compulsory schooling and beyond. Perhaps more importantly, the access to a network of college and career counselors, advisors, and mentors tends to widen students' perceptions of their future career possibilities. This may partly account for the increased representation of African American students in professions not traditionally held by persons of color.

One of the more intriguing questions for the education of African American children is the potential of all black male academies to deliver what they promise. Given that these schools are organized around goals known to foster high achievement (i.e., high expectancies and standards), they should show increased levels of achievement. Research to document this, as well as to assess the degree to which levels of self-esteem increase as a function of exposure to Afrocentric curricula, is needed. The research available suggests that such exposure may not affect self-esteem as much as it does positive identification with one's ethnic group. If this is the case, then all schools, not only segregated schools, should be able to adopt programs that foster positive orientations towards all groups of color.

Policy Influences

The greatest challenge, however, is to improve the quality of education offered in the nation's public schools. It is necessary to capitalize on advances already made in family, school, and public policy research over the past 25 years. The factors that mediate high achievement in African American children can be applied to all children. Achievement is optimal when principals, teachers, parents, and community members share a common vision of the school's mission: to foster high achievement, to maintain discipline and order, and to respect one another's needs. The increasing diversity of our school population will present important challenges to educators, but these are challenges that can be successfully met.

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53

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