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ABSTRACT

              Suburban schoolchildren of color, in the aggregate, do not
perform as well as their white counterparts. In fact, the academic
achievement gaps in many suburban communities are actually greater than those
in urban school districts. This research brief looks at the achievement gap
in suburban schools, offering preliminary answers to the following questions:
(1) How is it possible that some of our best public schools continue to show
disappointing results for their students of color? (2) What are the factors
that cause, exacerbate, and even sustain the academic achievement gaps in the
suburbs? (3) How can educators understand the complexities that confound the
simple presentation of scores? and (4) What can schools and communities do to
ameliorate and ultimately eliminate these gaps? The brief concludes that
knocking down barriers to high achievement for students of color in the
suburbs demands interactive strategies that attend to the whole set of
factors that affect achievement. School leaders need to involve students,
staff, and the community to develop focused plans and courses of action.
Included in the brief is a basic description of the Tripod project, an
example of ways of changing classroom practices that may serve to reduce the
gap. (WFA)

# The Academic Achievement Gap: The Suburban Challenge. CSR Connection.

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# CSR Connection

# The Academic Achievement Gap: The Suburban Challenge

By Dr. Allan Alson, Superintendent of Evanston Township High School, Evanston, Illinois

"As school districts continue to disaggregate and make public their achievement data, a complex picture of educational differences is emerging, wealthy well-resourced suburban communities have been 'shocked' to discover that even in their comfortable middle and upper-middle class communities, with a measure of economic equality and high achievement on average for their youth, goals of academic achievement for all have not been met" (James, Jurich & Estes, 2002, p.7).

Suburban schoolchildren of color in the aggregate do not perform as well as their white counterparts. In fact, the academic achievement gaps in many suburban communities actually are greater than those of urban school districts. These gaps are apparent not only in test scores but numerous other measures as well. Attendance, graduation rates, drop-out rates, grades, and percentages of students in honors and advanced placement classes all reveal, virtually uniformly, white students with greater rates of success (Kober, 2001).

Research has clearly demonstrated that socio-economic status and prior academic performance are established predictors of academic outcomes. In our suburban schools it is far more likely that people of color are wealthier and have a higher rate of advanced degrees than their urban contemporaries. Yet, "African-American and Latino students with college-educated parents score less well in 12th grade reading on the National Assessment for Educational Progress (NAEP) than do their white peers whose parents only have a high school diploma" (U.S. Department of Education, 1994, 1996, 1999). Despite this bleak evidence from the NAEP, it should be noted that in the suburbs socio-economic and family academic-attainment gaps are frequently larger than in surrounding urban centers.

Though students of color in suburban districts outpace their racial peers in urban districts, the achievement gap between white and minority students in suburban districts is actually larger than it is nationally. Mostly, this is a result of suburban whites significantly outdistancing their urban and rural peers on an array of academic measures such as grades and standardized test results (The College Board, 1999). Similarly, college attendance rates highlight a suburban gap that is certainly problematic in absolute terms, yet reveal better results when seen in a relative national context. It is important to note that many urban districts have a very small white student population, making it increasingly difficult to analyze achievement gaps in these settings (Mezzacappa, 2001).

It is clear that with the public reporting requirements of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) legislation all school districts will

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be revealing standardized test scores by race. Not only must schools show aggregate test-score gains on an annual basis, but all subgroups must similarly advance. Unfortunately, it will not be surprising that the size of achievement gaps in many suburban districts will exceed those in city districts. To make matters worse students of color in the suburbs may well fail to meet the annual gains prescribed by the federal law.

How is it possible that some of our "best" public schools continue to show disappointing results for their students of color? What are the factors that cause, exacerbate, and even sustain the academic achievement gaps in the suburbs? How can we understand the complexities that confound the simple presentation of scores? Most importantly, what can schools and communities do to ameliorate and ultimately eliminate these gaps? In this CSR Connection, some preliminary answers to these questions are discussed.

## Finding Answers through Collaboration and Research

In 1999, fueled by their desire to advance the agenda of closing the gap and yet mindful of the political realities, fifteen similar "urban-suburban" school districts came together to form the Minority Student Achievement Network (MSAN). Now comprised of twenty-one districts, their similarities include voluntary desegregation in their communities, a history of high academic achievement, significant resources compared to city schools, poverty rates between 20-45%, a willingness to publicly disaggregate data by race, gender and socio-economic status (pre-NCLB), and a history of a significant racial achievement gap. What the districts have learned is that describing the gap necessitates openness to the complexity of its causes and that attacking it requires inventive strategies that are systemic and multi-layered.

The suburban achievement gap is illustrated with data from Evanston Township High School (ETHS), a member district of MSAN located in Evanston, Illinois, which is north of and adjacent to the city of Chicago, bordering Lake Michigan, and home to Northwestern University. The 2003-04 school year will be my twelfth as its superintendent. The data continues to be worrisome though the numbers show an upward trend virtually every year as our African American and Latino students consistently outperform their racial peers both in Illinois and nationally.

In 2002-03 the student population of Evanston Township High School was 3,148. Twenty-seven percent of those students were on free and reduced lunch and 35 different languages were spoken in their homes. The racial breakdown was 48.9% white, 39% African American, 7.5% Latino, 2.2% Asian and 2.4% multiracial.

Examples from ETHS illustrate the scope and complexity of the suburban achievement gap. The 8th Grade Explore (ACT) composite scores for the class of 2004 showed white students in the 95th percentile and African-American students in the 52nd percentile. The percentage of students completing three and four years of math are as follows:

| | 3 or more years | 4 years |
|---|---|---|
| **African American** | 84.8 | 41.6 |
| **Latino** | 77.3 | 40.9 |
| **White** | 96.8 | 66.2 |

Note: Effective 2003-04, the math graduation requirement has increased from two to three years.

The mean ACT scores (scale 1-36) for the ETHS class of 2002 was 26.6 for white students and 17.9 for African-American students. This compares to national averages of 21.7 for white students and 16.8 for African-American students. College attendance rates also present another view of the achievement gap. For the ETHS class of 2002, 88.9% of white students are attending two- or four-year colleges as compared to 73.9% of African-American students. The good news is that as recently as 1998 the African-American college attendance rate was 65.8%. However, a closer look at these numbers for the class of 2002 shows only 58.2% of African-American students attending four-year schools versus 85.9% of white students. (Bilsky & Fischer, 2002).

Evanston's demographics portray a suburban district with significant racial diversity, less poverty by far than most urban districts, and, as described previously, higher academic achievement than seen in big city schools. In fact, the levels of achievement at suburban districts such as Evanston are frequently at the highest national levels in test scores, academic awards, and college attendance. Yet, while more students of color are increasingly among these elite students, the top achievers remain predominantly white. Certainly, success does not hold for all white students. Similarly, relatively poor attainment by students of color describes the current condition, but obscures the varying degrees of success by individual students.

What then are the variables that both cause and worsen the achievement gap? As these are described in the following section, it is imperative that they not be seen as isolated factors. These determinants are not only linked to one another (the most obvious being poverty and racism), they interact with one another and quite frequently overlap in unseen ways. Too often we take issues such as tracking or early-childhood literacy and assume that attending to them independently will prove to be a strategy to reduce and ultimately eliminate the gap.

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## Understanding Variables Important to Closing the Achievement Gap

Each of the following variables requires our attention if we are to ultimately eliminate the achievement gap (Alson, 2002-2003). They each exist as problems both in cities and suburbs. For the most part the depth, scope and intensity of their impact are much more severe in urban schools. As discussed below, however, strategies for suburban schools, where achievement gaps are wider and racial groups are likely to be more polarized as a result, are more difficult to design and implement.

### Understanding and Eliminating Racism

Racism, both its historical and institutional forms, is clearly a factor of great significance. We grapple with the very sensitive yet critical task of talking to one another and understanding one another's points of view on race and achievement (Pollach, 2001). Related to race, of course, is the concern about the need to find cultural relevancy in curriculum and instruction. Poverty and its highly related correlates of neighborhood influences, community supports, parent involvement, student mobility, early childhood literacy, and "summer setback" have been well researched and continue to receive great attention from schools, academics and policymakers.

### Leading for Success

Directly within schools — the quality of instructional leadership, teacher expectations and instructional repertoire, the need for personalized classroom environments, grouping practices, tutorial supports, and rigorous curriculum — all require efforts to ensure quality, focused action plans to improve each area of concern and good alignment to ensure full connection among the various points. All of the above is necessary if we are to improve student engagement and responsibility, both vital components for closing the gap.

### Assessing Student Performance

Finally, the hotly debated topic of student assessment requires much deeper examination than the NCLB accountability measures. If we believe that children learn differently then, along with standardized tests, we need additional acceptable measures that will help us know the degree to which students are learning. Assessment with little corrective feedback can only worsen the very gaps we are trying to understand and remedy.

## Addressing the Gap

It is important that researchers focus their attention on how the aforementioned variables interact and how that interaction affects the achievement gap. The separation of variables is not only strategically ineffective it also encourages political polarization by creating an either–or dynamic. Subsequent strategic interventions need to be designed that are also interactive thus attending to multiple factors simultaneously. One such intervention is the Tripod Project formulated by Ron Ferguson from the Kennedy School at Harvard University (described on page 8). Ferguson draws attention to the interconnectedness of curriculum, instruction and teacher-student work relationships.

For example, the argument is sometimes made that if only schools eliminated ability grouping the gap would disappear. While grouping students by ability or even prior achievement may be a significant factor, it does not exist apart from other aspects of teacher expectations and instructional approaches. This kind of thinking strips us of the ability to delve into the complexity of teaching and learning and causes us to create programmatic solutions that offer illusory panaceas. A recent popular example is the tens of millions of dollars being devoted to the development of small schools. A fine idea perhaps, but one with little hope for systemic change unless other matters such as quality of leadership and teaching also receive adequate attention in the small-school design. While this may seem quite obvi-

ous, it is a trap that too often characterizes our efforts to reduce the achievement gap.

## Listening to Students

Student struggles and successes told in their own voices offer great insights into their attitudes toward and their experiences with school. They also yield strong suggestions as to how to reinforce what works well and how to remove the barriers that block success. Last year the MSAN published the results of its large-scale study of middle and high school students in the original fifteen districts (see page 9 for more details). Over 41,000 students were surveyed and their responses disaggregated by district, grade level, race and gender. The survey revealed virtually no geographical differences but striking similarities in race and gender across the districts.

Among the somewhat surprising findings was that a very high percentage of students in similar numbers across all racial groups had very positive feelings towards school. In fact, most students placed great value on succeeding academically and reported essentially the same amount of time doing homework. Negative peer influence was much less of a factor than suspected, and its impact on African-American males was barely discernable from their white male counterparts.

This good news was offset by the findings that showed significant racial disparities in students' skill levels, grade-point averages, resources available outside of school, and rate of enrollment in higher-level courses. Interestingly, this disparity was also true concerning the importance that students place on teacher encouragement. Although all students value teacher encouragement, African-American and Latino students see it as more essential to achievement. Consistent with differences in grades and scores, African-American and Latino students reported less understanding on average of what they read for school and indicated that they understood the teacher's lesson a smaller percentage of the time compared with white students.

## Preparing Teachers

Though it may seem obvious, teachers may need training to know how to fully convey to students their belief that they can achieve at high levels. Students need to feel supported in order to develop and to sustain the resiliency necessary to overcome the challenges they all face but are far more intense for students of color especially those already deficient in academic skills. Teachers must be afforded both the professional development and time for collegial collaboration to examine student work in light of making their instruction and texts more understandable and more user friendly.

As mentioned previously, Ron Ferguson has developed a strategy for addressing the elements necessary to improve classroom learning, especially for students of color. Many of his design ideas came from the MSAN Student Survey he helped analyze for the Network districts. By emphasizing the interactive qualities of curriculum, instruction, and teacher-student relationships, Ferguson provides teachers with reflective strategies that can make a difference for students. The focus is on building teacher routines to increase trust, expectations, commitments, supports, and ultimately academic performance. An embedded objective is developing greater student confidence, engagement and resilience. Major components of the Tripod Project include helping teachers balance classroom control and student autonomy, cultivating student ambitiousness, and assisting students to maintain industriousness and understand the relevance of their learning (Ferguson, 2001).

The Tripod Project serves as one useful example of a way to change classroom practices that may serve to reduce the gap. Its early results are promising. Other national efforts, such as Advancement Via Individual Determination (AVID) that have been functioning in both city and suburban districts for a number of years have demonstrated powerful effects for closing the gap. AVID is intended to boost students from the middle to the top and gain college attendance for those who might

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not otherwise go without the intense attention paid to study and organizational skills and motivational techniques (James, Jurich & Estes, 2002). Used in a number of MSAN districts, students who have gone through the AVID curriculum are attending four year colleges at an almost 100% rate.

### Preparing Administrators and the Community

Though increasing (e.g., with efforts such as The Wallace Foundation initiatives, and internal leadership training in places such as New York City, Chicago and Fairfax County, Virginia), too little attention is paid to the kind of leadership required by administrators to close the achievement gap. The precepts used in the Newton, Massachusetts public schools are useful here. Their three major focal points are centrality of the classroom, respect for differences, and collegial support and collaboration. These points provide a necessary framework for suburban districts to effectively build an academic culture of success for all students. School leaders need to be working almost seamlessly to develop a student voice that can be heard and responded to by faculty, a culture that demands effective instruction while supporting teacher development, and an ongoing dialogue with and across all parent and community groups.

Communities with historical high achievement that also have historical records of explicit racism and other barriers to academic success pose perplexing political conundrums to the work of closing the achievement gap. As schools and districts rightly turn their attention to boosting the achievement of students of color, the focus is likely to draw very different racial responses.

While African Americans, for example, may be delighted that explicit efforts will be made to address the gap, it is a complicated emotion at best. These efforts hardly assuage past injustices, and the progression toward change may be so slow as to appear illusory. To further exacerbate the political reality of the feelings related to the gap, district and school leaders may portray the gap in starkly monolithic terms (i.e., only in aggregate group comparisons) causing African Americans to believe that administrators are ignoring the many success stories that have brought pride to their community.

Conversely, whites may hear the political attention to the gap as an implicit attack on the status quo that has brought their children continued success over the years. They may fear that proposed solutions will eat up valuable finite resources or lower standards so that students of color can more easily achieve. These notions, of course, may be at worst racist attitudes or they may simply represent the perception that opportunity for others will diminish the same for their own children.

Whatever the basis for these feelings the result is that they can sow the seeds of political tension as school leaders are challenged to address the gap in their suburban districts. These tensions, unfortunately, frequently play out in what can feel like conflicting demands for school leaders. In fact, all too often the political pressures become "triangulated" when administrators personally have dialogues with each racial group but do not foster dialogue across the racial groups. The demand to navigate these treacherous political waters is real and can feel even more exaggerated as program ideas and results are vociferously debated in public forums such as school board meetings. Successful leadership and sufficient constituent support for closing the achievement gap requires close attention to all group interests, a focused and purposeful direction with clear strategies, and frequent public evidence that standards are, if anything, being raised and gaps are being diminished.

## Concluding Thoughts

The achievement gap between white students and students of color, whether in city or suburbs, is pernicious and detrimental to the health of public schools and the fabric of a democratic society. While suburbs have greater resources, fewer families with social complications, greater overall educational attainment, and generally less dense and complicated school bureaucracies, they nonetheless have achievement gaps that can seem as intractable as those shared by their urban neighbors. The multiracial populations, larger-scale academic gaps, and constituent conflicts around racial equity and academic goals make the effort to close the suburban achievement gap a somewhat different dilemma than that found in cities, but one that is unfortunately no less easy to solve. A significant and confounding issue that emerges is that even though overall achievement levels remain much higher among suburban student of color the size of the gap is actually larger in the suburbs.

Knocking down the barriers to high achievement for students of color in the suburbs demands interactive strategies that attend to the whole set of factors that affect achievement. School leaders need to collaboratively engage students, staff, and the community to develop focused plans and courses of action. Opportunities to directly hear and incorporate student voices are essential. Students themselves have created powerful mentoring programs that build motivation and confidence in their peers. Faculty need professional development opportunities such as the Tripod Project, and time to work together to examine student work and explore and experiment with their instructional strategies. Parents and community members can better support student learning when they feel part of the dialogue and believe that their interests and ideas are being represented and used.

Schools must work to increase achievement for both their lowest-achieving students and those in the middle. Students lacking in math and literacy skills must have opportunities to acquire new skills and apply them effectively across the content areas. This must be done with great intensity since these are the students who are likely to leave school the least prepared for future endeavors. For all students, a challenging curriculum taught with high expectations must be fully embedded in the academic culture of the school. In addition, experimentation with grouping practices, tutoring support systems, and structures to better personalize classrooms are all among the necessary ventures that suburban schools should explore.

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All schools, be they in urban or suburban settings, should be developing cultures that clearly convey the message that all children can achieve at high levels. Until we do this uniformly with thoughtful, well-placed interventions, our schools themselves will be at risk of losing public support and the academic achievement gap will at best close slowly. We can increase the pace and scope of reducing the gap if our strategies are focused, aligned with one another, and involve all who can make a difference — students, teachers, parents, community members and school leaders.

## Basic Description of the Tripod Project Intervention

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*Purpose of the Tripod Project*
The purpose of the Tripod Project is to increase communication and build knowledge among teachers about ways of achieving success in the classroom by attending to all three legs of the instructional tripod—content, pedagogy and relationships—with the aim of helping all students, but especially African Americans and Latinos, to achieve at higher levels. The aim is for teachers to both generate and receive ideas for improving practice. Ideas that teachers generate will be distilled and shared across all of the districts participating in the project. In addition, a research component will collect data during the school year and provide feedback to help inform school-level efforts.

The Tripod Project provides an intellectual, procedural and organizational format in which teachers can make both contributions and withdrawals of ideas for teaching practices with regard to all three legs of the tripod and their interdependence. Further, individuals' deposits can be shaped and reshaped by the work of teams, then shared more widely. Finally, the structure of the project provides teachers with multiple types of peer support for trying new ideas.

*Core Conceptual Structure*
The project organizes teachers to attend more carefully to how each leg of the tripod interacts with five key tasks of social and intellectual engagement in their own classrooms:

**FIVE TASKS OF SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL ENGAGEMENT**

Task One. *Trust and Interest versus Mistrust and Disinterest*
Ideal: Introductory class sessions provide a good start to the semester by fostering feelings of positive anticipation about the class.
Task Two. *Balanced versus Imbalanced Teacher Control and Student Autonomy*
Ideal: Teacher and students seek and find an appropriate balance of teacher control and student autonomy.
Task Three. *Ambitiousness versus Ambivalence*
Ideal: Each student collaborates with the teacher to commit to ambitious learning goals and to overcome ambivalence by either party.
Task Four. *Industriousness versus Disengagement or Discouragement*
Teacher and students work industriously to achieve goals for learning and to recover from any disengagement or discouragement due to setbacks.
Task Five. *Consolidation versus Irresolution and Disconnection*
Teacher helps students to consolidate what they have learned and to connect goals and understandings forward in positive anticipation of future classes and life experiences where what they have learned will be applicable.

This information was gathered from
http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/tripodproject/Basic%20Format%20for%20Tripod%20Project.pdf.

The Minority Student Achievement Network (MSAN) "is a national consortium of suburban school districts established four years ago to collaborate on a research agenda designed to ensure the high academic achievement of minority students" (Ferguson & Holt, 2002).

In 2002, MSAN released the results of a survey of 40,000 secondary students enrolled in 15 MSAN school districts during the 2001-2002 academic year. The study's findings challenge "many preconceptions about racial and ethnic differences among student groups" and uncover interesting trends among students related to teacher-student relationships, student learning, homework and peer pressure.

*Findings of Note*
- High numbers of students reported that their peers think it is "very important" to "study hard and get good grades." In particular, African-American and Hispanic males (55%, 45% and 43%, respectively) were more likely than White males (33%) to respond in such a way.
- The number of students who reported that "my friends make fun of people who try to do really well in school" was comparatively low among all student racial groups.
- White students report more access at home to educational resources such as books and computers (57% of White students surveyed reported having more than one computer at home vs. 20% of Hispanic students, 27% of African-American students, and 42% of Asian students.)
- Black, White, and Hispanic students in the same level courses report no difference in the amount of time spent on homework (although Asian students report spending 30 to 45 more minutes a night on homework than these groups).
- Forty-eight percent of African-American students compared to 27% of White students said they "understand the teacher's lesson about half the time, or less."
- Thirty-nine percent of African American students, 28% of White students, 29% of Hispanic students and 26% of Asian students reported that "all of their teachers know how well they are capable of doing academically," leaving a majority of students with the belief that their potential is unrecognized.
- More than 75% of the students reported that they enjoy school.

A summary of the complete survey results is available at
http://www.msanetwork.org/pub/edexcel.pdf.

The above information was extracted from:
Ferguson, R. and Holt, S. (2002). *New survey challenges notions about African American and Hispanic students' achievement.* Evanston, IL: Minority Student Achievement Network. [Online]. Retrieved September 24, 2003, from
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