01-Fasola.qxd 3/2/2005 2:23 PM Page 1

CHAPTER ONE

Cultural Issues in Comprehensive School Reform

Robert Cooper
University of California, Los Angeles

Will J. Jordan
Temple University

As Cooper (1996) argued, American society remains stratified by both race/ethnicity and class. Being African American continues to have particularly negative connotations and consequences (Peters, 1981). Although African American students have made academic achievements and educational gains in recent years, public education in this country widely remains separate and unequal, even 50 years after *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954). Public education is separate to the extent that African American students, particularly males, are more frequently identified for special education than their peers or placed in vocational nonacademic classes in which they are neither intellectually stimulated nor challenged (Oakes, 1985). The educational experiences of these students often include low expectations, a feeling of inferiority, and a sense of defeat in their academic

01-Fasola.qxd 3/2/2005 2:23 PM Page 2

pursuits. Public education in this country remains unequal to the extent that the majority of African American students receive instruction from teachers who often lack experience, motivation, resources, and/or enthusiasm to effectively engage students in the learning process despite deteriorating school facilities that are both racially and economically isolated (Kozol, 1991).

On average, African American students disproportionately attend large, urban comprehensive or "zoned" schools with a high concentration of low-socioeconomic-status students. Academic achievement and graduation rates in many of these schools are very low in comparison to national averages (Balfanz & Legters, 1998). Many of these schools are located in communities that have relatively few resources and little social capital and political influence. Not only the schools but also many of the communities in which these schools are embedded have endured generations of poverty and racial isolation. These communities are marred by multiple social ills such as violence and crime, unemployment, drug abuse, poor public health, and teenage childbirth, along with an educational system that reproduces intergenerational poverty rather than transforming it. Unfortunately, schools serving African American students have historically legitimated inequality to a greater extent than they have fostered true social mobility (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Jencks et al., 1972).

Research consistently concludes that disparate learning opportunities result in differing achievement outcomes for students. The lingering achievement gap between middle-class and financially disadvantaged students, as well as between White and Black students, has prompted many scholars to investigate the relationship between student achievement and such issues as schooling context, curriculum, and instruction (Cooper, 1999, 2000), educational policies and practices (Darling-Hammond, 2000; Elmore, 1996), parental involvement (Epstein, 1995; Sanders, 1996, 1998), and even intergroup relations (Cooper & Slavin, 2001; Schofield, 1991). Extant literature suggests the greatest and most persistent lag is between Black males and all other categories of students (Gibbs, 1988; Irvine, 1990; Polite & Davis, 1999). Educational statistics consistently reveal that Black males cluster at the top of the distribution of virtually every indicator of school failure, including dropout, absenteeism, suspension and expulsion, and low achievement (Garibaldi, 1992).

01-Fasola.qxd 3/2/2005 2:23 PM Page 3

Many researchers and policy makers have denounced the use of deficit models to explain the negative schooling experiences of African American males and are engaged in research exploring and isolating the multiplicity of factors that contribute to the academic success of Black students (Cooper & Datnow, 2000; Sanders, 2000). They choose to shift the framing of their inquiry from a focus on the academic failure of African American students to an examination of alternative structures, organizations, and practices that lead to greater academic achievement. This line of inquiry flows from the educational resilience construct that focuses on success rather than failure (Wang & Gordon, 1994; Winfield, 1991). It views educational resilience not as a discrete, personal attribute but rather as the culmination of processes, mechanisms, and conditions that can be replicated across various school and family contexts. Utilizing such an approach helps to identify potential individual, school, and community factors that lead to and foster academic success among African American students (Winfield, 1991). In that tradition, this article explores ways in which the unprecedented amount of federal support for the comprehensive restructuring of schools with a large population of "at-risk" students can incorporate strategies to confront the unique educational challenges facing African American males. Researchers maintain that African American males must be guided to develop a positive sense of self and ethnic identity to be successful in school and in life (Boykin, 1986; Johnson & Johnson, 1981). If Black boys are to be sufficiently prepared to meet the challenges of the new millennium, it is important that they come to see themselves as intellectually and effectively competent in both academic and social circles and that they are able to enroll in as well as graduate from institutions of higher education.

Being Black and Male in America's Public Schools

Cultural norms and values embedded in U.S. social, political, and economic institutions have resulted in the African American male becoming an "endangered" species (Gibbs, 1988; Hare, 1987; Jordan & Cooper, 2003). Not since the "lynching debates" of the early 20th century have Black boys and young men received so much attention and concern (Harris & Duhon, 1999). According to educational

01-Fasola.qxd 3/2/2005 2:23 PM Page 4

consultant Jawanza Kunjufu (1986), the endangered status is a result of African American boys' being systematically programmed for failure. Despite positive role models, such as Michael Jordan, Mohammed Ali, and Colin Powell, the majority of African American males, particularly those in urban centers, are categorized and stereotyped by the five *D*s: d*umb, deprived, dangerous, deviant,* and *disturbed* (Gibbs, 1988). Although these words are seldom written or verbalized, they are often reflected in social policy and practice. Whether it is failure in the labor market or failure in educational pursuits, African American males are socialized to view themselves as less than, rather than equal to, their counterparts. Kunjufu (1986) cited the public school system as the most flagrant institution that contributes to the destruction of the African American boy. He claimed that educational institutions have established a myriad of policies and practices that unintentionally deny African American males equal access to high quality educational experiences, citing legislations, tracking, special education, and standard testing as examples. Moreover, Kunjufu maintained that the destruction of the African American male can be observed as early as the fourth grade when many begin to exhibit signs of intellectual retrogression, from which few recover, and proceed to find themselves ill prepared to survive in an innately racist educational system. Kunjufu contended that "the dominant cultural groups in American society, by control of key institutions, educational institutions being one of them, have systematically denied African American boys the fruits of their heritage, culture and rites of passage" (p. 15).

Numerous studies, such as the one released by the Committee to Study the Status of the African American Male in the New Orleans Public Schools (cited in Holland, 1991), confirm that African American males are disproportionately adversely affected by the public educational system. According to Holland (1991), the report reflects that although African American males represented only 43% of the public school population in the New Orleans public school system during the 1986 to 1987 academic year, they accounted for 57.7% of the nonpromotions, 65% of the suspensions, 80% of the expulsions, and 45% of the dropouts. Nonpromotions in the primary grades indicated that of the 1,470 first graders retained, 817 were African American males; of the 768 second graders retained, 440 were African American males; and of the 716 third graders retained, 438 were African American males (Holland, 1991). Experiencing similar

01-Fasola.qxd 3/2/2005 2:23 PM Page 5

statistics, many schools and districts are joining forces with researchers and policy makers to identify added resources and promising reform strategies and practices aimed at breaking the predictable cycle of failure for African American males in school. Because many scholars argue that little can be done within the context of the existing educational system, several innovative all-male academies have been established. These academies provide an African-centered curriculum that addresses the unique needs of urban juvenile and adolescent African American males and attempts to buffer them from potential pitfalls. Although this strategy has proven controversial, several Afrocentric all-male academies have been created during the past decade, beginning in the Milwaukee school district and spreading to other districts throughout the nation. However, the short- and long-term success of African American male academies has not been well established given the difficulty of controlling for self-selection and of finding adequate comparisons in regular public schools.

Moreover, numerically, the vast majority of African American males continue to attend regular public schools far more frequently than alternative, magnet, charter, religious, and private schools combined. Thus, to improve the conditions of education for African American males in this country, systemic changes must take place affecting regular community schools. Given the enormous costs, both financial and social, associated with school failure, particularly at the high school level, greater attention is being paid to high schools serving adolescents who are deemed the most at risk of school failure. School failure at the high school level translates into a variety of unproductive outcomes: dropping out of school, teenage pregnancy, crime, and drug use, all of which have serious implications for quality of life as an adult.

Improving the Schooling Experiences of African American Males Through Comprehensive School Reform

For the past two decades, the term *restructuring* has dominated educational discourse about how to change fundamentally the schooling experience for students. Research indicates that restructuring initiatives emerged in several waves (Lusi, 1997). The first wave focused on raising standards. Schools were simply asked "to do more of the

01-Fasola.qxd 3/2/2005 2:23 PM Page 6

same, but just do it better" (Petrie, 1990, p. 14). Petrie (1990) argued that the strategy of asking schools to do more of the same failed to recognize the systemic nature of the educational enterprise. This wave has been characterized as piecemeal and disconnected (Cohen & Spillance, 1992; Smith & O'Day, 1990). Though schools and educators were asked, and in many cases were required, to make significant changes, research suggests that this wave of reform left the fundamental nature of teaching and learning unchanged (Cohen, 1988; Cuban, 1990; Firestone, 1989). The second wave shifted the focus of reform to the redistribution of power (Murphy, 1992). Reformers sought to decentralize control of curriculum, budgets, and staffing to principals, teachers, and parents (Clune & White, 1988). This wave called for school-by-school, locally adapted change that was respectful and sensitive to the local context (Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988). Reforms were designed to "capitalize on the energy and creativity of individuals at the school level" (Murphy, 1992, p. 6). Although this wave produced a number of schools in which teaching and learning were qualitatively different, the number of schools that experienced and sustained fundamental change was not widespread (Lusi, 1997). The third wave of reform represents a fundamental shift in how educators and policy makers view the purpose of education (Murphy, 1992). It seeks to alter the traditional concepts behind school policy. The goal of education is no longer viewed as the maintenance of the organizational infrastructure but rather the development of human resources (Mojkowski & Fleming, 1988). At the high school level, comprehensive school reform has focused primarily on policies and practices aimed at universally improving educational quality in failing schools. For example, the often-cited *Breaking Ranks* report (National Association of Secondary School Principals, 1996) suggests that there are perhaps hundreds of challenges facing high schools and any number of critical goals that could be focused on by a school or district vying for improvement. Yet, several core themes are laid out in *Breaking Ranks* that are deemed to be central to any short list of high school reform initiatives. These themes, or guiding principles, include the following statements:

> High school is, above all else, a learning community and each school must commit itself to expecting demonstrated academic achievement for every student in accord with standards that can stand up to national scrutiny.

01-Fasola.qxd 3/2/2005 2:23 PM Page 7

> High school must function as a transitional experience, getting each student ready for the next stage of life, whatever it may be for that individual, with the understanding that, ultimately, each person needs to earn a living.
>
> High school must be a gateway to multiple options.
>
> High school must prepare each student to be a lifelong learner.
>
> High school must provide an underpinning for good citizenship and for full participation in the life of a democracy.
>
> High school must play a role in the personal development of young people as social beings that have needs beyond those that are strictly academic.
>
> High school must lay a foundation for students to be able to participate comfortably in an increasingly technological society.
>
> High school must equip young people for life in a country and a world in which interdependency will link their destiny to that of others, however different those others may be from them.
>
> High school must be an institution that unabashedly advocates on the behalf of young people.

Each of these statements represents broad ideas or responsible goals for any high school attempting to prepare adolescents for higher education and adult life, apparently, irrespective of the cultural traditions of the students. We cite these excerpts from *Breaking Ranks* not as hard and fast rules for governing high school reform but instead as noteworthy pursuits for reform frequently appearing throughout the research and policy literature.

We underscore the fact that although these guiding principles can be seen as goals of high school reform, no specific reference is made to whether or how racial/ethnic and gender issues influence or alter the implementation process. However, embedded within the policies and practices of many of the current reform strategies is the belief that more students, and we argue particularly African American male students, can be better served educationally when traditional notions of teaching and learning are reconceptualized. Jordan and his colleagues argued that this reconceptualization at the high school level requires the restructuring of three important dimensions of the schooling process: (a) structural reform, (b) curriculum

01-Fasola.qxd 3/2/2005 2:23 PM Page 8

and instruction, and (c) professional development opportunities for teachers (Jordan & Cooper, 2003; Jordan, McPartland, Legters, & Balfanz, 2000). Building on that work, we argue that a fourth dimension also warrants attention: specifically, the norms that guide and direct school policy and practice. Restructuring of the norms that guide policy and practice refers to altering institutional ethos in ways that value and celebrate the unique contributions and learning styles of each student. This involves seeing racial affirmation, cultural history, family background, and native language other than English as assets to the learning process not as barriers to intellectual pursuits.

Changing School Norms and Culture

Changing school norms and culture is driven in part by changing beliefs about academic ability and intelligence (Oakes, Lipton, & Jones, 1995). Policies and practices that relate to such issues as the social organization of schools, grouping practices, curriculum choices, and methods of instruction are all rooted in beliefs about how the differences between and among students should be addressed. If the old mantra "all kids can learn" is to be institutionalized in our public school system and guide our policy and practice, educators will have to come to see all students as valuable assets to the educational enterprise. Unfortunately, despite evidence that challenges the deficit model perspective, many educators enter the classroom with perspectives and biases that interfere with their ability to teach all students equally (Lou, 1994). Many educators still use the deficit paradigm to understand and interact with African American males.

The deficit model perspective, which grew out of research in the 1960s (Deutsch & Brown, 1964; John & Goldstein, 1964), focuses on a perceived cultural, psychological, and/or mental deficiency of Black males (Sleeter & Grant, 1994) and blames them for their social and academic failure. Such normative beliefs result in African American boys' being disproportionately mislabeled as mentally retarded, assigned to special education classes, and frequently identified as discipline problems. Thus, if comprehensive school reform is to serve as a vehicle to promote greater academic and social success for African American males, norms about race and culture must be explicitly addressed.

01-Fasola.qxd 3/2/2005 2:23 PM Page 9

Although many reform initiatives incorporate multicultural education—a construct that has emerged as an umbrella concept to deal with race, culture, language, social class, and disability (Sleeter & Grant, 1994)—there is a widespread philosophy among school reformers that effective education should be culturally neutral. However, many scholars of color disagree with this precedent. There is considerable evidence that issues of race and cultural background do in fact play a key role in the education of African American students (Cooper & Datnow, 2000; Delpit, 1995; Irvine, 1990; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Tatum, 1992). Neglecting the role of culture in educating children and adolescents is defined in Irvine's (1990) notion of "cultural aversion," which she describes as a general reluctance by educators to consider race and race-related issues such as equality, prejudice, discrimination, and social justice. According to Irvine (1990),

> This color-blind philosophy is linked to educators' uncomfortableness in discussing race, their lack of knowledge of cultural heritage of their students' peers, and their fears and anxieties that open consideration of differences might incite racial discord or perhaps upset a fragile, often unpredictable, racial harmony. (p. 26)

There is a preference among many educators and policy makers to focus on the broad issues pertaining to school reform and improvement, as if they were devoid of cultural implications. Although the existing educational literature contains a number of policy and practice recommendations for educating African American males, it begs an important question: "What can be done within the context of comprehensive school reform to bolster the overall achievement and scholastic success for African American male students?" Although comprehensive school reform is beginning to take into account various strategies for improving school organization, curriculum, and professional development, the issue of race within the context of comprehensive reform has been largely ignored.

The schism between the discourse on comprehensive school reform and issues of race and culture is particularly salient in relation to teacher quality and recruitment. However, the success of school reform is strongly dependent on the staffing situation at the particular site. Many models of high school reform are asked to

01-Fasola.qxd 3/2/2005 2:23 PM Page 10

assume existing levels of educational staff. Concern is often focused on policies and practices to be implemented, such as building smaller learning communities and using cooperative learning techniques, with less attention paid to the characteristics (both achieved and ascriptive) of the educators implementing the reform. Teacher background characteristics, such as gender and race/ethnicity as well as their education, training, and experience, are critical factors. Several scholars have written about the implications of cultural and social distances between students and teachers (Delpit, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Rist, 1970). Irvine (1990) suggested that what she calls "cultural synchronization" between students and teachers is a critical component of motivating Black students to achieve. For the current wave of reform initiatives to be most effective in meeting the challenges faced by African American males in public education, comprehensive school reform research and policy must be joined with teacher recruitment research and policy.

Teacher/Student Cultural Congruence

Aside from sleeping and perhaps playing, there is no other activity that occupies as much of a student's time as attending school. Given this, one could conclude that there is perhaps no single criterion greater than the student/teacher relationship for success in school. Despite the importance of this relationship, many of the students who are training to be educators have little, if any, experience interacting with racially and culturally different students. Although there is no substitute for effective school organization, curriculum, and programs of professional development, the question of who teaches African American boys is as critical to the academic success of these students as what is taught and how it is presented.

Many studies have been conducted focusing on microprocesses and student-teacher interaction within the classroom. Studies addressing issues such as teacher expectancies (Dusek, 1975; Elashoff & Snow, 1971; Entwisle & Hayduk, 1978; Rist, 1970) and cultural synchronization (Irvine, 1990) cast light on the degree to which ascriptive factors such as race/ethnicity, gender, and social class can influence student learning. However, developing strategies for mitigating the effects of low expectancies, cultural ambivalence, or general misunderstandings between teachers and students can be

01-Fasola.qxd 3/2/2005 2:23 PM Page 11

difficult. In fact, success is often fleeting and difficult to sustain. This is primarily because attempts to change expectancies and cultural sensitivities cut to the core of teachers and other school personnel as individuals, as well as the social conditions students face in school and in their community. Therefore, we contend that to advance research and development on the central principles of comprehensive school reform, the role of Black male teachers as successful role models warrants serious consideration. This assertion is based on theories of cultural synchronization coupled with an understanding that overall teacher quality and effectiveness trumps racial congruence between students and teachers. To be more specific, an experienced and effective teacher of any racial background is more preferable for Black male students than an ineffective teacher of African American descent. However, having stated this, Black male teachers perhaps have several important advantages in educating Black boys. These advantages include, for example, modeling appropriate behavior, strategic use of shared knowledge, and in some cases, common social experiences. The rapport that Black male teachers establish with Black male students through their common cultural heritage can be maintained in the face of social class differences. Therefore, in addition to raising the overall quality of the school through comprehensive reform, the value-added dimension of being exposed to good teachers who are Black males might be a factor in raising the success rates of Black male students.

But, merely increasing the number of Black male teachers alone is not the answer. Instead, we suggest that shared cultural knowledge generated by coming from the same racial and gender group can provide a value-added dimension to teaching and learning, holding constant a teacher's ability to teach, his or her educational credentials, and level of experience. Perhaps a wrinkle in this conjecture is that, although Black male teachers and students may share common cultural experiences, teachers are, by definition, middle class. Thus, complete cultural congruence or synchronization is ultimately unachievable in some contexts.

Still, there are many examples of racially isolated schools, which employ many Black teachers, where Black male students consistently fail. Perhaps here the persistent underperformance of Black males can be explained by a combination of factors such as inadequate resources, unstable leadership, overall teacher quality, and a host of student inputs including the intractable conditions brought on by poverty.

01-Fasola.qxd 3/2/2005 2:23 PM Page 12

Fundamental Change Requires an Integrative Approach

The primary aim of comprehensive school reform is to effect deep changes in the structure/organization, curriculum and teaching practices, and professional development agenda of schools (Jordan et al., 2000), and we add as well, changes in the norms that guide both policy and practice. To be effective in this endeavor we argue that it requires a four-pronged integrative approach. We contend that these four dimensions of the schooling process, when taken together, are the most critical components of the educational process and greatly shape and influence how students experience school. Moreover, we argue that a synchronicity of these four components is a necessity in the attempt to create an environment that is nurturing to and supportive of the African American male experience in our public schools and in the attempt to break the predictable cycle of failure for this population of America's youth.

Changing of school structures and organization refers to altering the social and/or physical organization of the school. These types of changes include various initiatives such as career academies, smaller learning communities, extended instructional periods, reduced class size, interdisciplinary teacher teams, and block scheduling. Changes such as these provide educators with the flexibility to incorporate more of the cooperative learning exercises and experience that research suggests are particularly effective in increasing the academic success of African American students (Cooper & Slavin, 2001). At the center of the current school restructuring movement is the notion that if we can alter the way in which schools are organized, we can change how teachers teach and how students learn (Elmore, 1996).

How teachers teach and how and what students learn is at the center of this four-pronged integrative approach. Altering curriculum and instruction addresses this concern by attempting to improve both the content and delivery of academic subject matter. This is achieved by developing innovative ways to teach the core subject matters while infusing culturally relevant pedagogy and literature into the courses. As research has clearly demonstrated, making the type of fundamental changes necessary to alter the schooling experience for African American males requires increasing the number of professional development opportunities for teachers and administrators. Not only

01-Fasola.qxd 3/2/2005 2:23 PM Page 13

is there a need to increase the frequency of opportunities for educators to engage in open dialogue about education, but also a need to develop a variety of forums and venues in which these opportunities are presented. Although there is some agreement among researchers that the likelihood of a successful reform increases in cases when all three dimensions are taken into consideration, a persuasive argument can be made that altering school norms and creating a new culture is itself an additional, critical dimension that must be addressed if comprehensive reform is to make a fundamental change in the schooling experience of African American males.

One of the major reasons cited for the lack of engagement of African American males in the schooling process is a sense of isolation and alienation from the institution. For many Black boys, school is viewed as a place of anonymity and failure. However, by breaking a large school down into smaller learning communities or by establishing interdisciplinary teams of teachers with common planning time, new patterns of relationships and normative structures can emerge that will support the educational pursuits of Black boys. For example, when large poorly managed schools, overrun by chaos, are restructured into self-contained, smaller learning communities, expectations for teachers and students can be altered as a result of this structural shift. Because smaller elementary and high schools are easier to manage, chaos becomes order (Lee & Loeb, 2000). One of the reasons for this positive change is that it becomes easier for teachers and administrators in smaller environments not only to learn the names of all the students they interact with during the day but also to know something about what motivates them. One-on-one relationships between educators and students facilitate the creation of a new culture and climate within the school consisting of both a warm and caring environment for students as well as an effective academic process.

Summary and Conclusion

Although there is a general understanding among educators, policy makers, and researchers that at-risk students are culturally and ethnically diverse, as well as disproportionately African American, Latino, and Native American, we have yet to develop adequate

01-Fasola.qxd 3/2/2005 2:23 PM Page 14

policies and practices for taking full advantage of students' cultural histories. Although multicultural education and culturally relevant pedagogy/curricula are slowly penetrating comprehensive school reform, there is little evidence of a significant impact on the achievement and school success of African American males. Furthermore, the overall impact of comprehensive high school reform on closing the gaps between African American males and other adolescent groups has not been thoroughly investigated. Because educational institutions are compulsory through age 16, they absorb a disproportionate responsibility for ameliorating the negative effects of inequality in society. Conventional wisdom suggests that one of the core purposes of the school is to embody egalitarian principles such as democracy and the maintenance of an equal opportunity social structure. Schools should provide a vehicle of social mobility for disadvantaged and minority students while providing middle-class students with the skills to reproduce their social status. However, educational and social mobility is a zero-sum game (Jencks et al., 1972); success for one individual reduces the probability of success for another. Suppose, for example, that school dropout was eliminated and that every high school graduate was suddenly qualified to attend college. Even if this were to happen, we do not have a higher education infrastructure to support such an influx of new students. Therefore, it is difficult to conceive of an educational system that truly leaves no student behind without reconceptualizing broader social, economic, and political structures. In the case of African American males, many reform agendas have missed the mark. African American males are at risk in school just as they are at risk in the larger spheres of society. It is perhaps due, in part, to historical and ongoing inequality and racism. The criminalization of African American males through racial profiling, persistent disparaging media images as challenged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the overrepresentation of African American males in state and federal prisons are all elements that contribute to the endangerment and at-risk standing of the African American juvenile and adolescent. The implementation of school reform and positive, culturally synchronic role models aims to counteract the negative influences and images that create the gap between the members of this demographic population and their peers.

01-Fasola.qxd 3/2/2005 2:23 PM Page 15

References

Balfanz, R., & Legters, N. E. (1998). *How many truly awful urban high schools are there? Some early estimates.* Unpublished manuscript, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.

Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in capitalist America.* New York: Basic Books.

Boykin, A. W. (1986). The triple quandary of schooling Afro-American children. In U. Neisser (Ed.), *The school achievement of minority children* (pp. 57–92). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

Clune, W. H., & White, P. A. (1988). *School-based management: Institutional variation, implementation, and issues for further research.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Center for Policy Research in Education.

Cohen, D. K. (1988). Teaching practice: Plus que ca change. In P. W. Jackson (Ed.), *Contributing to educational change: Perspectives on research and practice* (pp. 27–84). Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Cohen, D. K., & Spillance, J. (1992). Policy and practice: The relations between governance and instruction. In G. Grant (Ed.), *The review of research in education* (pp. 3–49). Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.

Cooper, R. (1996). De-tracking reform in an urban California high school: Improving the schooling experience of African American students. *Journal of Negro Education, 65*(2), 190–208.

Cooper, R. (1999). A promising example of urban school reform: De-tracking in a racially mixed high school. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk, 4*(3), 259–275.

Cooper, R. (2000). Urban school reform from a student of color perspective. *Urban Education, 34*(5), 597–622.

Cooper, R., & Datnow, A. (2000). African-American students' success in independent schools: A model of family, peer, community, and school influences. In M. Sanders (Ed.), *Schooling students placed at risk: Research, policy, and practice in the education of poor and minority adolescents* (pp. 187–206). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Cooper, R., & Slavin, R. E. (2001). Cooperative learning programs and multicultural education: Improving intergroup relations. In F. Salili & R. Hoosain (Eds.), *Research on multicultural education and international perspectives* (pp. 15–33). Greenwich, CT: Information Age.

Cuban, L. (1990). Reforming again, again, and again. *Educational Researcher, 19*(1), 3–13.

01-Fasola.qxd 3/2/2005 2:23 PM Page 16

Darling-Hammond, L. (2000). Teacher quality and student achievement: A review of state policy evidence [Electronic version]. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 8*(1).

Delpit, L. (1995). *Other people's children: Cultural conflict in the classroom.* New York: New Press.

Deutsch, M., & Brown, B. (1964). Social influences in Negro-White intelligence differences. *Journal of Social Issues, 20,* 24–35.

Dusek, J. B. (1975). Do teachers bias children's learning? *Review of Educational Research, 45*(4), 661–684.

Elashoff, J. D., & Snow, R. E. (1971). *Pygmalion reconsidered.* Worthington, OH: Charles A. Jones.

Elmore, R. E. (1996). Getting to scale with good educational practice. *Harvard Educational Review, 66,* 1–26.

Elmore, R. E., & McLaughlin, M. W. (1988). *Steady work: Policy, practice and the reform of American education.* Santa Monica, CA: RAND.

Entwisle, D. R., & Hayduk, L. A. (1978). *Too great expectations: The academic outlook of young children.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Epstein, J. L. (1995). School, family, community partnerships: Caring for the children we share. *Phi Delta Kappan, 76,* 701–712.

Firestone, W. A. (1989). Educational policy as an ecology of games. *Educational Researcher, 18*(7), 18–23.

Garibaldi, A. M. (1992). Educating and motivating African American males to succeed. *Journal of Negro Education, 61,* 4–11.

Gibbs, J. T. (Ed.). (1988). *Young, Black, and male in America: An endangered species.* Dover, MA: Auburn House.

Hare, B. R. (1987). Structural inequality and the endangered status of Black youth. *Journal of Negro Education, 56*(1), 100–110.

Harris, W. G., & Duhon, G. M. (1999). *The African American male perspective of barriers to success.* Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press.

Holland, S. H. (1991). Positive role models for primary-grade Black inner-city males. *Equity and Excellence, 25*(1), 40–44.

Irvine, J. J. (1990). *Black students and school failure: Policies, practices and prescriptions.* New York: Greenwood.

Jencks, C., Smith, M., Acland, H., Bane, M. J., Cohen, D., Gintis, H., et al. (1972). *Inequality: A reassessment of the effect of family and schooling in America.* New York: Basic Books.

John, V., & Goldstein, L. (1964). The social context of language acquisitions. *Merrill Palmer Quarterly, 10,* 265–275.

Johnson, D. W., & Johnson, R. T. (1981). Effects of cooperative and individualistic learning experience on interethnic interaction. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 73,* 444–449.

Jordan, W., & Cooper, R. (2003). High school reform and Black male students: Limits and possibilities of policy and practice. *Urban Education, 38*(2), 196–216.

01-Fasola.qxd 3/2/2005 2:23 PM Page 17

Jordan, W. J., McPartland, J. M., Legters, N. E., & Balfanz, R. (2000). Creating a comprehensive school reform model: The talent development high school with career academies. *Journal of Education for Students Placed At Risk, 5*(1/2), 159–181.

Kozol, J. (1991). *Savage inequalities: Children in America's schools.* New York: Harper Perennial.

Kunjufu, J. (1986). *Countering the conspiracy to destroy Black boys* (Vol. 2). Chicago: African American Images.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1994). *The dream-keeper: Successful teachers of African American children.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Lee, V. E., & Loeb, S. (2000). School size in elementary schools: Effects on teacher's attitudes and student achievement. *American Education Research Journal, 37*(1), 3–31.

Lou, R. (1994). Teaching all students equally. In H. Roberts, J. C. Gonzalez, O. Harris, D. Huff, A. M. Johns, R. Lou, & O. Scott (Eds.), *Teaching from a multicultural perspective* (pp. 28–45). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lusi, S. (1997). *The role of state departments of education in complex school reform.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Mojkowski, C., & Fleming, D. (1988). *School-site management: Concepts and approaches.* Andover, MA: Regional Laboratory for Educational Improvement of the Northeast and Islands.

Murphy, J. (1992). Restructuring America's schools: An overview. In C. Finn & T. Rebarbert (Eds.), *Education reform in the 1990s* (pp. 3–20). New York: Macmillan.

National Association of Secondary School Principals. (1996). *Breaking ranks: Changing an American institution.* Reston, VA: Author.

Oakes, J. (1985). *Keeping track: How schools structure inequality.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Oakes, J., Lipton, M., & Jones, M. (1995, April). *Changing minds: Deconstructing intelligence in de-tracking schools.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.

Peters, M. (1981). Parenting in Black families with young children: A historical perspective. In J. McAdoo (Ed.), *Black children: Social, educational, and parental environments* (pp. 211–224). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Petrie, H. G. (1990). Reflections on the second wave of reform: Restructuring the teaching profession. In S. L. Jacobson & J. A. Conway (Eds.), *Educational leadership in an era of reform* (pp. 14–29). New York: Longman.

Polite, V. C., & Davis, J. E. (1999). *African American males in school and society: Practices and policies for effective education.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Rist, R. C. (1970). Student social class and teacher expectations: The self-fulfilling prophecy in ghetto education. *Harvard Educational Review, 40*(3), 411–451.

01-Fasola.qxd 3/2/2005 2:23 PM Page 18

Sanders, M. G. (1996). Building family partnerships that last. *Educational Leadership, 54*(3), 61–66.

Sanders, M. G. (1998). The effects of school, family and community support on the academic achievement of African American adolescents. *Urban Education, 33*(3), 385–409.

Sanders, M. G. (2000). *Schooling students placed at risk: Research, policy, and practice in the education of poor and minority adolescents.* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Schofield, J. S. (1991). School desegregation and inter-group relations: A review of the literature. In G. Grant (Ed.), *Review of research in education* (Vol. 17, pp. 335–409).Washington, DC: American Educational Research Association.

Sleeter, C., & Grant, C. (1994). *Making choices for multicultural education: Five approaches to race, class and gender.* New York: Macmillan.

Smith, M. S., & O'Day, J. (1990). Systemic school reform. In M. B. Ginsburg (Ed.), *Politics of education association yearbook, 1990* (pp. 233–267). New York: Taylor & Francis.

Tatum, B. (1992). Talking about race, learning about racism: The application of racial identity development theory in the classroom. *Harvard Educational Review, 62*(1), 1–24.

Wang, M. C., & Gordon, E. W. (Eds.). (1994). *Educational resilience in inner-city America: Challenges and prospects.* Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Winfield, L. F. (1991). Resilience, schooling, and development in African American youth: A conceptual framework. *Educational and Urban Society, 24,* 5–14.