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# Final Report for the Success of African American Students (SAAS) in Independent Schools project

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# Final Report for the Success of African American Students (SAAS) in Independent Schools project

## **Abstract**

The Success of African American Students (SAAS) in Independent Schools was a collaborative, longitudinal, mixed-method research project focused on investigating and understanding the variety of social, emotional, and institutional factors that were thought to influence how Black students navigate the independent school environment. SAAS involved researchers from the University of Pennsylvania (Penn) Graduate School of Education working with faculty and staff from several Philadelphia area independent schools. The SAAS project was supported by five years of funding from the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH). Finally, SAAS utilized qualitative methods such as focus groups and semi-structured interviews as well as quantitative methods such as questionnaire surveys and behavioral observations.

## **Keywords**

independent schools, african americans, students, race, adjustment, diversity, teachers, parents

## **Comments**

Success of African American Students Project, Technical Report no. 001.

Final Report for the

**Success of  
African American  
Students  
(SAAS)  
in  
Independent Schools Project**

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments	p. iii
Background	p. 1-2
Introduction	p. 3
Methods	p. 4
Results	p. 5-236
<b>1996-1997</b>	p. 6-13
African American Boys Coalition Focus Group	p. 6-10
Parent Focus Group	p. 10-13
<b>1997-1998</b>	p. 14-58
Student	p. 14-50
Demographic information	p. 14-16
Survey Questionnaire	p. 16-22
Bivariate relationships	p. 22-23
Interviews	p. 23-50
Alumni Focus Groups	p. 50-53
Teacher Focus Group	p. 53-58
<b>1998-1999</b>	p. 59-151
Student Interviews	p. 59-92
Girls & new interviewees	p. 59-81
Time 1 to Time 2	p.81-92
Parent Focus Groups	p. 92-95
Teacher	p. 96-
Survey Responses	p. 96-97
Social Skills Rating Scale	p. 97
Interviews	p. 97 - 261
Teachers of color	p. 97-111
White Teachers	p. 111-132
Teacher of Color-White Teacher	
Comparison	p. 132-142
Faculty and Staff Focus Group	p. 142-149
Diversity Coordinators Interviews	p. 149-151
<b>1999-2000</b>	p. 152-166
Student	p. 152-158
Demographic information	p. 152-154
Survey Questionnaire	p. 154-158
Bivariate relationships	p. 159-160
Focus Group	p. 160-164
Classroom Observations	p. 164-166
<b>2000-2001</b>	p. 167-190
Student	p. 167-180

Demographic information	p. 167-169
Survey Questionnaire	p. 169-176
Bivariate relationships	p. 176-180
Parent	p. 180-189
Demographic information	p. 180-182
Survey Questionnaire	p. 182-187
Bivariate relationships	p. 187-189
Links between students & parents	p. 189-190
Demographic information	p. 189-190
Bivariate relationships	p. 190
<b>2001-2002</b>	p. 191-217
Student	p. 191-206
Demographic information	p. 191-196
Survey Questionnaire	p. 196-206
Bivariate relationships	p. 203-206
Parent Survey Questionnaires	p. 206 - 380
Demographic information	p. 206-208
Survey Questionnaire	p. 208-215
Bivariate relationships	p. 213-215
Links between students & parents	p. 215-217
Demographic information	p. 215-216
Bivariate relationships	p. 216-217
<b>2001 compared to 2002</b>	p. 218
Student	p. 218-230
Demographic information	p. 218-219
Survey Questionnaire	p. 219-230
Summary of mean level differences	p. 222-224
Bivariate relationships	p. 224-230
Parent	p. 230-236
Demographic information	p. 230
Survey Questionnaire	p. 230-232
Summary of mean level differences	p. 232
Bivariate relationships	p. 233-236
Discussion	p. 237-239
Recommendations	p. 240-243
Concluding remarks	p. 244
References	p. 245
Appendices	p. 246-253

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We are quite aware that SAAS would not have been able to continue if our school contacts did not go above and beyond their everyday responsibilities to help us with parent contact and meetings, scheduling and meeting with students, providing space (and food) for us when we were at the schools, and of course, giving constant feedback and support in regard to the work. Thank you Diana Bonner, Sherry Coleman, John Dover, Rita Goldman, and Jackie Hamilton.

Furthermore, we appreciate the time and insight that current and former students from across the SAAS schools shared with us. It was an honor to be able to listen to your stories. We hope that we have done justice to your experiences with the information we present in this report.

We thank the many parents who participated in SAAS – particularly, the parents who comprised our SAAS Parent Board. Without the efforts of the Parent Board we know that we would not have been able to reach as many parents as we did and have them –and their children- take part in SAAS.

We also thank all of the teachers who allowed us into their classroom for observations, shared their experiences in interviews and focus groups, and completed surveys. We are glad that so many of you granted us as much of your time as you did.

It took a certain degree of courage for the Heads of each of the schools who participated in SAAS to invite us into their schools and be willing to let us explore how various aspects of diversity – especially race – were addressed and experienced by members of the school community. Their commitment to the SAAS project was, and continues to be, greatly appreciated. Thank you Earl Ball, Jay Crawford (then of The Episcopal Academy), Rose Hagan, and Dick Wade.

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Edith G. Arrington, Ph.D.  
Howard C. Stevenson, Ph.D.  
October 2006

## BACKGROUND

In 1995, a group of independent school educators, administrators, and others concerned with the experience of African-American males in their schools began to meet. The group was concerned with the disproportionate numbers of Black boys who were viewed as having either academic or behavior problems or who were leaving the schools they attended — either on their own accord or at the schools' request. This group became the African-American Boys Coalition (AABC).

Having worked with Howard Stevenson on other clinical and research projects involving the well-being of African-American males, some members of the AABC believed that their advocacy efforts would be supported by a research project conducted in concert with Dr. Stevenson. The Success of African-American Males (SAAM) in Independent Schools was created from this collaboration with a particular focus on middle and upper school males. The AABC members' schools generously provided some financial support to assist with the planning and implementation of the project.

To lay the foundation for the research project, the Penn research team began to acquaint themselves with the independent school environment via literature reviews and meetings with AABC members. Meetings with parents at each of the participating schools were held to discuss the project and answer any questions parents may have had. Based on conversations with parents and members of the AABC (as well as drawing on the experience of various members of the research team), we compiled a collection of questionnaires and created a set of interview and focus group questions that we thought addressed the different facets of the experience of Black students in independent schools. At schools, where parents were amenable to the work and support from the school heads and staff was obtained, focus groups were conducted with parents, alumni, and AABC members. This process took approximately two years. Collecting data was often easier said than done due to forms of resistance the research team encountered from parents and various members of the schools.

SAAM became SAAS — the Success of African American Students (SAAS) in Independent Schools project — once the Penn research team received additional funding from the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) in early 1998. More resources allowed the work to include both boys and girls across lower, middle, and upper schools and support the collection of longitudinal data over several years. Individual interviews with students began in the 1997-1998 year. Survey questionnaire administration to students also began at this time. Again the process was slow due to a variety of factors including resistance from parents and various school members and waning energy levels on the part of some of the research team.

Resistance on the part of parents of Black students centered on their concerns that SAAS would focus on their children and their supposed problems and not explore the role the school played in their children's adjustment. Other parents expressed a concern that, by participating in SAAS, their children would be stigmatized or suddenly made aware of racial differences. As a result, a

significant number of parents chose not to participate or have their children participate in the SAAS project. In terms of resistance on the part of schools, despite encouraging words about the worth of the project, it appeared at times as if SAAS was not a priority within the schools. For example, it was difficult to get some of the information needed to conduct the research (e.g., a listing of Black students in the schools and their addresses) with support from the schools often limited to AABC members (who still had their school responsibilities to attend to). Additionally, simple tasks (in the eyes of the Penn research team) were made more complex by having to repeatedly re-introduce and justify the study via meetings before being able to move forward on the work. However, with the help and support of AABC members and parents, we were able to learn from the challenges we encountered along the way and successfully complete many of the goals of the SAAS project.



## INTRODUCTION

The Success of African American Students (SAAS) in Independent Schools was a collaborative, longitudinal, mixed-method research project focused on investigating and understanding the variety of social, emotional, and institutional factors that were thought to influence how Black students navigate the independent school environment.

SAAS was *collaborative* in that it involved researchers from the University of Pennsylvania (Penn) Graduate School of Education working with faculty and staff from several Philadelphia area independent schools.<sup>1</sup>

The SAAS project took place over an extended time period, part of which was supported by five years of funding from the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), and in that regard was *longitudinal*.

Finally, SAAS utilized *mixed-methods* in terms of research strategies. Qualitative methods such as focus groups and semi-structured interviews were used to collect data alongside quantitative methods such as questionnaire surveys and behavioral observations.

The first “S” in SAAS stands for success. The Penn team wanted to emphasize that the purpose of the research conducted was to ascertain what factors relate to making the independent school experience a positive one for Black students. With that in mind, over the years of working on SAAS **success** came to be defined as a positive sense of self by students across social contexts, a strong sense of community and membership in the school, and a racial identity that can be used a resource during development-particularly when confronted with racism and race-related stereotypes.

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<sup>1</sup> These schools initially included: Episcopal Academy, Friends Select School, Germantown Friends School, Haverford School and William Penn Charter School. The Haverford School was not a participant in the SAAS project after 1999.

## METHODS

Student, parent, faculty and staff, and alumni perspectives were obtained through a variety of qualitative and quantitative research methods. Due to challenges the SAAS team encountered at various schools, surveys were not collected from all eligible students at all schools simultaneously in the first few years of the project. After the challenges were addressed the SAAS research team was able to collect surveys from students and parents at each participating SAAS school for two consecutive years.

### **Student**

Middle and upper school students at three of four participating SAAS schools were interviewed individually during the 1997-1998 year. A subsample of students was interviewed a second time during the 1998-1999 year (see Appendix A for the student interview protocol). A focus group was also held with upper school students at one SAAS school during the 1999-2000 year. Middle and upper school students at all four SAAS schools completed a wide-ranging survey questionnaire during the 2000-2001 and 2001-2002 years. Prior to that time, students from two to three of the participating SAAS schools completed surveys during the 1997-1998 and 1999-2000 years (see Appendix B for a description of the measures that were used in the survey questionnaires). Additionally, lower school students at all four schools were observed in their classrooms during the 1999-2000 year.

### **Parent**

Parents at three of four participating SAAS schools participated in focus groups at the end of the 1996-1997 school year as well as during the 1997-1998 and 1998-1999 years. (See Appendix C for the parent focus group protocol.) Parents at all four SAAS schools completed a wide-ranging survey questionnaire during the 2000-2001 and 2001-2002 years. (See Appendix B for a description of the measures that were used in the survey questionnaires.) Prior to that time, a negligible amount of parent surveys were completed.

### **Faculty and staff**

Teachers from two of the four participating SAAS schools took part in focus groups during the Spring and Fall of 1998. Additionally, teachers in two schools were interviewed individually during the 1998-1999 year (see Appendix D for the focus group and individual interview protocol). African American Boys Coalition members participated in a focus group in the Winter of 1997. Diversity coordinators, or faculty and staff charged with working on the SAAS project and/or addressing diversity in some manner in their schools, were interviewed individually during the 1998-1999 year.

### **Alumni**

Focus groups were conducted with alumni at three of the four participating schools beginning in the summer of 1997 and continuing into the 1997-1998 year (see Appendix E for the alumni focus group protocol).

## **RESULTS**

## 1996-1997

### African American Boys Coalition

#### Participants

Four members of the African American Boys Coalition participated in the focus group held in the Winter of 1997. There were two men (one Black and one White) and two women (both Black).

#### Procedure

There was no set protocol for the focus group. Howard Stevenson served as moderator. The focus group was conducted at the University of Pennsylvania Graduate School of Education (Penn GSE) and lasted approximately one hour. It was audiotaped and subsequently transcribed. Members of the SAAS research team reviewed the transcript and extracted a number of different themes that were consistently addressed by AABC members.

#### Results

Themes included: roles of AABC members in their schools, views on diversity in schools, discrimination and/or visibility experiences, responses to discrimination and/or visibility, reasons AABC members chose (and continue) to work in independent schools, views of AABC members on the experience of Black students in independent schools, views of AABC members on the experience of Black faculty in independent schools, and views on collaborating interracially on diversity work. Each theme, and representative commentary, is presented below.

#### *Roles of AABC members in their schools*

AABC members held a variety of responsibilities in their school communities. In the interest of confidentiality, the AABC member roles will be summarized broadly as classroom teaching, formal and informal faculty and student support, work as administrators and in admissions, and community outreach.

#### *Views on diversity in schools*

One member of the AABC described the climate for diversity at their school in the following way:

And I've seen progress in a number of areas sense being there. I think the [trustees] have increased in numbers not substantially, but I think when I came there may have been one person of color and I think now they're either two or three of color. The student body has continued to grow in terms of the number of students of color, but the two areas that have been of greatest disappointment to me is the number of administrators of color which still remains at one and the lack of permanent positions for faculty of color. We have a couple of initiatives in which we have [young teachers] of color that come in and I think that that's a step in the right direction, but I spoke to the administrative group as well as the head of school that I am really flat out of tired of putting forth so much time and energy to recruit [them] and not to have them stay on...

Another AABC member commented:

I think if we invite, for example, [students] into a school and we haven't done any work of preparing a school to be good to them but in fact wind up hurting them, I think that's really criminal and it pains and outrages me that we do that. That we're doing it all the time and I think that's the motivation behind my work. You asked a question sort of along the line of has there been change and progress and I'm sure that there have, has been. I think at the level that I'm looking at it all though it looks to me still like we don't understand things very basically about difference in general.

*Discrimination and/or visibility experiences*

Most often AABC members discussed discrimination and/or visibility experiences in terms of race. For instance, one AABC member asserted, "So I think there's a stress or strain for many folks in these systems. I don't know who it is that fits with them easily or naturally, but many Whites don't as well." Another AABC responded:

I just think that there's another level of being a person of color. I mean, there's another stress level that's added to or sometimes some that's based on other people's assumptions about who they think we are or who those students might be in the classroom. A White student can have on their blazer and tie...but when that Black student, young woman in uniform or a young man with his jacket, tie or however, whatever the dress code may or not be at his or her school, comes in, it maybe an assumption or something assumed about who he is or where he or she may come from that's there.

Yet another AABC remembered their feelings of isolation in their school community:

And I think when I first came to [the school] I wasn't welcome. I didn't feel welcome as a family member that had a voice that was being heard, but I feel that in the...years that I'd been there... And seven years is a long time. That I do have a voice now that is heard and that I think it has taken time. I think I had to go through a lot of tests and trials and to work through the good old boy system and I'm talking very blunt, you know, about that, but I really believe that and I would share that with anyone. And now it's come to the point where when I do have something to say it's heard and it is appropriately responded to in a lot of respects.

*Responses to discrimination and/or visibility*

How AABC members reacted to their experiences with discrimination and/or heightened visibility varied. For example, one AABC member chose not to address the discrimination directly but to instead focus on the work s/he felt had to be done. S/he said, "I was going to succeed and no one was going to get in my way. And part of success to me was not showing emotion or showing that it affected me in any way, but that was rough." Other members talked about taking more indirect routes to address inequities they might have seen in their schools. This method is illustrated in the following commentary, "I am known to be very quiet at meetings, but I'm taking everything in and my approach to different things now is to go to the individuals after the meeting and have my input at that particular time."

*Reasons AABC members chose (and continue) to work in independent schools*

After the discussion of experiences with discrimination and visibility around race and other social constructs, one AABC member asked another, "Why did you get into this situation? Why did you go there?" S/he responded: And then each year, you know. Why am I here? And then when I knew that I was really... When parents of color came back to me, said, "Thank God you're here. You have meant so much to me and the kids." As the kids grew older, said, "Boy I don't know what I would have done without you." That's why I stayed.

Another AABC member responded to the question of why they chose to work in the school by saying:

I can support [my child's] experience [in the school] if I'm the faculty person. We're in different divisions but I also knew that my presence would somehow, I hope be a reminder, but always the reminder that your [parent], you know, that parents are here kind of thing and that would sort of made me remind them for other children of color as well, you know, that they had a family too, you know, just like you do.

The above commentary was expounded on by the AABC member who spoke of the role of serving as a mentor for students and encouraging them to enter into the education field as a reason that they do what they do:

And so if I have one child that's biologically mine and I have thousands of others who are related to me in a different sense than that's what keeps me emotionally charged up. As I age I'm not gonna be in this position and I'm always thinking who's gonna to move up and take this spot. And so that's real scary. You never know who it is, but I'm always thrilled when I hear a student in particular a Black student say to me, "You know, think I'm gonna look at education." You know, I get really charged up. And even if it only happens once every five years, you know, that's at least one person.

*Views of AABC members on the experience of Black faculty in independent schools*

AABC members discussed how Black faculty and staff experience independent schools as a work environment. One AABC member remarked, "There is that voicelessness and visibility that we have to work through initially in institutions but it makes you tough." Another AABC member addressed this in a more in-depth manner when they said:

One of the things that I found for me was that...and I thought about this when I moved into this position. How I was very much an "in your face" person, you know. I was very to go and you know, but what I began to realize was that the whole inter[personal] ability factor was very much...That people could not hear, but I guess, you know, my anger...because they couldn't hear or because the situation that children were going through that I had to find a different approach to sort of address these kinds of things that...I think that we find ourselves in positions sometimes that we might... You may get angry because of

something that you might see. You feel that you have no power to really address these kinds of things...

And another AABC member added:

I am physically, mentally and emotionally exhausted when I'm home. I may wake up in the night still thinking about a lot of things that I have going on...And I can be just emotionally spent and of course that brings on other responses from [folks at the school]. "Oh, what's the matter? You're unhappy?" It got nothing to do with unhappiness. That's all relative, you know, it's really way beyond that. I mean, it's kind for them to ask the question, but I mean, I'm so far beyond that in the process that I'm going through that I don't even know to respond to it, you know, just kind of agree that way. But there's a lot of soul searching that I probably do on a fairly regular basis.

#### *Views of AABC members on the experience of Black students in independent schools*

The quality of experiences that Black students had in their schools was deemed quite important to all of the AABC members who participated in the focus groups. One member asked, "And then I think well, you know, if we as adults are going through this struggle, you know, coming in with the set of skills - what about the kids?" Another responded with their observations on how some students navigated their school environments. They noted:

I can see them outside in the community having a great voice and then coming into the school and really being restricted in what they say. And as I talk with kids and I watch them and then I get them into a setting, a couple sitting in my office or at the lunch table and I see a different individual. Different individuals and then all of a sudden as soon as they leave that and they go to classrooms and I see them in the classrooms and they're quiet again and I begin to wonder, you know. What's going on here?

An AABC member addressed the question of "What's going on here?" when they asserted:

And you can sort of translate that to the experience of a child who would sit in the class with a teacher who just doesn't absolutely understand what he or she maybe doing. How it affects the individual or sort of will dismiss them in a way that sort of, you know. They begin to lose a sense of who they are and [it] becomes more than code switch. It becomes truly a survival mode, you know, which I think is a little bit different and it's difficult to watch that.

#### *Views on collaborating interracially on the work*

Given that the AABC was a multiracial group, AABC members did discuss how collaborating across race was perceived by each of them and the effect it had on the work up to that point. One AABC member of color commented that, "It was very clear after being with [the White member of the group] about two or three times...that he was very committed to what he was doing. And I thought, anybody who's that committed, you know, I can just be myself [with them]." Another AABC member of color added, "And we really appreciate your focus

thoughts on how this needs to be done and always including everybody in and feeling free to express yourselves and yourself.” The White AABC member responded:

But it always feels to me when you're being yourself and showing yourself more fully, I always feel privileged in a very particular way that there's some gift you're giving me of trusting me that much. That's what I feel. I just think you guys are teaching me a whole lot of things I didn't know by including me. So thank you.

## **Parents**

### Participants

Parents participated in a focus group at one of the SAAS schools during the end of the 1996-1997 year. The seven parents or caregivers who participated in the focus group held at the end of June 1997 were one man and six women. A member of the school administration who was also a parent of a former student attended the focus group as well. All participants were Black. Most were mothers though one grandmother and an uncle were present.

### Procedure

Howard Stevenson served as moderator of the focus group with three graduate students assisting him in various capacities. A protocol created by the SAAS research team was used to facilitate discussion. Questions included: Why did you enroll your child(ren) in an[*this*] independent school? Did you have any reservations about enrolling your child in independent school? What, if any, conversations do you have with your child about race? What does your child say about his/her experiences at [*their school*]? What would you recommend to different groups in terms of how to help African American males be successful?

The focus group was conducted at one of the SAAS schools and lasted approximately one hour. It was audiotaped and videotaped. A summary transcription of the focus group was done at a later date and used in data analysis.

### Results

A summary of how parents responded to questions along with representative commentary is presented below for each question.

#### *Why did you enroll your child(ren) in an[*this*] independent school?*

Parents' responses to the first question ranged. A few parents discussed their personal experiences with private schools and related that to their decision to enroll their child in independent schools. One mother spoke of her sibling having attended the particular SAAS school that the focus group was being held as influencing her decision to enroll her child in the school. Other parents/caregivers talked about having attended private schools in other countries that prepared them well for higher education and wanting that experience for their children.

Another parent described their desire for their children to have the same advantages that White children had, something they believed they did not have by attending public schools. This parent also spoke about their intention to avoid the public school system in Philadelphia as motivation for choosing an



independent school for their child. Dissatisfaction with public school was a theme echoed by the caregiver who said their child had been in a public school after they first moved to the Philadelphia area but ended up repeating material learned in prior years. Subsequently, the decision was made to have the child attend independent school.

Several of the parents talked about the host SAAS school's "sensitivity" to diversity as compared to other area independent schools as a reason for enrolling their children. One parent elaborated on this idea by asserting that attending a predominantly White school had "opened up the world for me" and that it was important to learn to interact with all people. Another parent alluded to what attending a predominantly White school might mean for their child when they said that, "[This school] is a slice of the world out there; whatever problems they'll find out there, are here."

*Did you have any reservations about enrolling your child in independent school?*

Again, the responses by parents to this question were varied. One parent unequivocally asserted that they had no reservations about enrolling their children in the school. When other parents mentioned issues of numerical representation of Black students as one of their reservations, this parent replied that their children's social development was not the school's responsibility but theirs.

As noted above, some parents did express concern at the low numbers of Black students in the school as something they had reservations about when they were thinking of enrolling their children in independent schools. One caregiver explained that they wanted their child to be able to interact with other Black people while they were at school. Another parent added that they worried that their child was losing their identity during their lower school experience. This parent enrolled their child in a summer program with an Afrocentric focus. Other parents spoke about "correctives" they put in place to counter whatever lessons their children were learning about being Black in their predominantly White schools.

One parent spoke in compelling fashion about what they termed the "numbers game." They defined this numbers game as occurring when there are only a few Black students in a grade and they are spread across classrooms so that Black students, like their child, find themselves the only Black boy or girl in a class. They said:

It breaks my heart that my daughter has been the only African American girl in her class since kindergarten and this goes to identity; even when there is a nurturing environment, there can still be a dominant pull. . . Until we have a critical mass, we will have a different dynamic; it affects not only my daughter but me also; there is a subliminal attitude postulating failure instead of success...

Other parents detailed their reservations in mixing with the White parents at their child's school. They noted the difficulty of attending school activities in the daytime given that they are working parents.

*What, if any, conversations do you have with your child about race?*

A parent of younger children talked about the conversations they had with their children about their ancestry. Another parent stated that they talked directly about racism with their child, aspects of racial identity, and the conversations the child had with classmates about race. This parent noted that generational differences influenced how parents and children viewed race. Finally, a caregiver stated that they discussed with their child that as they get older some friendships may change due to race. They reported that their child, an upper school student, did not see any changes as of yet.

More parents/caregivers responded to this question by offering observations of how race influenced how their child interacted with others socially or how they dressed as opposed to relaying conversations they had about race with their children. Along that vein, one caregiver talked about wanting their child to attend a predominantly Black college so that they could experience being in a majority Black environments after spending so many years in the predominantly White independent school context. Another parent noticed that the predominantly White schools they attended were “colder” than the majority Black institutions they attended. Other parents talked about the importance of being able to connect with the Black community at the predominantly White schools they attended or seeing their children connect with other Black people at the predominantly White colleges they attended after they graduated from independent school.

*What does your child say about his/her experiences at [their school]?*

Almost all of the parents that answered this question spoke of their children having generally positive experiences with the occasional negative incident involving race. One parent referred to their child being teased about their ancestors being slaves. Another parent mentioned an incident that occurred after Black History Month but believed that the teacher addressed the situation fairly.

One caregiver spoke about their child’s taking pride in the fact that his family is viewed as being different from the stereotypes of Black families that are held in the majority culture. They went on to add that they encourage their child to attend the school’s multicultural student group but that the child feels that doing so would mean casting an allegiance with Black students and betraying their White friends.

Finally, one parent talked about how close their child, an African American male, was with several other African American males in his class. This parent described how the group of friends spent time together out of school and the belief that their child’s friendship would be sustained over time.

*What would you recommend to different groups in terms of how to help African American males be successful?*

One parent immediately said, “Don’t take it for granted.” This statement was geared toward students. Another parent added that students should “use it to the max” in regard to taking advantage of the opportunities that independent schools provide. Furthermore, the parent suggested that students “not lose sight of who they are as people of color even as they are surrounded by Caucasians all the time and feel the need to fit in.” They went on to say it was necessary to

recognize the urge to fit in and fight it as a constant battle. One caregiver added that students needed to “keep...an awareness of who they are,” especially since “America will remind you and that having no roots is like being in a “no man’s land.””

Recommendations for other parents included networking with one another to provide social support for the children. Another parent said that parents should not be intimidated by the school and to participate in as many activities as possible. One caregiver said, “[The school] is not a car shop; you can’t drop your child off and expect problems to be corrected. Parents need to provide the corrective.”

Faculty recommendations included “more sensitization programs” and to recruit more faculty of color. Recommendations for the Board of Trustees focused on continuing what they were doing and enhance these things so that “this particular evening would not be a waste of time.” Another caregiver added that the Board was the heart and soul of [the school] and that the school’s ethos is formed in the boardroom. In that vein, the Board must take responsibility for forging the ethos of the place so that the message will “trickle down” to the rest of the school.

Finally, one parent offered an overall recommendation for everyone in the school that they “should not take it for granted, be open, challenge themselves and others, and always be guided towards learning, growth, and respect.”

**1997-1998****Students**Survey Questionnaire Results

A total of 35 students completed survey questionnaires in 1997-1998. Students from three out of the five schools that were participating in SAAS at the time completed surveys.

*Demographic Information*Personal and family data

All students completing surveys in the 1997-1998 were male. Students reported having from no (26%) to 5 (3%) siblings. The modal response was 1 sibling (31% of the sample).

Grade and school division

Students were in sixth through twelfth grade. Approximately 21% of the sample was comprised of middle school students with the remaining 79% upper school students. Table 1 details the percentage of students in each grade.

Table 1. *Grade distribution for the 1997-1998 student sample*

<b>Grade</b>	<b>Percent of students</b>
6	9.3
7	9.3
8	2.3
9	11.6
10	23.3
11	18.6
12	25.6

Racial identification

The majority of students (27; 77%) identified as Black or African American. Four students, or approximately 11% of the sample, identified as biracial, with four students, or another 11% of the students, identifying as Latino or "other."

Racial composition of neighborhood

The majority of students, approximately 29% of the sample, reported living in neighborhoods that were 81-100% Black. Twenty percent of students reported living in neighborhoods that were less than 20% Black with another 20% reporting that they lived in neighborhoods that were 41-60% Black. Table 2 details students' reports of the racial composition of their neighborhood.

Table 2. *Racial composition of neighborhood for the 1997-1998 student sample.*

<b>Racial composition of neighborhood</b>	<b>Percent of students</b>
0-20% Black	20
21-40% Black	14
41-60% Black	20
61-80% Black	17
81-100% Black	29

### Religious affiliation

Twenty-seven percent of the students designated Baptist as their religion. Twenty-one percent identified as Episcopalian with 18% of students identifying with an “other” religion. Almost nine percent of students affiliated as Methodist. Six percent of students stated they were Catholic. Three percent said they were Jewish with another three percent identifying as Muslim. Approximately nine percent of students said they did not follow any religion.

### Activities and employment

Students reported participating in between one and six school activities. The modal amount of school activities reported was two (41% of the sample). In comparison, students reported participating in between no (21% of the sample) and five out of school activities. The modal response for out of school activities was two (32% of the sample). Thirty percent of the sample reported working outside of school. The majority of these jobs were part-time.

### *Views on the school*

Seventy-seven percent of the sample said they would contribute money to their schools and 91% said they would send their child(ren) to the schools they attended.

### *College aspiration and selection*

#### Type of college

Six percent of the sample reported that their top choice in a college was an elite historically Black college or university (HBCU). Morehouse College was specifically mentioned. Of the eighty-three percent of the sample indicated that their top choice in college would be a predominantly White college or university (PWCU), over half of the students designated elite institutions such as Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania (the two institutions named most frequently by the sample) as their top choices. Eleven percent of the sample did not answer the question about top college choice.

#### Who is influential in college aspirations?

Table 3 details how influential various constituents were in the college selection process for participants.

Table 3. *Influential constituents in the 1997-1998 student sample’s college choices.*<sup>2</sup>

<b>Group</b>	<b>Percent of students stating group is influential in college choice</b>
Parents	84
Friends	28
Siblings	16
Guidance Counselor	22

<sup>2</sup> The percentages will add up to greater than 100% because students were allowed to check more than one group as being influential in the college selection process.

Other	23
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What factors play a role in college selection?

Students were asked to list what factors, in order from one to six, were most important in selecting a college. In the first place position, the factors that were listed most frequently were: location (20%), cost (17%), academics (14%) and reputation (14%).

*Peer group information*

Most of the students reported that their best friends were Black (60%) with another 23% reporting that their best friends were White. Nine percent stated that their best friends were biracial while 6% said they were Asian. Three percent reported the race of their best friend to be “other.”

Twenty-seven percent of the students said they were currently dating someone. The race of their current (or most recent if they were not currently dating) partner was Black for 67% of the students, White for 22% of the students, biracial for seven percent of the students, and Latino for four percent of the students.

### Survey Questionnaire Results

*Castenell Achievement Motivations Scale (CAMS)*

The CAMS is a 9-item, 4-point Likert scale (1= not important to 4 = very important) measure designed to assess students’ motivation for achievement in different areas. Since the CAMS views achievement motivation as multidimensional, assessments are made in relation to youths’ peers and youths’ relationship to home and school. An overall score incorporates all of the previously mentioned areas. Factor analysis of the CAMS by the researchers yielded two factors: social approval (5 items; example: “importance of being good at sports”) and academic investment (2 items; example: “importance of being a good student”).

The overall mean response for the CAMS during the 1997-1998 year was 2.51 (SD = .50) indicating that students have a moderate level of what can be referred to as overall achievement motivation. The range of the mean response for the overall scale was from 1.67 (below the midpoint of the scale) to 3.78. The mean level for social approval was 2.17 (SD = .62) while academic investment had a mean level of 3.61 (SD = .53).

Table 4 lists the items and the percentage of the sample that believed each item to be “quite” or “very” important.

Table 4. *Percent of students endorsing aspects of achievement motivation in 1997-1998.*

Statement	Percent saying “quite” or “very” important
Importance of going to college (AI)	97.2
Importance of being a good student (AI)	91.4
Importance of parents being proud of you	60.0

(SA)	
Importance of working hard at home *	45.7
Importance of being pretty or handsome (SA)	31.4
Importance of getting job to help family *	31.4
Importance of being good at sports (SA)	28.5
Importance of being popular (SA)	22.8
Importance of your teachers liking you (SA)	20.5

SA = Social approval item      AI = Academic investment item      \* = Did not load on either factor

Examination the items of the CAMS for the 1997-1998 student sample indicated that the most important components of achievement motivation were “being a good student” and “going to college” with more than 90% of the sample reporting that these goals were “quite” or “very” important. Teachers liking students was the goal described least frequently as “quite” or “very” important. Mean levels of the CAMS factors support the above information as the academic investment factor had a higher mean than did the social approval factor.

#### *Hare General and Area-Specific Self-Esteem Scale (HARE)*

The HARE is a 30-item, 4-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree to 4 = strongly agree) measure designed to assess students’ levels of self-esteem in general and across specific areas (with peers, at school, at home). The mean response for the thirty items comprising the HARE was 3.23 (SD = .31) indicating that students have a moderately high level of self-esteem. The range of the mean response for the overall scale was from 2.80 (above the midpoint of the scale) to 4.00 (the ceiling). Table 5 lists items from each of the subscales – peer, school, and home – and the percent of the sample that endorsed the item with an “agree” or “strongly agree” response.

*Table 5 Percent of students endorsing aspects of general and area-specific self-esteem in 1997-1998*

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Percentage stating “agree” or “strongly agree”</b>
Parents are proud of the person I am	97.1
I have as many friends as others my age	91.4
Parents feel that I can be depended upon	91.4
I'm as good as most at things people my age do	82.8
I'm an important person in my classes	77.1
Most of my teachers don't understand me	40.0

The mean levels for peer, school, and home esteem are listed in Table 6.

Table 6. Mean levels for subscales of the HARE for the 1997-1998 SAAS student sample.

	Mean (SD)
Home Esteem	3.48 (.36)
Peer Esteem	3.15 (.51)
School Esteem	3.06 (.38)

Home esteem was the highest level of esteem for the 1997-1998 sample of students. School esteem was the lowest.

#### *Psychological Sense of School Membership (PSSM)*

The PSSM is an 18-item measure using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = not at all true to 5 = completely true) that assesses students' perceptions that they are a part of and belong in the school community. The mean response for the eighteen items comprising the PSSM was 3.86 (SD = .59) indicating that students have a moderately high level of sense of school membership. The range of the mean response for the overall scale was from 2.89 (above the midpoint of the scale) to 4.94 (almost at the ceiling). Table 7 lists select items from the PSSM and the percentage of the sample that endorsed the item with a "mostly" or "always" true response.

Table 7. Percent of students endorsing select PSSM items in 1997-1998.

Statement	Percentage stating "mostly" or "always true"
People here know I can do good work	88.6
Students like me the way I am	71.4
I feel proud of belonging to my school	68.6
Most teachers are interested in me	57.1
I feel like a real part of my school	50.0
I'm included in a lot of activities at school	45.7

Although PSSM is expressed at a moderately high level for the 1997-1998 sample of SAAS students, the variation in frequency of endorsement of some of the selected statements highlighted above illustrates the diversity of students' experience of school membership in their respective school settings.

#### *School Attitude Measure (SAM)*

The SAM is a nationally normed measure comprised of 100 items (for students in grade 7-12) and 75 items (for students in grade 6) that uses a 4-point Likert scale (1 = "never agree" to 4 = "always agree"). The SAM includes the following subscales: motivation for schooling, academic self-concept-performance (students' sense of self in relation to schoolwork), academic self-concept-reference based (students perception of how well other people believe



they will perform academically), sense of control over performance, and instructional mastery (students' evaluation of the quality of their work).

Table 8 details the mean percentile level across domains of the SAM for the 1997-1998 sample of SAAS students.

Table 8. *Mean percentile rank for the SAM subscales for the 1997-1998 SAAS student sample.*

<b>Subscale</b>	<b>Percentile</b>
Academic self-concept-reference	69.2
Academic self-concept-performance	66.0
Sense of control over performance	64.0
Instructional mastery	59.6
Motivation for schooling	57.8
<b>Overall</b>	<b>65.6</b>

The 1997-1998 sample of SAAS students rated themselves above average in all areas assessed by the SAM. Students felt most strongly about others' evaluation of their schoolwork (academic self-concept-reference) but also felt strongly in their beliefs about the quality of their schoolwork (academic self-concept-performance).

#### *Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI)*

The short form of the MIBI is a 20-item measure that uses a 7-point Likert scale (1 = "strongly disagree," 4 = "neutral", 7 = "strongly agree") to assess the multiple dimensions of racial identity for Black people. There are three scales of the MIBI – centrality (how important race is to people's conception of themselves), public regard (beliefs about how others evaluate Black people as a group), and private regard (personal evaluation of Black people). The mean levels for centrality, public regard, and private regard for the 1997-1998 SAAS student sample are listed in Table 9.

Table 9. *Mean levels for subscales of the MIBI for the 1997-1998 SAAS student sample.*

	<b>Mean (SD)</b>
Private Regard	6.41 (.65)
Centrality	4.88 (1.19)
Public Regard	4.29 (1.05)

Private regard had the highest mean for students while public regard had the lowest mean. It is important to note that lower levels of public regard indicate that students believe that non-Blacks evaluate the Black community *more* positively. The 1997-1998 sample of SAAS students personally evaluated the Black community quite positively but was somewhat ambivalent about how they felt non-Blacks evaluated the Black community. As indicated by the centrality score, being Black was also somewhat important to the 1997-1998 sample of SAAS students.

*Neighborhood Social Capital Scale (NSC)*

The NSC is a 9-item measure using a 5-point Likert scale (from “never” to “always”) that aims to determine the degree to which neighbors and the neighborhood serve as a resource for teenagers and parents. The mean level of NSC for the 1997-1998 student sample was 2.96 (SD = .72) which is slightly below the mid-point of the scale. The range for the mean level was between 1.55 and 4.45. Table 10 presents the mean NSC score for students by their neighborhood racial composition.

Table 10. *NSC by neighborhood racial composition for the 1997-1998 student sample.*

<b>Neighborhood racial composition</b>	<b>Mean NSC (SD)</b>
0-20% Black	2.47 (.69)
21-40% Black	2.43 (.60)
41-60% Black	3.42 (.31)
61-80% Black	2.75 (.90)
81-100% Black	3.30 (.60)

The lowest mean levels of NSC were reported by students living in neighborhoods that were either less than 20% Black or between 21-40% Black. The highest NSC was reported by students who lived in neighborhoods that were between 41-60% Black.

*Teenage Experience of Racial Socialization (TERS)*

The TERS is a measure that asks youth how often they have heard their parents or family talk about race-related issues. Youth can answer “Never”, “A Few Times”, or “Lots of Times” to 40 different statements. The mean score for the TERS for this sample was 2.56 (SD = .33) with a range from 1.33 to 2.73. The TERS has several subscales including: Coping with Antagonism, Alertness to Discrimination, Cultural Pride Reinforcement, Mainstream Socialization, Cultural Legacy Appreciation, and Cultural Socialization Experience (which is considered an overall socialization score). Mean levels for each subscale are presented in Table 11.

Table 11. *Mean levels of TERS subscales for the 1997-1998 student sample.*

<b>TERS Subscale</b>	<b>Mean score (SD)</b>
Cultural Pride Reinforcement	2.68 (.28)
Cultural Legacy Appreciation	2.42 (.37)
Coping with Antagonism	2.18 (.43)
Alertness to Discrimination	2.09 (.53)
Mainstream Socialization	1.70 (.45)
<b>Cultural Socialization Experience</b>	<b>1.94 (.28)</b>

For the 1997-1998 sample of SAAS students, Cultural Pride Reinforcement and Cultural Legacy Appreciation racial socialization messages were reported most frequently. Students reported hearing Mainstream Socialization messages least often.

#### *The State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory (STAXI)*

The version of the STAXI used is a 24-item measure using a 4-point Likert scale that assesses current anger state, general disposition toward anger, and general reactions or behaviors when angry. The STAXI is unique in that it conceptualizes anger expression as having three components: (1) anger out, or the aggressive expression of anger toward others or toward the environment; (2) anger in, or suppression of angry feelings; and (3) anger control, or the extent to which the respondent attempts to control the expression of anger. Mean levels for the components of the STAXI are presented in Table 12.

Table 12. *Mean levels of STAXI subscales for the 1997-1998 student sample.*

<b>STAXI Subscale</b>	<b>Mean score (SD)</b>
Anger Control	2.91 (.57)
Anger Out	2.08 (.53)
Anger Suppression	1.93 (.56)

For the 1997-1998 sample of youth, anger control was reported at higher levels while anger suppression was reported at the lowest levels. Anger out was reported at a moderate level.

#### *Rejection Sensitivity (RS)*

The Rejection Sensitivity Scale is a multi-component measure that assesses how youth tend to respond to rejection they may perceive during social interactions involving friends, peers, and teachers. In Part One of the RS, students respond to twelve scenarios using a 6-point Likert scale to indicate how mad (rejection sensitivity-anger) or nervous (rejection sensitivity-anxiety) they would be. Students then indicate the extent to which they would personalize the events that occurred within the scenario. In Part Two of the RS, students use a 3-point Likert scale to respond to a set of questions following additional scenarios.

For the 1997-1998 year, the mean level of rejection sensitivity-anxiety for SAAS students was 2.56 (SD = .88). Mean responses ranged from 1.08 to 5.00. The mean level of rejection sensitivity-anger was 2.36 (SD = .92). Mean response levels for the sample ranged from 1.08 to 4.50.

#### *Multiscale Depression Inventory (MDI)*

The MDI, which consists of 47 items, assesses moods, energy level, and other emotions that may be related to student adjustment. Students respond to each item by answering either "yes" or "no." On average, students' MDI level was 9.26 (out of a possible 47; SD = 7.58) and ranged from a low of 1 to a high of 33. The mean level response and range of responses indicated a low level of overall distress for the 1997-1998 sample of SAAS students. The MDI is composed of a

number of subscales (e.g., Low Energy, Social Introversion, etc.). The Guilt subscale (1.79) had the highest average for the sample while Instrumental Helplessness (.41) was the scale with the lowest average.

### Bivariate relationships between variables for 1997-1998 SAAS students<sup>3</sup>

Some of the more important relationships between study variables for students during the 1997-1998 year of data collection are as follows. As students':

- **Grade** level rises, their levels of school esteem (-.38), psychological sense of school membership (-.40), neighborhood social capital (-.43), and cultural legacy appreciation (-.40) *decrease* while their reports of emotional distress (.36) *increase*.
- **School esteem** rises, their levels of psychological sense of school membership (.69) and public regard (.38) *increase* while their reports of anger suppression (-.48) and emotional distress (-.57) *decrease*.
- **Psychological sense of school membership** rises, reports of public regard (.48) *increase* while reports of the level of anger suppression (-.53), and emotional distress (-.53) *decrease*.

### Summary of bivariate relationships for 1997-1998 SAAS students

As students' grade level rose, their feelings about themselves within the school (school esteem) and sense of connection to the school (psychological sense of school membership) decreased indicating that older students may have complex and changing relationships to their schools. Reports of emotional distress rose and neighborhood social capital fell as grade level got higher suggesting that the movement through adolescence for the 1997-1998 sample of youth involved a re-negotiation of how they view their school and neighborhood and how they see themselves in those contexts.

How students related to their schools was significantly associated with other aspects of their evolving and multifaceted sense of self. For instance, as students' school esteem and psychological sense of school membership rose their beliefs that non-Black people view Blacks positively (public regard) increased as well. School esteem and PSSM also influenced students' overall socioemotional adjustment. Reports of anger suppression and emotional distress decreased as school esteem and PSSM rose. For these students, the more positive their view of and connection to their schools, the better their socioemotional well-being given that distress is lower and suppression (as opposed to healthy expression) of anger decreased as well.

The only aspect of racial identity that was found to be related to the major variables of interest was public regard. It is not surprising that increases in students' school esteem and PSSM within their predominantly non-Black school environments was associated with reports that non-Blacks' evaluated the Black community more positively. It is unclear how the decrease in parental racial socialization messages reported by students in higher grade levels might have played a role in the lack of bivariate relationships between racial identity and

<sup>3</sup> All correlations reported are significant at the .05 level.

other variables of interest. Exploring these relationships with larger samples (as we will do in later sections of this report) should shed more light in this area.

In general, school esteem and psychological sense of school membership were important constructs in the socioemotional adjustment of the 1997-1998 student sample.

## Interviews

### Participants

In the 1997-1998 wave of data collection, semi-structured interviews were conducted with 47 students.

The grade level of students ranged from sixth through twelfth grade with the majority of students in grades nine through twelve (upper school). The age range of the students was from 12 to 19.

### Procedure

Interviews were conducted individually in a quiet area at each of the schools. Interviews lasted on average approximately one hour (range: 30 minutes to two and one-half hours) and were audiotaped. The interview protocol consisted of questions that covered a wide variety of topics (see Appendix A for the interview protocol used in the 1997-1998 year). For example, students were asked about their views on how diversity was addressed by the school and teachers. They also discussed experiences at school where their race and/or gender played a role. Confidentiality was stressed at the beginning of the interview and students could ask questions of the interviewer about the SAAS project at the beginning and end of the interview.

### Data analysis

Once each interview was transcribed, members of the SAAS research team reviewed the transcripts and analyzed them thematically by question. The major themes obtained from the analysis of each question along with representative responses are presented below.

### Results

*Question 1: On a scale of 1 to 5 how well does this school address issues of cultural diversity?*

Students responded to the question using a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = very poorly and 5 = very well. Three was considered average. The average numerical response to this question for the 38 students who responded to it was 3.57 with a range of 2 to 5. This response lies between average and very well and indicates that at the outset of the individual interviews students believed that their schools did a solid job of addressing diversity. Thirty-seven percent of the students elaborated on their thoughts about how well they believed their schools addressed diversity. Of these students, 50% commented that they were satisfied with how their school addressed diversity; 35% believed that their schools were trying to address diversity in some way with ambivalent outcomes or that they were trying but did not really know what to do; and 15% stated that their school did not have to address diversity since everything was fine. Examples of these responses are below.

The commentary of Cornell<sup>4</sup>, a middle school student, illustrated the perspective of students who believed that their schools were *trying but not sure of how to address diversity*. He said:

Uhh, I would say about a three [or school addresses diversity in an “average” manner] because they uh try to address it but they don’t really know what to say....Because like it’s supposed to be open to all people but they don’t really, since like, I think that there’s like the majority of the students are one race, they don’t really think of it that much....So they don’t really know what to do sometimes it seems like....And nothing seems to come up so...

Students like Jack, another middle school student, represented the point of view of those students who seemed quite *satisfied with how their school addressed diversity*. Jack stated:

I believe five [or school addresses diversity “very well”], because it does... They don’t look at what Martin Luther King said. They won’t look at the color of your skin, but the content of your character and it doesn’t matter whether you’re Black or White, Japanese. They[’re] just really nice people here.

Students like Jack were quite positive in their assessment of how their school addressed diversity but most of these students would add that they did not think addressing diversity or talking about race was necessary. In that regard, their positive evaluation may have more to do with their personal opinions that diversity or race should not matter or be focused on in schools and as such, schools who did not address diversity or race were doing a good job.

Kyle, an upper school student, provided a more detailed description as to the ways in which his school addressed diversity and why he thinks they *address diversity well*. Kyle said:

I’d say, um, I’d give it about a four [or school addresses diversity “well”]. Yeah, because whenever an African American speaker comes to speak with a certain topic, or a person of any race, gender, or whatever... whenever they come, we usually have discussion groups after...and then the kids, and stuff will be broken down until the kids, the kids will have discussed it amongst themselves, uh whatever the person was talking about... And then we’ll be broken up with teachers and we’ll discuss it with teachers. And sometimes, after the discussion groups, it carries over into the next class. Like, so if you have lab, your lab teacher will probably still be talking about what happened...earlier or whatever. So, but I mean, it’s, they deal with it pretty well...So I mean, nothing’s really kept, I mean, we’re exposed to everything here, so, I mean, it’s really good.

*Question 2: How would you describe your experience here in this school?*

The majority of students (38.1%) mentioned academics or the overall school experience in their answers to Question 2. The next largest group (28.6%) presented their views on race in their schools. Approximately, 12 percent of

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<sup>4</sup> All names of students have been changed to protect their confidentiality. Identifying information about the schools has also been altered as was feasible.

students discussed the influence of demographic factors, such as age or the neighborhood in which they lived, on their experience at school. The remaining themes (21.3%) talked about by students were: interactions with teachers, race-related stereotypes and discrimination, and interactions with peers.

Examples of student comments on *academics or the overall school experience* include the following from Kyle, an upper school student who said:

Um, I think it's been a good experience because, I mean, I know I have to work with lots of people, different people every day. I mean, the education's great, the facilities are nice, and you can do, I mean there's so many, so many options to increase your learning, like so options at your disposal. Like computers, and books, great teachers and kids are pretty nice too.

Kyle's take on his school experience is generally positive and while many students shared similar sentiments there were students who described their experience at the school in a more ambivalent manner. For instance, Tarik, an upper school student, stated:

It, it hasn't been great as uh, it was a little stressful you know...sometimes. The, the adjustment to the environment was kind of hard....The whole, I don't know the environment is I guess like a culture I'm not used to living...And things like that in general. There are people here that are outside of that but generally it's like a culture that I wasn't used to.

Another set of answers provided by students to Question 2 focused on students' *views on how race played a role* in how they experienced their schools. Paul, an upper school student, described what being a student at his school has been like for him when he said:

I've learned a lot more than just, I guess what we read in the books. What we learn in the books. Just in general about interacting with different races and not having as many people of the same race to identify with but still having to do well and be successful. It taught me a lot. It taught me a lot.

On the other hand, there were students such as Ethan, a middle school student, who believed that race or racism had little to do with their school experience.

Ethan said: "Umm, there's always uh acceptance from everyone. No one cares like what race anyone is, just no racism at all unless umm, there is a lot of programs that have, they're geared towards minorities..."

The next largest group of responses centered on a variety of *demographic factors* including age, length of time attending the school, participation in athletics, and other social and demographic factors (i.e., being biracial or socioeconomic status). Franz, an upper school student, commented on how his perceptions on race in the school changed in middle school: "Um, it's been like a roller coaster sometimes. I mean, in middle school, uh, actually, middle school was probably where the most, you know, like racial issue[s] came up." Julian, an upper school student, talked about the importance of athletics when he said: "Umm, I think that it's probably more difficult for students that aren't athletes. It's, it's easier for African-American males if they're athletes...Because you're just accepted anyway, for the simple fact that you play sports."

The remaining themes (21.3%) talked about by students were: interactions with teachers, race-related stereotypes and discrimination, and interactions with peers. In regard to *interactions with teachers*, Andrew said, “On the other hand, I do like how personal everything is here. Most of my teachers are, you know, called by their first name and [I] know them really well.” Julian illustrated the *race-related stereotypes and discrimination* theme when he said:

That's probably the only situation that I've come across that's been difficult for me since I've been here and that's you know making it known that I was here for my diploma first before I was here to play any sports.

Finally, in terms of the *interaction with peers* theme, Peter remarked, “I mean, I feel that I've gotten comfortable to know the people and they been comfortable with me. And so, I really haven't had any problems socially.”

*Question 3: What are the positive things about being a student in this school?*

The most frequent theme in response to Question 3 (invoked by approximately 24.2% of students) involved the *quality of education and preparation for college*. Many students made relatively simple and straightforward statements such as “You get a great education” in response to this question. For example, Xavier, an upper school student, said: “I think the education is better. I think that's one of the main reasons I came here was basically for my education.” Peter, another upper school student, commented. “Well, pretty much, you're enabled to go to any college as long as you work hard. You just have to keep up your grades...[and] you have the ability to get in several colleges, good colleges.”

*Resources and opportunities* available at the school (including prestige) (15.4%) was another prominent theme in response to the question “What are the positive things about being a student in this school?” Martin, an upper school student, said: “Um, I guess the facilities are pretty nice, the gyms, the classrooms are nice, um, I mean compared to the other schools I visited, like wanting to play sports or whatever, it just seems to look the nicest.” Bill, another upper school student, elaborated on the resources and opportunities theme when he said:

And due to their large campus, their resources I would say...you get to do a lot more than you'd normally do in public school. There are much more opportunities to go the extra mile here than you would get, than I would get at my public school. Just the resources that are here.

Several students talked about the value they perceived they would receive just for saying that they graduated from their schools. Other students mentioned the connections they could make as part of the resources they had or could avail themselves of at their schools.

The remaining themes articulated by students in response to Question 3 were relatively evenly distributed among the following four themes: the school ethos (15.4%), diversity (14.3%), interaction with teachers (13.2%), interaction with peers (12.1%), and prestige/connections (5.5%).

In terms of the *school ethos* students made comments such as “It's just a positive, I don't know a positive environment” and “I like the atmosphere.” In regard to *diversity* as a positive aspect of the school, Fred, an upper school



student, commented: “Like I said, it opens up your eyes to all different types of cultures and religions and races and things like that.” Seth, another upper school student, talked about *teachers* being a positive aspect of his school when he said:

It's a small school so you can get like individual attention from the teachers and it's very easy to and they pretty much look out for you. If your grades start slide, they'll put you in directed study and make you go see teachers after school and... Or during school and... So it's good.

Andrew, an upper school student, discussed *interactions with peers* as being positive in his school. He said:

Well also since it's small, the students really know each other really well. But even people I don't especially talk to during the day, if I see them somewhere outside of school, we'll still say hi to each other. It's pretty easy to strike up a conversation with anyone really even I don't normally talk to them.

Finally, in regard to *prestige and connections*, Gene simply said, “The connections that are formed here.”

*Question 4: What are the negative things about being a student in this school?*

The theme mentioned by the majority of students (22.4%) in response to Question 4 focused on the various *responses to their racial minority status* within the school setting. Austin, an upper school student, said: “The expectations that are put on you because you're Black, is a negative.” Khary, another upper school student adds: “We still all...We're still all seen as the one body, not really a separate entity. We're always getting lumped together.” Jalen, also an upper school student, specifically addressed discrimination based on race as a negative aspect of attending his school when he said:

I mean, I think I have experienced racism here but not [as much] at the high school level as in middle school, and not just from students but I mean, some teachers too, and it can be really subtle. It doesn't have to be, you know, blatant and outright.

Approximately 18.4% of students mentioned *community norms, expectations, and pressures* within their schools when they answered the question “What are the negative things about being a student in this school?” Jacob, a middle school student, illustrated one facet of these community norms in regard to learning styles when he said: “They put a high emphasis on, like learning and the way someone should learn sometimes. If you learn differently, it's kind of a problem.” James, an upper school student, talked more in-depth about the pressure of attending his school:

Well I just think sometimes, it's too much work. I mean, like being a student. I mean, I'm most of the time, pretty relaxed person and I mean, every once in awhile, like, I've gotten stressed out with work and stuff and that's when everybody else is like really stressed out and like there's just... There's so much to do, it feels like almost like you're like doing... You're like eat, sleep, breath [the school], like at some points.

Approximately 16% of student talked about *the lack of Black people* (or diversity in general) within their schools as something that could be considered negative about their school experience. Fred, an upper school student, said: “Just that...there's not a lot of kids here are quite like me.” Gary, another upper school student, added that, “not having as many Black people; not [to] be able to interact with your own culture,” was one downside to his school experience.

Another 13 percent of students discussed *socioeconomic differences* in response to Question 4. Joseph, an upper school student, made reference to socioeconomic differences when he commented that, “Like they look at you differently because you don't, like I come from, like I don't have any money like they all rich and they have big cars...” Approximately 12 percent of students talked about *interaction with peers* as negative aspects of their schooling. Will, an upper school student, addressed this when he said: “I think the school, as a whole, is kinda caught up in...reputations and...once you get like tagged as being a certain way, it sticks with you.” Other students talked about cliques and “rumor mills” as being downsides to their school experience. Finally, approximately 11 percent of students spoke about *interactions with teachers* as being negative. Kyle who talked about interactions with teachers and said: “Well, I mean, I'll tell you the negative things are the amount of old teachers who're still kind of used to the old ways or whatever. Like uh, I mean, they're not really open minded...”

Less than ten percent of students mentioned *school resources* (i.e., location or athletic programs) in response to Question 4. As an example of this line of thinking Charles, a middle school student, said: “Like I've heard that other schools have a much better [athletic] program.”

*Question 5a: Have you experienced any situation or incident related to your race?*

The majority of students' responses to Question 5a could be assigned to three themes: belief that race or racism was not a factor in school (26.8%); isolation from, being stereotyped by or discriminated against by the majority (22.5%); and responses to race dynamics or racism in school (16.9%).

*Race or racism not playing much of a role* in their school experiences was the theme seen most often in response to Question 5a.<sup>5</sup> Many of the students who responded in this manner would offer a “no” or “not at all” when asked “Have you experienced any situation or incident related to your race?” A few students did offer more expansive responses. For instance, Calvin, an upper school student said, “I really...That's the thing. As much as...it would seem like you would run into racial issues around here. It's never been a time where...where I just found any experience like racism.” James, also an upper school student commented, “I can't really think of any. I know I haven't

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<sup>5</sup> Both primary and secondary responses to questions were evaluated such that students could have more than one theme represented in their answers to questions. There were students whose primary response to Question 5a was that race or racism did not play a role at school who then followed up with a secondary response that reflected one of the other nine themes involving race or racism.

experienced any kinds of like race or prejudices or anything like that or anything on those lines.”

*Isolation from, being stereotyped by or discriminated against by the majority* was the next most frequently seen theme. Gene, an upper school student, talked about the stereotypes he encountered in his school setting:

And it doesn't help that I like excel in sports too, cause everyone like, expects like the six foot two Black kid that plays basketball. I mean, I love basketball and all and I can't... I can't help that, but like, I came here, they're like, you got to play basketball, you gotta play basketball. Like, geez man...it doesn't have to be like that cause I know many of my friends don't play sports. They try but they're not good at it but they're like [into] science and wimpy and like take like the National Math Exam, get like a hundred and like the top two percent in the country and just because they're Black, people think of them as to play sports or something and be physical superior to them and that's not the case...

Other students responded to Question 5a by talking about *feeling disconnected* from members of the school community. Joshua, an upper school student, commented:

I'm thinking about like something else. There are some teachers, I think, they don't understand like some of us. Some of the minorities come from inner city and school. They probably don't... And they are actually like label some of us as like being like... like I said, like ghetto. And they kinda like...some of them kinda like shy away from...they kind of give us bad attitudes and stuff like that. They would never like come out and like be blatantly like mean, but they would have a certain attitude towards us.

The third most frequently seen theme in response to Question 5a (12% of students' answers) involved how students responded to *race dynamics or racism* within their schools. Paul stated:

I like to be confrontational about issues like that and...as far as taking the leadership role, I like to deal with race issues because I like...I like to talk about my Blackness, because I think that there's so many people at this school that just don't understand and they sometimes take it as a joke.

Other students talked about being willing to confront people but allowing some latitude depending on the weight of the perceived offense. For example, Julian stated:

And, umm, I try not to get myself, like, unless it's blatantly racist, and I know that they're out to, as long as they're not harming me as a person...you know, [I'm] going on to do what I have to do, then I kind of tend to let it, you know, let it go. If I feel like I'm, you know, being hindered, and someone's out to get me then I'll, I'll make some, I'll raise hell.

Some students took a “rise above it” approach when dealing with race dynamics or racism in the school. Austin said, “I mean, I tend to try to not focus on that stuff and just go by it, because all it's gonna do is stop you.”

The remaining 33.6% of students' responses was comprised of six different themes (each making up no more than seven percent of responses) including: lack of connection with other Black students, either positive or negative

interactions with non-Black peers, positive interactions with Black peers, diversity in how race matters to different people, and visibility issues. Mark talked about the *lack of connection with other Black students* when he said:

For example, in the lunchroom everyday during recess there's like a Black table, you know. All the kids are Black in it. And then there's – and, like, the rest, is like – everything else is White. And, um, I usually don't, I never sit with the Black kids, you know.

Interactions with non-Black peers could be either positive or negative. An example of *negative interactions with non-Black peers* was given by Charles who said:

Personally, like, we were, like about 4th or 5th grade, or around 4th through 6th grade, I, there was like an incident with me. What, like, people were using like racial slurs against like me. And like outdoors. And the teacher allowed him, the student, I think he got like a detention or something. And I think that happened like twice.

David talked about *positive interactions with non-Black peers* when he said, “I might have, like I got a friend....He's a White guy and he's real cool. Like that's my man, I get down with him like that.”

In terms of *positive interactions with Black peers*, Paul said, “It's a group of about seven of us and we're all Black and we eat together. We do a lot of stuff together...” Julian provides a succinct example of the theme that there is *diversity in how race matters* to different people when he said, “Different Black people react different ways.” As for *visibility issues*, Corey said, “And of course, we're the center of attention. The teachers sit with us like one on every side and we're stared at. Group thing, we're checked.”

*Question 5b: Have you experienced any situation or incident related to your gender?*

Almost half of students' responses (48.7%) to Question 5b were of the *gender is not an issue* theme. Many students simply replied “no” or “not at all” to the question. Daniel, an upper school student, stated:

I don't think that's allowed in this school, I mean, umm discrimination because you're male, discrimination because you're female but um no, I don't think I have, don't think I have. Pertaining to most of the teachers, most of the teachers are really fair.

Daniel's response may reflect a certain naiveté about discrimination, for example, his belief that since gender discrimination is not allowed it would not be found in the school setting. Nevertheless, he was one of the few students who offered more than a one or two word answer to Question 5b.

The next most frequently seen themes for Question 5b (with each theme garnering 10.3% of student responses) were *inequitable treatment* because of gender and *visibility issues*. Corey, an upper school student provided an example of inequitable treatment:

Then you see kids who blatantly do stuff bad and they make excuses for them. It was their first time. Like it was his first time too, but he got a

suspension and she got a detention. Why is that? But, um, um, um. No, there's no excuse. You just switch up the rules.

Other students made brief comments about differential treatment of males or females such as that by Jacob who said: "In the classroom, not particularly, maybe every once in a while, a teacher will call on, there will be a teacher who will call on more girls than boys or vice-versa."

The following commentary from Corey illustrates the *visibility* theme:

They get us mixed up, that happens... They mix us up like they're call me like, my friend, Gene, they'll call me Gene. They'll call me Khary. And I'm like, okay, we don't look nothing alike. I'm a littler taller. I mean, I'm a lot taller or I'm a lot of smaller or something like that. How you made that connection? Maybe you just saw him, okay. I won't get mad about that. That happens.

Gender role expectations and interaction between race and gender were the themes articulated by the next largest group of students (7.1% each). Gene talked about *gender role expectations* when he said:

I think at this school, there is a stigma upon them that we all have to be big and tough and stuff like that. That we can't show any emotion or nothing like that. If you do, you're ostracized.

Samuel commented on the *interaction between race and gender* when he declared:

Oh definitely. Umm, let me see, well I mean White girls can just be like talking or real disruptive in a class and teachers won't say anything. But the minute that like a guy or a Black guy like just opens their mouth it's like "Shut up," you know?

The remaining themes comprised 15.4% of responses. These themes included gender differences in peer interaction, response to gender dynamics, sexual orientation, and interracial relationships. In regard to *gender differences in peer interaction*, Joshua said, "I haven't experienced any girl that's been mean to me in any way... The girls seem to be nicer in the school than the boys do." Cornell's statement that, "We wanted to all, us three wanted to go and tell her that we didn't like the way we were being treated... cuz we were being treated differently [from the girls]," illustrated the *response to gender dynamics* theme. In terms of the *sexual orientation* theme Calvin's commentary is illustrative. He said, "It doesn't make [me] uncomfortable, it's just, I don't even talk about... girls and stuff all in detail like that. For him to go into his little escapades like that. I was just, you know, threw me off for a second." Finally, when Julian asserts, "It seems as though no one has a problem if the Black girls like you but if the White girls like you... then you, you find yourself in, you get, you pick up a lot of problems," he provides an example of the *interracial relationships* theme.

*Question 6: What things in the school would you change if you had the power to do so?*

Most student responses to Question 6 could be assigned to four major themes: improving the school environment (24.7%), increasing overall diversity

(23.5%), changing school issues and policies (22.2%), and increasing Black students and/or faculty (16%).

*Improving the school environment* was the most frequently seen theme. This theme included a wide array of topics such as the athletic programs, the “vibe” of the school, or the courses offered. Paul talked about the atmosphere at his school as something he would like to see changed. He said:

But just to have more communication cause I don't think that there's enough interacting and talking going on between grades and even in the grades themselves and we're not that big of a school and my class has around 100 students. So I think it's possible to get to know almost everybody a little bit better. I think communication is a big thing cause there's so many people that don't understand other people just cause you don't sit down and talk to them and that's even overlooking the racial thing, the students in general.

Several students mentioned improving the athletic program at their school whether it was by recruiting students who will make the teams more competitive or by investing in the current teams' equipment or practice areas.

Student responses dealing with *increasing overall diversity* comprised the next most frequently seen theme for Question 6. Examples of student commentary on this theme include the perspective of Bill who said, “I guess I would like add to the diversity of the population. Diversity brings new ideas. I guess it makes the school a better place.” Jalen added, “I'd like to see a stronger diverse student body here as well as teachers.” Some students, such as Jacob, addressed the curriculum as something that needed to be diversified. Jacob said:

First off, in the curriculum this year, I would, it seems, I learned, I actually learned a lot about African Americans this year. But, [two Black teachers] are the only teachers who taught it. I find it odd that the only two Black teachers were the only two teachers who taught it, who taught about Blacks at all. So, I would definitely change that - I would like to learn more about my heritage in other subjects besides English and History. So, also, I try to, like I said before, how it's really small, I'd try to get a more wide range of people here...

Changing specific *school issues and/or policies* was another theme mentioned by the respondents. Students expressed their dissatisfaction with things such as the length of time between classes, what offenses they would get detention for, and in Friends' schools, having to attend Meeting for Worship. Perhaps the area of school issues or policies most often mentioned in student responses was in relation to mandatory participation in activities and the amount of time students felt they had to devote to them. For instance, Terrell, an upper school student said:

Probably, uh (pause), the sports and activity requirement. You either have to take two sports, at least two sports, or an activity and a sport...And sometimes it's a hassle. Because you have other things that you need to get done for school and it takes up time.

Ken, an upper school student, illustrated the theme *increasing Black students and/or faculty* when he said, “I would somehow get more Black people

in the school.” This sentiment was echoed by Joseph, another upper school student, who said, “I would have more Black people that's the only thing I would change here.” Corey elaborated on why he felt it was important to have more Black faculty and administrators:

Definitely some more African American faculty and administration, cause like, the population with them it's about equal to the students. That's kind of odd. I would change that definitely. I think that would make a tremendous improvement right there, definitely. That would be one of the main things that would definitely help. We only have these teachers who say, “I know where you're coming from. I understand.” No you don't...Not because where you live, where I live, or something like that. Just to be me, you would never understand. How do you, 50 something year old, White female, understand what it's like to be teenage Black male, regardless of like status or where you live or whatever like that? Just like personally, how could you ever understand what it's like to be me?

The remaining 13.6% of students' responses was comprised of the three themes: teacher-related issues, community relations, and the belief that diversity was emphasized too much. Examples of *teacher-related* issues come from Grant, a middle school student, who said, “I'd change some of the teachers, some are little strict and some loose. [I'd] change [it] to be more even...less extremes.” Bobby, an upper school student, commented that he would, “bring in a lot of younger teachers.” As for *community relations*, Andrew, an upper school student, offered the following insight:

Well the community service program here is a bit strange. It seems like a lot of...most of the time, what they do is just giving clothes to shelters or making sandwiches for soup kitchens, stuff that can be done here. It seems like a lot of times, they're really isn't that much support for the things going out into the actual community and it just seems like sort of like they're jumping on the band wagon.

Finally, some students' comments fell under the theme that *diversity was emphasized too much*. Martin, an upper school student, said:

Um, I think they spend too much time on diversity and stuff like that. Personally, I don't really think it's necessary, but I think that it's just, the more you talk about it, the more awkward it becomes really. I mean, I guess they're trying to help, but..., I just think that, I don't know, they spend, they just have too many like studies and stuff like that, diversity...I mean, it's not really a big deal to me...

#### *Question 7: What things in the school would you keep the same?*

The majority of students' responses to Question 7 could be assigned to four major themes: school atmosphere (24%), academic reputation and/or quality (19%), school resources (18%), student-teacher relationship (18%).

In regard to *school atmosphere*, the most frequently seen theme, students made comments along the lines of those made by Xavier who said, “I like the...trying to think of the word...[the] community or feel [of] the school.” Students also spoke of the “feel of the school” including things like the responsibilities and

freedom students enjoyed and the positive interactions among the members of the school community. Cornell commented that, “people are just really nice and they’re more open to like different things.”

The student responses for the theme *academic reputation and/or quality* focused mostly on how demanding the curriculum in the school was and how prestigious it was for them to have attended their schools. Answers were brief and often consisted of only a few words. Fred’s answer was probably one of the longest. He said, “Just the academics and probably things like that really gets you prepared for the next level.” Student responses were often brief in regard to the *school resources* theme as well. They referenced topics such as the quality of the buildings, overall campus, cafeteria, and library; computer access; and the array of activities of which students could avail themselves.

The *Student-teacher relationships* theme was discussed in a variety of ways by students. Jacob said:

Um, I would definitely, I would keep it, I like the fact that teachers and students have a relationship. I really like that. Because the teachers, at most schools, the hierarchy as in teachers – students, the teachers and students here kind of are like friends. You develop a relationship with them.

Other students commented on how teachers played a role in making the school environment more welcoming for them. Ethan’s commentary is a good example:

And I think the teachers like really try and make sure that they’re not like overly like make like special things for them...make sure they’re accepted as the same as everyone else. And uh, make sure they really fit in....I think they did do it for me.

The remaining 21% of students’ responses to Question 7 was comprised of the themes of diversity, community relations, keeping everything the same, and keeping nothing the same. In regard to *diversity*, Julian said:

Because I guess some of the experiences I’m having in dealing with people, kids of different races are experiences I’m going to have you know for the rest of my life. And so, I would rather me, go through them now and be able to cope, and me go out to the work world and have these situations come up and have never dealt with them before and not know how to handle it.

As for *community relations*, Melvin an upper school student, commented:

...[C]ommunity service. Last year, I participated in [a tutoring program]. We tutor middle school students, inner city middle school students. Now that was good. That was, you know, valuable experience along other things like feeding the homeless.

Clarence, an upper school student, said, “Pretty much everything,” in response to the question, “What things in the school would you keep the same?” Clarence’s answer reflects the theme *keeping everything the same*. Khary, on the other hand, asserted, “Yeah, everything is fair game....I’m sure if I sat down and looked at everything good, [you could] get something done to it.” His commentary is representative of the *keeping nothing the same* theme.



*Question 8: Which academic areas do you do well at (e.g., math, science, history, etc)?*

Data will be presented in a tabular format for Question 8 since most student answers were brief, one to two word replies where they simply stated which classes they preferred and/or did well in at their schools. When students did provide any commentary it was often about how their performance in certain classes had changed over time or how they felt about their teachers. Some students also shared what subjects were their least favorite. Table 13 presents the subjects students stated they did well at or preferred.

Table 13. Distribution of students' preferred academic subjects from the 1998 Interviews

<b>Subject</b>	<b>Percent of students who endorsed</b>
Math	30.2%
Sciences	22.1%
History	14.0%
English	14.0%
Languages	10.5%
Art	5.8%
Music	2.3%
Drama	1.2%

*Question 9: Which extracurricular areas do you do well at (athletics, debating, drama, band, etc)?*

Data will be presented in a tabular format for Question 9 since most student answers were relatively brief descriptions of what activities they participated in or enjoyed at school. Table 14 presents the activities in which students said they participated.

Table 14. Distribution of students' activities from the 1998 Interviews

<b>Subject</b>	<b>Percent of students who endorsed</b>
Athletics	46.8%
Community Service	11.7%
Multicultural Students' Organization	9.1%
Music	6.5%
Out of school sports	5.2%

The remaining 20% of activities cited by students included: newspapers and literary magazines, drama, debate, art, student government, out of school musical activities, and church related activities. Each of these activities garnered no more than 3.9% of student responses each.

*Question 10: What strategies has the school tried in addressing diversity over the last five years?*

Most of students' responses to Question 10 could be assigned to four major themes: school activities (34.5%), multicultural student groups and student

activities (19.5%), faculty and staff initiatives (13.8%), and not much/not as much as they could (11.5%).

In regard to *school activities*, the most frequently seen theme, students discussed the various lectures, assigned book readings, discussions, and planned activities their schools used to address diversity. Charles described one effort when he said:

They've had like, they've separated people into groups, like the upper school and, like when I was in middle school, they did the same thing. And in different classrooms and they had like a teacher, uh, they had a discussion, which was open for discussion about how people felt and like what could be different. For...like for the diversity situation...

Although we have tried to avoid mentioning any schools by name, it would be remiss not to note here that many of the responses making up the *school activities* theme came from students at Germantown Friends School who spoke highly of their school's "Diversity Day" effort. Diversity Day was characterized by a full day for students to participate in an array of workshops and discussions dealing with race, ethnicity, and other aspects of diversity. Almost all of the students who commented on Diversity Day did so in mostly positive terms.

The next most frequently seen theme was *multicultural student groups and student activities*. Lee, an upper school student, described a group at his school, "The task force for diversity, uh, we have peer support group....Um, where they could bring up, anyone can bring up any issues that they have and they discuss things like that in the peer support group." Sheldon, another upper school student, added, "They offer a multicultural student union which meets once a week and over the years, it has been like sometimes completely Black and, you know, just recently, it's becoming, you know, truly multicultural."

The *faculty and staff initiatives* theme in response to Question 10 was comprised of responses such as those from Fred who said, "We just hear about it a lot in classes. Like, we talk about things like about [diversity]; religion classes, English classes." Jalen offered this commentary on faculty addressing diversity in the school:

It seems like to me though, a lot of this is put on [one faculty member/administrator]...And I mean, I appreciate what she's doing, but it seems like putting all that on one person isn't right and it's not fair, you know.

There were students who felt that their schools did *not do much or as much as they could* in regard to diversity. Mark said, "I don't really see it that much. I mean, they are always talking about wanting the school more diverse, but I haven't really seen any like really concerted efforts to try to make it more." Tarik added, "That's basically what I see happening here you know. You know, you can have good intentions and all that too you know but you know stuff stays the same you know?"

The remaining 20.6 percent of student responses to Question 10 were allotted to the following themes: diversifying the student body, school rules or ethos, don't know, community interaction, and sports. In terms of *diversifying the student body* as a school diversity strategy, Grant said, "It has always been an

ethnically mixed [school], [people with] different backgrounds...lot of exchange students.” Joshua talked about the *schools’ rules or ethos* when he commented that “They’ve always stressed the sense of community. Like people accepting other people.” As for *community interaction*, Cornell commented:

And, and I think it helps too because everyone there they were helping was Black. It helped like people like in the school understand and help the people in the urban community, they got to go into the community and help people.

In regard to *sports*, Calvin stated, “Well they make you play sports...So you really don’t have a choice but to interact with people...I mean, that’s how you make most of your friends right there.” Finally, several students simply replied that they “*don’t know*” what their school did to address diversity.

*Question 11: How have teachers tried to discuss diversity issues in the classes that you take?*

The majority of students’ responses to Question 11 could be assigned to five major themes: nothing/does not come up (27.8%), in English classes (22.2%), in History and/or social studies/science classes (16.7%), student responses to discussing diversity (12.5), and teachers encouraging discussion (11.1%).

The theme most frequently seen from students was *nothing/does not come up*. Felix, a middle school student, simply stated, “They really haven’t,” while Jonah, an upper school student, said, “I can’t really think of anything.” Khary asserted:

There are hardly any...There’s hardly anything ever outside of structure. Discussions, they’re like when they set a date, set aside a period for it or something like that. You never would be in a class and things just come up and the teacher decides to sit down and discuss something...Only when someone tells them that they have to do this, it’ll happen.

The next most frequently seen theme in response to Question 11 was *in English classes*. Melvin said, “But race and diversity issues always come up, always come up in English courses.” Joshua elaborated further:

The English teacher, we kinda read books about Frederick Douglas and Maya Angelou, they incorporate that into the curriculum and that...I think that’s good for people that aren’t of the minority to read, to understand certain things about what’s happened in the past and how things are. How things were.

The *in History and/or Social Studies/Science classes* theme in response to Question 11 was comprised of responses such as those from Paul who said:

Otherwise it would just come up as like I said in US History where they talk about slavery or like right now I’m taking a modern African class and it’s just funny like to be the only Black student in a modern Africa class.

There were students who described *students’ responses to discussions* pertaining to diversity. Corey expressed some frustration when he said:

Which is always odd cause every time you get with those topics, [they] automatically look at [you] like you were there. Like, you knew. Well, you

know, slavery was bad because...Corey? I wasn't there. Don't ask me. I'm not the expert on all Black issues.

Jack, a middle school student, spoke of being somewhat uncomfortable during some of the discussions involving diversity. He said, "I felt kind of awkward talking about it. I felt my views would have been different than other people's views." Martin, on the other hand, stated: "I mean I feel comfortable...talk[ing] about race....I mean I'm not offended or anything like that."

Another theme pulled from student responses was *teachers encouraging discussion*. Austin stated:

The only thing different would be the teachers. They were actually...they wouldn't like put it out in front of our faces, but if it does come up, they encourage us to talk about it. And sometimes, it could get to be an hour long or something like that, then they want us to stop 'cause [it was] taking away from class time. But the classes where we do have discussions like that, I say the main thing is that when something comes up, the teacher does not shy away from it. They encourage you talk about.

The remaining 9.8 percent of student responses to Question 11 were allotted to the following themes: in music classes, in language classes, one teacher's initiatives, working with multicultural student organizations, and teachers being uncomfortable discussing diversity and/or race. In terms of *in Music and Language classes* students described how teachers in these specific classes incorporated diversity. Charles talked about *one teacher's initiative* when he remarked, "Um, one of my teachers, [name of teacher], it wasn't like a mandatory thing...it was just a regular day and I think he set aside a day to talk about diversity in the classroom. Just our class." As for *teachers working with multicultural students' organizations*, Sheldon commented:

The Black teachers, they try to show up at the multicultural student union. It's run...it's headed by like three African American teachers and, you know, that's good to see that they're really trying, you know, that they really care.

Finally, in regard to *teachers being uncomfortable discussing diversity and/or race*, Julian stated:

All the teachers do it. It's like they're afraid to say some things. So they just kind of brush over it real fast to kind of keep...Whenever they want to have a discussion on race, it's like they'll purposely sidetrack the whole discussion until the last little ten, fifteen minutes of class. And then when they get down to that they'll open up the discussion and the discussion gets real heated and the class is over. And I think that deep, like I said you can see it in a lot of teachers, is that they really are uncomfortable themselves with race....And they would rather you know not discuss it at all.

*Question 12: What have other African American boys said to you about their experience here?*

The majority of students' primary responses to Question 12 could be assigned to five major themes: feel disconnected/don't like (24.7%), haven't

talked about it (20.8%), community among Black males (15.6%), differences among Black males (14.3%), and feel connected/at home at school (10.4%).

The theme most frequently seen from students in response to Question 12 was *feel disconnected/don't like*. Andrew illustrated this theme when he said:

Like one or two people saying they're not comfortable here really and they sort of just give me the impression that it was a good chance and they're just, you know, they're just taking [it] cause [this school] is a good school. And mostly they associated, did stuff for people they already knew outside the school.

Khary elaborated further:

Some told me they don't like it. They really don't like the environment. Others have just been nonchalant about it, just say, I don't care. I just get out of this school...Cause some just don't care, just wanna make it through and just graduate and be done with it. Others try to focus solely on the schoolwork and just isolate themselves from the environment and not get too involved.

The next most frequently seen theme was *haven't talked about it*. Many of students' responses in this theme were brief. For instance, Joseph said, "Nothing really." Many students simply said, "We haven't talked about it." Nicholas, a middle school student, commented that he and the other Black males in his grade don't really talk about their experiences as African American male students and instead just discuss, "whatever happened in school that day."

The *community among Black males* theme in response to Question 12 was comprised of responses such as those from Franz who said, "No we are, we are really close. Mmm, so we always talk about our experiences, we're always around to see it, what people experience." Melvin added, "I think we kinda share the same things. The same ups and downs." Corey elaborated, "When I talked to other African American males, it's basically just listening to myself talking....So it's basically like, hearing the same stories."

The *differences among Black males* theme was articulated by student such as Mark who explained:

Um, I think that I get something different from a lot of other African-American boys, um, because...I mean I don't feel that strongly really like that because my mother is White and I've always...I think that there's more of a dividing line between them and the White teachers and me and the White teachers.

Lee added:

It depends on the person. Terrell's been here since kindergarten, he loves it. Seth and I have been here since 9<sup>th</sup> grade. We see a couple of things we don't like, but, not bad enough that we'll just leave the school. Um, it depends on what personal experiences you've had, because we've all had different experiences.

Another theme pulled from student responses to the question "What have other African American boys said to you about their experience here?" was *feel connected/at home at school*. Henry just stated, "They like it." Seth said, "There's a lot of people that are happy. No, not really just content. I think that they know

that they're gonna get the best education here..." Julian added, "And then there are some guys who had the greatest time and they tell me stories on all the fun times they've had and all the different things that they've done."

The remaining 14.3 percent of student responses to Question 12 were allotted to the following themes: discrimination experiences, wanting more Black students, not connected to other Black males, and tension among Black males. In terms of *discrimination experiences* a representative comment came from Jacob who said, "There's one kid who said he was leaving this year, he felt like he was being discriminated against a little bit." David talked about other Black male students *wanting more Black students* at their schools when he remarked, "I don't know. I guess they just say, "I wish there were more Black people here."" As for *not [being] connected to other Black males*, Martin commented, "Um, well, I'm not really friends with that many African American boys in this school. Most of 'em that come here are like, just not my type really." Finally, in regard to the *tension among Black males* theme, Ken said, "Yeah, and I almost got in a fight with [another Black male] like two weeks ago, but that cleared up. He just doesn't know what he's talking about, I guess."

*Question 13: How do you think African American females do in this school?*

Most student responses to Question 13 could be assigned to five major themes: do better than Black males (20.3%), about the same as Black males (18.8%), community among Black females (12.5%), don't know/haven't talked to (9.4%) and differences among Black females (9.4%).

In regard to the most frequently seen theme, *doing better than Black males*, students discussed their perceptions on the ways in which Black females seemed to be more successful in their schools. Gene speculated:

Females do better than Black males only because they're not...they're not looked upon in the way that we're looked upon, because of the gender, females, and they're supposed to be harmless, so they can't do anything. I wouldn't say that the Black females experience here is excellent because I'm not a female, but I see that it's fairly better off than ours; the Black male experience.

Mark added:

I think they do better than African-American males because I don't know I guess they, I guess they can relate, I mean, I'm not sure about whether they're into White students better but I think, I think that what I've seen is that um there's not as much negative energy with um African-American females at this school. Um, I think that, that as a whole they do better than um Black males.

The next most frequently seen theme was *about the same* as Black males. Keith, a middle school student, who had described his own experience positively said, "I think they've had a great time here" in regard to Black females. Xavier commented, "Compared to African American boys, I think they do just as well. I don't think they do any better or worse than anybody else in the school particularly."

The *community among Black females* theme in response to Question 13 was comprised of responses such as those from Joshua who said, “They kinda stick together. It’s such a feeling that they all kinda bond together.” Khary offered this commentary on the community among Black females, “Yeah. Like the Black females will just support each other in like a lot more aspects than we will, the Black men. They’ll support each other in the schoolwork, help each other with doing something.”

There were students who *didn’t know how* Black females were doing in their schools or *simply hadn’t talked to* the Black female students. Charles said, “Oh. Um, I think it’s, well, I don’t really know. I haven’t really talked to many.” Felix added, “I think most of them are doing well. I don’t really talk about the, that kind of stuff.” There were also students who noticed *differences among the Black females* that they believed related to how the girls experienced their schools. Austin asserted, “The African American girls as a whole? As a whole, there’s a variety just like there’s a variety with the boys and with all other, you know.” Julian described one aspect of the differences among Black females when he said:

And part of the problem now there is such a divide between the African-American females that are here right now. Among the senior girls and the younger girls. Because one of the things I really liked last year, there was, the senior African-American girls last year, they would jump...they put the younger girls in their place. Those younger girls knew that the senior girls were running the show. The senior girls we have now, I don’t want to say that they’re not stronger, but they don’t command the same respect.

The remaining 29.6 percent of student responses to Question 13 were allotted to the following themes: race/gender interactions, discrimination and/or visibility experiences, lack of Black females, worse than Black males, and perceptions of Black females in the schools. In terms of *race/gender interactions*, Bobby opined:

I think it’s like this. I think the girls are treated just the same as like just the same as the White girls are treated, but the boys are sort of treated differently than like the White guys are treated. I think that’s, all girls are look at the same and maybe some guys are looked at differently.

Because of their color.

Kyle talked about the *discrimination and/or visibility experiences* theme when he commented that “And they said they can think about the racis[m], but they also have to deal with sexism on pretty much a daily basis too.” As for the *lack of Black females* theme, Gary remarked, “[There are] no females in my grade. [I] wouldn’t know.” Tarik added. “There’s only two Black females in my grade anyway. Or three. Something like that, I don’t know the number I can’t remember.” In regard to Black females *faring worse than Black males* in school as well as the *perceptions of Black females*, Julian declared:

They have it worse. In my opinion then the guys because unless you’re a superstar female athlete. Like a superstar, I mean you have to stand out above everybody, if you’re an average Black athlete, you can do alright

but you have to be next to God to be, to get out of that mold of just being another Black girl. I think they catch it a lot worse than the Black guys in terms of, they don't, you don't quite see the girls, especially this year's girls, in a lot of functions outside of school and things. You know being invited to different places.

*Question 14: Is there a question NOT on this questionnaire that you would ask? If so, what is it, who would it be directed to and what is the answer you would expect to receive?*

The majority of students' responses to Question 14 could be assigned to four major themes: no other question (45.7%), miscellaneous (13%), relationship to school (10.9%), and race and student relationships (10.9%).

In regard to the most frequently seen theme, *no other question*, students simply made comments such as, "I think we've pretty much covered all of the bases" or "I'd probably ask the same questions you asked." The next most frequently seen theme in response was a *miscellaneous* theme that included questions such as those from Henry who asked "If [student] spend most of [their] social time in or out of school?" His answer was:

I have friends here, do better (academically and socially). People make friends based on interests, not race or SES. African Americans who come late have more difficult time, longer here, better adapted – grades, etc. Harder for African Americans [who] come from public school. Used to socializing with African Americans, then come here harder adjustment being around rich, White people with different standards.

The *relationship to school* theme in response to Question 14 was comprised of responses such as those from Jonah who posed the question, "Do I regret coming here or do I like coming here?" His response was:

Well, I know I'll get into a better college since I transferred here. But, I haven't really fit in that much. Since the people have known each other for such a long time. It's hard to fit in, I guess.

Calvin offered the question, "How do you like how do you cope with the stress?" he answered, "I just get out of school and just do something else. Don't think about school."

Ethan's question, "Do any of your White friends ever like slip and say something?" illustrates the *race and student relationships* theme. His answer to that question was, "I've had that happen to me and it's just like...Like someone will say, "I can't believe I just said that to you, I'm really sorry."" Another question representing this theme was offered by Franz who said, "I think you could have asked if there's a lot of competition between um, in anything at this school, among African Americans or among African Americans and, um whites or Caucasians?" He responded by saying:

Uh, um, I think, well, it maybe not in acad- maybe not academically, but maybe ath-, in athletics, friendly competition there. And I think that there's no, I think there's no bad blood between whites and Blacks here, we all get along great, we all, we all have Black friends and white friends...



The remaining 19.5 percent of student responses to Question 14 was comprised of the following themes: race and schools, diversity at the school, and teacher issues. In terms of *race and schools*, Charles offered this question: “Maybe like how do my parents address [race] or something like that...” His answer was:

Um, well, my dad, has sat down and talked to me, and my mom has sometimes also. Well, like if there’s any issues going on in dealing with race that I should come to them and tell and that things aren’t always going to be like perfect. But that I might run into situations like that, but I just have to like sit down and ignore them or just tell the teacher and...they deal with it. And I shouldn’t like try and like get into more trouble with retaliating or things like.

Jalen’s question, “Having a stronger diversity population here, having more teachers and students of color, how would that change this environment?” illustrates the *diversity at the school* theme. He responded to the question by saying:

I guess I say yes, it would make this place more interesting. It’d make this place... I think it would make it more culturally aware. It’d make it more diverse. I think it would be better. Yeah, I think that it’s gonna be awhile for it to happen. It’s gonna happen gradually and probably slowly and I think that people... Some people may fear it at first, you know, but they’ll learn to get used to it, because, you know, some people fear change. And I think... But I think that change would make this environment better.

Finally, in regard to the *teacher issues* theme, Keith asked, “How are different things...like from an African-American teacher, how are they different from a European teacher?” He doesn’t answer the question directly but says, “I would try, I said this but I would try to bring more African American teachers in the school.”

*Question 15a: What recommendations would you make to other African American males about how to help African American boys?*

The majority of students’ recommendations in regard to Question 15a could be assigned to four major themes: be open (28.3%), persevere (18.9%), maintain focus on work (17%), and stick together (9.4%).

Students most often recommended that other Black males *be open*. David stated, “You gotta be open just have to be able to accept the different views here.” And in relation to being open to developing relationships with other students Peter asserted, “Keep working on getting to know the Caucasians better, cause you have to...you still have to work at it. I mean, you can’t just separate yourself from them.”

The next most frequently seen recommendation was to *persevere*. Corey said:

You know you can go through a lot, you will, just keep going. You know what I mean. I’ve done it all. I’ve seen it all. I know exactly what you going through. You’re not the first one. You definitely won’t be the last one. Keep on keeping on.

Mark added:

Um, I guess the thing is not to get discouraged at all because when you have this kind of thing with the mixed-up name-calling and things like that and um because I think it's a lack of understanding between both White people and Black people in this school. They can't like really see where they're coming from so I think that the main thing is not get discouraged.

The *maintain focus on work* recommendations were comprised of responses such as those from Terrell who said, "Um, manage your time. Try to get your work done as soon as possible. And keep up with responsibilities." Bill remarked, "Well first of all don't panic when you see the workload. Be prepared to work and work hard (laugh) because if you slack off it's only going to hurt you." The recommendations to *stick together* included commentary from students such as Joseph who said, "Stick together, not to back stab each other, talk more, stuff like that" or Gene who remarked, "Just stick together definitely. Definitely stick together."

The remaining 26.5 percent of student responses to Question 15a were allotted to the following themes: maintaining balance in and out of school, don't focus on race, don't misbehave, make yourself heard, don't know, and ask for help if needed. In terms of *maintaining balance*, Calvin explained:

Or make sure you have a lot of friends outside of school. And I lost a lot of my friends outside of school just cause I had so much work - couldn't talk to them, couldn't go anywhere for the longest. So we kinda just stopped calling each other and that happens a lot. So I'd tell them, don't let that happen.

In regard to the *don't focus on race* recommendation, Will asserted, "I just say, don't get so caught up in, you know, in your race and just...to me, it really doesn't matter." *Don't misbehave* was another theme for the recommendations Black males made to other Black males. Bobby said, "Don't do stuff to put yourself in a jam, you know don't like goof off in class...because if you don't do any of that, they can't, they can't say anything to you." Another theme for recommendations was for students to *make themselves heard*. Seth said:

Just make themselves heard so that they don't go quiet where they should be...I know for me, I'm like a quiet kid. I don't really talk that much and I guess I regret that. I wish I said what was on my mind more often.

Along that vein, other students recommended that others should *ask for help* if it's needed. Paul stated, "Don't be afraid to ask for help because it's out there...So, help would be the biggest thing, just seeking help if you need it." Finally, there were students who *didn't know* what to recommend. James simply said, "I really can't think of what I would tell anybody...what I would recommend."

*Question 15b: What recommendations would you make to teachers about how to help African American boys?*

The majority of students' recommendations to teachers could be assigned to five major themes: be fair (20.4%), be open and nurturing (18.4%), don't judge or single out based on race (16.3%), reach out (12.2%), and doing enough (10.2%). Students most often recommended that teachers *be fair*. Ken stated, "I

think some White teachers just act differently towards Black kids. I don't know why, but...I think they should like look at everybody they can. Look at everybody the same way." Martin adds, "Um, I'd have the teachers just treat um, treat African American boys like they treat White boys, just treat 'em the same. I mean don't treat 'em more special or treat 'em any worse."

The next most frequently seen recommendation was to *be open and nurturing*. Franz suggested, "Just to be understanding if someone comes to you for help. Understand where the person's coming from." David added, "Umm, you know I just feel that they don't show respect sometimes. I would just you know, I would just tell them show some respect sometimes. Give like encouragement and stuff like that if [students are] not doing well."

The *don't judge or single out based on race* recommendations were comprised of responses such as those from Khary who said:

Even if you don't make certain mistakes or certain stereotypes consciously, be conscious that you're gonna make those mistakes and you're gonna have...set stereotypes. Everybody has stereotypes in their brain. You can't get around it. It's something that society gives us and you might not think you're doing it, but try to be more self critical. Try to think like...even after you think you done something right, sit back and be like, "Alright, now, what did I do that might have mess with this kid's head? What did I do wrong?" Because everything that you think is right, isn't always right to the other person.

Joseph simply added, "Try to like stop putting us on the spot all the time."

The recommendations to *reach out* included commentary from students such as Austin who said:

But it would just be great if every once in awhile, a teacher would just come up and check us and see how we're doing, because I see them making that effort towards White children sometime even if it's – "Where're you going to school?" I don't think they seem as interested in where I'm going to school as...where someone else is going to school. Two people have asked where I'm going in school – [a Black male teacher] and my college counselor, that's it. I'm not bitter about it or anything, but that's it.

Henry remarked, "Reach out and help students who [you] see having a hard time" while Calvin urged, "Just talk to them."

Several students asserted that teachers were *doing enough*. Interestingly, almost all of these comments were said in response to the efforts of Black teachers. For instance after making the comment in the "reach out" section, Henry said, "[A Black male teacher] tries to help a lot, supports students." Ryan, an upper school student, added, "I mean we can talk to them when we want to. [A Black female administrator] is always there for us."

The remaining 22.4 percent of student responses to Question 15b were allotted to the following themes: don't know what to recommend, be considerate with sensitive issues, diversify curriculum, and don't be so sensitive about race. In terms of the *don't know what to recommend* theme, Felix simply said, "I don't really have any." Paul illustrated the *be considerate with sensitive issues* theme when he said, "But the teachers don't usually intervene and they let a lot of things

fly that should be dealt with. So being sensitive to issues I think is a big thing that teachers need to be aware of..." In regard to the *diversify curriculum* recommendation Keith said, "Well, like I keep saying this but more like African American curriculum." Finally, Daniel's commentary that "Umm, I'd probably just say that they should be less severe to racial issues" is an example of the *don't be sensitive about race* theme.

*Question 15c: What recommendations would you make to parents about how to help African American boys?*

Most of students' recommendations to parents could be assigned to four major themes: be supportive and open (23.9%), don't know (17.4%), help students maintain focus (15.2%), and be aware of what is going on at school (10.9%). Students most often recommended that parents *be supportive and open*. Paul stated:

Just to keep open lines of communication with the kids. Let them know that they can come to you. For whatever reason they can come to you to talk about school. Just to be there and support [because] I think it's hard on an African American student at this school.

Joseph suggested, "Like show some more support, like maybe form a group meet like once a week. Talk about different issues and stuff like that. Just so we can come together."

*Don't know* what to recommend was the next most frequently seen recommendation. Ryan said, "In terms of school there is nothing they can do I don't think. I don't think there is anything they should do. I don't know what they could do." Students had more to say to parents in regard to the *help students maintain focus* recommendations. Terrell remarked, "Help their kids stay focused. Um, make sure they get the job done." Felix added, "Just to basically press your children...help your children."

The commentary that comprised the recommendation *be aware of what is going on at school* is illustrated by the following statement from Joseph:

So they would know what was going on inside the schools. Because my mom she probably don't know half the stuff that's going on here. She still thinks it's like this great school and she don't know half the stuff that's going on. I don't tell her [and] like get her all upset. I just want to deal with it myself.

Henry remarked, "Pay more attention to kids especially first year. When I first came I was lonely and wanted to give up," while Gary added, "They don't understand how hard it is here. Be more understanding, be more aware. [I] wish [they] could spend one day here and understand what it's like."

The remaining 32.5 percent of student responses to Question 15c were allotted to the following themes: have kids take advantage of opportunities, give child space, be involved at school, don't pressure kids, advocate for more diversity, maintain balance out of school, and don't make a big deal about race. In terms of the *have kids take advantage of opportunities* recommendation, David said, "I would just, I would tell any parent to send their child here because they're

just so much for you to learn and so much for you to give also.” Corey illustrated the *give child space* theme when he said:

So, just, you know, just let the kids go at their own pace and let them do their thing. And they take a little slip, don't get all worried and get all parental on them, whatever. See if they can help themselves out for a minute.

In regard to the *be involved at school* recommendation Franz remarked, “My parents, they need to get involved in the school a lot. Uh, I think...it's...a good thing if they help out with the school.” The *don't pressure kids to be involved at school* recommendation was illustrated by Lee who said, “Don't force your kid to become involved in anything at school. My parents were always like, “Why aren't you in school? Why don't you involve yourself in all these programs?””

Some students recommended that parents *advocate for more diversity*. For example, Ken asserted, “They should, I guess, push for more Black kids. They should...ask the schools [to] put in some kind of scholarship to bring more Black kids.” Other students recommended that parents help their kids *maintain balance out of school*. Calvin said, “I know this might sound bad, but don't let your kids spend too much time here.” Finally, Martin's commentary that “I think the parents are really the problem in the race issue...I just think that parents try to make a big deal out of it to their kids and they just start to prepare them” is an example of the *don't make a big deal about race* theme.

*Question 15d: What recommendations would you make to the Administration about how to help African American boys?*

The majority of students' recommendations to the Administration could be assigned to four major themes: no recommendations (35.7%), more Black students (16.7%), minimize race (11.9%), and hire more Black teachers/teachers of color (9.5%). Students most often said that they had *no recommendations* for the Administration. Beyond answers such as “I don't know” this theme also included commentary from students such as Ken who said, “I don't know, cause I don't know any of them really.” Sheldon elaborated a bit when he remarked, “And we really don't interact too much with the dean and the head and the headmaster. We see them around. It's not really too much interaction.” Then there were statements such as those from Henry who said, “[They] do a very good job. I would tell them that.”

*Get more Black students* was the next most frequently seen recommendation. Seth said, “Just get more of us in there.” Joseph added, “That's it really; just bring more male and female Black students.” Across the spectrum from the “get more Black students” recommendation was the *minimize race* recommendation. For instance, Ryan asserted, “In terms of helping the African-American students? I don't think we need special privileges or anything.” Martin added:

Oh, don't accept minorities just because of minorities, that's all I was really saying. Maybe there should be some...that's really what I believe. They should be qualified to be in this school. And if they're good at school, then they should come, but if they're, I guess if they're talented in music or

whatever, or anything like that, that's cool. But if they're just going to be here for the percentages to go up, then I don't think it's worth it. I mean they should [be] qualified to be here.

The following statement from Corey illustrated the commentary that comprised the recommendation to hire more Black teachers/teachers of color: I would just say to them like, they try to get more administrative members who are, you know, more like the students. Got a lot of Black students. Get a little more Black administrators. Got some Asian [students]. Get some Asian [administrators]. I don't think we have any Asian teachers in administration.

Mark said, "Well I think hiring more African-American and minority teachers is one thing. Because I mean they're able to – I know that the Black teachers I've had, I've become like friends with them, you know?"

The remaining 26.1 percent of student responses to Question 15d were allotted to the following themes: treat everyone fairly, support Black students, use resources well, promote student engagement, and work on community relations. In terms of the *treat everyone fairly* recommendation, Felix said, "Umm, if any, if a student complains about racism? Do something about it, not just do anything." Tarik illustrated the *support Black students* theme when he said, "Uh, I don't know what, how much it'd help but I'll say it anyway, try to be uh attentive or knowledgeable to whatever is going on with the Black students. Try and it could help." In regard to the *use resources well* recommendation Khary remarked, "Do something useful with all the money that they have." Cornell added, "Umm, I would say make [the] scholarship program easier." The *promote student engagement* recommendation was demonstrated by Grant who said, "I'd just tell them...make sure that everyone is socially active." Finally, some students recommended that the Administration *work on community relations*. For example, Andrew asserted:

I think the administration should make more of an effort to help the...scholarships [for youth in the community]. Keep up with it...Also, sort of, because of the security issues that I guess a lot of time, it is a necessity, but it seems like we're sort of closed off, separate from the community.

*Question 15e: What recommendations would you make to the Trustees about how to help African American boys?*

The vast majority of students' recommendations to the Trustees (64.7%) belonged to the *don't know what to recommend* theme. Most students replied "I don't know" to the question but quite a few elaborated in a similar manner to Jacob who said, "Never heard of them before (laughing). I can't even begin to know who they are...." Jalen added:

The trustees to me, they're some mystery people. I mean, they just sit around. I have no clue what the trustees do here. I have absolutely no clue. I have been here... I been here, what, ten years and I still don't know what the trustees do. All I know is, they take their picture and put it in the yearbook every year or something.

Treat everyone fairly, using school resources, and increasing financial aid were the next most frequently seen recommendations (8.8% each). In regard to the *treat everyone fairly* recommendation, Ethan said, “Uh, guess it's just treat people the same as the administrators, the same way.” As for the *using school resources* recommendation, Kyle suggested, “Uh, get more money for the school I guess for different types of activities like uh, I don't know, more field trips.” Gene's commentary, “More scholarships to help Black males” addressed the *increasing financial aid* recommendation.

The remaining 8.8 percent of student responses to Question 15e were allotted to the themes “get more Black students” and “diversify trustees.” In terms of the *get more Black students* recommendation, Peter said, “So they should work as hard as they can to get more people in school...If it's African American students, the better education they can get and that helps a lot, so.” Kyle illustrated the *diversify trustees* theme when he said, “Get some more different kind of people, I mean I think they're like two Black trustees, I think. I mean, they have women on there, that's a good thing though, uh, I don't think they have any Asian trustees.”

*Question 16: On a scale of 1 to 5, how well does this school address issues of cultural diversity?*

Students responded to the question using a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = very poorly and 5 = very well. The average numerical response to this question for the 42 students who responded to it was 3.41 with a range of 2 to 5. This response lies between average and very well and indicates that at the close of the individual interviews students believed that their schools did a solid job of addressing diversity. As a point of comparison, the mean rating at the outset of the interview was 3.57.

Approximately 41 percent of students responding to Question 16 elaborated on their thoughts about how well they believed their schools addressed diversity. Of these students, 59% made commentary that indicated that they believed their schools were trying to address diversity and that they were either satisfied or “ok” with the school's efforts; 35% believed that their schools were trying to address diversity but not doing well at times because they did not address race directly; and 6% stated that their school did not have to address diversity since everything was fine.

The commentary of Will, a middle school student, illustrated the perspective of students who *satisfied or “ok”* with how their schools were *addressing diversity*. He said:

I guess I would say that well just because there are...there are outlets like if you need it and you can go to [multicultural students' group] to talk about any issues you have and [a Black female administrator is] always here and we have... I guess it would fall in between well and very well, I guess. Calvin added, “Like just say they always get average everything. [They] get a C for trying.”

Julian represented the point of view of those students who believed their schools were *trying but not doing well* in relation to diversity. He stated:

They don't do a good job at all at addressing some issues, some of the things they let slide by the wayside. It's like they, they ignore it....They try and not so much just deal with kids, they just try to deal with people. Like everybody's, everybody...They'll say well we all love people in general and they don't deal with the actual race issues.

Finally there were students such as Ken whose commentary reflected the *no need to address* diversity theme. He said, "Yeah, probably average, because most people don't take that into consideration. It's not that bad the way it is."

## **Alumni<sup>6</sup>**

In the 1997-1998 wave of data collection, four focus groups were conducted with participating alumni across three schools.

### Procedures

Focus groups were conducted at the schools and were led by two to three members of the SAAS research team. The majority of participants in the focus groups were male reflecting the all-male student body populations at two of the SAAS schools at the time some of the alumni attended the schools. At two of the SAAS schools, administrators of color attended the focus groups as well. Focus groups lasted on average approximately one and one-half hours and were audiotaped and videotaped.

The protocol for focus groups consisted of questions that covered a wide variety of topics. (See Appendix E for the alumni focus group protocol used in the 1997-1998 year.) For example, alumni were asked to reflect on both the positive and negative aspects of their experiences at their respective schools and to share conversations they had with parents and other students at the school about their school experience. Confidentiality was stressed at the beginning of the focus group and alumni were given opportunities to ask questions of the SAAS research team about the project at any time.

The SAAS research team analyzed the videotapes of the focus groups. Major themes were extracted from the data with results of the analysis presented below.

### Results

Major themes ascertained from the data center around the topics of disempowerment, the idea of "fitting in," and racial socialization.

#### *Disempowerment*

Disempowerment was a consistent theme discussed by alumni across the SAAS schools. One of the administrators relayed that, "Many [Black] alumni felt alienated while they were here as students. This was a White male club and it was what the institution was founded on." One of the alumni commented that they were discouraged from applying to an elite college/university by their school's guidance counselor. This particular alumni decided to apply anyway, was accepted, and matriculated at the elite school. Another alumni elaborated on how Black students were made to feel during the college admissions process:

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<sup>6</sup> This section was based on the analysis and writing of Sonia L. Elliott, MEd.



I feel the teachers don't really know you here. People were shocked that I got into certain schools...I could have gotten into other places and done better things if someone had told me I could... A lot of the Black students are not known by the teachers, so they don't know us to be making that list (list of schools they should apply to). This is a small school, and there is no excuse for not knowing people. I never thought that I was a top-notch student, I just thought that I would get in because I was Black.

Other alumni spoke about the lack of Black role models in the form of teachers and/or administrators as contributing to the [dis]empowerment some of the Black alumni experienced in their schools. They said:

They are here, but few and far between...It showed that Black people do other things here besides work in the cafeteria. I wanted this experience on the academic side also. The...coach showed me I was someone of value. I want to have this experience come into the classroom. I needed people to tell me that I was talented and OK.

Another one of the alumni shared that:

A classmate of mine felt robbed. [He felt the school] had no interest in Black studies, and people of color felt cheated. He felt his education was not worth the money. This is a developmental issue that you can't replace either.

### *Fitting In*

Given the struggles with disempowerment that some alumni described it is not surprising that another major theme pulled from the focus groups was around the idea of "fitting in." One of the alumni posited that length of time a student attended the school influenced how they experienced the school. They said, "Those who start at a younger age are not affected the same as those who arrive at 15 or 16. When you are here earlier, the issues involved with being a young Black kid are really non-existent." Another perspective on fitting in came from one of the alumni who asserted:

We always had that as an issue. Only one of us was from the [area the school was in] and the others were from North and West Philadelphia. You always felt that you were in transition from going from [the school] to the "hood." Being more than one person was an issue.

This sentiment was echoed by one of the alumni who stated, "I was coming from the city, and it took about two years to get a handle on the school. We were like rebels coming in to conquer a school built for White men." A perspective that contradicts and confirms the previous statements came from one of the alumni who commented:

There were issues, but I think I could handle it better here. I felt more comfortable here being Black than when I visited other schools for sporting events, etc. I went to an all Black university at first. I felt that this made me whole and I could not have been the same person if I went straight to a White university. It was tough when I was here but enjoyed it more when I was out.

For this person, the struggle with fitting in was a tenuous one that depended on the immediate social context -- be it at either the school they attended or other schools they visited. Attending a college different in racial composition from their secondary school and time away from the school helped this person attain a more nuanced view of fitting in as part of their independent school experience.

Intraracial relationships were also a part of the fitting in theme. The alumnus from the previous paragraph addressed this when they said:

There was not a lot of dating: only five (African-American) people you can date. There is no normal teenage life as a Black person here. There are interracial couples, but not many. [People at this school] did not think I was Black enough before I went to Spelman.

Finally, one of the alumni addressed fitting in when they posited a series of questions to parents, alumni and current students at independent schools to ask themselves when they entered into the schools:

To parents and students alike, this institution will not change the way it does business. You can benefit from what they do. You must ask yourself: "How can I fit in, and how can I benefit? Do I want to be a part of this and deal with it? If so, how do I take advantage of everything and maintain my sanity?"

### *Racial Socialization*

Racial socialization, or the process by which individuals learn about race and what it means to be a "raced" individual in society, was the final theme pulled from the analysis of the focus group data. One of the alumni addressed salient aspects of racial socialization for them when they were a student in independent school when they said:

I did not find a lot of the issues that other Black students found because I had a good sense of self. The rest of my life was very rooted in Black culture: Black neighborhood, all Black church. The basis of my life other than school was Black culture, stable family, two parents, only child, and a very loving and supportive environment. I felt it was a good environment for preparing for other life situations.

Another participant in the alumni focus group described the messages they were given by their parents when they started at their school:

My father said: "You know what it costs, you know what I do for a living, do the math." We never really talked about race, just that my performance had to outstrip the other folks. My grandparents were from the South and they did tell me that the Black man has to outperform the White man.

Racial socialization that took place among the peer group was also discussed. One of the alumni remarked:

Back then, we had a much stronger sense of knowing other Black people in other independent schools. I felt that we did things together. We had dances and were invited to other schools. There were also Saturday programs to engage in. My friends were Twigs [a social club for Black youth]. This is how you supported the social interaction and the other kind of dating.

Finally, one of the alumni talked about the absence of attention to both race and the positive aspects of Black culture within their schools as aspects of racial socialization within independent schools. They said:

My experience since I left [the school involved] meeting so many positive people. We all pledged Black fraternities. [I] had never seen positive Black alumni like at Morgan State University when I visited. I went to the Howard University graduation and saw the same. I never had a sense of this at [this school]. It was after I left that I saw the wonderful things that Black people do. They did add a few Black history classes after I left. There is a lot that we (Blacks) have contributed that has nothing to do with the experience [at this school].

## **Teachers**

In the 1997-1998 wave of data collection, a focus group was conducted with teachers at one of the participating SAAS schools.

### Procedures

The focus group was conducted at the school and was led by two members of the SAAS research team. All of the participants in the focus group were African American females. One of the teachers identified as biracial.<sup>7</sup> The focus group lasted approximately one hour and was videotaped.

The protocol for the focus groups consisted of questions that covered a wide variety of topics. (See Appendix C for the questions the teacher focus group protocol was based upon in the 1997-1998 year.) For example, teachers were asked to reflect on their experiences at their schools and to share their perspectives on the experience of African American students at the school. Confidentiality was stressed at the beginning of the focus group and teachers were given opportunities to ask questions of the SAAS research team. The videotape of the focus group was transcribed and then analyzed by the SAAS research team. Major themes were extracted from the data.

### Results

The major themes obtained from the data were Black teachers' views on Black student experiences at school, their views on their experiences as Black teachers, and the relationship between Black students and Black teachers. Other themes discussed included: Black student attrition, views on diversity in school in general, and views on the school in general. Representative commentary for each theme is presented below.

#### *Views on Black student experiences*

One teacher addressed Black students' experiences in independent school simply and succinctly when she said, "I mean, I think they're unique in the sense of there is [something unique] experienced only by African American students at this school." The teachers talked about a wide range of topics in regard to Black student experiences. The role socioeconomic status played in

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<sup>7</sup> Black, or African American, teachers will be the terms used throughout this section to refer to all participants in this focus group. Given the small size of the group it was believed highlighting which teacher was biracial would compromise confidentiality.

how teachers believed Black students fared in their schools was one such topic. For instance, one teacher stated:

The more money they have, the... it appears easier for them, because they go play golf on the weekends just like the rich White kids do. They take these fabulous trips just like the rich White kids do. So it's not... it's really not that big of a deal, cause they're just kind of doing the same thing.

Another teacher discussed how being the only Black student in a classroom might impact students' behavior when she said:

[One child] Who's been experiencing like a lot of behavior problems and I guess he's been diagnosed as having some problems. I don't really know specifically what they are, but basically, he's just acts out a lot. And to me, I think it has to do with him being the only Black kid in [his grade].

**Moderator:** The entire 2nd grade?

Yeah. And I don't think he likes coming to the school, personally. That's what I think it is. I think if he would change the environment, he would... he's completely brilliant, you know, he's a great kid, but if he changed schools, I think he would act a lot better and do a lot better. But I think he just acts out a lot because he doesn't like the school. He doesn't like the situation he's in.

Somewhat similar commentary about a different student came from the teacher who stated:

But he's very smart and very, very sweet. And I don't, you know. I don't see any problems yet, but there was also... But I was also his teacher and there was another African American boy in the class. So I guess, in a way, that kind of made him feel like comfortable.

Another aspect of teachers' discussion of how Black students experience their schools was the disconnect they perceived between students and the school. One teacher remarked:

And I don't think [the school], when they ask these kids to leave, I don't think [the school] sees that as really as our failure, it's their failure. It's kind of something with the kid. The kid wasn't...the kid could not fit into [the school]. When really, [the school] should be trying to fit around the kid, you know?

Another added:

The teachers were scared of him and I thought, I was like, "Really?" And then I watch it and it's true. Either it's one extreme or the other. Either they'll write him up to the n<sup>th</sup> degree or they'll, well, you know, "I won't say anything to him."

Developmental status and gender were also talked about by teachers in regard to Black students' experiences. For example, a teacher addressed how developmental stage plays a role in student experiences in school. She asserted:

But I just wanna see how things are gonna play out when they get to high school cause the middle school, everything is still pretty cool. I mean, they're starting to recognize, you know, that I am different than rest of

them and there's only, you know, a few of us here and they start to negotiate those types of things and when issues come up...

The following exchange between two teachers illustrated the commentary of Black teachers on Black male-female student differences.

**Teacher A:** What I was saying was, boys can sort of get by on their athletic popularity. And on the other side, I think girls really have a harder social time in some sense, because, number one, there's still this stereotype that the most attractive girls are blonde haired, you know, and skinny and blue eyes and all that. And they don't really have, other than [a certain Black female student], who's the one exception, they don't really have like the athletic popularity that the boys have. Sometimes like I, you know, in terms of social aspect, I feel more for the girls.

**Teacher B:** I feel more for the girls too.

**Teacher A:** Academically, I think the girls do better than the boys. And it's strange because I think also...and just dealing with like the academic issues that were in 7th grade, more time is taken with the girls than it is with the boys.

**Teacher B:** Yes. And the girls seek out help more.

**Teacher A:** Yeah, the girls will seek out help more and then even if they don't, some teachers make more of an effort to go get the girls. They'll go get them. Most phone calls. More phone calls home about...and you know, I mean, you know, heady attitude all the way around, but she'll get less phone calls home about her attitude and her behavior and more about grades. Whereas, one of the Black boys in 7th grade will get calls about, well, his behavior, you know, that's the first thing, right off the bat.

### *Views on Black teacher experiences*

The teachers spent a good deal of time talking about their own experiences in their schools as Black teachers. After sharing how they arrived at their current positions, teachers spoke more in-depth about their time in their schools. While one teacher asserted, "I am happy with my experiences here. I've learned a lot;" another teacher had this to say:

And really like I was really discouraged about ever coming here about a week ago, but then I realized, you know, if they didn't hire me, I would have been unemployed...But I mean, I think that, you know, I used them as much as they may have used me. And like, I'm glad for the experiences that I've had and like I think I've had good experiences and, you know, I look back on it with fondness, I guess.

The ambivalence of the previous statement is explained when the various challenges and successes the teachers experienced during their tenure at the school were described. For instance, one teacher shared the following anecdote about assumptions non-Black teachers held about her background:

But I had a faculty member say to me..., "I'm just so impressed, you know. You just, you know, you just really impressive and you know, you should be really proud of that...I know, you should be because, you know, coming from the ghetto and being able to make something of yourself and go to

graduate school and teach here and you know, being able to do that.” And I was like, “I’m not from the ghetto.” And she was like, “You’re not?”

Another teacher talked about the responsibility she felt as a Black teacher in an independent school. She said:

I think that, you know, I felt really obligated to become a spokesperson for a lot of the kids in the upper school and like it was my duty, which I like doing that, but it was duty to sort of get to know them even though I didn’t teach most of them, because they needed some type of advocate that they didn’t have. And I felt actually that I think in the upper school, most teachers kind of have this attitude of color blindness and I think that really worked against a lot of kids...

As she continued she discussed the challenge to taking on the “advocate” role:

You know, I think someone needs to say, listen like, these kids are going through different issues and we need to recognize that. I think the upper school just wants to look at anyone who’s saying like, you know, as color blind kids and from a color blind point of view. And I don’t think that’s accurate. So I felt that like although I was trying to make an effort to become an advocate and like bring out these issues, the faculty didn’t wanna hear it cause that just kind of added another burden on them. They just wanted to know, he’s doing poorly cause he’s not working hard. He’s gonna flunk out cause he doesn’t have the skills to be here, but no, it’s not just that. It’s not that easy because people will say that [a certain Black student] is the smartest kid in their class. So why is he flunking out? You’re not doing your job and, you know, people aren’t willing to accept that. So I felt like I was doing a job that wasn’t being noticed or I guess appreciated by anyone.

The teachers also spent a good portion of time talking about tension that can exist among Black teachers due to different expressions of racial identity and how they were perceived within the school. One teacher asserted:

It just really bothers me that she’s conveniently a woman of color [at times] and that pisses me off and it pisses me off even more. It pissed me off more and more each year, because each year that we been here, it just got progressively worse. Our first year, it was like we’re both...we’re here together. We were the only ones, you know. We do what we had to do, whatever. We tried to be involved as much as we could because we were both in [the same school division] at the time. Tried to be involved as much as we could with the [multicultural student group] kids or whatever, but then I noticed that she kinda started backing off little by little and would only show up for certain stuff or only be vocal on certain situations and not even vocal because I would end up having to be the mouth piece and leaving me by myself. And so then when I really started noticing it when White faculty, you know, stopped noticing her as a person of color and that pissed me off...

Along with the above challenges, teachers talked about more successful aspects of their teaching experience in independent school. One teacher noted the positive connections she made with students:

Because I guess I did a fairly decent job with the class of 14 boys, my homeroom was more boys and I had most of the top athlete boys, most of the big boys and there would be problems with certain boys and people would come to me. And not saying that I dealt with the girls any differently, but I guess that certain people thought that well you handled the boys really, really well and I even... My last, at the faculty lunching or sometime over the last few days of the school, I had a teacher come up to me, you know your boys are really gonna miss you. And I was like, the girls will miss me too.

Another teacher spoke about the support she received from her colleagues: But whereas, I was surrounded by older women, who... I found very supportive and even the head of our lower school, I find her to be very supportive in a lot of things. So, you know, I think my experience was a little different...

### *Relationship between Black Students and Black Teachers*

Each of the teachers discussed the relationship they had with Black students. For instance, one teacher commented:

But the two African American girls... I feel that we had a special type of connection. [One of the girls] was also in my after school program and they're just like... they're very sweet and I think they appreciated seeing me, you know. They would totally go out of their way to like wave for like five minutes as they're passing the window and [one of the girls] would give me gifts. I never had her as a student or anything, but she come down to my classroom give me a gift and she ask the teacher if she could come down and see me and like in the faculty lounge and stuff. So I think it's like really special for her too.

On the other hand, the same teacher talked about what can happen when there is not an existing relationship between Black student and teacher despite perceived similarity based on race by White members of the school community. She said:

But I know in one case, there's this new girl there. Forget her name... She was having problems about going home to her neighborhood and the kids would make fun of her for going to [the school] and I was suppose to talk to her and all. Like the head of the school asked me to talk to her, try to talk to her, but it's kind of hard, cause [we're] in two different buildings and there's just like, "Yeah, go to talk to her." It wasn't like, you know... The girl doesn't really know who I am. I don't know. Like I mean I would kind of like make eye contact with her and like say hi and stuff, but I think it would be kind of awkward if I were just to come up to her and be like, you know. Open up, open up.

Another perspective on reaching out to Black students was offered by the teacher who said:

And some of it, you know, I take upon myself. Like I wanted [one girl] as my advisee, because she's the only Black girl in the 7th grade. She's been the only Black one since 5th grade, you know. She needed some daily,

you know, just be loved and kicked in the butt and I think as much as she resisted it, I think she liked it [but] her mom had to tell me that. Her mom was like, "I just wanted you to know that [my daughter] adored you." Part of the discussion focused on how the Black student-teacher relationship differed somewhat from the relationship Black students had with White teachers. Two teachers offered the following exchange:

**Teacher A:** White faculty members are so intimidated by Black boys and it plays out with, yeah, them writing them up like crazy. This fella's got written up so many times.

**Teacher B:** And then also, the Black kids know it too. The Black boys know it and they use it. They use it to their... some of them use it to their advantage. [One student] used to be like... He used to walk the halls, shirttail untucked and I swear I would be the only teacher yelling at him about... You and I the only two people yelling at him about his shirttail. Hey, you cannot walk around here looking like this. "They ain't gonna do nothing to me."

### *Other themes*

One of the first topics discussed by teachers in the focus group was *Black student attrition*. For instance one teacher stated:

We lost three African American boys. We lost one like September. November, we lost a freshman, because he was caught stealing something. We lost [another student] who's been here since 4th grade. We lost him, I guess in December over Christmas break because he wasn't doing academically well here.

Teachers also spoke about *views on diversity in the school*. One teacher commented:

I mean, I do think that everyone obviously sees race and I think race really affects the way that we deal with kids and that we deal with other faculty of color. But I don't think that they're really willing to recognize that and deal with it appropriately. So if I was gonna give a recommendation, it would be to realize that every child, especially, you know, African American students have different experiences. And coming here is not the same on average as a White kid...and we need to recognize that and like address their particular concerns and problems.

*Views on the school* were articulated by teachers in a number of ways. One of the more interesting comments came from the teacher who said:

It's just a lot about appearances and creating the perfect little package. It doesn't matter how... It doesn't matter what's going on with the kid entirely so much as long as they're like on paper, they look good, so they can get into Princeton, Harvard, Yale, early decision and continue on with the [tradition].

Another teacher addressed the commitment expected from teachers in general when she said, "Cause every faculty member, irregardless of race, gets milked for everything. And I think this is indicative of independent school culture."



## 1998-1999

### Students

Interviews with students at one of the participating SAAS schools were conducted during the 1998-1999 year.

### Participants

Eleven students who were interviewed in the 1997-1998 year were interviewed again during the 1998-1999 year. Six girls and an additional male student were interviewed during this time as well to bring the total number of students interviewed in the 1998-1999 year to 18. All students interviewed were in the upper school.

### Procedure

A graduate student member of the SAAS research team interviewed each student individually. All interviews took place in quiet areas of the school and were audiotaped. The interview protocol was a slightly revised version of the protocol used in the 1997-1998 year. In addition to asking students to discuss their satisfaction with the school and their views of how diversity was addressed by the school and teachers, students were asked specifically how they thought their race or gender influenced their experiences in their school (as opposed to asking about incidents that pertained to race and gender since that was believed to have: 1) led to a focus on negative situations and/or 2) resulted in taciturn answers from students that did not yield valuable information).

### Data analysis

As was the case with the interview data from the 1997-1998 year, thematic analysis was used with the 1998-1999 student interview data. Interviews were analyzed by question in order to facilitate data analysis for the researchers and make the presentation of the results as concise and informative as possible. Results for all of the 18 students interviewed during the 1998-1999 year are presented first.

### Results

*Question 1: On a scale of 1 to 5 how well does this school address issues of cultural diversity?*

Students responded to the question using a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = very poorly and 5 = very well. Three was considered average. The average numerical response to this question for the 18 students who responded to it was 3.56 with a range of 2 to 5. This response lies between average and very well and indicates that at the outset of the individual interviews students believed that their schools did a solid job of addressing diversity. Approximately fifty-six percent of the students elaborated on their thoughts about how well they believed their schools addressed diversity. Of these students, 50% made commentary that indicated that they believed that their schools were trying to address diversity in some way with more or less effective outcomes; 40% believed that their schools were doing a good job addressing diversity and they were quite satisfied; and 10% stated that their school did not know what to do about addressing diversity. Examples of these responses are below.

The commentary of Naomi, an upper school student, illustrated the perspective of students who believed that their schools were *trying to address diversity with more or less efficacy*. She said:

Well, I guess they're making, they're doing well in their efforts to address it, but I'm not sure. I think [the school] is still trying to figure out how exactly they're gonna approach the issues. So that's still developing. But I think they're doing well in that effort, pretty well, yeah.

Students like Julie, another upper school student, represented the point of view of those students who seemed quite *satisfied with how their school addressed diversity*. Julie stated, "I think we have a lot of groups and a lot of participants in those groups. And it seems there's always something going on, either something special...or maybe [multicultural students' group] conferences, something like that."

Finally, Samuel, an upper school student, addressed the theme of *they don't know what to do* when he said, "And just like, I think that they see it but they're not really taking care of it."

#### *Question 2: How would you describe your experience here in this school?*

The majority of students (29%) mentioned academics or the overall school experience in their answers to Question 2. The next largest group (22.6%) discussed the influence of demographic factors, such as age or the neighborhood in which they lived, on their experience at school. Approximately, 19 percent of students presented their views on race in their schools with another 19 percent discussing peer interactions. Finally, approximately ten percent of students talked about race-related stereotypes and discrimination.

Examples of student comments on *academics or the overall school experience* include the following from Alana, an upper school student who said, "I really like it. There is so much to offer. [I] found interests in certain things like Art which I want to take up. Sports teams – I'm athletic in tennis – and I started taking lacrosse here."

Alana's take on her school experience was generally positive as was the case with several other students. Gene presented a slightly different perspective:

As far as my entire experience? Well, I'll definitely say it's full of ups and downs. And by academic achievements, most clearly, like because again, I met with [one of the school guidance counselors] yesterday and we looked at my transcripts and it was like the evolution of Gene through high school was like high A's and B's in ninth grade and it started to slide down. And I would definitely say that's how I felt at [this school]. When I first entered I would say I was high at the top, very optimistic and stuff. And throughout the years I've assimilated more into this culture and I've realized more and more, day by day, that it's not fair, I would say. And that caused me to slip a little.

Another set of answers provided by students to Question 2 focused on *demographic factors* including, among other things, grade level or demographic factors. Kia, an upper school student, described how grade level played a part in her school experience:

I think my lower school experience, I think I had fun because I had so many friends. There weren't that many issues, you know. There was not that much homework and I think lower school I enjoyed. And I liked my teachers. Middle school, sixth, seventh and eighth grade I just had, I guess I started becoming aware of my race and my friends kind of started shifting, you know, who I was friends with. There were, like popularity was really huge. So that was kind of hard. And then ninth grade and high school, I think I probably had the most difficulty.

The next largest group of responses addressed students' views on race in school and peer interactions. In regard to *views on race school* Daniel said, "[I] don't think any different. I haven't experienced anything racial. People welcome you." On the other hand, Corey offered the following statement:

We just don't talk a lot about race. I mean sure, we might joke around about it every once in a while. Well, I joke about it every day. But like the school actually addressing it, that's like once or twice a year we might have like a Multi-Cultural Day.

Rahim, an upper school student, discussed *peer interactions* when he said:

Like I say, I personally...I try to like fit in with anyone, you know. Like get on with everyone and like try not to be one of the ones who like separate myself cause I guess that adds to the problem.

Naomi added:

Well, I think for some kids here, some of your average students here, it's not too hard to find someone that's exactly like they are. If they want to find someone that's exactly like they are, it wouldn't be too hard. But I think that's impossible for me, at this school. And that's something that I've had to deal with.

The *race-related stereotypes and discrimination* theme was illustrated by commentary from Samuel who stated:

Well, like the most recent example, I guess? People are like, well, I'm the best long jumper in the league in track for like freshman year and people will be like, well, of course, because you're Black. They say things like that. Or just like, I don't know, like just like people will say things sometimes like, you'll get into college because you're Black, you know. Just because they think that like the fact that colleges have to fill a quota, you know. So it's like if my grades are like D's and C's and I get a 1300 on my SAT's, then I'll like get into college - I won't. Cause like they just don't think that like I'm working for it and stuff. Like this one girl was like, I guess it's not bad to be Black all the time, you know. It's ignorant comments like that.

*Question 3: What are the positive things about being a student in this school?*

The majority of students' primary responses to Question 3 could be assigned to five major themes: quality of education and preparation for college (25.7%), school ethos (22.9%), interaction with teachers (11.4%), resources and opportunities (11.4%), and diversity-related commentary (11.4%).

The theme most frequently seen from students was *quality of education and preparation for college*. Students commented on getting a “good education” and other aspects of the school that made the education so valuable. For instance, Kia said:

I think the academics. Like I think my study habits are really good and like the assignments they give us make you really think and they’re making you use every single part of your brain. And like it’s real rigorous and demanding. And so I find myself, you know, like I think I’m a good student just because I’ve worked so hard because the teachers have such high expectations of us. And they expect you to get your work done, and if you don’t, I mean you’ll get in trouble. So I think like academics.

The *school ethos* was the next most frequently seen theme. Samuel said: Integrity is like the main thing that this school is all about. They give you a lot of faith to do your own thing and if you cross that line, they’ll get you. But, yeah, this school, they try and concentrate a lot on like who the people are...

Julie, an upper school student, added, “I can’t think of anything really specific, but I do like this school. I think it’s a healthful environment to learn [in]... I don’t know, people just generally get along really well, and they’re given a lot of freedom.”

Several students talked about *interaction with teachers* in response to Question 3. Claudia appreciated that “there’s a lot of one-on-one work with the teachers.” Kelly commented, “And there’s a lot of one-on-one contact and communication with the teachers. I’m very comfortable around them. I feel at home.” Other students discussed school *resources and opportunities*. Alana remarked, “The opportunities given here once you graduate. [You] learn so many things and can sign-up for so many things.” Corey stated:

Well, since we’re such a small school, you know, like compared to most public schools, there’s a lot more like personal one-on-one interaction. Instead of being like in a class with like 500 in one grade, there’s only like 100 of us, so it’s like 20 people a class. You know, it’s just small one-on-one, I guess.

Commentary was also made by students in relation to *diversity*. Khary asserted:

I happen to be a minority at school where if I was going to a public school or a catholic school, it would be the majority Black. And I think being a minority at school prepares you for the real world because I’ll probably do something in the business field, and I doubt I’ll be a majority in the business world.

Rahim added:

It’s just like an interesting, like different experience and very few people have, they have this experience, you know. Like you can just like be an African American in a predominantly White school. It’s just unique like experience. It’s hard to explain. So, it’s different.

The remaining 17.2 percent of students’ responses were divided between the themes of interaction with peers and prestige. In regard to *interactions with*

*peers*, Claudia commented, “And I’ve had close friends here that have been going here as long as me, good friends and stuff.” Kelly enthused, “The kids are - I mean I love them, I love basically everyone.” The *prestige* comments from students included those from Gene who said:

I would definitely say the name. The very name of the school, you put that on a college application, the people will instantly fall in love with you. Like, I’ve been to several colleges and they ask me what school I go to. I say, [the name of this school] and their eyes just light up. And I definitely thank God that I went to a school like this where everyone knows the school all throughout the nation.

Ken added, “I think I know that colleges really like this school. So when you fill out applications and things like that, they look at the high school you went to, and I think it’s helped.”

*Question 4: What are the negative things about being a student in this school?*

The majority of students’ responses to Question 4 could be assigned to six themes: responses to minority status (25.8%); community norms or pressures (25.8%); interactions with peers (12.9%); interactions with teachers (9.7%); socioeconomic differences (9.7%); and lack of racial minorities/diversity (9.7%).

Responses to minority status and community norms or pressures were the themes seen most often in response to Question 4. In regard to *responses to minority status*, students offered commentary such as that from Ken who said:

And one thing, teachers over here really can’t tell the difference between Black kids, for some reason. They call, like they call me about two other people’s name every time, and it’s very annoying. So, I guess for some reason that teachers aren’t used to kids of color.

Khary expounded further when he remarked:

You don’t have as many people to relate to and to get along with. Most of the people come from similar backgrounds except for yourself...And just when you don’t have that many people to relate to, it kind of limits - like white people basically flock to each other. And what happens is like sometimes you feel that you need to be around a certain number of Black people. And sometimes whether you like them that much or not, it doesn’t always matter. So it kind of limits your choice of friends. And not to say that I’m not friends with all the other people around the school, but that’s one negative. Also, being a minority, you sometimes have more problems with getting along with teachers, things like that, in the classroom. There’s always your old story, be in a history class and talking about slavery and the teacher looks at you. And that happens.

An example of student commentary on *community norms or pressures* comes from Julie who asserted:

Well, I think people are a little too preoccupied with what grades and numbers mean about you as a student. And I think that sometimes you get more work than you could possibly handle and they just consciously give you more work than you could possibly handle. But then they’re disappointed when they find out that it was their class that you had to put

off for a little while to do some other one. So that's kind of like a double standard.

Gene added, "[This school] is a very close-knit community. I mean if something happens in the morning, five minutes later the whole entire school knows about it."

Some students discussed *interactions with peers* in responding to Question 4. Sheldon reflected on how his relationships with peers change during and after the sports season:

I mean I think it's just like during the sports season you feel like you're really a family with your team or whatever, and like when you're walking through the halls, you see a person on your team and you're really like enthusiastic to see them. And it's like, "Hi. You know, how's it going? Are you ready?" And then like, I don't think it's for any particular reason, but after the season's over, it just goes back to them being...for the majority.

Kia also addressed school peers when she said, "I would say the people, yeah, because, I mean honestly I think I might be friends with maybe three people that I can really call my friends."

Other students talked about *interactions with teachers* as negative aspects of their school experience. For instance, Daniel said, "Mostly teachers. [They're] concrete, [there's a] certain way want [you] to do [things]. [If you] don't do it their way, [I feel like I'm] stuck in a situation [where] everything I do is wrong." In talking about the special relationship Black students have with Black teachers Rahim offered the following:

Like I think it's good cause they expect you to do well, but I don't think it's good...Like sometimes, they put you on a spot; single you out in the class and like sometimes after class, like you should be doing this, you should be doing that. It's like, they keep their eye on you instead of like the rest of the class.

The *socioeconomic differences* theme was illustrated by commentary from Naomi:

I guess being at a school where so many students are from affluent backgrounds. You get a certain point of view of life, like you start to take some things for granted and your priorities sometimes may get changed. Because there are certain values that people have or don't have. And one year, friends - you're not friends, but like you spend a lot of time with people that are, they're kind of rich and don't have to worry about as many things. It's just different.

Samuel added, "It's mainly like the upper class kids here...All they're concerned about is education and making money. Cause that's what their parents teach them."

The *lack of diversity* theme was seen in responses such as those from Rahim who stated:

I guess the lack of the understanding of differences and like wanting...to understand. I think everyone like understands that everyone's different, but I don't think they wanna...I don't think they care or want to accept the differences.

Xavier simply stated, “I do think that there is a lack of population of minority students.”

The remaining 6.5 percent of student responses to Question 4 were allotted to the *school resources* theme. Gene asserted:

I would definitely say our athletic program. It doesn't matter that we're not good at all, but the fact is that we don't stress it enough. I mean I feel as though athletics definitely teaches discipline which is needed in the academic field.

Bill added:

Appropriation of funding for sports. Basketball and soccer get more of a budget than any other sports (like cross country, track). We won championship and all [we] get is t-shirts. Basketball [has] not won in five years and gets new uniforms.

*Question 5a: How do you think that your race has influenced your experiences in this school?*

The majority of students' responses to Question 5a could be assigned to six themes: isolation from, being stereotyped by or discriminated against by the majority (24.2%); responses to race dynamics or racism in school (15.2%); interaction with non-Black peers (12.1%); race or racism not a factor (9.1%); visibility issues (9.1%); and diversity in how race matters (9.1%).

*Isolation from, being stereotyped by or discriminated against by the majority* was the theme seen most often in response to Question 5a. Daniel said:

No, I guess a lot of kids expect stuff from you because of race, expect to be like other Black kids....People [are] surprised when I don't talk or express things. Certain kids expect [you to] act a certain way...[to not] do what [they] do or act [like they act].

Shelden added, “I mean sports-wise, I think me being the new Black kid, everyone assumed I was athletic, and this and that. Like “Are you gonna play basketball for the team?” is one of the very big questions.”

*Responses to race dynamics or racism in school* was the next most frequently seen theme. Rahim remarked:

I just get angry after awhile like. But like I think it should change but I don't know how it can change. I don't think it can. Like even just saying something like... and like, make the person acknowledge like maybe he might be wrong, but I don't know.

In describing how she responded to an event she thought was racism-related Alana said, “I got really, really shocked. So I ignore the fact that people out there that think like that. Shocked more than any other emotion.”

The *interaction with non-Black peers* theme was illustrated by comments from students such as Naomi who said:

Well recently, or in high school, race has had a lot to do with the people you associate yourself with. And like in a, I guess up through middle school, my friends were mostly white. And I still have those friends now but they're not my closest friends.

Samuel described an unique situation (as compared to other students' commentary) where his non-Black peers supported him by expressing their views on perceived inequitable treatment to school faculty:

And it's just like my white friends that see things like that, learn a lot from that, you know. And like they're the ones who actually end up going to the principal and saying like, "Yeah, I saw this happen today and I'm just like letting you know that I don't agree with it."

In response to the interviewer's comment that this was supportive action on the part of his friends, Samuel remarked, "I mean that's my close friends, you know. They wouldn't be my close friends if they didn't."

Some students responded to Question 5a by talking about *race or racism not being a factor*<sup>8</sup>. Claudia stated, "I don't know, I can't think of any that really influenced me." James added:

I don't feel, I mean I don't feel that my race has influenced my experience. I'm sure it has, but I haven't really taken that much notice of it. I know a lot of people who feel like really, a lot of Black kids who really feel like their race has, like has been a factor. But I've never really noticed that.

Other students discussed *visibility issues* in response to Question 5a. Alana said:

[At] times my race is put on a spotlight in a way. Don't like it. I'm proud to be Black but don't like when issue about me because I'm Black.

Sometimes teachers want you to speak and put emphasis on being Black. Daniel added, "Circumstances where teachers say "Will all [the] Black kids stand up?" don't happen a lot. One time [it] did happen."

*Diversity in how race matters* was addressed by a number of students. For instance, James said:

I don't think anybody said that to me, but I do remember, like a couple of years ago there was this one senior who always had a complaint. And I think that he was probably looking for something to complain about. I mean he was pretty in to being Black in the first place. Like he went to the Million Man March and everything. So I mean I think he was just into that.

Kelly added:

I don't know that it's so much my race or it's just my upbringing, the way I've been brought up, because I'm mixed. So, I mean it's just part of the way I've been brought up that everyone is basically equal and that race doesn't matter so much for them. If I had been all, if both my parents were Black or both my parents were white, some of that might be different.

The remaining 21.3% of students' responses was comprised of four different themes including: interactions with Black peers, lack of connection with other Blacks, interaction with Black faculty, and positive aspects of being Black. Shelden talked about *interactions with Black peers* when he said, "And I'm glad that my grades, in particular, have larger numbers of African American students,

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<sup>8</sup> Both primary and secondary responses to questions were evaluated such that students could have more than one theme represented in their answers to questions. There were students whose primary response to Question 5a was that race or racism did not play a role at school who then followed up with a secondary response that reflected one of the other nine themes involving race or racism.



and that's more of a comfort level for me, knowing that I have them with me." In contrast, Ethan's commentary, "New African American students seek me out but I don't hang with them," illustrated the *lack of connection with other Black students* theme. An example of the *interaction with Black faculty* theme was given by Kia who said:

Yeah. And even though I like how the Black teachers support me, they always like assume that I must be having a problem. They're just like, you know, how you doing, dah, dah, dah. I mean I guess they just want to make sure that everything's okay with me, but...

Finally, in terms of *positive aspects of being Black*, Ken said, "I guess it helps you, like being Black, I think I'm more open to meeting other people....I think it helps, in a way it helps me meet more people. And it like builds up my self-esteem, in a way."

*Question 5b: How do you think that your gender has influenced your experiences in this school?*

The majority of students' responses to Question 5b could be assigned to five themes: inequitable treatment because of gender (23.3%); gender and race interactions (20%); female empowerment (16.7%); gender not an issue (13.3%); and response to gender dynamics (10%).

The most frequently seen response was the *inequitable treatment because of gender* theme. Alana described an unfortunate incident when she said, "Guys in grade will slap [your] butt. [I] don't feel violated, it gets to point where [you say] "stop."" James commented on inequitable treatment of boys when he said, "But I think gender issues are definitely there. Like teachers definitely yell at boys for talking in class more than girls. That's without a doubt." Other boys made similar statements.

The next most frequently seen theme for Question 5b was *gender and interactions*. Gene said:

I think it was the teaming up of my gender and my race that influenced my [experience at this school] more. It's one thing to be Black at [this school], but another thing to be a Black male at [this school] where it's just like more stones stacked up against you.

Samuel added:

It's more gender, but it's worse with race. You know, like if you're a guy, you'll definitely hear it more than a girl would. But if you're a Black guy, you'll hear it more than just a white guy, you know. It's cause there's that whole stereotype that like Black people are like loud and things like that.

Several students talked about *female empowerment* within their school.

Kelly remarked:

Yes, because I think that this school is pretty female run. The heads of all the extracurricular groups, almost all of them are female. The women's athletics is much stronger than the male. That might only be like the past 10 years, but that's the way it's been for me. And a lot of them develop stronger students. I mean it's a real power...which is good.

Male students made similar commentary. For example, Corey said:

You see all the girls involved. The girls pretty much run the [multicultural students' union] now and like they like come to meeting and girls are on the [student government] and involved in extracurricular activities. And all the boys, all they do is sports.

In regard to the *gender not an issue* theme, most students provided brief responses often replying along the lines of Xavier who said, "I don't know, cause gender, I never really thought about that." Claudia added, "But I don't know, it hasn't really influenced me that much." As for the *response to gender dynamics* theme, students were a bit more responsive. For example, Julie reflected on how she thought people responded to differential treatment for males and females in the school. She said, "I think people really ignore it. And even if I was to bring it up, I think instead of like trying to understand, someone would just try and defend it." In terms of how he responded to gender role expectations, Gene asserted, "I really don't care about that. I mean it's my life and I have different goals and different expectations for myself."

The remaining 16.6% of students' responses was comprised of four different themes including: gender differences in peer relationships, gender role expectations, tension around interracial relationships, and sexuality and sexual orientation issues. Bill talked about *gender differences in peer relationships* when he said, "Basically typical, girls more accepting than boys. Only thing have to say about that. If female would have had better experience here." Claudia addressed *gender role expectations* when she said, "The teachers usually like - sometimes think like the girls will be better behaved." Khary illustrated the *tension around interracial relationships* theme when he remarked:

And it's just like it's always in the back of your head, like, she White and I'm Black and that doesn't work. I mean I've grown out of that somewhat, but you still think about it a lot - if I go to the prom with her, she's White, you know, and I'm Black.

Finally, Daniel alluded to the *sexuality and sexual orientation* theme when he said, "[People make] sexual jokes, [some] kids [are] not sure about sexuality. [You have to] watch what [you] say. [You] don't want to offend anyone."

*Question 6: What things in the school would you change if you had the power to do so?*

Most student responses to Question 6 could be assigned to three major themes: increasing overall diversity (46.2%), improving the school environment (26.9%), and increasing Black students and/or faculty (15.4%). *Increasing overall diversity* was the most frequently seen theme. Kia asserted:

I would get more diversity among the students and faculty. The curriculum - we have to evaluate our English curriculum. We read one book by a Black author every year and the rest are all like European or somewhere else. And I would definitely, like in History and English, I'd have more emphasis on something by Black authors.

Gene added, "First I would actually try to increase diversity. Then I would go from there."

*Improving the school environment* was the next most frequently seen theme. This theme included topics such as the athletic programs or the courses offered. James talked about the atmosphere at his school as something he would like to see changed. He said, “I’d make it more relaxed, I mean because [of] all the academic competition.” Bill stated that he would change, “I guess [the] cliquish nature [of the school].”

Several students provided commentary that illustrated the theme *increasing Black students and/or faculty*. For example, Ken said, “But I’d definitely also like to see more Black kids here and have some kind of scholarship program for Black kids.” Sheldon added, “Well, first of all, the amount of African American students, I really think it’s too low. And I mean they’re trying to bring in students, but I’m not sure, I mean it’s not working, whatever they’re doing.”

The remaining 11.5% of students’ responses were comprised of two themes: school issues and/or policies and teacher-related issues. An example of responses from the *school issues and/or policies* theme came from Ken who said:

And that’s one of the things they definitely should keep, the after school - yeah, one of the things they should change, actually, is the amount of time you spend in sports. Because most of the kids come in and they’re all tired in a week and they haven’t done any homework.

Kelly illustrated the *teacher-related issues* theme when she said:

I guess communications between the teachers themselves because I don’t think they think it out, you know, how they are and the assigning of big papers due on the same day and stuff like that. Sometimes they need to loosen up a little bit.

*Question 7: What things in the school would you keep the same?*

The majority of students’ responses to Question 7 could be assigned to four major themes: school atmosphere (31%), student-teacher relationships (31%), academic reputation and/or quality (13.8%), and everything (13.8%).

School atmosphere and student-teacher relationships were the two most frequently seen themes. In regard to *school atmosphere*, students made comments along the lines of those made by Julie who said:

People just really trust you to manage your time. And I guess freedom is kind of like secondary to trust because when someone trusts you, you have more freedom to do what you want within your own individual way....And like here you’re kind of like left to do kind of what you want to do and like what your vision is. And it’s like how you deal with it.

Ethan commented that he would keep the “total acceptance [and] different ideas” the same in his school.

The theme of *student-teacher relationships* was illustrated by commentary such as that from Kelly who said, “The relationships between the students and teachers I think is really strong and really positive.” Sheldon elaborated by speaking about his perception of relationships between Black students and faculty:

The African American faculty. I'd definitely keep them because they're really looking out for us and they really help us to strive. And I think there's enough of them to - I mean considering that there's not so many African American students, there's enough teachers there to look over us and keep us under their wings. I really appreciate that.

The student responses for the theme *academic reputation and/or quality* focused mostly on the school curriculum and perceived quality of the education they were receiving. Rahim asserted, "I think I guess the level of education is pretty good. The curriculum is pretty strong." Corey added, "I'd keep the workload the same. It's difficult at times, but you know, I guess it's supposed to help us." Student responses were often brief in regard to the keep *everything* the same theme. When asked what things she would keep the same, Claudia replied, "Well, basically everything." Xavier also commented, "Everything; I mean it's alright here."

The remaining 10.3% of students' responses to Question 7 was comprised of the themes of school resources and diversity. In regard to *school resources*, Kelly described unique learning opportunities when she said, "There's an opportunity to...do an independent project. And basically everything is open to us." As for the *diversity* theme, Ken commented:

And the good thing about [a school program on diversity] was that it wasn't just race. It was like work and different attitudes towards work and things. I think they should bring that in and make it like a...week, or like once a month or something like that.

*Question 8: Which academic areas do you do well at (e.g., math, science, history, etc)?*

Data will be presented in a tabular format for Question 8 since most student answers were brief, one to two word replies where they simply stated which classes they preferred and/or did well in at their schools. Table 15 presents the subjects students stated they did well at or preferred.

Table 15. Distribution of students' preferred academic subjects from 1999 interviews

Subject	Percent of students who endorsed
Math	27.3%
Sciences	21.2%
English	21.2%
Languages	15.1%
History/Social Studies	9.1%
Art	6.1%

*Question 9: Which extracurricular areas do you do well at (athletics, debating, drama, band, etc)?*

Data will be presented in a tabular format for Question 9 since most student answers were relatively brief descriptions of what activities they

participated in or enjoyed at school. Table 16 presents the activities in which students said they participated.

Table 16. Distribution of students' activities from the 1999 interviews

Subject	Percent of students who endorsed
Athletics	46.9%
Music	12.5%
Community Service	9.4%
Job	6.3%
Out of school sports	5.2%

The remaining 18.6% of activities cited by students included: multicultural student unions, drama, student government, out of school sports and out of school musical activities, and other activities. Each of these activities garnered no more than 3.1% of student responses each.

*Question 10: What strategies has the school tried in addressing diversity recently?*

Most student responses to Question 10 could be assigned to four major themes: school activities (46.9%), multicultural student groups and student activities (18.8%), faculty and staff initiatives (18.8%), and not much/not as much as they could (12.5%).

In regard to *school activities*, the most frequently seen theme, students discussed the class work and planned activities their schools used to address diversity. Claudia described one of the school's activities when she said:

Well, especially recently we've been having a lot of, like well, this weekend there was this whole multi-cultural student thing where they had this workshop on different issues, like interracial relationships, dynamics and - well, I don't remember what they all were. But that was real interesting because a lot of people were here. And then recently we've been having stuff like that going on.

Kelly talked about other efforts when she commented that, "They have, I mean speakers and assemblies and stuff. Trying to incorporate authors, etc., not [just] European or white American...with at least one book by a Black author on the book list."

The next most frequently seen theme was *multicultural student groups and student activities*. Kia described the activities of the multicultural student group at her school:

And, I guess, well within the school - well, within the [multicultural student group], they would be a part because I think [the multicultural student group] does a better job than any like faculty person. And we have an...assembly and the things we do for Black History Month.

Daniel added, "More or less have different clubs. Focus on types of diversity, racism, gender. Clubs [where students are] free to speak out. Don't stop hearing about things that go on."

The *faculty and staff initiatives* theme was comprised of responses such as those from Claudia who said, “Like our teachers, like they have a lot of discussions.” James offered this commentary on the role of Black faculty in addressing diversity in the school:

Yeah, I think it’s always like an African American teacher is in charge of that and stuff. And like they do a lot of that. I remember one teacher saying that since, I mean he’s here to teach and everything and he’s going to be fair to all students, but since he is an African American, he’s gonna make a point to help the African American students in any way that he can. So yeah, I think that happens.

There were students who felt that their schools did *not do much* or *as much as they could* in regard to diversity. Rahim said:

Like, I haven't seen them try directly to address it like issues. They really just like...when issues come up or something like that, they really try keep it like hush and like between just like...instead of like involving the whole school, they try to keep it between whoever it involves, you know, try to solve it quietly.

Gene added, “But I really haven’t seen, like everyone [in] admissions or the business office...seriously trying to diversity [at this school].”

The remaining 3.1 percent of student responses to Question 10 was allotted to the *diversifying the student body* theme. Bill said, “Other ways [include] trying to bring more minorities in. [There was a] big article advertising diversity at [this school].”

*Question 11: How have teachers tried to discuss diversity issues in the classes that you take?*

The majority of students’ responses to Question 11 were assigned to four major themes: nothing/does not come up (34.4%), in English classes (21.9%), one teacher’s initiative (15.6%), and in History and/or social studies/science classes (15.2%).

The theme most frequently seen from students was *nothing/does not come up*. Kia asserted, “I mean we don’t normally talk about it.” Gene added: I mean they really don’t. I mean they don’t have to. If they have to deal with diversity, teachers are looked at just to teach, really. Like during math class, we don’t really stop teaching about sine and cosine to explain how our class is diverse at all. That’s really not practical. And in certain classes where it would be helpful to discuss equality and all that stuff during certain books we read, that really wouldn’t happen.

The next most frequently seen theme in response to Question 11 was *in English classes*. James said, “Like in English we read a lot of books by Black writers and stuff like that. And then we have conversations about that.” Naomi added:

But I mean when we deal with, like African American authors in English, it’s just like any other author. It’s not made to be different. And English class I guess is the only class where we deal with diverse, kind of, African Americans or Asians.

The *one teacher's initiative* theme was illustrated by commentary from Xavier who said:

Some teachers if it's an issue. We have, the most active teacher who is always dealing with race is [a White female teacher]. She's very opinionated, very open. [She'll say], "If any race problem at school, don't be afraid to tell me." I like her for that, being open. Because she teaches English she's able to address [things].

Kia described the class of the teacher Xavier mentioned when she said, "Like a specific class, like my English class is race, gender and something else - we're talking about videos with Spike Lee."

*In History and/or social studies/science classes* theme was comprised of responses such as those from Ethan who said, "History [we do] presentations on culture." Ken added:

History, during Black History Month, we of course, did some stuff on like the Emancipation Proclamation. But I think, I'm not sure, but I think that was only because it was like during the Civil War. That's the only reason why it came up.

The remaining 15.7 percent of student responses to Question 11 was allotted to the following themes: teachers being uncomfortable discussing diversity and/or race and student responses to diversity strategies. In terms of the *teachers being uncomfortable* theme, Bill offered this commentary:

Tentatively. Little tip toe-y around subject. Everyone is tip toe-y around [the] subject of race...Well what I'm thinking when I think what they're thinking is why are you tip toe-ing around subject? [They] don't know quite how to say without hurting someone's feeling or promoting uproar or being stereotyped as racist. That's what keeps people from saying what's on minds. Fear of being branded, coming out as some sort of racist person but really they're not.

Finally, Rahim talked about *student responses* to teachers' diversity strategies. He remarked:

Like I remember a couple of years back, some of the White students felt like they were being like [hurt] educationally cause you're concentrating more on like African American like authors instead of the classics like Charles Dickens. They felt kinda like they're being cheated out of their classic education.... But other than that, really not in class unless it's like some kind of comment like. Yeah, like students really never make those kind of comments out loud in front of like large groups. They do it like when they're little like close friends. Definitely not in front of the teachers.

Samuel added his perspective on how students respond to teachers addressing diversity when he said:

Yeah, yeah, exactly. Or, like all the Black kids are talking and like the white kids feel like if they say something, they're being shunned, so they don't really want to put in their input. You know, no one is really comfortable with it.

*Question 12: What have other African American students said to you about their experience here?*

The majority of student responses to Question 12 were assigned to four major themes: haven't talked about it (27.6%), feel disconnected/don't like (20.7%), differences among Black students (20.7%), and discrimination experiences (13.8%).

The most frequently seen theme from students in response to Question 12 was *haven't talked about it*. Sheldon illustrated this theme when he said:

That's not really like a big topic, you know, that we just sit there and vent on our experiences. I mean if, like if a topic occurs, I mean there's no real like big racial issues, you know, that pop up around here.

Julie simply replied, "I don't have any like real details about that. I don't know."

The next most frequently seen theme was *feel disconnected/don't like*. Naomi commented, "But a lot of people just say that they can't wait to leave." Gene elaborated a bit when he asserted:

Disgust, definitely. Everyone is just disgusted. Like they just hate this school, like they just want to leave, just to be free. Like we're just counting down days until graduation, until we can finally leave this place.

The *differences among Black students* theme was seen as frequently as the previous theme. Kia articulated this theme when she said:

It depends, because like, I mean you can categorize different, the different type of Black people that go here because some have gone here for a while and most of them are males. Males usually don't, but I've talked to, at least in my grade, they don't, they find it's been just fine, you know. They haven't really had any other experience, so they don't see as many problems as like a girl might. I don't know, it depends on the background they come from too. Because there are some Black guys that are coming in the junior class, you know, that all their friends out of school might be Black. And so when they come here, they feel that their experience is, you know, they might be angry, they might hate this school and think that there are too many White people and not enough Black people. And then, you know, there could be another person in my class that have real good friends in school, and outside of school are White. And when he comes to school, you know, everything is normal. But, my friends, the girls, I think there are five of them that came in ninth grade and only two have stayed out of those five. The ones that left, they left on academic reasons and they just felt they couldn't stand, you know, the people here and the teachers. And my one friend that's still here, like academically-wise she likes it.

In terms of *discrimination experiences* a representative comment came from Julie who said:

One of my friends feels that, I mean he had some experiences with the administrations sometimes. Like a lot of times he feels that it's just because they view him as a bad person so even if he does something that's not really, not really anything, he gets penalized real heavily then.



Bill added that other students have talked to him about “issues involving school and how basically how school treats its students and how people behave sometimes.”

The remaining 17.2 percent of student responses to Question 12 was allotted to the following themes: community amongst Black students, wanting more Black students and/or faculty, and feel connected/at home. Corey illustrated the *community amongst Black students* theme when he said, “Pretty much same as mine. Called me – talked to about something I did.” Naomi talked about other Black students *wanting more Black students* at their schools when she remarked, “Well, a lot of people just wish that there were more Black males so they could date, and things like that. But there aren’t very many Black males in our grade.” As for the *feeling connected/at home*, Rahim commented that other students make statements such as, “You like being here.” James added, “Then [there are] people like me who really haven’t [had any problems].”

*Question 13: How do you think the African American males/females do in this school?*

Most student responses to Question 13 were assigned to five major themes: females do better than males (26.9%), about the same (23.1%), differences among Black females/males (15.4%), community among Black females /males (11.5%), and perceptions of Black females/males (11.5%).

In regard to the most frequently seen theme, *females do better than males*, students discussed their perceptions that Black females seemed more successful in their schools than did the males. Ethan said, “Females do better. [They’re] more efficient.” Xavier offered, “I think, well most African American females academically, I think do better than boys do.”

Some students felt that Black males and females did *about the same* in their schools. Shelden stated:

I guess they’re pretty good, pretty much getting the same things the males are, you know, in terms of academics or whatever or even looking, teachers mistaking them for other African American females. But I mean I don’t think it’s too much of a difference there...

Naomi added, “Well, academically I think some people do well and some people don’t. You can’t really generalize.”

Other students discussed *differences among Black females/males*. Rahim stated, “I guess like I think African American males just kinda...like keeping to themselves and everything. I think [Black females] do a better job of expressing themselves.” Shelden made similar commentary when he said, “It seems like the African American females are quicker to hang out on the weekend with the White students than the males are.”

The next most frequently seen theme was *community among Black females/males*. Claudia said, “I think we get along fine. Like I’m friends with...a lot of my friends are guys and girls, and I think that’s like that with most people. I don’t think there’s really competition or anything.” Ken added, “I think most of us get along with each other.”

Other students discussed the *perceptions of Black females/males* in the school.

Khary stated:

Well, I mean everyone knows, like you have all the Black stereotypes, where males are like criminals, stuff like that. But when you start thinking of stereotypes for Black females, it's like a touchier area. Yeah, no one's going to, I think people are more reluctant to mention that. And sometimes I'm not even sure what they are.

Alana added, "[A] lot of White guys in 10<sup>th</sup> grade act like [they] want to be Black. I notice that a lot. They want to hang out with Black guys; [they] want to act like them."

The remaining 11.5 percent of student responses to Question 13 was allotted to the following themes: don't know/haven't talked to them and females do worse than males. In terms of the *don't know/haven't talked to them*, Bill said, "Never really thought about that. [I] don't really talk to...[there are] only three [girls] in [my] grade." As for the *females do worse than males* theme, Kia stated:

But I think that I've seen like a lot of the Black males...I mean they're real close to mostly everyone, White or Black. Most of them are having a lot of fun, more so than the Black females, I would say.

*Question 14: Is there a question NOT on this questionnaire that you would ask? If so, what is it, who would it be directed to and what is the answer you would expect to receive?*

The majority of students' responses to Question 14 were assigned to the theme that represented students having no other question (55%). Students simply made comments such as, "I don't even know. I think you guys have done a pretty good job with your questionnaire." The remaining 45% of student responses was distributed across the following themes: relationship to school (15%), miscellaneous (15%), race and schools (10%), and race and student relationships (5%).

The *relationship to school* theme was comprised of responses such as those from Sheldon who posed the question, "I think what I would ask is why did you choose this school, you know, or why did you choose this one over a majority Black public school or another independent private school?" His response to the question was, "Academics, truly academics." Daniel's question, "Has it been any different, [is the] school different from where [you] live? If Black people live in predominantly Black [areas]?" illustrates the *miscellaneous* question theme. He responded, "[The] place I live is predominantly White, it's really difficult to see how they (Black kids I know) act. [I] more rely on school."

In terms of *race and schools* questions, Ken offered: "If there's any like really semi-racist people?" His answer to the question was:

In this school, no. I know there are outside, but I like the way that even though there are only a small number of people of other races, the White people have gotten accustomed to it. So they've learned, I think they've learned a lot from the other kids. I think that's real good.

Alana's question, "Would you feel more comfortable with more Black students?" illustrates the *race and student relationships* theme. Her answer was: I wouldn't, I would feel...it depends on, I know a lot of Black students like to alienate themselves, maybe feel alienated. It doesn't solve anything. [To balance the] people out there who make racist comments is to know someone who goes against stereotypes.

*Question 15a: What recommendations would you make to other African American students about how to help African American students?*

The majority of student recommendations offered in response to Question 15a were assigned to four major themes: be open (26.9%), maintain focus on work (15.4%), don't know (15.4%), and remember who you are (11.5%).

Students most often recommended that other Black students *be open*. Leah stated, "Explore your different interests and be open with yourself and be open to other, other ideas, other groups." Samuel offered his thoughts on being open to relationships with all types of students at the school:

But at the same time, it's important to have White friends too. You learn a lot from the kids who you don't hang out with and from people you've never hung out with before. And to succeed, I think that people just need to feel comfortable.

The next most frequently seen recommendation was to *maintain focus on work*. Bill said, "Work hard. Don't settle for less than your best. A little healthy competition is good for you." Xavier added, "Plan your timing. Just try and get everything done. The hardest part is getting work done....Just don't waste your time." Other students *did not know* what to recommend to African American students. These responses included statements such as, "I don't really see any problems," from Julie. Ken didn't offer any recommendations and asserted, "I don't think anybody can really tell me anything that could really influence me..."

Some students recommended that other students *remember who you are*. Shelden stated, "I think the biggest thing is don't forget where you come from, you know." Kia described the words that an older student at her school told her when she graduated when she said, "And she said, always remember who you are and where you came from."

The remaining 30.8 percent of student responses to Question 15a were allotted to the following themes: persevere, make yourself heard, stick together, don't focus on race, and don't misbehave. As an example of the *persevere* recommendations, Corey stated:

I guess not to let like little things phase you that much. Just realize that it's bigger goal and you have to achieve. And like, soon, like you won't have to deal with a lot of the problems that come up like if you keep trying hard and everything and just get to your goal...

In regard to the *make yourself heard* recommendation, Kelly suggested, "But I think one of the things that's definitely necessary is that the Black students don't ignore issues that they feel are brought up. Like if you feel that someone says something that's offensive, that they let people know." *Stick together* was another

theme for the recommendations Black students made to other Black students. Khary said, “Have them be supportive, always supportive and also...offer help to each other.” Finally, Ethan’s comment, “Don’t make color an issue,” illustrated the *don’t focus on race* theme.

*Question 15b: What recommendations would you make to teachers about how to help African American students?*

The majority of students’ recommendations to teachers were assigned to four major themes: don’t judge or single out based on race (24%), be open and nurturing (24%), be fair (16%), and reach out (16%).

*Don’t judge or single out based on race* was one of the two most frequently made recommendations. This theme was comprised of responses such as those from Rahim who said, “Just that understand that we’re...like there are differences but like there shouldn’t be like I guess they shouldn’t affect their, I guess their judgment of people. Like as far as students are concern.” Naomi addressed the interesting racial dynamic whereby teachers confuse the names of their Black students when she said, “Try to make a conscious effort to not confuse Black people’s names. Because that happens to me a lot.” To which Corey added, “Just get my name right, that’s all I ask.”

The other most frequently seen recommendation was to *be open and nurturing*. Samuel suggested:

Just be understanding about certain African American kids, like just be aware that it’s - I’m not saying like go out of your way to like, you know, sort of like make sure they’re happy or anything, but just like be aware that it’s very easy for an African American student to feel alone at a place like [this], just like it’s very easy for someone who’s overweight to feel insecure and alone around a bunch of skinny kids on a beach, you know.

Gene offered the following commentary:

[Keep an] open mind - you can do as much work as you want, but just be aware of the fact that everybody is different and certain kids will be able to perform in different sections of the book better than other kids will be able to perform.

Students also recommended that teachers *be fair*. James stated, “Just make sure that you just treat them like everybody else.” Claudia added, “Just help them out equally with other people, and I think they do that.” The recommendations to *reach out* included commentary from students such as Shelden who said, “I mean try to, you know, try harder to find our needs, like maybe we might lack, be lacking in like a certain subject...You know, take more time out to find out what the kid is lacking.” Kristen asserted, “I think more attention should be paid to like African American students because there aren’t very many African American students in this school.”

The remaining 20 percent of student responses to Question 15b were allotted to the following themes: be considerate with sensitive issues, don’t know what to recommend, diversify curriculum, and they’re doing enough. Kia illustrated the *be considerate with sensitive issues* theme when she suggested to, “not be afraid to talk about racial issues that come up.” In terms of the *don’t*

*know what to recommend* theme, Daniel stated, “[I] don’t recommend anything to teachers.” In regard to the *diversify curriculum* recommendation Bill asserted:

Like to see more works by African American writers being read. One or two books – one during the entire year being read by an African American – [I] know [there is] more than one writer. One a year? Oh I’m getting my cultural experience.

Finally, Kelly’s commentary that “I think they do a fine job” is an example of the *they’re doing enough* theme.

*Question 15c: What recommendations would you make to parents about how to help African American students?*

Most student recommendations to parents could be assigned to six major themes: be supportive and open (26.3%), don’t know (15.8%), racial socialization (15.8%), help students maintain focus (10.5%), be involved at school (10.5%), and don’t pressure kids (10.9%). Students most often recommended that parents *be supportive and open*. Bill said, “Be supportive. When ready, my Mom has always been. Be encouraging, not discouraging.” Corey added, “Try to stay involved with basically, just like talk to your child.”

*Don’t know* what to recommend was the next most frequently seen recommendation. Claudia said, “I can’t think of anything.” Students had more to say to parents in regard to the *racial socialization* recommendations. Kia remarked, “To make sure that they, well, that their child has a strong background so that they know who they are.” Alana suggested, “[For parents of] any race, make sure child knows about race [and that they’re] comfortable enough in [their] own to accept others. Know what you are but know plenty of people who have things to offer.”

The commentary that comprised the recommendation to *help students maintain focus* is illustrated by the following statement from Xavier, “Keep checking up, make sure they’re on track.” Sheldon added, “I think parents should do more, not like checking the kids homework, but just make sure they’re getting it done.” Some students recommended that their parents *be involved at school*. For instance, Kelly said:

I mean I think it’s good when the parents are involved in organizations and activities. The parents have a very strong influence on the way the school is and how it’s run. And they depend a lot on parent volunteers.

Other students recommended that parents *don’t pressure their kids*. Naomi said, “Don’t give them too much pressure.” Gene added, “They should definitely be forgiving and like ease up a little bit and stop putting so much pressure on their kids.”

The remaining 10.6 percent of student responses to Question 15c was allotted to the following themes: don’t make a big deal about race and give child space. In terms of the *don’t make a big deal about race* recommendation, Ethan said, “Stop instilling idea that people will treat them differently. Promote integration; nothing wrong with pride but take a positive [position].” Khary illustrated the *give child space* theme when he said, “And don’t impose anything on the kid.”

*Question 15d: What recommendations would you make to the Administration about how to help African American students?*

The majority of students' recommendations to the Administration were assigned to four major themes: no recommendations (26.3%), diversify the student body (21.1%), promote diversity with activities (21.1%), and using school resources (15.8%). Students most often said that they had *no recommendations* for the Administration. Naomi illustrated most of the student responses to this theme when she said, "I don't really know how a lot of that stuff works, so I couldn't really make any recommendations." Rahim commented, "I don't know what their job really is anyway."

*Diversify the student body* was the next most frequently seen recommendation. Kelly said, "I think it's important to try to keep the student body diverse." Samuel asserted that his recommendation for the Administration was "to admit more African American students." Similar in vein to the "diversify the student body" recommendation was the *promote diversity with activities* recommendation. For instance, Bill stated, "If they could have more activities addressing issue of race." Corey added, "Set up more talks, meetings about diversity. Little more of a diversified group of authors."

The *using school resources* recommendation was illustrated by the following suggestion from Xavier, "Just look for scholarships and give people doing well in public schools a chance to come here if they would like to." Claudia also said, "But maybe if they try and get in more of the, like races, use more of the scholarship money, I guess for other people."

The remaining 15.9 percent of student responses to Question 15d was allotted to the following themes: diversify school faculty, promote student engagement, and keep working at it. In terms of the *diversify school faculty* recommendation, Ken said, "I think if [the headmaster] brought in more Black teachers... I think that would really help." Gene illustrated the *promote student engagement* theme when he said:

The administration has problems listening to the students themselves. I mean whether it's a [multicultural student group] or student [government] or whatever it is, the administration has problems when it comes to listening to the children themselves - White, Black, purple, whatever color, they have problems listening to us kids. Like we know what we need better than our principal knows what we need. They really need to start listening to us.

*Question 15e: What recommendations would you make to the Trustees about how to help African American students?*

The vast majority of students' recommendations to the Trustees (57.9%) belonged to the *don't know what to recommend* theme. Most students replied "I don't know" or "I don't know what to say to them" to Question 15e. The next most frequently seen recommendation was *increase financial aid* (26.3%). Bill said, "Keep giving money...Set aside more money for financial aid for minority

students because [this school] doesn't have much set aside. Aim is to try and diversify, try and make as affordable as possible."

The *using school resources* recommendation (10.5%) was illustrated by Alana who said, "Put more money into events that, huge events that could address diversity." Finally, students recommended that Trustees *be more open-minded*. Ken stated, "I think they should be more open-minded about issues that happen at school."

*Question 16: On a scale of 1 to 5, how well does this school address issues of cultural diversity?*

Students responded to the question using a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = very poorly and 5 = very well. The average numerical response to this question for the 17 students who responded to it was 3.41 with a range of 2 to 5. This response lies between average and very well and indicates that at the close of the individual interviews students believed that their schools did a solid job of addressing diversity. As a point of comparison, the mean level response to this question at the outset of the interview was 3.56.

Approximately 35 percent of students responding to Question 16 elaborated on their thoughts about how well they believed their schools addressed diversity. Of these students, 66% made commentary that indicated that they believed their schools were trying to address diversity and that they were "doing ok"; 16.5% believed that their schools were not doing well at times because they did not address diversity directly; and 16.5% stated that they were satisfied with how their schools addressed diversity.

The commentary of Daniel illustrated the perspective of students who thought their schools were "*doing ok*" in how they addressed diversity. He said, "[They] need to do more than [they] do." Khary added, "But as much as I want to say all right, or average, just because in comparison it's pretty good, if you just isolate it, you'd have to say poorly."

Claudia represented the point of view of those students who believed their schools were *trying but not doing well* in relation to diversity. She stated, "Well, they don't really talk specifically about diversity. Like they just mostly talk about like issues people have. But I guess they could talk more about it specifically." Finally, there were students such as Ken whose commentary reflected their *satisfaction* with how their schools addressed diversity. He said, "They really take care of a lot of stuff. The stuff that they do is real good."

#### *Time 1-Time 2 Comparison*

For each of the questions from the SAAS interview protocol, the frequency with which each theme was seen during the 1998 (Time 1) and 1999 (Time 2) years for the sample of 11 students interviewed at both times is presented below in tabular format. The third column in each table denotes the change in frequency for each theme from Time 1 to Time 2.

*Question 1: On a scale of 1 to 5 how well does this school address issues of cultural diversity?*

The mean level response to the opening question of the SAAS interview was 3.4 at Time 1 and 3.25 at Time 2 for the 11 students that responded. The difference was not statistically significant. Table 17 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 1 at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 17. Themes for Question 1 at Time 1 and Time 2

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Time 1</b>	<b>Time 2</b>	<b>Change at Time 2 from Time 1</b>
Don't know what to do	10%	9.1%	-.9%
They're trying; good or bad	10%	18.2%	8.2%
Good job; satisfied	20%	18.2%	-1.8%
No answer beyond number	60%	54.5%	-5.5%

*Question 2: How would you describe your experience here in this school?*

Table 18 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 2 at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 18. Themes for Question 2 at Time 1 and Time 2

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Time 1</b>	<b>Time 2</b>	<b>Change at Time 2 from Time 1</b>
Academics/Overall school experience	30%	35%	5%
Views on role of race	30%	15%	-15%
Demographic factors	15%	20%	5%
Teacher interactions	5%	0%	-5%
Race stereotypes & discrimination	10%	10%	0
Peer interactions	10%	20%	10%

*Question 3: What are the positive things about being a student in this school?*

Table 19 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 3 at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 19. Themes for Question 3 at Time 1 and Time 2

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Time 1</b>	<b>Time 2</b>	<b>Change at Time 2 from Time 1</b>
Educational quality	13.6%	28.6%	15%
Resources and opportunities	22.7%	14.3%	-8.4%



School ethos	13.6%	19%	5.4%
Diversity	18.2%	14.3%	-3.9%
Teacher interactions	13.6%	9.5%	-4.1%
Peer interactions	10%	20%	10%
Prestige/connections	9.1%	14.3%	5.2%

*Question 4: What are the negative things about being a student in this school?*

Table 20 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 4 at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 20. Themes for Question 4 at Time 1 and Time 2

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Time 1</b>	<b>Time 2</b>	<b>Change at Time 2 from Time 1</b>
Response to minority status	29.4%	26.3%	-3.1%
Community norms	23.5%	21.1%	-2.4%
Teacher interactions	11.8%	10.5%	-1.3%
Peer interactions	11.8%	15.8%	4.0%
School resources	5.9%	10.5%	4.6%
Socioeconomic differences	17.6%	5.3%	-12.3%
Lack of minority presence	0%	10.5%	10.5%

*Question 5a: How do you think that your race has influenced your experiences in this school?*

Table 21 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 5a at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 21. Themes for Question 5a at Time 1 and Time 2

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Time 1</b>	<b>Time 2</b>	<b>Change at Time 2 from Time 1</b>
Isolation, stereotypes, discrimination	20.0%	28.6%	8.6%
Race/racism not a factor	10.0%	4.8%	-5.2%
Positive interactions w/ other Blacks	5.0%	--	N/A <sup>9</sup>
Positive with non-	5.0%	--	N/A

<sup>9</sup> Starting with Question 5a some of the themes pulled from students answers changed from 1998 to 1999. As a result, there cannot be a comparison between Time 1 and Time 2 for these themes. A "not applicable" will be placed in the table on these occasions.

Black peers			
Lack of connection with other Blacks	10.0%	9.5%	-.5%
Visibility issues	20.0%	9.5%	-10.5%
Diversity in how race matters	5%	9.5%	4.5%
Response to race and racism	25.0%	14.3%	-10.7%
Positive aspects of being Black	--	4.8%	N/A
Interaction with peers - non-Black	--	9.5%	N/A
Interaction with peers - Black	--	9.5%	N/A

*Question 5b: How do you think that your gender has influenced your experiences in this school?*

Table 22 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 5b at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 22. Themes for Question 5b at Time 1 and Time 2

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Time 1</b>	<b>Time 2</b>	<b>Change at Time 2 from Time 1</b>
Inequitable treatment due to gender	7.7%	27.8%	20.1%
Gender role expectations	15.4%	0%	-15.4%
Visibility issues	23.1%	0%	-23.1%
Gender differences in peer relations	7.7%	5.6%	-2.1%
Gender and race interactions	15.4%	27.8%	12.4%
Gender not an issue	30.8%	11.1%	-19.7%
Response to gender dynamics	0%	11.1%	11.1%
Female empowerment	--	5.6%	N/A%
Tension due to interracial relationships	0%	5.6%	5.6%
Sexuality and sexual orientation	0%	5.6%	5.6%

issues			
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*Question 6: What things in the school would you change if you had the power to do so?*

Table 23 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 6 at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 23. Themes for Question 6 at Time 1 and Time 2

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Time 1</b>	<b>Time 2</b>	<b>Change at Time 2 from Time 1</b>
Increase Black students and/or faculty	19.0%	26.7%	7.7%
Increase overall diversity	23.8%	33.3%	9.5%
Improve school environment	23.8%	26.7%	2.9%
Teacher related issues	9.5%	0%	-9.5%
School issues	19.0%	13.3%	-4.7%
Too much time on diversity	4.8%	0%	-4.8%

*Question 7: What things in the school would you keep the same?*

Table 24 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 7 at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 24. Themes for Question 7 at Time 1 and Time 2

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Time 1</b>	<b>Time 2</b>	<b>Change at Time 2 from Time 1</b>
School ethos	33.3%	38.9%	5.6%
Academic quality	20.0%	11.1%	-8.9%
Student-teacher relations	20.0%	22.2%	2.2%
School resources	6.7%	5.6%	-1.1%
Diversity	13.3%	5.6%	-7.7%
Everything	0%	16.7%	16.7%
Nothing	6.7%	0%	-6.7%

*Question 8: Which academic areas do you do well at (e.g., math, science, history, etc)?*

Table 25 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 8 at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 25. Themes for Question 8 at Time 1 and Time 2

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Time 1</b>	<b>Time 2</b>	<b>Change at Time 2 from Time 1</b>
Math	22.2%	28.6%	6.4%
English	11.1%	23.8%	12.7%
Sciences	27.8%	19.0%	-8.8%
History	11.1%	14.3%	3.2%
Languages	11.1%	9.5%	-1.6%
Art	11.1%	4.8%	-6.3%
Drama	5.6%	0%	-5.6%

*Question 9: Which extracurricular areas do you do well at (athletics, debating, drama, band, etc)?*

Table 26 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 9 at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 26. Themes for Question 9 at Time 1 and Time 2

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Time 1</b>	<b>Time 2</b>	<b>Change at Time 2 from Time 1</b>
Multicultural organizations	5.6%	4.8%	-.8%
Newspapers/Literary magazines	5.6%	0%	-5.6%
In-school athletics	55.6%	42.9%	-12.7%
Community Service	5.6%	4.8%	-.8%
Music	5.6%	14.3%	8.7%
Art	0%	9.5%	9.5%
Drama	11.1%	4.8%	-6.3%
Out-of-school athletics	5.6%	0%	-5.6%
Student Government	0%	4.8%	4.8%
Other	5.6%	4.8%	-.8%

*Question 10: What strategies has the school tried in addressing diversity recently?*

Table 27 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 10 at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 27. Themes for Question 10 at Time 1 and Time 2

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Time 1</b>	<b>Time 2</b>	<b>Change at Time 2 from Time 1</b>
Not much	4.8%	15.0%	11.2%
School activities	52.4%	40%	-12.4%
Diversifying student body	0%	5%	5%

Faculty & staff	4.8%	20%	15.2%
Student activities (including multicultural groups)	33.3%	20%	-13.3%
School rules or ethos	4.8%	0%	-4.8%

*Question 11: How have teachers tried to discuss diversity issues in the classes that you take?*

Table 28 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 11 at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 28. Themes for Question 11 at Time 1 and Time 2

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Time 1</b>	<b>Time 2</b>	<b>Change at Time 2 from Time 1</b>
History/Social Science	6.3%	15.8%	9.5%
English	18.8%	21.1%	2.3%
Nothing; doesn't come up	31.3%	31.6%	.3%
Encouraging discussion	12.5%	0%	-12.5%
Working with students (including multicultural groups)	6.3%	0%	-6.3%
One teacher's initiatives	0%	15.8%	15.8%
Teachers as uncomfortable	6.3%	5.3%	-1.0%
Student responses to discussions	18.8%	10.5%	-8.3%

*Question 12: What have other African American students said to you about their experience here?*

Table 29 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 12 at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 29. Themes for Question 12 at Time 1 and Time 2

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Time 1</b>	<b>Time 2</b>	<b>Change at Time 2 from Time 1</b>
Not connected to other Black	5.3%	0%	-5.3%

students			
Haven't talked about it	21.1%	23.5%	2.4%
Feel connected; at home	5.3%	5.9%	.6%
Feel disconnected	31.6%	29.4%	-2.2%
Community amongst Blacks	21.1%	11.8%	-9.3%
Strife amongst Black students	5.3%	0%	-5.3%
Differences among Black students	10.5%	17.6%	7.1%
Discrimination experiences	0%	11.8%	11.8%

*Question 13: How do you think the African American males/females do in this school?*

Table 30 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 13 at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 30. Themes for Question 13 at Time 1 and Time 2

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Time 1</b>	<b>Time 2</b>	<b>Change at Time 2 from Time 1</b>
Females do better	35.3%	26.7%	-8.6%
Males/females about the same	5.9%	26.7%	20.8%
Race X gender interaction	5.9%	0%	-5.9%
Don't know; don't talk to	5.9%	13.3%	7.4%
Community among Black males/females	17.6%	6.7%	-10.9%
Differences among Black males/females	17.6%	13.3%	-4.3%
Perceptions of Black males/females	17.6%	13.3%	-4.3%
Discrimination/Visibility	5.9%	0%	-5.9%

*Question 14: Is there a question NOT on this questionnaire that you would ask? If so, what is it, who would it be directed to and what is the answer you would expect to receive?*

Table 31 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 14 at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 31. Themes for Question 14 at Time 1 and Time 2

Theme	Time 1	Time 2	Change at Time 2 from Time 1
No; covered everything	54.5%	38.5%	-16.0%
Relationship to school	18.2%	23.1%	4.9%
Race and student relationships	27.3%	0%	-27.3%
Race and schools	0%	15.4%	15.4%
Miscellaneous	0%	23.1%	23.1%

*Question 15a: What recommendations would you make to other African American students about how to help African American students?*

Table 32 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 15a at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 32. Themes for Question 15a at Time 1 and Time 2

Theme	Time 1	Time 2	Change at Time 2 from Time 1
Stay strong	18.8%	0%	-18.8%
Be open	31.3%	33.3%	2.0%
Manage time	18.8%	20%	1.2%
Balance life in and out of school	6.3%	0%	-6.3%
Make yourself heard	0%	6.7%	6.7%
Stick together	12.5%	13.3%	.8%
Don't focus on race	6.3%	6.7%	.4%
Remember where you came from	--	13.3%	N/A
Don't know	6.3%	6.7%	.4%

*Question 15b: What recommendations would you make to teachers about how to help African American students?*

Table 33 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 15b at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 33. Themes for Question 15b at Time 1 and Time 2

Theme	Time 1	Time 2	Change at Time 2 from Time 1
Don't judge based on race or single out	14.3%	20.0%	5.7%
Reach out	7.1	20.0%	12.9%
Be fair	35.7%	20.0%	-15.7%
Be encouraging	14.3%	20.0%	5.7%
Be considerate in discussing sensitive	7.1%	6.7%	-.4%

issues			
Diversify curriculum	0%	6.7%	6.7%
Don't be severe about race	7.1%	0%	-7.1%
Don't know	14.3%	6.7%	-6.6%

*Question 15c: What recommendations would you make to parents about how to help African American students?*

Table 34 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 15c at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 34. Themes for Question 15c at Time 1 and Time 2

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Time 1</b>	<b>Time 2</b>	<b>Change at Time 2 from Time 1</b>
Be open and encourage	25.0%	27.3%	2.3%
Help maintain focus	16.7%	18.2%	1.5%
Advocate for more Black students	8.3%	0%	-8.3%
Be involved at school	0%	9.1%	9.1%
Be aware of what is going on at school	8.3%	0%	-8.3%
Give child space	16.7%	9.1%	-7.6%
Don't pressure children	0%	9.1%	9.1%
Don't make a big deal out of race	0%	9.1%	9.1%
Racial socialization	--	9.1%	N/A
Don't know	25.0%	9.1%	-15.9%

*Question 15d: What recommendations would you make to the Administration about how to help African American students?*

Table 35 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 15d at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 35. Themes for Question 15d at Time 1 and Time 2

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Time 1</b>	<b>Time 2</b>	<b>Change at Time 2 from Time 1</b>
Hire more Black teachers/teachers of color	8.3%	8.3%	0%
Treat everyone fairly	8.3%	0%	-8.3%
Promote student engagement	0%	8.3%	8.3%



Get more Black students	8.3%	25.0%	16.7%
Support Black students	8.3%	0%	-8.3%
Use money on resources and financial aid	16.7%	16.7%	0%
Promote diversity with activities	--	25.0%	N/A
Get "qualified" minorities	16.7%	0%	-16.7%
Keep working at it	--	8.3%	N/A
No recommendation (includes doing good job)	33.3%	8.3%	-25.0%

*Question 15e: What recommendations would you make to the Trustees about how to help African American students?*

Table 36 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 15e at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 36. Themes for Question 15e at Time 1 and Time 2

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Time 1</b>	<b>Time 2</b>	<b>Change at Time 2 from Time 1</b>
Don't know	60.0%	58.3%	-1.7%
Treat everyone fairly	10.0%	0%	-10.0%
Use money on resources	10.0%	0%	-10.0%
Increase financial aid and scholarships	20.0%	33.3%	13.3%
Be more open-minded	--	8.3%	N/A

*Question 16: On a scale of 1 to 5, how well does this school address issues of cultural diversity?*

The mean level response to the closing question of the SAAS interview was 3.2 at both Time 1 and Time 2 for the 11 students that responded. Table 37 presents the themes discussed by students in responding to Question 16 at both Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 37. Themes for Question 16 at Time 1 and Time 2

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Time 1</b>	<b>Time 2</b>	<b>Change at Time 2 from Time 1</b>
Not addressed because things are "ok"	11.1%	0%	-11.1%
They're trying;	33.3%	36.4%	3.1%

good or bad			
Good job; satisfied	0%	9.1%	9.1%
No answer beyond number	55.6%	54.5%	-1.1%

## Parents

Between April and December of 1998, five focus groups were conducted with parents of Black (including biracial) students from two participating SAAS schools.

### Procedures

Focus groups were conducted at the schools and were led by two to three members of the SAAS research team. Parents participating in the focus groups were both male and female. The majority of parents were Black though each focus group had at least one White parent who participated. At both schools, Black faculty and/or administrators participated in the focus groups due to having children that attended the schools. Focus groups lasted approximately one hour and were audiotaped and videotaped.

The protocol for focus groups consisted of questions that covered a wide variety of topics. (See Appendix C for a copy of the focus group protocol used with parents.) For example, parents were asked to reflect on their reasons for enrolling their children in independent schools and what had been rewarding or disappointing about their child's school experience. Confidentiality was stressed at the beginning of the focus group and parents were given opportunities to ask questions of the SAAS research team about the project at any time.

SAAS research team members analyzed the focus group videotapes and resulting transcriptions. Major themes were extracted from the data with results of the analysis presented below.

### Results

Major themes ascertained from the data were: reasons for selecting school; views on student experiences in school; issues and/or concerns for parents; and perceptions on socialization.

#### *Reasons for selecting school*

Parents discussed a variety of reasons for enrolling their children in independent schools. These reasons included: academics, foundation/preparation for the future, environment of school, and parents themselves attending an independent school. In regard to *academics* being a reason for selecting an independent school one parent stated, "The benefits were smaller class size, more individualized attention, and an academic atmosphere that I couldn't always be sure that my kids would have in public school." The notion of a *foundation and/or preparation for the future* was expounded on by the parent who said:

The decision to sacrifice...is based on my desire to be the best foundation possible so they can have a better start on their adult lives than I had. I just think that every generation wants the next generation to have it a little easier...even better.

The *environment of the school* was a reason cited by many parents for enrolling their child[ren] in independent schools. One parent explained, “A piece of it, I think, was convenient at first for being here and the teachers, but then we came to realize that it really was a place where we felt comfortable with him...the safety element and the environment.” *Parents themselves attending an independent school* was given as a reason by very few parents. One such parent said:

So we’re no strangers to Friends schools. I am a graduate of [a Friends school] and I felt that I had a quality education there. I graduated a little over 20 years ago. And so Friends schools were somewhat different then than they are now. But I felt that I had a quality education where I went to school. And so when it was time to go back to work after having spent two years at home with my son, private school was really the first place that I decided to go look.

#### *Views on student experiences in school*

Parents offered an array of perspectives on their children’s experiences in independent schools that involved topics such as: racial identity and/or representation, developmental issues, gender, length of time in school, and individual differences among children. An example of parent commentary on *racial identity and/or representation* comes from the parent who said, “On the other side of it, you just deal with it, because I know that it’s still something that [we] can talk about the fact that there aren’t many Black kids and he doesn’t feel comfortable all the time...” Another parent of biracial (Black/White) children added:

Numbers make a lot difference to the kids and how they feel about themselves. A prime example of that [is with] my first child...The school was starting to think about diversity and so the numbers were not quite as big as when she was going to lower school. [And] she obsessed about her hair; she obsessed about her ghetto looks. Whereas my youngest in kindergarten had white children coming up to her [saying,] “My skin is dark. Ain’t I mixed too?”

In terms of parents’ views on *developmental issues* being part of students’ experiences, a parent commented, “It [issues of race] does come. It starts out in kindergarten, first grade... I’ve seen it in kids [that] age, but they become more real when they get older. We can’t deny it or run away from it, it’s there.” Other parents talked about the role *gender* played in their children’s school experiences. For example, one parent asserted, “And he was talking about...how kids felt about him in general, especially African American boys, they’re very fearful.”

Parents shared their insights about how the *length of time in school* factored into their children’s experience in school. One parent elaborated in the following way:

In other words, by the time they get to middle school, they know who are the middle school teachers are and they kind of like start their way or kinda charm their way into the next section, right, and then when they’re in middle school, they kinda charm their way into high school. They know the

teachers and things like that. Now it's harder if you have somebody come in who hasn't had a chance to do that and I never thought about that because they, you know, somebody's already been here eight years. They had time to work their way and they know the school inside out...So it's hard for a child if they just came in the school to...particularly if they're older to go right in there.

Finally, some *individual differences among children* were noted by parents as playing a role in students' experience in schools. In describing their child, one parent said, "And he's also very quiet. So his personality, he's not a kid who will just jump in, "Oh good there's some kids I'll just go hang out with them." He's one of the some who has to be invited."

#### *Issues and/or concerns for parents*

Issues and/or concerns expressed by parents relating to the school context included the following: race-related concerns, teachers, school procedures, and parental roles. The *race-related concerns* expressed by parents covered several areas. One parent lamented the manner in which they believed schools responded to students' expressions of diversity:

I think what they really appreciate is somebody who has a Black face that acts White, you know. And they claim they want diversity, but they really don't want that much diversity. They want colors but they don't want people that tend to blend in and they're soft-spoken, you know, academic. So either go along with the system and if you don't go along with the system, they act a little different, and there's some way of weeding you out, unless you're really strong, unless you have some sort of clout.

Another parent expressed frustration at how the school addressed diversity in general. They stated, "For me, there's still a level of distrust with the administration about these issues, that the present administration is not diverse. But there's a feeling, like, "Are you ever gonna really get this?" You know." Other parents spoke about concerns with *teachers* when they stated:

There are certain teachers here that react to children of color differently. It has nothing to do with what you're teaching your child at home. It's how the teachers that are here and there are some here and they do react to our children differently. They're not treating our children with the same fairness that they treat the Caucasian children, point blank.

Concerns about *school procedures* are illustrated by the following commentary from a parent:

It's something that I learned in, you know, just that how things work that it's not instantaneous and the type of composite of people that help make those decisions. So that was a different type of a mindset to using regular file things; goes from A to B to C to D, but the Quaker situation makes it a little different. I mean, they get things done, but it just it's just different. And then if somebody wants to keep on talking about it, the person has an appointment, they will let them talk, you know, let them talk.

Finally, some parents mentioned *financial* concerns with attending the school during the focus groups. An example is this statement from a parent:

Certainly the financial aid helps out a lot, but when you have two kids here, you know, it puts you right back into the ball game, you know, the dollars are very big... You know, we're not starving or anything like that, and I'm not driving a new car, but there's been a lot of sacrifices made just so these kids can have this education.

### *Perceptions on socialization*

Parents discussed their perceptions on various types of socialization as they related to their children and their school experiences. Socialization was discussed generally, in regard to race, and in terms of school as a context for socialization. *Socialization in general* was addressed by the parent who said, "No matter what you instill at home, once your child leaves your door, when they come into the outside world, they're exposed to everything that's out there." Socialization in regard to race, or *racial socialization*, was a topic that several parents discussed. In some cases, parents used racial socialization in response to racism their child had encountered. For instance, one parent remarked:

So that kind of conversation that we had in our house that night to help her put those pieces together was a turning point. I was furious; thank goodness my husband was much calmer and helped us sort through. And [we] gave her a game plan to go back to these kids and say to them, "Why would you say this? That is a racist statement."

Other parents spoke about racial socialization in a more general manner as it relates to the types of messages their children receive about race in the school. The following exchange between two parents during the focus group is illustrative:

**Parent 1:** I just think that it speaks volumes of the kids when they come to this school and all the Black males they see are cleaning and they've got maybe two teachers, but the rest of them are cleaning. That sends a message not only to your Black male child but also to the White children.

**Parent 2:** Oh, absolutely.

**Parent 1:** This is what Black people do.

**Parent 2:** It reinforces that.

The previous exchange was an example of racial socialization that took place in the school and can be viewed as illustrating how schools are a context of socialization. There were other examples of *schools as a context of socialization* in the parent focus groups. One parent said, "I think what [the school] did do is she's actually bi-cultural, that she was able to, you know, fit into a lot of environments, and environments so she understands their jargon, their music that she has to be around." Parents also addressed the school as a context of socialization when they discussed how their child had changed while attending their school. They said, "[W]hen she leaves here...my daughter has academics, her education, as well as a sense of herself that she didn't have."

## Teachers

A total of 56 teachers completed a brief, general survey for the SAAS project during the 1998-1999 year. Two out of the five schools that were participating in SAAS at the time had teachers who completed surveys.

### *Demographic Information*

#### Personal and family data

Of the teachers that completed surveys in the 1998-1999 year, 11 (20%) were male and 45 (80%) were female. Teachers ranged in age from 22 to 68 with a mean age of 41.9 years. The majority of teachers (68%) were married. Eighteen percent were single or never married. Ten percent were divorced or separated. Four percent were widowed and another four percent were in partnered relationships.

Teachers reported having from zero (30%) to 5 (2%) children. The modal response was 2 children (41% of the sample). The age range of teacher's children was 2 to 45 years of age.

#### School division

Sixty percent of the teachers were in the lower school. Eighteen percent taught in the middle school and another 22% taught in upper school. Twenty-five percent of the teachers were teaching assistants. Only one respondent was an administrator.

#### Racial identification

The majority of teachers (43; 77%) identified as White. Eleven teachers, or approximately 20% of the sample, identified as Black, with the remaining four percent identifying as Asian or "other."

#### Religious affiliation

Twenty-seven percent of the teachers designated a Protestant denomination as their religion. Eighteen percent of the teachers described themselves as Quakers. Thirteen percent of teachers described themselves as Jewish. Five percent of teachers stated they were Catholic. The remaining 34% stated their religion was "other" (18%) or "none" (16%).

### *Educational background*

For all of the respondents that answered the education question, the receipt of the college diploma was the base level of educational attainment. In other words, there were no teachers who did not have a college diploma. Twenty-one percent of teachers had only a college diploma. Sixteen percent of teachers had attended some graduate school with 52% of teachers holding a Master's degree. Five percent of teachers attained a doctorate.

Thirty-four percent of faculty attended an independent school when they were school-age students. Fifty-nine percent of faculty had family members that attended independent schools and fifty percent of teachers had family members who attended the schools where they taught.

### Social Skills Rating Scale (SSRS) results

The SSRS is a rating scale completed by teachers, parents and students that explores social skills, problem behaviors, and academic competence. The teacher SSRS is comprised of 57-items for youth in grades K-6 and 51 items for youth in grades 7-12. Teachers use a 3-point Likert scale (1 = “never” to 3 = “always”) to respond to items regarding students. The teacher SSRS is comprised of three broad categories: Academic Competence, Social Skills, and Problem Behaviors. These categories are made up of a number of subscales (e.g., cooperation, assertion, internalizing problems).

Table 38 presents teachers’ standardized<sup>10</sup> ratings of their students on the broad SSRS categories. Note the K-6 mean ratings are based on 30 evaluations of 23 students while the 7-12 ratings are based on 42 evaluations of 31 students. The number of evaluations is greater than the number of students because some students had two teachers complete SSRSs for them.

Table 38. *Percentile rank of students on the SSRS as rated by the 1998-1999 teacher sample*

<b>SSRS Domains</b>	<b>Mean (SD) for Children</b>	<b>Mean (SD) for Adolescents</b>
Problem Behavior	103.20 (10.18)	99.65 (10.84)
Social Skills	106.6 (10.04)	115.00 (16.00)
Academic Competence	97.21 (10.92)	100.41 (12.47)

Overall, SAAS teachers during the 1998-1999 year evaluated both children and adolescents as above average on Social Skills (more so for adolescents), about average on Problem Behavior, and only slightly below average (children) or average (adolescents) on Academic Competence.

### Interview results:

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with 57 teachers.

#### Participants

Of the 57 teachers interviewed, 47 were White and 10 were teachers of color (both African American and Asian American).

#### Procedure

Interviews were conducted individually in a quiet area at each of the schools; often in teachers’ classrooms. Interviews lasted on average between 30 and 60 minutes and were audiotaped. The interview protocol consisted of questions that covered a wide variety of topics. (See Appendix D for the interview protocol used with teachers.) For example, teachers were asked to their views on how diversity was addressed by the school and in their classrooms.

### Data analysis

<sup>10</sup> By standardized ratings, we are referring to converted values such that the mean level is 100 with a standard deviation of 15 that can be compared to the scores of a larger sample of youth from across the country.

Once each interview was transcribed, members of the SAAS research team reviewed the transcripts and analyzed them thematically by question. The major themes obtained from the analysis of each question along with representative responses are presented below. Although themes were drawn from all of the interviews, the results will be presented for teachers of color first and then for White teachers.

Results for teachers of color:

*Question 1: On a scale of 1 to 5, how well does this school address issues of cultural diversity?*

Teachers responded to the first question using a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = very poorly and 5 = very well. Three was considered average. The average numerical response to this question from teachers of color was 3.44 with a range of 2 to 5. This response lies between “average” and “well” and indicates that at the outset of the individual interviews teachers of color believed that their schools did a solid job of addressing diversity. Of the teachers of color who provided more commentary when answering the first question, 42.9% offered replies that fell under the *school is trying* theme. For instance, one teacher commented, “We could do better but I think we’re trying and I think we all see that more is coming and we’re gonna have to adjust. I’m feeling pretty good about it.” The rest of the teachers of color responses were split evenly (14.3% each) among themes such as: talk being different from action, administration makes a difference, motivations for addressing diversity, and diversity among faculty.

In regard to the *talk being different from action* theme, a teacher of color stated, “But, the actual doing is another issue. You know, we’ll have a few workshops on different topics, or in-service days. But, I’m not sure if people are really implementing stuff that is discussed every day, on a daily basis.” Another teacher discussed the *administration makes a difference* theme when they said:

But just the diversity in itself, you know, it depends on, to me, it depends on who’s in charge at the moment as to what gets focused on....Well, everything goes to the administration. So, nothing gets done without an administrative consent.

The *motivations for addressing diversity* theme was addressed by another teacher of color who said:

In terms of the faculty, I mean, we're a liberal school in the sense I mean, that its kind of the progressive community and so I think that there, that people are open to issues of sort of talking about doing good, Quakers doing good, and being kind of you know, helping the underground railroad, so there's that part.

Finally, a teacher of color’s comments illustrated the *diversity among faculty* theme when they said, “I think that the commitment to diversify faculty, I don’t think it’s as good as their commitment to the student body.”

*Question 2: How has this school addressed diversity issues over the last five years?*



The majority of responses to Question 2 from teachers of color (23.5%) mentioned diversity being addressed broadly by their schools. The next most frequently seen theme (17.6%) was dialogue, workshops, and in-service days as ways schools addressed diversity. Three themes – faculty of color initiatives, student diversity initiatives, and school committees – each garnered twelve percent of responses to Question 2.

An example of a teacher of color comment on *diversity being addressed broadly* is the following: “They see all kinds of kids here. And it’s not just color, diversity, cultural diversity.” In regard to *dialogue, workshops, and in-service days* as a means to address diversity, another teacher of color said:

We’ve addressed, like I previously said, with a lot of workshop type, dialogue things happening where we pick a topic. It could be, you know, African American boys and how they’re succeeding in the school setting, and we discuss it and we share. And it’s across the board, meaning pre-K through 12. So lots of discussions...

The *faculty of color initiatives* theme was illustrated by the teacher of color who said, “The hiring has been really specifically getting stronger in terms of targeting to the people of color. That’s been good.” An example of commentary comprising the *student diversity initiatives* theme was the following statement, “No, there’s a BSU [Black Student Union] now. There’s an MSU [Multicultural Student Union] now, there’s a JSU [Jewish Student Union] and then there’s a GL [Gay and Lesbian] and I forget what the last letter is, it has four letters.” *School committees* were described by the teacher who said, “I was on the diversity committee my first year here and I know that we were, you know, greatly concerned about that.”

The remaining 23.6% of teacher of color responses to Question 2 was comprised of the following themes: family of color initiatives, school level differences, via the curriculum, and the role of the administration. *Family of color initiatives* were described by the teacher who said, “Um...families of color is primarily a support group for parents of students of color in the school and they are, they work closely with the parents association as well.” An example of *school level differences* commentary is seen in the following statement from a teacher of color who said, “You know, especially in lower school, we look very diverse as you walk through, teachers and children. Middle school we are a little bit less and then upper school we’re nada.” Other teachers of color talked about the school addressing diversity *via the curriculum*. For instance, one teacher of color asserted:

In terms of just the literature, the kind of stuff that people choose for reading groups and stuff like that, there are way more choices than their used to be and I think teachers are really good at finding books that show a variety of kinds of kids, a variety of kinds of family.

Finally, in regard to the *role of the administration*, a teacher of color commented: It’s just not on the part of teachers or the part of - and it’s really, it really comes from the head of...the whole school. And all of the [division] heads, but mostly, I think, this particular head is really making an effort.

*Question 3: How have you addressed diversity issues in your classroom?*

The vast majority of responses from teachers of color (61.5%) mentioned diversifying the curriculum in their answers to Question 3. The next most frequently seen theme in regard to the way teachers addressed diversity in their classroom (23.1%) was dialogue. Two themes – professional development experiences and personal efforts with students of color – each garnered 7.7 percent of responses to Question 3.

An example of the *diversifying the curriculum* theme is the following statement from a teacher of color:

Well, in here I try to make sure that I expose the children to lots of cultures and lots of lifestyles, ways of life, lots of traditions. We do it through literature. I make sure that there's always something that children can pick up in this room that is familiar to them, or who they are.

In regard to *dialogue* as a means to address diversity in the classroom, another teacher of color said, "We have conversations about stereotypes, what does that mean, um, we've had conversations about what things can each person do individually to help create a safe place for everyone in the classroom." The *professional development experiences* theme was illustrated by the teacher of color who said, "I often attend seminars that help me to address those issues of science and math and women." Finally, an example of commentary comprising the *personal efforts with students of color* theme was the following statement, "And I do spend more time with our kids of color. And I try to make sure that their parents know that I'm there for them and their kids as well."

*Question 4: What do you think the experience is like, both academically and socially, for African American students in this school?*

The majority of responses from teachers of color (21.1%) to Question 4 mentioned grade and age as being relevant to African American students' school experience. The next most frequently seen theme (15.8%) was the cultural milieu of the school. Four themes – socioeconomic issues, diversity among Black students, visibility issues, and academic issues – each garnered 10.5 percent of responses to Question 4.

An example of a teacher of color comment on *grade and age matters* is the following:

Well, I think it depends on what grade, like if they're in lower school, middle school or upper school... And I think that it's hard for, I think it's hard for kids in the middle school and in the upper school because they're beginning to deal with lots of different issues.

In regard to *cultural milieu of the school* as an important aspect of Black students' experience in the school, another teacher of color said:

But I think there are kids who I see, unless someone - this is a very different culture, not only for the richness, but also in terms of the way the school works. It's very different from the way his old school worked.

The *socioeconomic issues* theme was illustrated by the teacher of color who said, "What comes up tends to be how much stuff certain kids have, how big a house they live in, what kind of vacations they take, what kind of car they have."

An example of commentary comprising the *diversity among Black students* theme was the following statement, “I can't say that it's a blanket experience...Kids who come in seventh grade or sixth grade, their experience is going to be different and then kids who come in ninth grade when you come in makes a huge difference.” *Visibility issues* were described in an especially resonant way by a teacher of color with a child who was enrolled in one of the schools. This teacher spoke about a situation that occurred in their child's class:

There aren't very many African American children with him, at all, in his class. He's one of two - he's the other African American child, so there are just two. For instance, they had a conversation in their class, he told me yesterday, about stereotypes and things of that nature, which was a wonderful thing to do, especially with his age group. But they got into all the stereotyping of African American boys and he was the only other African American boy. And then this long list was contrived of stereotypes that are associated with African American boys. And he was okay about it because we have a very open family. We talk about this stuff, it's real, you know. But his buddy, who was the other African American boy, was brought to tears. He was just sitting there in tears, saying this is not fair, you know, taking on the burden of you talking about me and [my child]...only.

In terms of *academic issues*, another teacher of color said, “And that's an important part of playing school, too, learning the type of stuff your teachers are looking for and try to learn to think that way. And there are kids who sometimes have difficulties with that.”

The remaining 21.2% of teacher of color responses to Question 4 was comprised of the following themes: multiracial student experiences, dating issues, relationship to teachers of color, and discrimination experiences.

*Multiracial student experiences* were described by the teacher who said, “There are students that have multi-racial backgrounds and they deny one or the other of those backgrounds.... Some of them deny their minority and they'll deny one minority for another. It was very strange to me...” An example of *dating issues* commentary is seen in the following statement from a teacher of color who said:

And I think that in talking to a parent, a parent of color last year, she was concerned because her daughter was going into the sixth grade and issues of boys and girls and dating and these different types of things she was actually dreading them, because she, her daughter, she knows is very attractive and bright and articulate she knows in those types of situations because she is Black, she was concerned because that that probably wouldn't be seen...

Other teachers of color talked about Black students' *relationships to teachers of color*. For instance, one teacher of color asserted:

I mean it makes a difference that he knows that at our dinner table his name has come up and come up in a positive way to remember him. You know, all they want and need is connection. And to be known and to be cared about for who they are; not for only what they can achieve.

Finally, in regard to *discrimination experiences*, a teacher of color commented, “And you know, that kind of stuff. And you know, occasionally you’ll hear another kid say, “nigger,” to another kid and then you have to sit down and have the big talk about the N word, you know.”

*Question 5: If applicable, how do you think experiences differ between African American females and African American males in this school?*

The majority of responses from teachers of color (21.4%) to Question 5 mentioned the role of athletics as being relevant to African American male and female students’ school experience. The next most frequently seen themes were: different stereotypes about Black males and females, perceptions of differential treatment, dating and grade/age matters. Each of these themes was seen 14.3 percent of the time in response to Question 5.

An example of a teacher of color comment on *the role of athletics* in how Black males and females experience their schools is seen below:

At some point it seems as though most of the African American boys drift towards sports as their major identity. And I’m not sure whether girls drift towards anything in particular, besides each other. And it just seems as though the girls are more comfortable at this school than the boys are, and unless the boys are big sports jock people and that everybody is looking at them and saying, “Oh, you’re so good,” you know, particularly basketball or running track or something like that, they’re not sure where they fit in.

In terms of the *different stereotypes about Black males and females* in relation to Black male-female differences for students, another teacher of color said:

The expectation, really, for African American females I think is that, you know, that they will succeed. Because our society has basically said, we don’t fear, we don’t find African American females to be threatening. Our society says we do find Black males to be threatening and so you have this dichotomy that’s already set up and it reflects on everything.

The *perceptions of differential treatment* theme was illustrated by the teacher of color who said, “You know a Black boy who pushes a white kid is seen as aggressive rather than assertive.” An example of commentary comprising the *dating* theme was the following exchange where the interviewer asked, “So socially, it’s a bit of a, more of a struggle for the African-American females perhaps? In terms of dating?” and the teacher of color responded, “Yeah. That’s what I’m saying. The boys I guess can go either way.” *Grade and age matters* were described by another of teacher of color who said:

So, in middle school I think what happens is they get, both sides get this preconceived notion of how they should be. But they look at it this way and then the kids say, well I’m gonna be that way. And the thing never really gets settled.

The remaining 21.3% of teacher of color responses to Question 5 was comprised of the following themes: lack of male teachers of color, similarities in stereotypes about Black males and females, and girls sticking together. The *lack of male teachers of color* theme was described by the teacher of color who said:

...[D]o we have any teachers of color? Male teachers of color? No, and I think that that's also an issue too because the boys, they don't see, they don't see male teachers of color and I think that that's a really important relationship that's missing.

Another teacher of color illustrated the *similarities in stereotypes about Black males and females* theme when they said, "So, I think it's very similar to the experience of African American boys that they're misunderstood a lot." Finally, in regard to *girls sticking together*, a teacher of color commented, "Girls tend to empower themselves in other ways. There are those that are outspoken and will, you know, indicate that they are competitive."

*Question 6: What challenges do you think African American students face at this school?*

The majority of responses from teachers of color (25%) to Question 6 mentioned dealing with minority status as a challenge for Black students in their schools. The next most frequently seen themes (16.7% each) were maintaining a sense of self and academic challenges. Five themes – social challenges, making sense of race, representing for the race, context [dis]continuity, and lack of faculty support – each garnered 8.3 percent of the responses to Question 6.

An example of the *dealing with minority status* theme is illustrated by the following commentary by a teacher of color:

I think they have a real challenge. I think, as a faculty member, I have a real challenge. And I think a piece of it is that we're sort of not in the majority. And there are things that are, you know, I don't know, people, ideas and once again, stereotypes that are connected sometimes to certain things or behaviors and you're misunderstood so often and you have to explain yourself so many times. And where the children are concerned, I think the problem area that I see is if teachers are not sensitive to that, and I can't speak for every teacher, and then the kids just sort of go through each year not being understood and just being alone and not being heard and not being, you know, even understood at all.

In regard to *maintaining a sense of self* as a challenge for Black students, another teacher of color said:

I was, I was the only Black in these classes so it was really hard because you start to judge and evaluate yourself not in ways that are true to you but in what that are true to someone else and I think that that, I think that that happens here as well because just the choices aren't available or um, I think its really important for students of color...

Some teachers of color spoke about the *academic* challenges facing Black students. For example, one teacher of color said, "So they have to come here and they have to learn. They have to learn that the academics is important."

An example of commentary comprising the *social challenges* theme was the following statement by a teacher of color, "You know I think for anybody actually to come in at different points when friendships have already been made and groups have been made it's hard." The *making sense of race* theme was discussed by another teacher of color who said:

I think one of the challenges is separating out the teenage angst with the racial angst. So for instance, if something goes wrong, or you have a bad interchange with a teacher or with another kid, is it because it's a racial situation, is it a mixed signal culturally, is it not quite getting the rules here, or is it just that you're a teenager and you can't do what you want and somebody just put you down, you know. And I think kids get mixed signals about what it is...

Other teachers of color spoke about the *representing for the race* theme. For instance, one teacher of color stated:

I tell them, I'm gonna be very hard on your son or your daughter, I say, because I'm an African American teacher and I know that no matter where he or she goes, she's gonna have to be better than that white counterpart.

The *context [dis]continuity* theme was mentioned by the teacher of color who asserted, "I think for students who haven't started here in kindergarten or in the lower school. When they come in maybe at the middle school or upper school, it's a big adjustment. And that's a challenge. A kind of culture shock." Finally, one teacher of color spoke about the *lack of faculty support* being a challenge for Black students when they stated:

But one of, a senior administrator said to me a few years ago about a person, "Well, 'Blank' has a very hard time working with African-American girls". And I quoted it in the administrative group with that person hearing it. And to me, that was, the kids were expendable.

*Question 7: What strategies have been tried, if any, to address the challenges? Have they been successful?*

The five themes most frequently offered by teachers of color (15.7% each) to Question 7 related to the strategies to address Black students' challenges were: faculty of color efforts, conversations/dialogue, parent outreach, encouraging student of color involvement, and school efforts. The remaining themes – alumni of color efforts, talk is not action, and academic strategies – each comprised 7.7% of teachers of color's responses.

A teacher of color illustrated the *faculty of color efforts* theme in regard to strategies for addressing Black students' challenges when they said, "Well, yeah, actually our [faculty of color] support group often talks about these things. And we try to spur other ideas for other people to do it, for other groups to do other things." In terms of the *conversations/dialogue* in relation to addressing Black students' challenges, another teacher of color said, "Once again, the talks. We have talked until we're blue in the face. And I mean that's a considerable effort." An example of the *parent outreach* theme was the following statement by a teacher of color who stated, "I think kids are successful, one of the ways kids are successful here is if they, and probably their parents, get involved in the things that the school has to offer." Related commentary comprised the *encouraging student involvement* theme. One teacher of color offered the following:

For kids, taking advantage of opportunities, being in the plays, being, not just being on the teams, but get involved in the community service committee, or the Straight and Gay Alliance or anything. That's, I think,

how you get a lot out of it and you meet lots of different people and you find folks that you connect with, one way or another. And you also get a chance to interact with teachers in a way that's not strictly, I'm interacting with you in order to get a grade, okay.

The *school efforts* theme was articulated by the teacher of color who asserted, "Well, people have been to workshops. We did this whole thing with Howard coming, that was good."

The remaining themes provided by teachers of color to Question 7 included

alumni of color efforts, talk is not action, and academic strategies. The *alumni of color efforts* theme was described by the teacher of color who said:

I know that there are alumni that are still in the area; it's been the focus with male alumni who are still in the area. Male alumni of color come in and tutor and help other students, male students of color.

Another teacher of color discussed whether strategies were successful in addressing the challenges Black students face when they spoke of the *talk is not action* theme. The teacher of color said, "But there comes a point where you have to really live it and there has to be follow-up to make sure everybody's living it to their best potential. And I'm not sure that that always happens..." Finally, in regard to *academic strategies*, a teacher of color commented:

We try to get the child in class to get this much done. It's really, that's recommended as far as sending things home. But by and large, by and large, if we don't get the parent's help, if that's all we need is to get them involved a little bit more - if we need an outside source, a tutoring source, and if they're not cooperative in that, it's harder.

*Question 8: How have African American students been successful at this school?*

The majority of responses from teachers of color (37.5%) to Question 8 mentioned artistic/creative activities as ways that Black students had been successful in their schools. The next most frequently seen themes (12.5% each) were: support for one another, seminars/workshops, self-esteem, leadership/voice, and social connections.

A teacher of color commented on the *artistic/creative activities* theme when they stated, "But I know in terms of music and theatre there's been some great successes." An example of the *support for one another* theme, another teacher of color said, "I think that they support each other. They do that really well because they have to. It's really an issue of survival in some instances." Commentary that illustrated the *seminars/workshops* theme as a way that Black students were successful was the statement that, "And recently a couple of girls actually did some seminars at upper school in independent schools. They had a seminar where all the symposiums were run by students. So we had a group of girls that went and participated." The *self-esteem* theme was discussed by a teacher of color in the following way:

But I think there have been children that have left here feeling good about themselves, about who they are, about being able to make it in the world. And some of that may be attributed to family support, too. But there have

been lots of children that have left here that I feel will be okay and will succeed as adults. For whatever reason, whatever it is, they got it along the way.

An example of commentary comprising the *leadership/voice* theme was this statement by a teacher of color, “Well, I think there’s positions of leadership, speaking out about certain subjects.” Finally, the *social connections* theme was articulated by the teacher of color who said, “Like I said, they’re very popular, tend to be popular.”

*Question 9: What strategies have been tried, if any, to promote the successes? Have they been successful?*

The majority of responses from teachers of color (25%) mentioned faculty of color efforts in their answers to Question 9. The next most frequently seen theme (16.7%) was general faculty efforts as a strategy to promote the success of Black students in their schools. The remaining themes – don’t know, school awards or recognition, family efforts, school ethos, creative/artistic efforts, curriculum & classroom, and same for all races – each garnered 8.3 percent of responses to Question 9.

An example of a teacher of color comment on *faculty of color efforts* as a strategy to promote Black students’ success is:

Whenever I run into them or whatever, I like to get to know them just so they feel they have some other place to go and someone to talk to who might understand or who might look a little bit like them. So, that may have been a contributing factor...

In regard to the *general faculty efforts* theme, another teacher of color said:

So the teachers and the people who are in charge of these activities are trying to reach out and make these children participate. So, I think those colleagues who want them and know that they do well in areas are asking them.

The *don’t know* theme was illustrated by the teacher of color who said, “But other than that, if there is I don’t know. I don’t know what the school does.” In terms of the *school awards/recognition* theme, the following statement is illustrative:

I think that the school community does a number of things to celebrate the success of students in general with, in those celebrations students of color are recognized. In the academic awards that are given to seniors, the sports awards ceremony, those types of different things.

*Family efforts* were described by the teacher of color who said:

I really do think support and family is a big piece of it. Even children that I know that have been struggling early on, when the family is actively involved and supportive, the kids get what they need, whether it’s here or somewhere else. They get the support that they need and they’re able to go to the next step. I think that’s a big piece.

An example of *school ethos* commentary is seen in the following statement from a teacher of color who said, “But, I think we’re the kind of community that allows for that difference and we speak to it and we’re not afraid to speak to it. And I



think this is a great community to be in, the lower school.” Other teachers of color talked about the school promoting Black students’ success via *creative/artistic efforts*. For instance, one teacher of color asserted, “Well, it’s harder to say - we have plays and opportunities, for instance, through music or art in the classroom.” In regard to the *curriculum & classroom* theme, another teacher of color commented, “[We] give everybody a chance to see the accomplishments of African Americans. We do read books. Right now we’re reading various books by Mildred Taylor.” Finally, a teacher of color talked about the *same for all races* theme when s/he said, “I don’t know if anything happened just for students of color in the classroom.”

*Question 10: What are the factors that contribute to the positive adjustment for African American students at this school?*

The majority of responses from teachers of color (22.2%) to Question 10 mentioned aspects of the curriculum as a factor contributing to the positive adjustment of Black students in their schools. The remaining themes – Black role models, parents, teachers, support (internal or external), peers, school-family dialogue, and the school ethos – each comprised 11.1 percent of responses from teachers of color.

One comment by a teacher of color on the *aspects of the curriculum* theme was, “Just make sure that everybody’s story is told. For instance, we basically can get along, I guess, and that hopefully that philosophy permeates in the classroom.” An example of the *Black role models* theme was:

Well, I think some has been that they have actually visually seen, like alumni come back. And they have an interaction with them. I think that they actually see, they’re beginning to see more African American teachers in the upper levels. The majority of our staff is in maintenance and lower school. You know, the percentages get less and less as they go, in comparison to teacher population. You know, we have finally - I can’t say finally, because it should have been - has been an administrator of color.

Commentary that illustrated the *parents* theme as a way to promote the adjustment of Black students was, “I think that, I think that the parents of color group helps because it’s just a support group.” The *teachers* theme was discussed by a teacher of color in the following way, “I certainly think that one of the things the school does well is to make sure there are teachers here who are sensitive to the issues of racism, sexism, classism, homophobia.” An example of a statement comprising the *support (internal or external)* theme was:

There are a few exceptions that come in with really a strong sense of who they are and if things aren’t going on with everybody else, it’s not them. And they have an understanding of that. And there are a few students that I’ve noticed that about who just stay who they are and, you know, deal with it.

The *peers* theme was articulated by the teacher of color who said:

I think the peer group and how harsh or how, you know, supportive it is, matters so much, especially once you hit middle school and how important

that is to you. And at that age, it usually is first and foremost with most of the kids. And I think if it's a good peer group and a supportive one, they seem to thrive.

*School-family dialogue* was discussed by another teacher of color who stated, "We always talk about the issues with the families and make a decision." Finally, the *school ethos* theme was illustrated by this comment from a teacher of color, "Well, I think I'm accepting, we're very accepting, we're very open."

*Question 11: Have you seen any incidents in which race played a role in your classroom (or in your general contact with students)?*

The majority of responses from teachers of color (22.2% each) to Question 11 mentioned two themes, positive/affirming and dialogue, as ways in which race played a role in the classroom or contact with students. The next most frequently seen themes (11.1% each) were: how race matters for students, literature/curriculum, role of parents, awareness of own views on race and racism, and not seeing any.

A teacher of color commented on the *positive/affirming* theme when they stated, "Yeah, and see, but see, that was such a positive discussion about race that I think they brought themselves together as a unit." An example of the race in the classroom via *dialogue* theme, came from another teacher of color in the lower school who said, "But, so we always, always have conversations. It comes up at least once a day. I mean people don't always think that at this age they notice color and skin, but they do."

Commentary that illustrated the *how race matters for students* theme was the statement that:

And my first topic to them was to tell me a little bit about where they were. And race was the issue. That was the issue of the - it wasn't a negative issue. It was THE issue. They all wanted to tell us about cultural background.

The *literature/curriculum* theme was discussed by a teacher of color in the following way, "Through the literature, again, they will talk about sometimes, you know, like the first month of school I like to start with self-esteem and confidence, and I'll read books."

An example of observations comprising the *role of parents* theme was this statement by a teacher of color, "And a lot of times the parents mostly will bring in the racial issue, not the school community." The *awareness of own views on race and racism* theme was articulated by the teacher of color who said:

Because I'm Asian American, I often bring in what my family went through during the war. In Social Studies, when we study different roles, they are very aware of race. I try not to hide it and try to bring it out any way I can.

Finally, the *not seeing any* instances of race in the classroom theme was described by a teacher of color in this way, "But no, generally, no, I don't think so."

*Question 12: How would you describe the concerns of the parents of African American students?*

The majority of responses from teachers of color (30%) mentioned children being treated fairly and with respect in their answers to Question 12. The next most frequently seen theme (20%) was children being successful as one of the concerns of parents of Black students. The remaining themes – too focused on race, academic achievement, trust in school, maintaining racial identity, and school deals with race/diverse – each garnered ten percent of responses to Question 12.

An example of a teacher of color comment on *children being treated fairly and with respect* as a concern of Black parents was:

I think a big concern is feeling like your children are being treated fairly.... Equity seems to be a big fear. I think that's the biggest one. I know, where I'm concerned, as a parent, that is definitely one that's a factor for me.

In regard to the *children being successful* theme, another teacher of color said:

But, you have to be able to handle issues that come up that are quite apparent to your children and show these parents that you are doing something in favor of their kids, to benefit their kids, to the success of their child.

The *too focused on race* theme was illustrated by the teacher of color who asserted:

I don't know how to say it, well, I think some parents are just paranoid, they're paranoid, or, [lowers voice] "Oh! that happened because of my student, my child's Black! Oh!, that happened because of..." No, it didn't happen because your child is Black but I think that's where they're at and sometimes it's very hard to have conversations with them about it because they're so hypersensitive, and just, the race card, you know, that's, that's really all that they see, or every, everything, every negative experience that they have, particularly in the upper school because the reality is that just about all their teachers are going to be white. Any negative experience is reduced to racism...

In terms of the *academic achievement* theme, another teacher of color said, "Now you know, I just got through talking to a parent today about a student, and you know, this particular parent is very concerned that her student is falling behind..." The *trust in school* theme was described by the teacher of color who said:

I don't know if we always do everything as a school unit to make sure that we build that trust throughout the years, each year with our communicating with families, with our frankness and honesty, sometimes, because we tend to sugarcoat a lot of things. I don't know, that's what I felt when I first came here - why don't you just say what you're saying, you know, not dress it up some. So I know there are some guidelines that we all know that we have to follow, but I mean I think you can be honest with people in a gentle way and that people will respect you more for that, and trust you. And so I think trust is a big factor that might come up with, you know, as to why people feel that equity is a concern, or that their child is being held to their potential.

An example of a teacher of color response to Question 12 that involved the *maintaining racial identity* theme was, “But then I don't think, you know you don't want your to send your kid there and they come back and they turn White on you I guess. You don't want them to lose their identity.” Finally, a teacher of color talked about the *school deals with race/are they diverse* theme when s/he said, “And you hope that if it does happen that the school is prepared to deal with it. And not sweep it under the rug.”

*Question 13: Is there anything else you would like to add? Is there another question you think we should be asking?*

The majority of responses from teachers of color (33.3% each) cited hiring teachers and/or administrators of color or not having any more to add in their answers to Question 13. The next most frequently seen themes (16.7% each) were surface attempts at addressing diversity and teaching Black parents about independent schools.

An example of a teacher of color comment on *hiring teachers and/or administrators of color* as an additional comment was:

So I think we need to have more African American teachers, I think we need to have an African American teacher in language, in History, in English and in the hard sciences in the upper school, which we don't have. In regard to the *not having any more to add* theme, teachers of color who offered this response made statements such as, “Um, no, I don't think so, seems pretty complete and thorough to me.”

The *surface attempts at addressing diversity* theme was illustrated by the teacher of color who asserted:

Yeah, so, I think that, yeah and its just like, and I know if you talk to him [the Head of school] he'll be very eloquent and articulate about how he's committed to this and that and that, and its like, we have one teacher of color...in the entire upper school and so, what's going on with that?...So again its just like, well how, how do we show our commitment to diversity more than just talking about it.

In terms of the *teaching Black parents about independent schools* theme, another teacher of color said:

I think the school needs to actively train African American parents on what this school is about. I think there's a struggle with that. We lost, we lost a child from an African American family who was in lower school and he had some difficulty with reading. And she thought that the school wasn't doing enough to deal with that, because most African American parents are used to a very traditional educational approach. And this school doesn't have a very traditional educational approach in the lower school....So I think that we need to do better at educating African Americans, because African American parents can be very conservative, far more conservative than their white counterparts within the same economic group.

*Question 14: What recommendations would you make to the following groups to promote the success of African American boys in this school?*

A minimal number of teachers of color completed the recommendation section of the interview. As such, those results will not be reported here.

Results for White teachers:

*Question 1: On a scale of 1 to 5, how well does this school address issues of cultural diversity?*

The White teachers who were interviewed responded to the first question using a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = very poorly and 5 = very well. Three was considered average. The average numerical response to this question for White teachers respondents was 4.03 with a range of 2.5 to 5. This response corresponds to the “well” option and indicates that at the outset of the individual interviews White teachers believed that their schools were above average in regard to how they addressed diversity. Of the White teachers who provided more commentary when answering the first question (approximately two-thirds of the sample), 62.1% offered replies that fell under the *school is trying* theme. For instance, one teacher commented, “I think there’s lots of work to do but we’re so conscious and trying so very hard.” The next most frequently seen theme (17.2%) among White teachers was *efforts fall short*. Comments such as, “And that, I think sometimes the school, although it means well, sometimes I feel like it falls short,” are illustrative of this theme. *Dialogue as important* was a theme noted in 10.3% of White teachers’ responses. An example of a White teacher’s thoughts on this theme was this statement:

Well, I think it addresses issues of cultural diversity well, because there is a lot of conversation about cultural diversity, and lots of other kinds of diversity as well. Socioeconomic diversity, learning diversity, that the notion of diversity in general is ever present in our minds and there's a lot of conversation about it. There is a lot of talk, careful examining, providing materials which reflect cultural diversity, so I think that, in that regard, we do very well.

In regard to the *need more inclusive definitions of diversity* theme, a White teacher asserted:

I think that we don't address all issues of culture. We focus on the issues of the differences between the White population of our school and the Black population of our school. For families who are not one or the other, we don't do such a good job. We are less aware of those of more than just the Black and White diversity in terms of cultural diversity. We do primarily religious diversities, but we do have families of other religious affiliations and we don't do job as well.

Finally, an example of the *talk is different than action* theme is seen in remarks by the White teacher who said, “I think there’s quite a bit of dialogue but I don’t know how much follow-through there is with it.”

*Question 2: How has this school addressed diversity issues over the last five years?*

The majority of responses from White teachers (27.4%) mentioned dialogue, workshops, and in-service days in their answers to Question 2. The

next most frequently seen themes were schools addressing diversity via curriculum and books (17.9%) and diversity being addressed broadly (13.1%). Another 10.1 percent of White teachers spoke of student diversity initiatives.

An example of a White teacher comment on *dialogue, workshops, and in-service days* is the following: “Certainly in the many workshops that we’ve had. Lots of faculty meetings spent talking about individual children and their adjustment...” In regard to addressing diversity *via the curriculum*, another White teacher said:

Hmm, we really, we really celebrate the differences that we have in the classroom. We acknowledge differences as a positive learning tool. We acknowledge everybody’s heritage in our curriculum, make a point of bringing everybody’s differences and heritage into the curriculum and what we’re doing. We make a point of, of having a variety of literature which, which is inclusive, um, over many different cultures and backgrounds and make a point of using all of that literature, having it available for all of the children and also reading it aloud to all the children.

The *diversity being addressed broadly* theme was illustrated by the White teacher who asserted:

When visitors come to the school expecting to hear us talk about diversity in terms of race, they quickly understand that we mean diversity in terms of gender, we mean it in terms of sexual orientation, we mean it in terms of academic learning styles, we mean it in terms of religion, we mean it in terms of economic diversity, we mean it in terms of race, also.

An example of commentary comprising the *student diversity initiatives* theme was the following statement:

Well we have certain days designated where students plan the entire day for example, oh gee, I can’t remember what year it was, but I ran the environmental club and we shared a day between the multicultural student union day so part of the focus was on the environment and part of it was on diversity, and more or less, with teachers help, with the help of teachers and administrators, students put together the day and brought it speakers and it was very thought provoking.

The remaining 31.4% of White teacher responses to Question 12 included the following themes: school committees, school philosophy, faculty of color initiatives, differences depending on school level, intention not the same as outcome, families of color initiatives, and role of the administration. The *school committee* theme was discussed by the White teacher who said, “We have a diversity committee, a school-wide diversity committee, and that started I think a few years ago.” Another White teacher talked about the *school philosophy* theme in relation to how the school addressed diversity. S/he stated, “I think in every day life, every day at school we try to make the children understand that everybody is different, no matter who you are or where you’re from or what color you are.” *Faculty of color initiatives* were described by the teacher who said, “And there’s been a real commitment towards hiring teachers of color so that kids have faculty who look like them.” An example of the *school level differences* theme is seen in the following statement from a White teacher who said, “Though my

sense is it's probably less of a lower school issue than it would be in middle and upper school." Other White teachers talked about *intention not being the same as outcome*. For instance, one teacher asserted, "So although I think we've made headway, I think we talk a good game, I don't think we're successful." *Families of color initiatives* were described by the teacher who said, "We try to talk with parents that are willing to talk with us. And we've had wonderful parents. They've been very helpful and very supportive in a very positive way. We've made a conscious effort." Finally, in regard to the *role of the administration*, a White teacher commented:

Although administrations before this were aware of the fact that there may have been some attrition among Black students, particularly Black males, particularly this administration has said, "It's a problem, we're going to do something about it."

*Question 3: How have you addressed diversity issues in your classroom?*

The most frequently seen response from White teachers to Question 3 (40.7%) was diversifying the curriculum. The next most frequent strategies that White teachers said they used to address diversity in their classroom were dialogue (24.7%) and holiday celebrations (9.9%).

An example of the *diversifying the curriculum* theme is the following statement from a White teacher:

I like to provide learning opportunities and materials which in some ways...that I want children to see themselves reflected in the program, materials, and opportunities that I provided for them. But I also want them to be able to look out of window toward others and recognize otherness in the world and value it and celebrate it. So, with regard to program, curriculum, and materials, that stuff is an ongoing thing.

In regard to *dialogue* as a means to address diversity in the classroom, another White teacher asserted:

We are very discussion based. There's a lot of talking. I guess one of the first things a teacher does is try and establish an attitude where you're open and students feel comfortable in your class, in addition to discussing and setting the tone of what we're doing.

The *holiday celebrations* theme was illustrated by the White teacher who said, "Well, we just, when each different holiday comes up for all different cultures, we discuss it and read a book. Like I guess around Kwanza time we read a story about that."

The remaining 24.7% of White teacher responses to Question 3 was comprised of the following themes: attending to unique issues of students, physical aspects of the classroom, increasing the number of students of color, find it difficult, speakers related to diversity, don't think race matters at this age, don't think it's necessary, and personal efforts with students of color. In terms of the *attending to unique issues of students* theme, a White teacher said:

It's like anything. If I had, like a couple of years ago I had kids in my class, their fathers had died, which is unusual. They weren't, neither of them

was African American or anything, so all year I had to remember, don't talk about fathers, there's no need.

An example of the *physical aspects of the classroom* theme was this statement from a White teacher:

I was on the climate committee or a school evaluation and in the climate of my classroom I'm very cognizant of what kind of images are present on the walls, you know, what kind of pictures do you see when you look around. Are there all White people, is there a diverse, you know, kind of eclectic wonderful draw, multi-cultural sense in the classroom.

Some of the White teachers described *increasing the number of students of color* as a strategy to address diversity in the classroom. For instance, one teacher said:

Well, I think one of the key things is it's just a matter of numbers, having in the classroom just volumes of, we're talking here about African American students, but it could also be Asian students or Hispanic students, that there's a critical mass issue.

A few White teachers noted that they *found it difficult* to address diversity in their classroom. One such teacher commented:

So I guess the point I'm making is this, whereas in an English course, you can easily and obviously include some African American writers. When you're teaching Latin, it's a little bit less clear that there's a whole sort of category of writing or thinking out there that we could include that would make African Americans find that it's easier to identify with what's going on.

Other White teachers spoke about using *speakers related to diversity* to address diversity in their classroom. An illustration of this theme was seen in the following remarks:

One year we had a woman come in to teach rudimentary language, the alphabet, how to write their name or how to pronounce their name in Arabic. We have had people from other cultures. We had a Swede or a Norwegian or something come in and talk about life in his culture.

A few White teachers asserted that *they did not think race matters at this age*.

One teacher commented, "I think we're not always aware of kid's racial and cultural identity in my classroom. It's something nice about teaching seventh grade is the kids aren't that aware of it or they have an emerging awareness."

Along a similar vein other White teachers stated that they *did not think it was necessary* to address diversity in their classroom. "Well, I really haven't addressed it a whole lot because, you know, I see each kid on the same level. I don't make a big issue of it at all really. I don't feel it's really necessary,"

illustrates this line of thinking. Finally, an example of the *personal efforts with students of color* theme was the following statement by a White teacher:

I think even if a student of color is the only student of color in the classroom, hopefully they're getting enough cues from me that this is a safe place, that I value who they are and discuss their cultural heritage and also that I am somewhat knowledgeable on some facets of it.... Because kids will know immediately if you're not real, you know, they will



see right through you if you don't know it and you don't feel it.

*Question 4: What do you think the experience is like, both academically and socially, for African American students in this school?*

The most frequently seen responses from White teachers to Question 4 (15.6% each) were race was not an issue and (dis)engagement. The next most frequent themes that White teachers used to describe the experience of Black students were: diversity among Black students (12.2%), grade/age matters (11.1%), and visibility issues (11.1%).

An example of the *race was not an issue* theme is the following statement from a White teacher:

No, I don't, no, I really don't. I mean I don't really see them as any different. I mean we certainly have, besides African American students, we have Asian students. In our classroom, we have - I'm trying to think back, we had Asian students and African American students. But no, I mean I don't really think of them as being any different or learning any differently.

The *(dis)engagement* theme includes Black students' engagement and disengagement from the school community. One White teacher addressed Black students' school engagement when s/he said, "But socially most of them are pretty well plugged in. There are two I know of that are, in fact that ones that I filled out forms for who socially are like leading the class." Another White teacher described Black students' disengagement with this commentary:

I think honestly it can be a rough experience. I think, I always wonder - there are several kids that come into my room all the time and hang out, African American kids, and I think they seem to be a little bit more lost, like they don't necessarily have a place to hang out or buddies to hang out with.

An example of remarks dealing with *Black student diversity* was:

Well, I think it's very varied, because as for all of our students, African-American students come here from a wide variety of backgrounds. I know I'm teaching this year one African-American girl, who's on a college track, that might not... I suspect that it is not her family's custom. And I teach another kid who's, I am sure been headed toward college since she was born, because her parents, maybe her grandparents had been to college. So, there are these differences in academic backgrounds, differences that have to do with economics, class.

*Grade/age matters* was discussed by the White teacher who asserted:

In the middle school kids, and to tie in with that, is in the lower school I don't think kids spend a lot of time thinking about ethnicity. There are other things going on. I think they know that it exists, but on a day to day basis they don't bring up race issues or religion issues. A lot of that is interjected by the teacher, for good reason. In the middle school, I think there is some wrestling with that, but it's usually internal. There are a few kids that will sort of bring to the table, either in a formal or an informal way, issues around diversity. But generally speaking I think it's going on

internally for the kids and we won't hear or see too much of it. And then in the high school, that's when it really starts. The kids start to feel empowered, they start to feel independent. And then they really do become fairly vocal about it.

As for *visibility issues*, one teacher described this theme in the following way:

At the moment there's just one African American male and two African American females and one bi-racial. But I think that can be hard...And it isn't necessarily an issue of friendship. I guess it's an issue of looking up and seeing, say, somebody else who looks like you.

The remaining 26.4% of White teacher responses to Question 4 was comprised of the following themes: support, socioeconomic issues, cultural milieu of school, role of teachers of color, gender, dating, academics, and esteem. In terms of the *support* theme, a White teacher said, "We encouraged a faculty member to start a BSU, so that there would be a real place for African American students to raise some of their issues which are not just multi-cultural issues but really specific to African Americans." An example of the *socioeconomic issues* theme was this statement from a White teacher:

It's easier for middle class children to fit in---of whatever race. Um, I think its hardest on children of color who come from families without a lot of resources or families for whom private school is an incredible stretch and its very much out of their family's context and that's where it gets mixed up.

Some White teachers described the role of the *school environment* when they discussed the experiences of Black students in the schools. For instance, one teacher spoke about the experience of one youth in particular and said:

I think some of the other African American children who, like are most used to - they go back home and they go into neighborhoods that are pretty similar to the people here. He goes back to North Philly, and it's very different. And I think his experience here, you know, from the language he uses to kind of what's in his world, I think there's two different worlds.

Other White teachers noted the *role of teachers of colors* in the school experience of Black students. One such teacher commented, "I think that that is one of the biggest parts of feeling alienated, when you never have a teacher who has any physical likeness to you, then that could make a difference, I think." An illustration of the *gender* theme was seen in the following remarks by a White teacher:

And that where there is some difficulty becomes, or I see it happening between boys and girls particularly is in the socialization process in that there's a much higher tendency for me to have a kind of, to see oppositional behavior from African American boys in my class than it is from African American girls. And that that oppositional behavior results in academic, in some cases in, you know, a lack of focus on academics. But, you know, I don't want to generalize. That's true in one or two cases and in other cases it's not true at all. It's also part of being, I think, a boy. I mean boys go through that.

A few White teachers discussed *dating* as an aspect of Black students' school experience. One teacher commented:

I also know, because I talk a lot with kids, I'm the dean, so I get to hear all of their complaints, like for the girls there aren't enough African American boys, so when they get to be wanting to date, there's just not a big enough pool of kids to choose from, so that's hard for them, and they want to widen their circle. Sometimes, kids go to a different school. It's funny, I never really hear that from the boys so much...

The *academics* theme was addressed by the White teacher who said, "Academically, it's just been such a mixed bag among the African American community. There's been some students who have really done very well academically. It's just like all the other groups, some in the middle and some at the bottom." Finally, commentary comprising the *esteem* theme included the following statement:

Sometimes that was an issue in terms of blond Barbies and princes and running long straight hair, you know, looking at the other children and parents sometimes reported that kind of response, you know, girls and their looks... And we try to work with that in different ways. And then we have books with African and beautiful photos. It's almost an African Cinderella type story, but stories where they're a princess and they're African American and very beautiful.

*Question 5: If applicable, how do you think experiences differ between African American females and African American males in this school?*

The majority of responses from White teachers (18.2%) to Question 5 mentioned gender not race as being relevant to differing school experiences for Black males and females. Don't know/don't see a difference was seen in 16.7 percent of responses. Girls sticking together and grade/age matters were each seen 11.1 percent of the time in response to Question 5. The role of athletics comprised 10.6 percent of responses.

An example of a White teacher comment on *gender not race* as being relevant in how Black males and females experience their schools was this statement, "But there its, to me, its a difference that has more to do with gender than it does to do with race." *Don't know/don't see a difference* in Black male-female differences for students was the theme the following White teacher discussed when s/he stated, "I'm simply not aware of that there are real differences. I find both African American males and females seem to be very comfortably adjusted." The *girls sticking together* theme was illustrated by the White teacher who said, "It seems to be a more positive experience for the African American females. It seems to me that they get a group to identify with, a positive group." An example of commentary comprising the *grade/age matters* theme was the following statement by a White teacher, "I know what happens in higher grades where there's a hard, you know, retention rate for males is harder."

The remaining 30.2% of White teacher responses to Question 5 was comprised of the following themes: lack of male teachers of color, smaller numbers of Black males, different stereotypes about Black males and females,

attrition of Black males, perceptions of differential treatment, dating, and different responses to stereotypes. The *lack of male teachers of color* theme was described by the White teacher who said, “The only obvious thing I can make hypothetical is that there are more role models who are African American women here in positions of administrative, leadership, than there are males of color.” Another White teacher illustrated the *smaller numbers of Black males* theme when s/he stated, “We have fewer African American boys as you go up through the grades. So we have more in lower school, less in the middle, and they drop away as you move to the upper school.” An example of *different stereotypes about Black males and females* was offered in this assertion by a White teacher, “The stereotype is of course that women tend to be stronger in African American community than men. I don't know if that's fair for our school population, but I think that 's sort of an idea of African Americans.”

*Attrition of Black males* was discussed by the White teacher who remarked, “I know that we lose more African American males in this school than we do African American females. I'm fairly certain of that.” Other White teachers spoke about *perceptions of differential treatment* in relation to how Black males and females experience their schools. One such teacher said, “And that has been something that parents have said. They've said [that] we have a hard time taking care of the African American males in our community.” *Dating* was discussed by the White teacher who said, “A lot of them, as you said, did have the dating issues and not having a lot of Afro American guys to go out with and ending up with either not attending [school] functions, not feeling comfortable, or whatever.” Finally, in regard to *different responses to stereotypes*, a White teacher asserted, “I think that African American males at our school feel the least well known by their teachers. I think there's a real call to teachers to get to know these kids in ways that are untraditional.”

*Question 6: What challenges do you think African American students face at this school?*

The two major themes in response to Question 6 given by White teachers (21.7% each) were dealing with minority status and economic challenges. The next most frequently seen theme (18.8%) was context [dis]continuity. White teachers also mentioned lack of role models (10.1%) as a challenge for Black students in their schools.

An example of the *dealing with minority status* theme is illustrated by the following commentary by a White teacher:

The challenge of having White people around you all of the time - I think that's really tough. It balances, sort of, the White world and your own world. It's really, really hard. Even if we're all benign, which we aren't, it's really hard so I think that's a huge challenge.

In regard to *economic challenges* for Black students, another White teacher said: Well, I think for some it's a matter of class. Now, all of our African Americans are not poor - many are, but some of them have parents who are doctors, lawyers, business people, etc., etc. And some of our White students are poor, but there is no question, there's a larger number of kids

who are not affluent in the Afro American group of people. So that's always hard.

Some White teachers spoke about *context [dis]continuity* as a challenge facing Black students. For example, one White teacher asserted:

But I think with a boy last year and the boy this year, again, that whole issue of two worlds is very clear as a struggle, a kind of where does he belong, how does he fit in. And I would imagine that just, even for the other children, you know, how are we allowing them to express their culture and who they are.

An example of commentary comprising the *lack of role models* theme was the following statement by a White teacher, "And there are a few - there aren't very many African American teachers, which may be a different experience for them."

The remaining 27.4% of White teacher responses to Question 6 was comprised of the following themes: social, same as other students, making sense of race, academic, achievement pressures, engaging with school, and maintaining a sense of self. An example of the *social* theme is this commentary from a White teacher:

As kids get older the social scene is very difficult. They're not willing to cross-date, they feel uncomfortable with cross-dating. Your options can be pretty restricted. And even if you as an African American are willing to cross-date, in order to do that, there has to be a White kid out there who's willing to cross-date. So that's a problem.

The *same as other students* theme was discussed by another White teacher who said:

I think a lot of the challenges that they face are the same as a lot of the challenges that any of the kids face. Many of the kids are very challenged academically and we get to the point with them where we wonder if there is something interfering with their learning. If this is the right place for them to be, but this is for any child.

Other White teachers spoke about the *making sense of race* theme. For instance, one White teacher stated, "And so I could see changes from year to year, and I see the children kind of grabbing hold and saying, "Here's who I am, this is what my family does.""

The *academic* theme was mentioned by the White teacher who lamented:

One challenge that we face in upper school, if we take in kids, we take in a lot of kids in 9<sup>th</sup> grade, it's a big year, so sometimes we sort of, our classes will grow by about a half...a lot different. And we try to take in African American kids, and if we take in African American kids who have come to us from public schools, this would be true of any kids, if we take any students in from public schools or some of the teeny little Catholic schools, they don't have the skills that kids who come to us from other private schools have. So they just don't, they often don't have the reading and writing and mathematical skills that will make them really successful here. They can make it, but they're not, you'll have a child who in 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, and 8<sup>th</sup> grade was getting A's and B's in their tiny little Catholic neighborhood school. And they come here, and they start getting C's and it's very

discouraging ...and um so we've tried to think about that, and that's a challenge both for the kids and for us.

The *achievement pressures* theme was described by a White teacher in the following way:

I've had parents of some African American children who have been more, not more concerned than other parents, but very concerned that because their children are Black that they need to do even better and wanting their children to be, that when I say to a parent your child is right where he should be, that that's not good enough.

As for the *engaging with school theme*, another White teacher commented, "Do you want to fit into this [school's] model student? I think that would be a big challenge." Finally, a White teacher spoke about "emotional challenges" as an aspect of *maintaining a sense of self* for Black students.

*Question 7: What strategies have been tried, if any, to address the challenges? Have they been successful?*

School efforts (20.4%) was the most frequently offered theme by White teachers to Question 7. The reviewing curriculum theme was seen in 18.4 percent of the responses while the outreach to parents theme was seen 16.3 percent of the time. Conversations/dialogue, getting students involved at school, and hiring more faculty of color each comprised 10.2 percent of White teachers' responses.

A White teacher illustrated the *school efforts* theme in regard to strategies for addressing Black students' challenges when s/he said:

We do book studies which openly address issues of racism. There are committees, like the committee for diversity which brought this study group into this school that's part of the connection, which is looking very specifically at Black boys in our school, how to support African American boys better. So there are lots of initiatives, a lot of different levels among students, among parents, among faculty, among administrators to try to address them.

In terms of the *reviewing curriculum* theme, another White teacher said, "Curriculum has been looked at with a fine-tooth comb; Where is each child in this curriculum? Let's make sure." An example of the *parent outreach* theme was the following statement by a White teacher who stated, "A families of color group has been organized and meets regularly. It gives parents a chance in a safe environment to give feedback and to vent. Students ask their parents to raise issues. It opens up the lines of communication."

In regard to the *conversation/dialogue* theme, one White teacher offered the following commentary, "Well, I think that on the whole we have a lot of discussions, we allow the children to talk and share their experiences, so allowing time in the schedule for those types of discussions..." The *getting students involved at school* theme was articulated by the White teacher who remarked:

I think the fact that the school supports and advocates sort of organizations that are purposefully designed to address needs of African

American students, or minority students of any kind - we have multi-cultural student organizations and we have a Black student union, it's called, and we have SAGA. You know, so these three organizations are very clearly ways for people to find alliances and sort of meet some social needs. And that's the way the kids in upper school, I think, that's the way they deal. They get involved in activities and that's the way that they begin to connect with other students and develop support networks. An example of the *hiring more faculty of color* theme came from the White teacher who stated, "The administration is realizing that they have to recruit more faculty of color, that it's really essential."

The remaining 14.2 percent of White teacher responses to Question 7 was comprised of the following themes: academic strategies, faculty of color efforts, none, and personal efforts with students of color. An example of the *academic strategies* theme was this commentary from a White teacher, "Math, whatever their weakness is, they have this older student come and help them. You know, if they're really having trouble, then tutors are recommended. Sometimes tutoring over the summer." The *faculty of color efforts* theme was discussed by another White teacher who said:

But also the people of color on the faculty, not just African American but anybody, they meet weekly to keep these things, to try to mentor, to stay in touch, to really give the kids something to hold on to as they go through. Other White teachers asserted that there were *no strategies* to address Black students' challenges. For example, one teacher said, "Not that I know of, but I haven't been here all that long, so I don't really know." Finally, the *personal efforts with students of color* theme was articulated by the White teacher who said:

Well, you know, we do try to, I mean we talk to kids, we talk to kids a lot. You know, if a kid is looking down, you know, "What's going on?" Sometimes they say, nothing, and dash away. Sometimes if you ask a couple of questions, like you usually say, there's home, there's school, there's friends, [laughter] and sometimes that will start a conversation.

*Question 8: How have African American students been successful at this school?*

The majority of responses from White teachers (21.3%) to Question 8 fell under the "same way other students" succeed theme. Success in academics was mentioned by 18 percent of the White teachers with artistic/creative activities cited 16.4 percent of the time as the way that Black students had been successful in their schools. The next most frequently seen themes were leadership/voice (14.8%) and athletics (9.8%).

A White teacher provided an example of the *same way as other students* theme when s/he stated, "So the question how are kids successful... they are successful in the same terms of everyone else is." In regard to the *academic success* theme, another White teacher said:

My best leader in my class this year is African American. He's got the most brilliant mind for reading comprehension and he's a good writer.

We're pushing him and pulling him, but he's very proud of himself and reads very well and his math is strong.

Commentary that illustrated the *artistic/creative* theme as a way that Black students were successful was the statement that, "We have a number of African American graduates who have been particularly successful in the arts, and we welcome them back." The *leadership/voice* theme was discussed by a White teacher who asserted, "Some find a voice and have opportunities to be a leader through clubs like the multicultural student union or the Black student union or the Worship and Ministry club." An example of commentary comprising the *athletic success* theme was this statement by a White teacher, "Well, the first thing that pops into my mind is athletics, at least the two people that were, that are the real leaders in this class, they're both excellent basketball players and they're enormous for their age."

The remaining 29.4 percent of White teacher responses to Question 8 was comprised of the following themes: stories of perseverance, support for one another, role of assimilation, self-esteem, social connections, and school awards. The *stories of perseverance* theme included the following story from a White teacher:

And another kid with sickle cell who actually had a heart episode in seventh grade and has continued on through the school, incredible artist but lots of issues with taking off from school for transfusions and feeling very different. And again, his ability to persist and stick with it and basically feel strong.

*Support for one another* was illustrated in this remark from a White teacher, "I think that their loyalty to each other really shows a lot to the other students and their propensity for expression really benefits the other students." An example of the *role of assimilation* as related to Black student success was articulated by a White teacher who said:

Um, I think kids have been successful who have been sort of willing, willing to, to take on the party line. Um, willing to um, willing to behave the way they were expected to behave, not being sort of way out here in terms of behavior or appearance or, or, um, um ideas. I think the ones that sort of, were more in the middle. Um, I think the kids that have been more successful have been more, I mean I hate to say it, were more middle class where there was less discontinuity between the ideas of the home and the ideas of school.

Some White teachers talked about the *self-esteem* theme. For instance, one White teacher said, "I think by celebrating diversity and talking about the reality of our world we enable African American children to feel success, to feel good about themselves." Other White teachers discussed *social connections* as a way Black students were successful in their schools. For example, one teacher stated, "Well, specifically, it's a female student who's very liked by all the other kids, she's very social, very imaginative, very creative, very artistic, really gets along with all the other kids in the class, works with them." Finally, the *school awards* theme was illustrated with the following commentary from a White teacher:



I know that they continued all the way through 12<sup>th</sup> grade and when they graduated, they received a lot of honors and more clearly well respected by their peers and by the faculty at the upper school as well as the administration of the school. They certainly were honored in very special ways and received awards...

*Question 9: What strategies have been tried, if any, to promote the successes? Have they been successful?*

Two themes – school awards/recognition and same for all races – were cited most frequently by White teachers (17.5% each) as strategies to promote success for Black students. Three themes – general faculty efforts, curriculum and classroom, and dialogue – each garnered 12.5 percent of responses to Question 9.

An example of a White teacher comment on *school awards/recognition* as a strategy to promote Black students' success is, "Well, personal recognition is certainly helpful. My kids need tons of personal recognition." In regard to the *same for all races* theme, another White teacher said, "That's a tough question because I don't think we put in any strategies, you know, for certain backgrounds. We have strategies for kids at a whole and that's just challenging them to have a balance." An example of *general faculty efforts* was provided by the White teacher who stated:

You know, I should say something that our class size all the way through the school is very low and there is a real commitment on the part of faculty members to know students well and support students well as individuals. So kids aren't numbers here. Students are well known, and I think that's another way in which the school really works hard to support every student who's here, certainly including African American students.

The *curriculum and classroom* theme was illustrated by the following commentary from a White teacher, "I think that what we do in lower school works fairly well in terms of making sure the children see themselves in the curriculum." Some White teachers commented on the *dialogue* theme. For example, one teacher remarked, "From what I've seen so far - discussion, open discussion, the encouragement for discussion."

The remaining 27.5 percent of White teacher responses to Question 9 was comprised of the following themes: school ethos, creative/artistic efforts, promoting diversity, working with families, faculty of color efforts, and family efforts. In regard to the *school ethos* theme, a White teacher said:

I think that has a lot to do with just the philosophy of the school. The official line is there is God in every person. To be interpreted as there is something great about every person, there is talent in every person. And I think that we really do expect that from all of the children in the community. I think that we look for that in every person and we seek it out and draw it out as much as possible.

An example of the *creative/artistic efforts* theme was described by a White teacher as "the opportunities for art or acting or music." The *promoting diversity* strategy was described by another White teacher with the statement, "I think the

director really tries to make sure that the teachers are diverse amongst themselves, either gender or race or what have you. They know that that's a priority." Some White teachers mentioned *working with families* as a strategy to promote Black students' success. For instance, one teacher said, "I work really hard to work with families to build a safety net around each child so they feel that they can really learn from whatever's being taught." Other White teachers discussed *faculty of color efforts*. One teacher somewhat awkwardly stated:

Oh, I think just having them - here's that term again, multi-cultural - a Black African director...hiring somebody who's going to sort of oversee. I think maybe taking out that ad...where it says, the Black African, the African American teachers support the kids here.

Finally, the *family efforts* theme was discussed by White teachers. The following statement was illustrative:

So it's one of those things where we are constantly looking and saying how do we make everyone feel at home, how do we speak to everyone and say, we value this about you, we value that. So we're trying hard at it, I really think we are. You're trying to include parents and keep a curriculum rolling and you're trying to make everyone feel valued.

*Question 10: What are the factors that contribute to the positive adjustment for African American students at this school?*

The most frequently cited theme by White teachers in response to Question 10 was parents (13.1%). Two themes – teachers and aspects of the curriculum – were each cited by 11.5 percent of White teachers as factors that promote adjustment for Black students. Two more themes – numbers of Black students and treat like everybody else – each garnered 9.8 percent of responses to Question 10.

An illustration of commentary by a White teacher on the *parent* theme was:

I think it is supportive parents, parents who encourage kids to set goals. Parents who understand their particular kids, and know their own kids. Parents who pay attention to their kids, read to their kids, talk to their kids, that kind of thing. And all of that I think has nothing to do with money. It has to do with the way the kids are best brought up. Knowing their kids' strengths, knowing their kids' vulnerabilities, and really understanding that.

An example of the *teachers* theme was offered by this White teacher who said, "Let's see, faculty who are willing to encourage, support, mentor, you know, positive role models on the faculty." A White teacher asserted that *aspects of the curriculum* serve to promote adjustment when "kids [are] seeing themselves, or other African Americans in the curriculum being celebrated for who they are as an individuals within the school community." Some White teachers commented on the *number of Black students* theme. For example, one teacher remarked:

How about the demographics of any given class? I mean the given, you know, like what are the numbers of students of color in that class, are there enough that that student of color, when they move from one stage of like, I can have friends from everybody, from other races, to I need to just

have some Black folks that I can hang out with. It's their choice there, so they don't just have to be with this one girl who's manic depressive. You know what I mean, like there's a choice, you know. So I think that has to do with the demographics of any given class.

Other teachers asserted that promoting Black student adjustment involved *treating them like everybody else*. For instance, one White teacher stated, "All I can think of is really just treating them just like everybody else. Not pointing anything out, not pointing out that there's any kind of difference. And maybe they won't really think about it."

The remaining 43.9 percent of White teacher responses to Question 10 was comprised of the following themes: Black role models, peers, support (internal or external), openness to school culture, same factors as for any student, school-family dialogue, focus on individual, student activities, academic skills, and school ethos.

In regard to the *Black role models* theme, a White teacher commented, "First of all having a teacher or knowing teachers, seeing teachers who are African American I think definitely is a key thing." The *peers* theme was articulated by the White teacher who said, "I guess it would be a social connection, a feeling - if you have one friend, I think everything, almost everything else could be bearable." An example of a statement by a White teacher that illustrated the *support (internal or external)* theme was, "Enough academic support, and enough social support also." *Openness to school culture* was articulated by the White teacher who opined:

I want to say a willingness to accept the culture of the school as okay. The idea that they don't have to fight against the culture of the school in order to, to stand up for who they are. That by accepting the culture of the school they don't lose who they are and that those two things can go together.

Some White teachers asserted that the *same factors as for any student* were the factors that promoted Black student adjustment. For example, one teacher said, "You know, I'm not sure there's different factors for African Americans." *School-family dialogue* was discussed by a White teacher who stated:

I think that communication piece is very, very important. I think it's very important that the parents understand where we're coming from so that they can support the positive things that we do so a child doesn't feel left out. And I would like to know how to give that extra support. I think I don't give enough sometimes. So I would like for a system to be in place. Although we're very open. I give them my phone number and I'm very, very willing to stay after school and talk to people.

Other White teachers emphasized a *focus on the individual* as a way to promote Black student adjustment. For instance, one teacher remarked, "Part of what contributes to a positive experience for all students at our school is knowing them well as individuals and respecting them as individuals." The *student activities* theme was illustrated with the following commentary:

All of the student unions that we have, I think are all, they're nice because at MSU the basic idea is that anybody can join. If you're interested in the

idea of multiculturalism, you can be in MSU. And in fact those organizations help too to kind of help kids transition in or whatever. The importance of *academic skills* in Black students' adjustment was discussed by the White teacher who said, "Specifically academically, writing skills, reading skills, having those two pieces, study skills." Finally, in terms of the *school ethos* theme, a White teacher said, "I would say just the whole general atmosphere of the school because we talk about equality and we really believe it."

*Question 11: Have you seen any incidents in which race played a role in your classroom (or in your general contact with students)?*

The majority of responses from White teachers (18.2% each) to Question 11 mentioned dialogue. The next most frequently seen themes on race in the classroom were not seeing any (15.2%), literature/curriculum (13.6%), and awareness of own views on race and racism (10.6%).

A White teacher discussed race in the classroom via *dialogue* when s/he asserted:

I mean my response is, of course, because we actively talk about race and engage in a discussion of what race, how it affects us and how understanding of race you know, in terms of it affects our society or how our affects society, really.

Commentary that illustrated the *not seeing any* instances of race in the classroom theme was described by a White teacher in this way, "No, I haven't. It would be something that I would work hard to not have it happened in my classroom." The *literature/curriculum* theme was addressed by the White teacher who said, "But when we do the short stories in English there are a couple that, you know, where race is one of the focal points of the story and we get into some discussions about what it's like, where these people are coming from." An example of an observation from the *awareness of own views on race and racism* theme was articulated by the White teacher who said:

That's an experience that has stayed with me, because my first reaction was very defensive. I tried to in that conference to be helpful, supportive, and failed miserably and ended up later feeling sad and depressed and defensive. "I didn't do anything wrong. Why is this all about me and not about what's going on for this child?" I was also very new to the experience of running parent-teacher conference. So that experience has stayed with me in lots and lots of ways and I've learned a lot from that. But clearly that suggests that we need to continue to examine the experience of people from different racial backgrounds and different races. And continue to look at them and question them and wonder about them and trace the ways in which we interact back to our own assumptions, which might sometimes be racist assumptions. I think the incident...which had impacted on my interacting with that child is something that has probably happened with every teacher in the school. In some way the issue of race has been a part of some interaction somewhere, or some assumptions somewhere or some difficult challenge somewhere. I think that's an experience that certainly is not unique to me.

The remaining 42.4 percent of White teacher responses to Question 11 was comprised of the following themes: negative interracial peer interactions, negative intraracial peer interactions, developmental issues, no crude racism, how race matters for students, positive/affirming, other aspects of diversity, Black students grouping together, role of parents, accused of racism, and positive teacher-student interactions.

*Negative interracial peer interaction* was discussed by the White teacher who talked about a specific incident:

One of the things that happened last year was a racial confrontation between him [a Black male student] and a very articulate, very bright girl who happened to be Jewish. And if I were to call this correctly, I know there was a name calling, and my recollection is he pulled back and stopped, and she didn't, or it was the other way around. But in any case, it was explicitly racial, they were furious with each other about something that happened.

Other White teachers commented on *negative intraracial peer interactions*. For example, on teacher remarked:

Now I know, and I don't have firsthand knowledge of this, but I know that in [another] class...there's been an issue with two new African American girls...I mean the girls don't get along. And when I asked about it, the answer to me was, it was a class problem. One girl was from a lower class Black family and one is from an upper class. And the mothers don't approve of each other.

The *developmental issues* theme was illustrated by the White teacher who said, "But right now, they're little puppies rolling around on the rug together, you know, and it's all good." Along that vein, some White teachers discussed how there was *no crude racism*. For instance, one teacher asserted, "But, you know, any racism that's here is much more subtle. You don't see anybody calling anybody the "N" word and we're all very politically correct." *How race matters for students* was described by the White teacher who said:

It was about, I don't know, three or four African American girls and they were talking about their hair. And one of them said, your hair is nappy or something, and that got into this discussion about hair. But it was innocent inasmuch as they weren't calling names. They were just describing it. And in their households, I think that's the word they use, I think, especially with girls and long braids and stuff.

The *positive/affirming* role of race in the classroom was mentioned by the White teacher who commented:

But what happened, after showing that, was we had this rip-roaring six student dominated discussion of clarity and spontaneity and saying, yeah, this is a moment of real connection for those kids. But the rest of us listened to and enjoyed but couldn't be a part of...They were able to really take over the class in a way that doesn't happen very often. So that's one incident that is positive apparently because of the extraordinary good humor of the kid.

The *other aspects of diversity* theme was talked about by the White teacher who said, "So discussions about religion can become ones that are polarized around race." Some White teachers mentioned *Black students grouping together*. For example, one teacher stated:

Well, I would say that something I do see in other areas of the school, there are, it seems that African American students do group together, at times, not always, but at times. I don't think that's bad necessarily. They do have different experiences that are shared.

The *role of parents* theme was described in this statement by a White teacher: And parents think because he's Black, that he's getting into all this trouble. And it's very hard to be able to say to an African American parent, "You have to trust that I am being as even-handed in my punishment of White kids who are behaving this way."

One White teacher talked about an instance when they were *accused of racism*. This teacher said:

At the conference I became very much aware of their absolute perception of me as being a racist, and approaching my work with their son and grandson in a racially motivated way. Of course I know now, I am a product of my culture. I have grown up with racist tendencies. I hope to keep examining them and find what they are. But at the time I was very taken back by that, because I had not been conscious of a mind that I am working with this boy in a particular way because I am White and he's Black and I'm responding to him in a particular way because I'm White and he's Black. But that was their immediate reaction that I was picking on him because he was Black.

Finally, *positive teacher-student interactions* were addressed by the White teacher who told the following story:

Here's the other interesting thing: my African American girls, when they come back from swimming, I always do their hair, always and I had to learn the different ways they do their hair and they've been teaching me. They say, "You're almost as good as my dad." But they see that I am willing to make that effort and that I will do their hair for them and talk with them about what they did and that I have bothered to go learn about that. It's important that they see me as validating who they are.

*Question 12: How would you describe the concerns of the parents of African American students?*

The majority of responses from White teachers to Question 12 mentioned either racial discrimination or isolation and same as any parent (17.3% each). The next most frequently seen themes in regard to the concerns of parents of Black students were academic achievement (16%) and that the school deals with race/diverse (9.3%).

An example of a White teacher comment on *racial discrimination or isolation* as a concern of Black parents was, "There's one parent who gets very upset if her daughter is the only African American or the only African American female in the class." In regard to the *academic achievement* theme, another

White teacher said, “You know, academic success. They want their child to get as good a grade as possible.”

The *same as any parent* theme was illustrated by another White teacher who stated, “Nothing has been directed toward their ethnicity; it has been about ‘my child’ or whatever the concerns are of the parents. It does [not] seem to me to be a White or Black issue.” Some White teachers discussed how *school deals with race/diverse* as a concern for parents of Black students. For instance, one teacher asserted, “Well, I think probably the biggest concern is to continue to make our school as diverse as possible...”

The remaining 40.4 percent of White teacher responses to Question 12 was comprised of the following themes: child treated fairly and with respect, trust in school, academic concerns, role of race in child’s experience, children are successful, values conflict, parent involvement, discipline, socioeconomic status (SES), potential recognized, and maintain racial identity.

An example of commentary on the *child treated fairly and with respect* theme from a White teacher was, “I want my child to be treated like anyone else.” The *trust in school* theme was described by the White teacher who believed Black parents wanted to show “a strong support of the school, complete faith in what I’m doing as a teacher...” A White teacher response to Question 12 that involved the *academic concerns* theme was:

I think that there are African American parents in the school who are worried that our academic program is not rigorous enough and we always wonder are we doing a good enough job and what else could we do to help parents understand the philosophical basis of our academic program. Some White teachers addressed what they felt was Black parents’ concern about the *role of race in the child’s experience*. For instance, one teacher asserted, “I think sometimes if it’s an African American student who’s struggling academically, that they do wonder if the fact that their child is struggling is due to the child’s race and the white teachers don’t understand that child.” Other teachers believed that Black parents were concerned about whether their *children are successful*. One such teacher said, “I would say concerns, concerns that their children are successful, successful students, successful socially, that they have a good self-image, develop self-confidence.” The *values conflict* theme was discussed by the White teacher who stated, “So I think that’s an example of a place where the experience of White folks and Black folks is very different and informs that value and those different values can come into conflict in a school environment like this.” *Parent involvement* as a concern was addressed by the White teacher who remarked:

I also see the more successful African American families that their parents are *really* involved with their lives, very concerned about what’s going on at the school, always present for conferences, and welcome phone calls to make sure that things are going well.

The *discipline* concern was addressed by the White teacher who noted:

I think that parents, particularly parents of color have expressed this - I think there are plenty of White people who feel this way too, but [this school] is pretty loopy-goopy on rules. I mean it’s a very unstructured environment. And

for most people that's wonderful, but I think for people of color it's a particular concern because it's like, what do you mean you didn't know where my kid was, or what do you mean you were trying to be nice allowing my kid to miss the deadline, but you know, you figured he would get the paper in. You know, it's pretty loose, and I think that looseness could sometimes be interpreted as laxity, you know, as an inattentiveness. And I think it's been interpreted that way sometimes by families of color.

An example of commentary by White teachers on the *socioeconomic status (SES)* theme is the following, "Less obvious, now that I think about it, is financial. I think there probably are concerns about class issues." The *potential recognized* theme was addressed by the White teacher who stated, "I had an advisee whose mother said, "My daughter, as a Black child in this school, has never been held in the view of the teachers as though she could achieve up to the standards of the White kids.'" Finally, a White teacher talked about the *maintaining racial identity* theme when s/he said, "At the same time, they also want their kids to be proud of their background and their heritage."

*Question 13: Is there anything else you would like to add? Is there another question you think we should be asking?*

The majority of responses to Question 13 from White teachers (23.3%) were of the "not having any more to add in their answers" variety. The next most frequently seen themes were: importance of SAAS work (18.6%), school ethos (14%), questions about SAAS (7%), and the importance of diversity (7%).

An example of a White teacher comment on *not having any more to add* was simply, "Not that I can think of, no." In regard to the *importance of SAAS work* theme, a White teacher said:

Well, I think it's a great thing that you're doing. I don't think I'm a good person to be interviewed here, but I think it's a great thing. And I would like to be supportive of it any way that I can. I'd be very interested in hearing from your group what we can, your ideas on some of this stuff and how we could be more helpful.

The *school ethos* theme was illustrated by the White teacher who asserted:

I think we're on the right track. I just think we need to do more of it. I mean just going back to the first part [of the interview]. And I think this school has a much better awareness. I believe that we were resting on the idea that this is a Quaker school, of course we respect everybody, of course we honor everybody here, but not realizing that we needed to be more pro-active.

Some comments from White teachers illustrated the *questions about SAAS* theme. For instance, one teacher asked, "Not specifically, I think it's important, are you just doing teachers, are you doing members of the administration?" In terms of the *importance of diversity* theme, another White teacher said, "Students of color are incredibly valuable and that you increase your understanding of the world. You get a better education in a diverse community. I really believe diversity is well worth whatever it takes."



The remaining 35.8 percent of White teacher responses to Question 13 was comprised of the following themes: race and independent school, gender, developmental concerns, hiring teachers and administrators of color, athletics, teaching Black parents about independent schools, more diversity strategies, other forms of discrimination, questions about what teachers can do, and teacher-parent interactions.

An example of the *race and independent school* theme was provided by the White teacher who said:

We are always conscious that there is this concern for the African American in our independent schools, particularly this school in greater numbers. And want to make sure they are not leaving because we're doing the wrong things, not seeing what we should be seeing, making assumptions based on the fact that we're not African American.

Some White teachers addressed *gender*. One such teacher remarked, "I think it's probably important to do both [girls and boys]. Because I think the assumption is that African American boys have more problems. I think that some of the difficulties kids go through are pretty universal." Other White teachers spoke about *developmental concerns*. For instance, one teacher stated:

I think that as you watch African American kids go through this school, and if you were interviewing in the different stages, although it's hard with young children, I think you'd get different feedback. And sometimes I've known children, you know, in middle or upper school who talk about their experiences and as an adolescent, view them in one way that I think is not the way they were viewing it when they were living it earlier.

*Hiring teachers and administrators of color* was discussed by the White teacher who remarked:

No, I think that the frustration for schools like this is obvious, is that there's a huge, huge emphasis on diversity, yet at what point do you change your standards so dramatically that, you know, the teachers you're getting are minority teachers, but they're not good teachers.

In terms of *athletics*, a White teacher said:

The whole Quaker belief; the whole issue of equality. I've asked each of the students to talk about whether they feel that [this school] really practices what it preaches. All students said absolutely and the only place where they would feel that the school does not was athletics. So, as far as opportunities and whatever, there doesn't seem to be any place where they feel that there are differences except the world of athletics. I found that very interesting.

Commentary about *teaching Black parents about independent schools* came from the White teacher who suggested:

Maybe just a support parent, you know, parents for the new parents. So in the beginning when they don't feel comfortable asking questions to teachers or administrators, there would be someone who they might be able to feel that they could say, what is this, is this a problem, or whatever.

*More diversity strategies* was addressed by the White teacher who described one such effort as follows:

Well, there is one thing that I think you should know about and that is a group of African American boys have gotten together to form a support group for the African American boys currently in the school as far as academics and study habits and its purely volunteer on their part. I think it's a wonderful program.

The *other forms of discrimination* theme was discussed by the White teacher who spoke about anti-Semitism in their school. Another White teacher's comments illustrated the *questions about what teachers can do* theme. S/he wondered:

Well, I ask myself the question, how can I support African American kids to be here? How can I support. Like I'm really concerned about those kids who come who don't have the skills, whether they're African American or White or whatever, how can we make it possible for the sort of middle range child to be here to feel successful, so that's something...I think if we can get a better handle on that, it will help us with some of the African American boys, because those are the kids we've lost, the sort of middle range kids...

Finally, the *teacher-parent interactions* theme was elaborated on by the White teacher who said:

I think there's this, what is it, when you have a teacher who, you know, a white teacher and you have parents of color, it's finding that sort of line of, you know, of parents being able to say - and I think, it just happened to me recently, which was good, where a parent wondered about a comment a kid had made was because her daughter was Black. And fortunately, I mean this is not to praise myself, but I'm at the point where I didn't discount that, from her point of view, at all. Because that would have been like so presumptuous and so wrong and so like, would just shut her up forever, right. So I said, well that would be disturbing, you know, I mean we talked about it. And I offered possible other scenarios, but I said, I can understand why that would concern her. But I felt good that at least she was sort of able to say that because earlier in the year I think she wanted to say things like that and didn't. So I think it's just allowing for voices and not having to be in control all the time.

*Question 14: What recommendations would you make to the following groups to promote the success of African American boys in this school?*

A minimal number of White teachers completed the recommendation section of the interview. As such, those results will not be reported here.

#### *Teacher of Color – White Teacher Comparison*

The tables below present the frequency with which each theme was seen for teachers of color and for White teachers for each of the questions that comprised the SAAS interview protocol.

*Question 1: On a scale of 1 to 5 how well does this school address issues of cultural diversity?*

The mean level response to the opening question of the SAAS interview was 3.44 for teachers of color and 4.03 for White teachers. Table 39 presents the themes teachers discussed in response to Question 1.

Table 39. Themes for Question 1 for Teachers.

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Teachers of Color</b>	<b>White Teachers</b>
Talk different from action	14.3%	3.4%
Dialogue as important	0%	10.3%
School is trying	42.9%	62.1%
Need more inclusive definition of diversity	0%	6.9%
Efforts fall short	0%	17.1%
Administration makes a difference	14.3%	0%
Motivations for addressing diversity	14.3%	0%
Diversity among faculty	14.3%	0%

*Question 2: How has this school addressed diversity issues over the last five years?*

Table 40 presents the themes teachers discussed in response to Question 2.

Table 40. Themes for Question 2 for Teachers.

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Teachers of Color</b>	<b>White Teachers</b>
Diversity addressed broadly	23.5%	13.1%
Dialogue, workshops, & in-service	17.6%	27.4%
Faculty of color initiatives	11.8%	6%
Student diversity initiatives	11.8%	10.7%
School committees	11.8%	8.3%
Family of color initiatives	8.9%	1.2%

School level differences	5.9%	3.6%
Via the curriculum	5.9%	17.9%
Role of the administration	5.9%	1.2%
School philosophy	0%	8.3%
Intention not same as outcome	0%	2.4%

*Question 3: How have you addressed diversity issues in your classroom?*

Table 41 presents the themes teachers discussed in response to Question 3.

Table 41. Themes for Question 3 for Teachers.

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Teachers of Color</b>	<b>White Teachers</b>
Diversifying the curriculum	61.5%	40.7%
Dialogue	23.1%	24.7%
Professional development experiences	7.7%	0%
Personal efforts with students of color	7.7%	1.2%
Holiday celebrations	0%	9.9%
Unique issues of all students	0%	7.4%
Physical aspects of classroom	0%	3.7%
Increasing numbers of students of color	0%	2.5%
Find it difficult	0%	3.7%
Speakers related to diversity	0%	2.5%
Don't think race matters at this age	0%	2.5%
Don't think it's necessary	0%	1.2%

*Question 4: What do you think the experience is like, both academically and socially, for African American students in this school?*

Table 42 presents the themes teachers discussed in response to Question 4.

Table 42. Themes for Question 4 for Teachers.

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Teachers of Color</b>	<b>White Teachers</b>
Grade and age matters	21.1%	11.1%
Cultural milieu of school	15.8%	5.6%
Socioeconomic issues	10.5%	7.8%
Diversity among Black students	10.5%	12.2%
Visibility issues	10.5%	11.1%
Academic issues	10.5%	2.2%
Multiracial student experiences	5.3%	0%
Dating issues	5.3%	2.2%
Relationships to teachers of color	5.3%	4.4%
Discrimination experiences	5.3%	0%
Race was not an issue	0%	15.6%
(Dis)engagement	0%	15.6%
Support	0%	7.8%
Gender	0%	3.3%
Esteem	0%	1.1%

*Question 5: If applicable, how do you think experiences differ between African American females and African American males in this school?*

Table 43 presents the themes teachers discussed in response to Question 5.

Table 43. Themes for Question 5 for Teachers.

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Teachers of Color</b>	<b>White Teachers</b>
Athletics	21.4%	10.6%
Different stereotypes about males and females	14.3%	4.5%
Perceptions of differential treatment	14.3%	3.0%
Dating	14.3	1.5%
Grade & age	14.3%	12.1%

matters		
Lack of male teachers of color	7.1%	9.1%
Similarities in stereotypes about males and females	7.1%	0%
Girls sticking together; voice	7.1%	12.1%
Gender not race	0%	18.2%
Don't know/don't see a difference	0%	16.7%
Smaller numbers of Black males	0%	7.6%
Attrition of Black males	0%	3.0%
Different responses to stereotypes	0%	1.5%

*Question 6: What challenges do you think African American students face at this school?*

Table 44 presents the themes teachers discussed in response to Question 6.

Table 44. Themes for Question 6 for Teachers.

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Teachers of Color</b>	<b>White Teachers</b>
Dealing with minority status	25.0%	21.7%
Maintaining a sense of self	16.7%	1.4%
Academic challenges	16.7%	4.3%
Social challenges	8.3%	5.8%
Making sense of race	8.3%	4.3%
Representing for the race	8.3%	0%
Context [dis]continuity	8.3%	18.8%
Lack of faculty support	8.3%	0%
Economic challenges	0%	21.7%
Lack of role	0%	10.1%

models		
Same as other students	0%	5.8%
Achievement pressures	0%	2.9%
Engaging with school	0%	2.9%

*Question 7: What strategies have been tried, if any, to address the challenges? Have they been successful?*

Table 45 presents the themes teachers discussed in response to Question 7.

Table 45. Themes for Question 7 for Teachers.

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Teachers of Color</b>	<b>White Teachers</b>
Faculty of color efforts	15.4%	2.0%
Conversation & dialogue	15.4%	10.2%
Parent outreach	15.4%	16.3%
Encouraging student involvement	15.4%	10.2%
School efforts	7.7%	20.4%
Alumni of color efforts	7.7%	0%
Talk is not action	7.7%	0%
Academic strategies	7.7%	8.2%
Reviewing curriculum	0%	18.4%
Hiring more faculty of color	0%	10.2%
None	0%	2.0%
Personal efforts with students of color	0%	2.0%

*Question 8: How have African American students been successful at this school?*

Table 46 presents the themes teachers discussed in response to Question 8.

Table 46. Themes for Question 8 for Teachers.

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Teachers of Color</b>	<b>White Teachers</b>
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Artistic/creative activities	37.5%	16.4%
Support for one another	12.5%	3.3%
Seminars/workshops	12.5%	22.2%
Self-esteem	12.5%	1.6%
Leadership/voice	12.5%	14.8%
Social connections	12.5%	1.6%
Same way as other students	0%	21.3%
Academic success	0%	18.0%
Athletic success	0%	9.8%
Stories of perseverance	0%	8.2%
Role of assimilation	0%	3.3%
School awards	0%	1.6%

*Question 9: What strategies have been tried, if any, to promote the successes? Have they been successful?*

Table 47 presents the themes teachers discussed in response to Question 9.

Table 47. Themes for Question 9 for Teachers.

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Teachers of Color</b>	<b>White Teachers</b>
Faculty of color efforts	25.0%	2.5%
General faculty efforts	16.7%	12.5%
Don't know	8.3%	19.0%
School awards/recognition	8.3%	17.5%
Family efforts	8.3%	2.5%
School ethos	8.3%	7.5%
Creative/artistic efforts	8.3%	5.0%
Curriculum & classroom	8.3%	12.5%
Same for all races	8.3%	17.5%
Dialogue	0%	12.5%
School ethos	0%	7.5%
Promoting diversity	0%	5.0%
Working with families	0%	5.0%



*Question 10: What are the factors that contribute to the positive adjustment for African American students at this school?*

Table 48 presents the themes teachers discussed in response to Question 10.

Table 48. Themes for Question 10 for Teachers.

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Teachers of Color</b>	<b>White Teachers</b>
Aspects of the curriculum	22.2%	11.5%
Black role models	11.1%	8.2%
Parents	11.1%	13.1%
Teachers	11.1%	11.5%
Support (internal or external)	11.1%	6.6%
Peers	11.1%	6.6%
School-family dialogue	11.1%	3.3%
School ethos	11.1%	1.6%
Number of Black students	0%	9.8%
Treating them like everybody else	0%	9.8%
Openness to school culture	0%	4.9%
Same factors as for any student	0%	4.9%
Focus on the individual	0%	3.3%
Student activities	0%	3.3%
Academic skills	0%	1.6%

*Question 11: Have you seen any incidents in which race played a role in your classroom (or in your general contact with students)?*

Table 49 presents the themes teachers discussed in response to Question 11.

Table 49. Themes for Question 11 for Teachers.

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Teachers of Color</b>	<b>White Teachers</b>
Positive/affirming	22.2%	3.0%
Dialogue	22.2%	18.2%
How race matters for students	11.1%	3.0%
Literature/curriculum	11.1%	13.6%

Role of parents	11.1%	1.5%
Awareness of own views on race and racism	11.1%	10.6%
Not seeing any	11.1%	15.2%
Negative interracial peer interactions	0%	7.6%
Negative intraracial peer interactions	0%	7.6%
Developmental issues	0%	6.1%
No crude racism	0%	4.5%
Other aspects of diversity	0%	3.0%
Black students grouping together	0%	3.0%
Accused of racism	0%	1.5%
Positive teacher-student interactions	0%	1.5%

*Question 12: How would you describe the concerns of the parents of African American students?*

Table 50 presents the themes teachers discussed in response to Question 12.

Table 50. Themes for Question 12 for Teachers.

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Teachers of Color</b>	<b>White Teachers</b>
Children being treated fairly and with respect	30.0%	6.7%
Children being successful	20.0%	4.0%
Too focused on race	10.0%	0%
Academic achievement	10.0%	16.0%
Trust in school	10.0%	4.0%
Maintaining racial identity	10.0%	1.3%
School deals with race/are they diverse	10.0%	9.3%
Racial discrimination or isolation	0%	17.3%

Same as any parent	0%	17.3%
Academic concerns	0%	6.7%
Role of race in child's experience	0%	4.0%
Children are successful	0%	4.0%
Values conflict	0%	4.0%
Parent involvement	0%	2.7%
Discipline	0%	2.7%
Socioeconomic status (SES)	0%	2.7%
Potential recognized	0%	1.3%

*Question 13: Is there anything else you would like to add? Is there another question you think we should be asking?*

Table 51 presents the themes teachers discussed in response to Question 13.

Table 51. Themes for Question 12 for Teachers.

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Teachers of Color</b>	<b>White Teachers</b>
Hiring teachers and/or administrators of color	33.3%	2.3%
Not having any more to add	33.3%	23.3%
Surface attempts at addressing diversity	16.7%	0%
Teaching Black parents about independent schools	16.7%	2.3%
Importance of SAAS work	0%	18.6%
School ethos	0%	14.0%
Questions about SAAS	0%	7.0%
Importance of diversity	0%	7.0%
Race and	0%	4.7%

independent schools		
Gender	0%	4.7%
Developmental concerns	0%	4.7%
Athletics	0%	2.3%
More diversity strategies	0%	2.3%
Other forms of discrimination	0%	2.3%
Questions about what teachers can do	0%	2.3%
Teacher-parent interactions	0%	2.3%

### **Faculty & Staff**

In the 1998-1999 wave of data collection, a focus group was conducted with faculty and staff at one of the participating SAAS schools.

#### Procedures

The focus group was conducted at the school and was led by two members of the SAAS research team with another team member present. All of the eight participants in the focus group were African American females. Three were staff members and five were faculty members. The focus group lasted approximately two hours and was videotaped.

The protocol for the focus groups consisted of questions that covered a wide variety of topics. (See Appendix C for the teacher focus group protocol.) For example, faculty and staff were asked to reflect on their experiences at their schools and to share their perspectives on the experience of African American students at the school. Confidentiality was stressed at the beginning and end of the focus group and participants were given opportunities to ask questions of the SAAS research team.

The videotape of the focus group was transcribed and then analyzed by the SAAS research team. Major themes were extracted from the data with results of the analysis presented below.

#### Results

The three major themes obtained from the data were Black faculty and staff views on: diversity in the school, their experiences as Black faculty and staff, and Black student experiences at school. Other themes discussed included: the relationship between Black students and Black faculty and staff, race in the classroom and views on the school in general. Representative commentary for each theme is presented below.

*Views on diversity in the school*

There were somewhat divergent views on where Black faculty and staff believed their schools stood in terms of addressing diversity. One faculty member spoke about the progress that the schools had made since she first began teaching there several years ago. She stated:

Umm when I first came it was probably a one [poorly on a scale of one to five]. ...[I]t has made some strides toward reaching that cultural diversity. There are many areas that it is still lacking in and umm there's an awful lot of discussion but not a lot of doing. So I would probably in my view...I would say it has improved from a one to a three [average].

Another teacher commented on the backward slide she felt the school had made in regard to addressing diversity. She asserted:

And that was the beginning of a year long discussion of issues of race and class and what I think happened, from my perspective anyway, was that some of that steam was taken out when the new head came on board and the new lower school director and there was a lot of flux in the school as a whole. And those issues that were important became less so. So I feel like, I feel that we've gone down as opposed to going up. That we were at a place that where, although I still feel that in terms of what other people are doing that this school at least talks about it, which is more than happens in so many places so I think that that piece is valuable. But I think, I would agree we were between a three [average] and a four [well] and that at one point it was much higher or at least it felt that way to me.

Faculty and staff not only provided their evaluation of the school's approach to diversity but also spoke to ways in which diversity-related issues were handled within the school environment. For example, one teacher commented:

But I think we start out with community. Talking about community and that's not just with the African American population, the whole community gets involved...And I've seen the changes that have come through. And I think they make a concerted effort to really try but as we said before there's a lot of talk and we're not walking that walk right now but umm I see us trying to get to that point and with more of us coming together I think maybe that will happen you know in the next few years.

A staff member offered a different perspective:

[B]ut there's a way to teach all of these things. It's a level of sensitivity and then don't just throw in one Alice Walker book and a Toni Morrison and say well now you know you got your Black authors, be happy. So it's a development of curriculum that allows people to understand that we are still rigorous, academically rigorous, and...and there are folk of color, there are Native Americans, there are Hispanics who have written pieces of literature and have done things in and who have done things historically that are very important to how all of us fit in to this. And that's one of the things I see that we struggle with and...it disturbs me because you know you can get a little schizophrenic...

Another teacher expressed her frustration at the effectiveness of the school's strategies for addressing diversity. She remarked:

Don't tell me you can have an honest conversation about diversity in a faculty meeting or even for an in-service. I mean the reality is that we just get, I'm so sick of these platitudes. Really I am. I mean you know that's what I hear and it's just like the thing is that we need a small group, we need to offend...if speaking from my experience or what I...if I'm going to offend hey I'm sorry. This is about respect and growth, I just, I haven't seen those types of conversations. People distance those, it's distanced, distant and very theoretical. It's very, it's very clean. And it's frustrating. It's frustrating for me.

Teachers did refer to ways in which diversity was addressed within the school that they found gratifying and encouraging. For instance, one teacher spoke about the diversity of students within her advisory group and what that group has been able to do with one another. She said:

But you know ...it is an exceptional group. They are not inhibited, because I am not inhibited, about who they are and what they are and where they come from. They speak quite freely. They agree, they disagree. They have talked about the Holocaust and they have talked about slavery and we are trying to plan what are we going to do for Dr. King who is not married to Harriet Tubman.<sup>11</sup>

Some of the teachers spoke about how they addressed diversity within their classroom. One teacher described her efforts as follows:

And I always try to have books that show people involved in a variety of things and people who look as much like the children in my classroom or the community we live in that's possible. So that's one thing. There's also the learning diversity in terms of how thinking about how kids come to know so much of what I do in terms of planning are open-ended in terms of the way that kids can enter it and the way they take advantage of it. I don't expect, the activities may look the same in terms of kids being asked to do the same thing but the response is expected to be different and value the strength of that child. I think we talk a lot with kids about inclusion and we address things both in a proactive way and in a way that is interfering with things that feel like bias or are misstatements. Things that we think if someone says something like boys can't do this or someone says this doll is too dark to play with.

Another added, "Other ways that it's reflected umm just in the types of choices that I make in regard to curriculum. I think that, I think that the people who work here are pretty sensitive to those things..."

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<sup>11</sup> The latter comment was a recurring joke during the focus group about how students have come to think Martin Luther King Jr. was married to Harriet Tubman because they are often the only African Americans consistently focused upon in the curriculum.

*Views on Black faculty and staff experiences*

Some of the faculty and staff reflected upon what their being Black mean to their students and to themselves. One teacher discussed how she thinks her being Black is perceived in the classroom:

What I ask them to do is be successful and I don't think I always rely upon the fact that umm I am African American and successful. It's not always verbal. I think it's sort of a portrayal, you know sort of like what she says, they see you there and then after you mention something they get that idea "oh you are."

Another talked about being something of a novelty to her White students. She said:

Even like I'm treated like a novelty by some of my student because you know okay fine I just got my hair twisted, "Get your hands out of my head!" Omigosh. [Laughter] I couldn't understand it. It was just like, then I had to, because then I couldn't just be like, "Oh come on stop." I had to do my mean teacher's look because their hands, they would not keep their hands out of my head.

Faculty and staff discussed how they responded to race-related stressors such as discrimination or cultural insensitivity. One staff member asserted:

It's the intellectualization of all of these things that drives me crazy sometimes. And when you say that in a meeting, that you racism, sexism, whatever it is, is not an intellectual thing what happens is when you're confronted with it you have a really true gut, visceral kind of, of reaction. I mean later once you aren't mad anymore, when you're not hurt or you're not confused, you maybe able to at some point reflect on this and think about why that person may have said it, what bought that to them and what but when somebody calls you a name you feel it in your gut and you have an emotional reaction and I say this in meetings and people say well I guess I'm too busy being intellectual and I get pissed off! I mean it's not you know, it's not like I can turn around to them and say, "You're not getting the point." I mean I say "You know, I'm concerned about that because you seem to be..."

Another teacher spoke about her more direct way of expressing her emotions to colleagues:

But the question about getting angry with colleagues I guess is this whole piece here and I have to say that I guess I'm a, you know I guess it really depends on your personality. I don't mind really, I don't mind really telling someone if they really upset me but then that's the kind of person I am, I really feel like better say it than not because it will really be too much for me to hold on to but umm but I, but I don't think, I mean I do think that it's more difficult for some...

Beyond the interpersonal nature of faculty and staff relationships with colleagues was how Black faculty and staff believe their non-Black colleagues address situations that involve Black students. One teacher described the following incident:

Just like last year, a teacher came to me with this poem written by a Black student and she umm she was the only Black girl, girl of color in the classroom and it was very hard for her for a number of reasons and they had done this poetry unit and she wrote this poem about the color brown. And of course, and I mean it just expressed a great deal of self-loathing. I mean the color brown was very ugly and it was the color of cockroaches and all these different types of things and the teacher showed it to me. And we talked a little bit about it but I was just like, "Well are you going to talk to her about it? Or are you going to talk to her mother about this?" I mean these are, these are, this is really quite alarming. And umm, the teacher didn't feel comfortable doing that.

The disappointment the above teacher expressed at her colleague's not knowing what to do in the situation and not taking her suggested path was countered by the encouragement the following teacher received when talking about the purpose of a teacher of color group. She said:

And [to] talk about ourselves we were using this as a support group, we wanted to be able to talk to new teachers when they came in, we wanted to hear from our teachers who had been here numerous years, you know share the wealth.

#### *Views on Black student experiences*

At the most fundamental level, Black faculty and staff voiced their general concern for Black students in their school. One teacher said:

I want to say that if it's that hard for the adults in this community...then you know that the children have no place to have their voices. Because all of that is true in some situations so I often worry about the kids who you know this is hard enough for the adults in this environment sometimes so it's ten times harder for the kids...

The teacher went on to say:

If they have an explosive day over something that they there are consequences, they are expelled or whatever. But why did they have that explosive day? What led up to that? Those kinds of things are questions I always have.

Other teachers spoke about the types of student responses to the independent school environment. For instance, one teacher asserted:

And you know it's sort of in upper school, a lot of that, a lot of times I think we leave these children out there alone. And umm, and they feel that way so they do two things. They may become extremely militant and extremely, they don't want to hear anybody's side. Or they hide.

Another teacher elaborated on how students' response to the school environment can be expressed via racial identity. She remarked:

With the hiding, I see the hiding, I see that and I also see the acting out but another part of it and I'm not sure whether or not it's the hiding thing but kind of just trying to blend in and just kind of oh forget, forget about the fact that you know you're a person of color...



This teacher went on to describe concerns of the parents of a Black girl who is one of two in her class and the teacher's own thoughts on their concerns. She said:

And they have these types of concerns for her because all her friends are White and it's just like and I see her interact and it's just like I don't, I'm wondering, "What's going on?" I'm wondering what's going on with her in that little things just like umm how sometimes students of color are treated like novelty.

The teacher then talked about what she meant by "novelty" when she related the following story:

I remember going camping last year and a couple of White students just kind, I know they thought [the Black girl] was asleep, I knew she wasn't asleep. And they were talking about..."Why does [her hair] stay braided up like that? How come she doesn't she comb it everyday?" Look all these different types of conversations and it was like it didn't occur to them, it never even occurred to them that that might be offensive.

The Black faculty and staff in the focus group also discussed how Black students' behaviors are perceived and responded to by the majority of teachers. One teacher stated, "There are some behaviors that are pounced on too quickly...and some are not pounced on quickly enough." The teacher went on to offer her thoughts on what she meant by "not pounced on quickly enough." She said:

I've seen some African American males be allowed to go to long without the help they need because people don't want to be perceived as misunderstanding Black boys and I am a parent, I have a Black son, I know they don't behave this way, I have uncles, I've been around men all and I know this is not a cultural thing so don't tell me that and yet until people step back and say as soon as a parent says, "You just don't understand," and maybe we don't understand but it isn't just because of race but I think the kids are not getting the kind of help they need and ultimately I think it's a failure on the part of the school because they ultimately do have to leave the school because they fall farther and farther behind.

Another staff member responds to the above assertion:

But I see, I agree with [you] on a lot of levels but I also can remember a time a few years ago in middle school when it was like suspend a Black boy day. And it was not because they were acting any different from those White boys. It was just because they were more visible and what is seen as assertive, assumptive; seen as aggressive and dangerous.

Some of the faculty and staff participating in the focus group had children of their own in the school. All expressed concern about how Black youth fared in the independent school environment. The commentary of one teacher, who was a mother to a Black male student, aptly addressed this concern. She said:

But I think as was mentioned before the focus has to go back to the kids, all the other stuff aside, the focus has to go back to the kids. And I guess one impression, one of the things that worries me the most is that one

impression we're making on the children, all of the children, is that if certain people aren't being held to certain expectations where the children are concerned what does that mean? And why are we doing this? I mean the children are very impressionable. And saying an adult in this environment doesn't understand or doesn't know and is well-intended is not enough for me because you are in fact while you're learning these pieces leaving lots of impressions whether they be positive or otherwise on children. So it's time to start peeling some of the layers and get working on the serious, nitty-gritty stuff.

### *Other themes*

Black faculty and staff talked about the *relationship between Black students and Black teachers* that exists within independent schools. One teacher related her own experience as a Black student in a predominantly White school to the relationship she has with Black students now. She said:

I went to a suburban school and those types of things and I didn't get, I didn't have a teacher of color for an academic subject until I was in the ninth grade. I just, I remember, I remember that feeling and I was amazed actually when I walked in there although it wasn't a large high school, for some reason I didn't notice [this teacher] was there and... I just remember wanting to do well and being so proud she was my teacher and I think to kind of translate or to connect that experience with some of the experiences that kids have here... And I don't know maybe I was kind of just projecting but I recognized that kind of look, I saw that look when they saw me... But it's so very obvious, and yet it's a really powerful statement for a lot of these kids just to know that we are in fact here. And it's a message that's sent throughout the entire school when you have, I mean I have upper school students who would come to me to get help with their [work] and you know it was just like, they didn't feel that they could go to anyone in the upper school and so I think that's really powerful.

Another teacher discussed *race in the classroom* by describing the following incident:

And I have had that happen in my classroom, not this year but in one year an African American child thought that the doll was not a doll that should be, she thought it was ugly basically so we had to have a conversation about that. Not just with her but with the other kids who were playing there and how it might feel if someone, in fact there was another child there who was about the same complexion as the doll. So there were two things: how does this child feel to be saying that this doll was too ugly, umm because she said it was because she was too dark not because of the outfit she was wearing or I don't like short curly hair it was simply that. I can't imagine walking away from it and pretending I didn't hear something like that.

Finally, faculty and staff expressed their *views on the school in general*. In describing the process of negotiating the school environment one teacher stated:

I think a part of it is just that most of the time umm we are on the same page, most of the time. Rarely are there lots of people so out of step; there hasn't been in my experience that people are so out of step with each other that they are being confrontational or doing things intentionally that you think are, that you need to confront, you know...that's my experience...

When people are "out of step" another teacher talked about the frustration she felt. She said, "I just feel that it's so hard because it's just like this culture of like smile and everything is okay."

### **Diversity coordinators**

A SAAS research team member individually interviewed diversity coordinators during the 1998-1999 academic year.<sup>12</sup>

#### Participants

Five individuals who had been charged – officially and unofficially – with addressing diversity within their schools were interviewed. Individuals came from four SAAS schools. One individual was not based at a specific school but worked across a number of schools on diversity-related issues. Four were women and one was male. All of the participants were African American and parents of school-age or older children. Each participant selected an independent school for their child's education. None of the participants had the function of diversity coordinator as their sole responsibility within the school. In fact, at the time of the interviews, none of the diversity coordinator participants had the title "Diversity Coordinator." All of the participants had been working in an independent school from 7 to 20 years.

#### Interviewing Procedure

Interview questions were developed to learn more about each participant's role within the school, role with SAAS, views on the research process and expected outcome, and impact of participation in the larger study. All interviews were conducted by a White, female doctoral student between July, 1998 and February, 1999. At the time of the interviews, interviewer knew participants for two to three years due to the work on the SAAS project. All interviews were audiotaped.

#### Results

Themes emerged related to participants' token roles in the school (being the only one/marginalization), how others perceived them within the school (perception within school), system responses (systemic struggles and resistance), and coping strategies used by individuals in dealing with their token status (support from others and racial cognitive dissonance).

Diversity coordinators in independent schools have token status by virtue of their numerical scarcity in the school, their nonprivileged racial status in the school, and due to the fact that they are functioning in an pseudo-administrative capacity, which has been the purview of Whites in the schools. For example, one coordinator states:

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<sup>12</sup> The analysis and write-up for this section is based on the work of Diane Hall, Ph.D.

And I think a lot of the struggle has a lot to do with where we are in these schools. ...Well, (pause) we're still visitors. Um...not full club members, you know, with all the privileges.... Um...we have to be better, um...(pause) but because we don't have those long reaching tentacles, in terms of history, you know, with our institutions, but we really-, we have to prove everything that we do or validate it in a very special way.... because our history here has been so short. And that, that's a piece of it. You know, we're not the movers and shakers. We're not those people who, um, keep these, um, these institutions afloat, you know. I don't have a legacy...here. It makes a difference.

Being a distinct racial minority in their school does indeed make a difference. Token status can, and does, lead to stress and vulnerability.

By stress and vulnerability, we are referring to the mandate of diversity coordinators to be the person responsible for the "multicultural health" of the school. It is telling that such a vaguely defined and daunting task is assigned to someone with relatively less power in the school. The tension arises if and when diversity coordinators attempt to address issues of diversity and multiculturalism within the school. At these times they challenge the dominant group culture of the school. As such, they are no longer playing the role of a "good" token and interactions between the coordinator and members of the dominant group change.

As coordinators attempted to address issues of multiculturalism and diversity within the schools, either through their work or by their involvement with the SAAS project, the system responded with resistance. A coordinator addresses this issue in this comment:

So, then they're battling around all these ideas about well maybe we'll teach, um, something from the English period of dah-dah-dah-dah-dah-dah or maybe we'll teach something from this, and maybe, you know, and it's all this very Eurocentric, you know. So I said, "Is there anything that you could do that would be people of color, you know, aren't there ancient Asian texts that you could, you know. Or what about using, um, fables or folk tales or something like that, that would involve people of color?" And they kind of looked at me. And one of them said, a woman said, "I really don't want to talk about this right now." And I said, "What do you, why, what do you mean?" She said, "You know what? I've had diversity up to here and I just don't wanna talk about it anymore. I'm having lunch, and I just really don't wanna talk about it." And I felt like, I fell completely silent because she made it very clear that she had had it with that and, you know, if I were gonna open my mouth, certainly that's what I was gonna say, so she didn't wanna hear it. And I sat there for a few more minutes and then I ended up getting up and leaving because I felt so awful and she came back later and apologized and said she'd really had, you know, had been having a rough day and they'd been talking about this over and over and over and every year and she was just tired of it. But I knew that she was really speaking of how she-- that that was the way she felt...And I wondered how many other people felt that way. When

they see me coming and I sit down, you know, and we begin a conversation, if that's what they're hearing. So, that, that's not been fun...you know, I don't wanna be the only person talking about [diversity issues].

It should be noted here that diversity coordinators serve an important function within their schools. Without someone continually addressing issues of diversity, whether in terms of race, sex, sexual orientation, religion, etc., the system would be content to maintain the status quo. In this sense, the diversity coordinators represent hope for change.

Diversity coordinators discussed individual coping strategies used in dealing with the stress of being a distinct racial minority and diversity coordinator within their schools. Connection with other coordinators through SAAS was validating and empowering for coordinators. For instance, one person had this to say about the process of working with other coordinators and on the SAAS project: "It was, it was overwhelming. It was invigorating. It was, it was wonderful. It's been a wonderful process. Um, you know, I've made lots of good friends..." Many developed mentoring relationships and friendships. These relationships helped to normalize feelings and gave coordinators a safe context for emotional processing (Hall, 1999).

Some coordinators discussed support from school officials on one hand but this was bracketed with the painful reality that schools were often not fully engaged with the diversity effort. Other coordinators demonstrated racial cognitive dissonance in thinking about negative racial experiences. In other words, negative racial experiences are rewritten in memory in such a way as to be less anxiety provoking (Hall & Stevenson, 2006). Racial cognitive dissonance serves a protective function, in that it allows the person to continue to function within a sometimes hostile setting. While this practice may be helpful in the short term, longer term consequences are less clear.

**1999-2000****Students**

A total of 34 students completed survey questionnaires for the 1999-2000 year of quantitative data. Students from three out of the four schools that were participating in SAAS at the time completed surveys.

*Demographic Information*Personal and family data

Twelve (35%) students completing surveys in 1999-2000 were male while 22 (65%) students were female. Students reported having from 0 (18%) to 3 (6%) siblings. The modal response was 1 sibling (44% of the sample).

Grade and school division

Students were in grades six through eight. Approximately 56% of the sample was middle school students with the remaining 44% upper school students. Table 52 details the percentage of students in each grade.

Table 52. *Grade distribution for 1999-2000 SAAS students*

<b>Grade</b>	<b>Percentage of students</b>
6	8.8
7	14.7
8	32.4
9	8.8
10	5.9
11	8.8
12	20.6

Racial identification

The majority of students (24; 71%) identified as Black or African American. Nine students, or approximately 27% of the sample, identified as biracial, with one student identifying as "other."

Racial composition of neighborhood

The majority of students, approximately 41% of the sample, reported living in neighborhoods that were 81-100% Black. Approximately fifteen percent of students reported living in neighborhoods that were either less than 20% Black or between 41-60% Black. Table 53 details students' reports of the racial composition of their neighborhood.

Table 53. *Racial composition of neighborhood distribution for 1999-2000 student sample.*

<b>Racial composition of neighborhood</b>	<b>Percentage of students</b>
0-20% Black	14.7
21-40% Black	23.5
41-60% Black	14.7
61-80% Black	5.9

81-100% Black	41.2
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### *Activities and employment*

Students reported participating in between one and nine school activities. The modal amount of school activities reported was one (29% of the sample) with another 21% of the sample reporting two school activities. In comparison, students reported participating in between zero (16% of the sample) and five (3%) out of school activities. The modal response for out of school activities was two (41% of the sample). Twenty-six percent of the sample reported working outside of school. The majority of these jobs were part-time.

### *Views on the school*

Forty-three percent of the sample said they would contribute money to their schools and 43% said they would send their own child to the schools they attended.

### *College aspiration and selection*

#### Type of college

Six percent of the sample reported that their top choice in a college was an elite historically Black college or university (HBCU). Examples of the institutions specifically mentioned were Howard University and Spelman College. Approximately eighty percent of the sample indicated that their top choice in college would be a predominantly White college or university (PWCU). Slightly over half of the students who reported wanting to attend a PWCU designated elite institutions such as Harvard (the institution named most frequently by the sample) as their top choice. Fifteen percent of the sample did not answer the question about top college choice.

#### Who is influential in college aspirations?

Table 54 details how influential various constituents are in the college selection process for participants who provided answers to the college selection questions.

Table 54. *Influential constituents for the 1999-2000 student sample's college choices.*<sup>13</sup>

<b>Group</b>	<b>Percentage saying group is influential in college choice</b>
Parents	73
Friends	20
Siblings	7
Guidance Counselor	7
Other	33

<sup>13</sup> The percentages will add up to greater than 100% because students were allowed to check more than one group as being influential in the college selection process.

What factors play a role in college selection?

Students were asked to list in order from one to six what factors were most important in selecting a college. In the first place position, the factors that were listed most frequently by those who completed the college selection section were: cost (15%), location (12%), and reputation (6%).

*Peer group information*

Most of the students reported that their best friends were Black (38%) with 29% reporting White best friends. Nine percent designated White and Black best friends while 21% stated that their best friend was biracial. Three percent reported the race of their best friend to be "other."

Eighteen percent of the students said they were currently dating someone. The race of their current (or most recent if they were not currently dating) partner was Black for 40% of the students, White for 20% of the students, biracial for 20% percent of the students, and Latino for 13% of the students.

### Survey Questionnaire Results

*Castenell Achievement Motivations Scale (CAMS)*

The overall mean response for the 1999-2000 sample of SAAS students on the CAMS was 2.56 (SD = .43) indicating that students have a moderate level of what can be referred to as achievement motivation. The range of the mean response for the overall scale was from 1.78 (below the midpoint of the scale) to 3.56. The mean level for social approval was 2.42 (SD = .55) while academic investment had a mean level of 3.34 (SD = .80).

Table 55 lists the items and the percentage of the sample that believed each item to be "quite" or "very" important.

Table 55. *Percentage of students endorsing aspects of achievement motivation in the 1999-2000 student sample.*

Statement	Percentage saying "quite" or "very" important
Importance of going to college (AI)	88.2
Importance of being a good student (AI)	79.4
Importance of parents being proud of you (SA)	73.6
Importance of your teachers liking you (SA)	41.1
Importance of getting job to help family *	38.2
Importance of working hard at home *	35.3
Importance of being good at sports (SA)	32.4
Importance of being popular (SA)	32.3
Importance of being pretty or	29.4



handsome (SA)	
SA = Social approval item factor	AI = Academic investment item * = Did not load in either factor

Examining the items of the CAMS for the 1999-2000 sample of SAAS students illustrates that the most important components of achievement motivation are “being a good student” and “going to college” with over 75% of the sample reporting that these goals are “quite” or “very” important. Teachers liking students was the goal described least frequently as “quite” or “very” important. Mean levels of the CAMS factors support this notion with the academic investment factor having a higher mean than did the social approval factor.

*Hare General and Area-Specific Self-Esteem Scale (HARE)*

The mean response for the thirty items comprising the HARE was 3.12 (SD = .31) indicating that students have a moderately high level of self-esteem. The range of the mean response for the overall scale was from 2.43 (above the midpoint of the scale) to 3.70. Table 56 lists items from each of the subscales – peer, school, and home – and the percentage of the sample that endorsed the item with an “agree” or “strongly agree” response.

Table 56. *Percentage of students endorsing general and area-specific self-esteem in the 1999-2000 student sample.*

Statement	Percentage stating “agree” or “strongly agree”
Parents are proud of the person I am	100
Parents feel that I can be depended upon	94.1
I have as many friends as others my age	91.2
I'm an important person in my classes	91.2
I'm as good as most at things people my age do	73.5
Most of my teachers don't understand me	17.6

For the 1999-2000 sample of SAAS students, the mean levels for peer, school, and home esteem are listed in Table 57.

Table 57. *Mean levels for subscales of the HARE for 1999-2000 SAAS student sample*

	Mean (SD)
Home Esteem	3.23 (.41)
Peer Esteem	3.11 (.38)
School Esteem	3.01 (.42)

Home esteem was the highest level of esteem for the students sampled during the 1999-2000 year, while school esteem was the lowest.

*Psychological Sense of School Membership (PSSM)*

The mean response for the eighteen items comprising the PSSM was 3.60 (SD = .64) indicating that students have a moderately high level of sense of school membership. The range of the mean response for the overall scale was from 2.44 (approximately the midpoint of the scale) to 4.78 (almost at the ceiling). Table 58 lists select items from the PSSM and the percentage of the sample that endorsed the item with a “mostly” or “always” true response.

Table 58. *Percentage of students endorsing aspects of PSSM in the 1999-2000 student sample.*

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Percentage stating “mostly” or “always true”</b>
People here know I can do good work	69.7
Students like me the way I am	69.7
Most teachers are interested in me	53.2
I'm included in a lot of activities at school	51.5
I feel proud of belonging to my school	45.5
I feel like a real part of my school	42.4

For this sample of SAAS students, PSSM is expressed at a moderately high level. There is variation in the experience of school membership, however, seen in the range in mean PSSM scores and the proportion of students who do and do not endorse statements such as those highlighted above (e.g., less than half of the sample felt as if they were a real part of their school).

*School Attitude Measure (SAM)*

The SAM was not used with the 1999-2000 sample of youth.

*Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI)*

For SAAS students in the 2000-2001 year, the mean levels for centrality, public regard, and private regard are listed in Table 59.

Table 59. *Mean levels for subscales of the MIBI in the 1999-2000 student sample*

	<b>Mean (SD)</b>
Centrality	4.67 (1.02)
Public Regard	4.18 (1.28)
Private Regard	6.34 (.71)

Private regard was the aspect of racial identity that had the highest mean for the 1999-2000 sample of students. The mean level for private regard was quite high; in fact, it approached the ceiling in that the highest possible level was a 7.0. This indicates that the youth assessed during this year have very positive

personal evaluations of Black people as a group. Public regard had the lowest mean; however, the mean level was about at the mid-point of the scale indicating a moderate level of public regard. In other words, on average students were neutral about their evaluation of how non-Black people viewed the Black community. Centrality was somewhat above the mid-point of the scale indicating that being Black was somewhat important for the 1999-2000 SAAS student sample.

#### *Neighborhood Social Capital Scale (NSC)*

The mean level of NSC for the 1999-2000 SAAS student sample was 2.87 (SD = .63) which is somewhat below the mid-point of the scale. The range for the mean level was between 1.55 and 3.91. Table 60 presents the mean NSC score for students by their neighborhood racial composition.

Table 60. *NSC by neighborhood racial composition for the 1999-2000 student sample*

<b>Neighborhood racial composition</b>	<b>Mean (SD)</b>
0-20% Black	2.45 (.74)
21-40% Black	2.85 (.54)
41-60% Black	2.91 (.44)
61-80% Black	3.36 (.13)
81-100% Black	2.91 (.73)

Students from neighborhoods that were between 61-80% Black reported the highest mean levels of neighborhood social capital; reports were lowest for students from neighborhoods that were between 0-20% Black.

#### *Teenage Experience of Racial Socialization (TERS)*

The mean score for the TERS for the 1999-2000 student sample was 2.14 (SD = .37) with a range from 1.23 to 2.73. The TERS has several subscales; the mean levels for each subscale are presented in Table 61.

Table 61. *Mean levels of TERS subscales for the 1999-2000 student sample.*

<b>TERS Subscale</b>	<b>Mean score (SD)</b>
Cultural Pride Reinforcement	2.58 (.36)
Cultural Legacy Appreciation	2.37 (.42)
Alertness to Discrimination	2.09 (.65)
Coping with Antagonism	2.03 (.52)
Cultural Socialization Experience	1.86 (.35)
Mainstream Socialization	1.52 (.37)

For this sample of youth, racial socialization messages were reported as given most frequently in the area of Cultural Pride Reinforcement and Cultural Legacy Appreciation. Students reported hearing Mainstream Socialization messages least often.

*The State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory (STAXI)*

Mean levels for the components of the STAXI are presented in Table 62.

Table 62. *Mean levels of STAXI subscales for the 1999-2000 student sample.*

<b>STAXI Subscale</b>	<b>Mean score (SD)</b>
Anger Control	2.79 (.61)
Anger Out	2.32 (.53)
Anger Suppression	2.11 (.61)

For the 1999-2000 student sample, youth reported higher levels of anger control and lower levels of anger suppression. It appears that these youth are more inclined to control their aggressive expression of anger while being less inclined to turn their anger inward.

*Rejection Sensitivity (RS)*

The Rejection Sensitivity Scale was not used with the 1999-2000 sample of SAAS students.

*Multiscale Depression Inventory (MDI)*

On average, the 1999-2000 student sample's MDI level was a 13.21 (SD = 7.43) and ranged from a low of 2 to a high of 32. The mean level indicates a low level of overall distress for students. The MDI is composed of a number of subscales (e.g., Low Energy, Social Introversion, etc.). The Guilt subscale had the highest average for the sample while Low Self-Esteem was the scale with the lowest average.

*School Climate (SC)*

The mean response for SC was 2.81 (SD = .40) indicating that the 1999-2000 student sample evaluated their school climate in a generally positive way. The range of the mean response for the overall scale was from 2.00 to 3.48. Table 63 details the mean levels for the SC subscales.

Table 63. *Mean levels for SC subscales for the 1999-2000 student sample*

<b>Subscale</b>	<b>Mean score (SD)</b>
Learning Satisfaction	3.12 (.43)
Educational Quality	2.95 (.41)
Teacher Support	2.80 (.46)
School Fit	2.41 (.60)

For the 1999-2000 sample of SAAS students, their evaluations of the school climate were most positive in regard to Learning Satisfaction and least positive for School Fit.

### Bivariate relationships between variables for 1999-2000 SAAS students<sup>14</sup>

Some of the more important relationships between study variables for students during the 1999-2000 year of data collection were as follows. As students':

- **Grade** level rose, their levels of psychological sense of school membership (-.55), school climate (-.55), and private regard (-.37) *decreased*.
- **School esteem** rose, their level of psychological sense of school membership (.45) *increased* while their reports of overall racial socialization (-.40) and emotional distress (-.55) *decreased*.
- **Psychological sense of school membership** rose, reports of school esteem (.45) and school climate (.76) *increased* while grade level (-.55) and emotional distress (-.50) *decreased*.
- **Emotional distress** rose, reports of anger suppression (.54) and anger out (.37) *increased* while school esteem (-.55), PSSM (-.50), and private regard (-.55) *decreased*.

### Summary of bivariate relationships for 1999-2000 SAAS students

As students' grade level rose, their sense of connection to the school (psychological sense of school membership) and evaluation of the school's climate decreased indicating that older students become more critical of the school environment and how they relate to it. The 1999-2000 sample of youth also saw a decrease in their personal evaluation (private regard) of the Black community as their grade level increased. It is possible that the longer students attend schools such as the ones participating in the SAAS study (predominantly White and economically privileged) the lower their personal evaluation of the Black community will be. It is also possible that other variables that are unrelated to the school context influence the relationship grade in school has with private regard such that older students would evaluate the Black community less positively than younger students.

As with the 1997-1998 wave of quantitative student data, students' school esteem and PSSM were negatively related to reports of emotional distress. As students reported being more connected to their schools and a higher sense of self in the school context, the lower their reports of emotional distress. School esteem and PSSM can be viewed as key to students' socioemotional well-being. Other aspects of socioemotional adjustment, such as anger suppression and anger out, were positively related to emotional distress as well. They were not related to school esteem or PSSM though, indicating that these areas of adjustment did not play a role in how youth experienced their schools during the 1999-2000 wave of data collection.

As students' school esteem increased, the reports of overall racial socialization messages received decreased for the current sample of SAAS students. This is an interesting finding in that it implies that students who hear less race-related messages at home have higher school esteem. It may be that in predominantly White contexts where race may not be overtly addressed on a regular basis hearing about race at home creates a dissonant experience for

<sup>14</sup> All correlations reported are significant at the .05 level.

youth at school thereby lowering their sense of esteem in school. It is important to note again that correlations indicate relationships between variables and not causation. There may be other variables at play here that explain the above correlation.

The only aspect of racial identity that was found to be related to the major variables of interest was private regard. As noted above, as students' grade level increased private regard decreased. Private regard also decreased the more students reported emotional distress. There were no other variables explored in the correlational analyses that could help clarify whether students' emotional distress was connected to the school context.

### **Focus Group Results**

A focus group of graduating seniors was conducted at one SAAS school.  
Procedure

Six students participated in a focus group moderated by two SAAS research team members. The moderators were one Black male and one Black female. Student participants were four males and two females. The focus group was conducted in a quiet area of the school, lasted approximately one hour and was videotaped. Focus group questions were adapted from the student interview protocol (see Appendix A). Students were given opportunities to ask questions of the SAAS research team. The videotape of the focus group was transcribed and then analyzed by the SAAS research team. Major themes were extracted from the data.

#### Results

The major themes obtained from the data were: Black students' views on their experiences at school, Black student attrition, views on and interactions with peers, views on teachers and school administration, and differential treatment and/or discrimination related to race and sex. Representative commentary for each theme is presented below.

#### *Views on Black student experiences*

Students discussed a wide array of topics related to their experiences in the school. Topics included: students' overall evaluation of the school experience, lessons learned in the school environment, academic experience, resources and opportunities, role of gender, and perceptions/stereotypes about race. In terms of *students' overall evaluation of the school experience*, student participants in the focus group had commentary such as the following from a male student to offer, "I wasn't enjoying it. Just like six hours, six and a half hours, seven hours a day, now seven hours cuz it's 8:10 to 3:15 of my life that I'm somewhere where I don't want to be." A female student added:

It just, it depends on the person. It totally depends on the person. For me I had a lot of experience, I've been mainly all the schools I went to are predominantly White. But it depends if you not coming in ready, you know just coming in like totally blank you end up getting messed up. At least, in this school a lot of people came out messed up.

*Lessons learned in the school environment* was addressed by the female student who said:

I believe wherever you go you're going to change, you're going to adjust to the type of people but I think like if you were used to being around certain kinds of people and you come here and it's a really different environment, different people and you take things from them and you build yourself and change as a person.

A male student added:

Yeah, I mean you have to learn to deal with all different types of people whether they be White, Black, Asian, Latino. So I mean although this is not the most diverse school so to speak I think you do get to, it helps you learn how to deal with the world.

*Academic experience(s)* were discussed by several students. For instance, a male student commented on the competitive nature in the school. He said, "No, but if there was anything that I would eliminate it would be uh this school is really competitive... So I mean uh a lot of kids are really nosy, they want to know what you got." He went on to describe the role of cheating in the school as well when he stated:

Most of the students taking the exam, which I'm one of them, and [another male and female student in the focus group] are too, we didn't cut any corners in that Spanish class, we weren't the ones cheating and we have the lowest grades so it's a direct correlation.

The female student added, "And it's not to say that those students are more intelligent than us cuz that's not the case at all."

Students mentioned the *resources and opportunities* in their schools when they discussed their experiences. A female student commented:

I do think this school brings out your talents... Like they have sports, they push you, you have to do at least one sport you know? You do like community service. They have the play and gospel choirs and stuff like that. I think it really does bring out your talent. Like some other school you never know, you never think of trying something.

The other female student said:

I think we have access to umm good facilities that other schools definitely don't have. I mean athletic facilities for one and just the opportunities that we have. I mean we have two computer rooms, some schools don't even have one. So I think we have access to a lot of good facilities and also we can network and meet people within the school that may help us in the future.

Students had a variety of things to say about the *role of gender* in their school experiences. A female student stated:

I think that you know like I said before I think that for the boys are just more together because I guess sports or social things or whatever but the boys are just generally together, Black guys and White guys, and I think the girls are a lot more separated.

She went on to say, "White guys treat Black girls differently. White girls treat Black girls differently and I think with guys I mean it's, it's not as different." The

other female student then said, “I, I agree cuz Black guys are more accepted than the Black females.”

Finally, students discussed *perceptions/stereotypes about race*. The following exchange is illustrative of views expressed during the focus group:

**Male #1:** You know I think some of the teachers and students expect you to be the spokesperson for all Black people.

**Female #1:** Mmm hmm...Anytime you're reading a Black book.

**Male #1:** Especially when you're the only one.

**Male #2:** It's like when the subject is about race they all look around like...

**Female #1:** They look at you...

**Male #1:** “Why don't you tell us? How do you feel about that?”

**Female #1:** “Why don't you represent every single Black person?”

**Male #1:** We can't really speak for everyone else; you can only speak for yourself. That's another thing I don't like here...

**Female #2:** And they also have preconceived notions about Black people and they expect to be that way. I mean they watch Martin one time...

**Male #1:** Watch Martin...

**Female #2:** Every Black female is Sheneenee, every Black male is Martin.

**Male #1:** Hey girl, hey!

**Female #2:** Acting over everything. That's how a lot of people, that's how they talk to you. They call you “girl.”

**Female #1:** Yeah okay.

### *Black student attrition*

Focus group participants talked about Black students who were in their cohort who were no longer attending their schools. One male student said, “We lost two actually...Well one was, I think he was like a lifer. And he left sophomore year...[Another student] was asked not to come back but in reality he was kicked out.” Further discussion about the reasons why the students who left did so was part of the following exchange:

**Male #1:** And I think that really led to the one guy's downfall at least. He wanted to be too social, he wanted to be able to play sports, I mean he was good friends, he was well liked by the students.

**Male #2:** Yeah and I don't think anybody really had a problem...

**Male #1:** In reality he wasn't really handling his business in the classroom.

**Female #1:** He wasn't focused.

**Male #2:** He was heavily social. I mean he handled the social tip.

**Male #1:** Yeah he had that.

**Female #2:** Yeah a little too much.

**Male #2:** Too much.

**Male #3:** Too much social and not enough academic.

**Female #1:** But school is school; school is for education and...he was too social and he didn't hang.

**Male #1:** I didn't mean to cut you off – but you know and I think that uh like I think the school used him more or less for sports and stuff like that...He was a pretty good athlete I mean and I don't want to say what sport he



played even though I know you guys are editing it out but umm you know he was used by the sports program and the other students here and they were like, "Oh you know so you're so great at this, you're so good at that" and... But they were the first person to tear him down when he left like he was nothing...

**Male #2:** And plus like, it was...The, the concept of being like invincible. Cuz they say like, "You're so good; you're so good." And you're like, "man," you know just like it is in a lot of other schools well if you're this good than I don't have to do nothing.

**Female #1:** Yeah.

**Male #2:** All I gotta do is skate through and handle my sports tip and I'll just be cool...It's a shame he fell off...

### *Views on and interactions with their peers*

Most of the discussion on students' views on and interactions with their peers could be divided into commentary about White or Black peers. In regard to their White peers, focus group participants had a number of different things to say. In one exchange students offered the following insight:

**Female #1:** The people are awful here. The students are like...stupid.

**Male moderator:** What does awful mean?

**Female #1:** Stupid. They have no common sense. They have no idea of the real world.

**Female #2:** No concept whatsoever.

**Female #1 & Female #2:** They live in a bubble.

**Male #1:** Most of them have gone here their whole life. This is like their environment.

**Female #2:** They're sheltered.

**Male #2:** I'd agree with that.

One of the male students in the above exchange (Male #2) then added:

I don't know though, I think as a collective unit in the school, the people in the school are pretty obnoxious but if you deal with them on a personal level, on a one-on-one basis you meet a lot of nice people.

Students talked about the ways that White youth acted that were different from the Black students. One female student asserted, "Parent don't pay too much attention to them. Let them do whatever they want. Half these parents they let their kids drink, they know they're doing drugs, you know? As long as you don't mess up the family..." Other students talked about interaction with White peers that involved stereotypes about race. For instance, one female student said: "Like this girl asked [one of the guys], do you remember when [a certain White student] asked you if she could be ghetto?" The students, according to one male, "Laughed that one off."

### *Views on teachers and school administration*

Students in the focus group also shared their perspective on the teachers and administration in their schools. While some students referred to a teacher they felt was "sexist and racist," or that, "The teachers don't want to be here,

some of the teachers don't want to be here. Some love it here and they really teach or whatever but others it's like you know," another student said:

I'd say the staff at the school is pretty supportive of what all students do. And they're really here to help you even if you don't want help they'll sometimes say, "You need help in this subject, let me help you." I think that's a very good asset for any school to have.

In talking about the administration, a male student stated, "It's always the administration, look as far as Black issues go there are times, all the time the administration's all up in the sauce they have no idea what's in it."

#### *Differential treatment and/or discrimination related to race and sex*

Students in the focus group spoke quite matter-of-factly about how race and gender played a role in their being treated differently or in a discriminatory manner in their schools. Examples of sex-based differential treatment and discrimination were detailed by two of the female participants. One female student simply stated, "So if you imagine they're still like, the mindset of a good old boys. Very sexist. Very male dominated." Another female student talked about a "friend" of hers when she said, "Whatever. He hits my butt everyday, everyday."

Students addressed differential treatment and/or discrimination related to race as well. One male student asserted:

At the same time the fact that nobody seemed to care that I went out with a White girl doesn't change the fact that day in and day out people treated me like I was Black instead of treating me like a person who happened to be Black. I'm proud, I'm just as proud as anybody I think to be Black to be who I am. I mean I'm not limited to just being Black, I'm lots of things. But the fact that other people aren't sensitive or other people aren't as happy letting it go that you're different that makes a difference. In everything you do, day in.

### **Student Observation Results**

Sixty-three students in the lower schools of all four schools were observed in their classrooms in order to get an understanding of classroom dynamics that might play a role in the school adjustment of youth.<sup>15</sup> An individual member of the SAAS research team observed one student for a 30 minute time period. The nature of the assessment included: if students interacted with peers, teachers, and teacher assistants (the race and gender of each of these constituents was also noted), student affect, type of activity (which included whether the observation was a more traditional classroom activity or recreational and whether the student was participating in small group, whole classroom, or individual activities).<sup>16</sup> Interrater coder reliability (kappa) was established by having two

<sup>15</sup> Analysis presented in this section is based on a subsample of classroom observations that took place in three of the participating schools.

<sup>16</sup> The protocol used in the observations provided descriptive information that would have been enhanced if the SAAS team was able to further refine the protocol and conduct more

research team members observe at the same time for 11 of the 63 total observations. Reliability ranged from .76 (affect) to .99 (teacher assistant interaction). Average reliability was .92, which is more than adequate.

#### Who were students interacting with during the observation period?

##### *Peers*

Approximately 39% of the time students were observed they were found to be interacting with their peers. In 56% of the cases, students were interacting with their female peers. Thirty-six percent of the time peers were male and in eight percent of the cases, students interacted with both male and female peers.

In terms of race, 59% percent of the time peers were White while 26% of the time peers were other Black students. In five percent of the cases students were members of other racial or ethnic minority groups and the remaining ten percent of the cases were part of an interracial group of youth (that is, at least two or more other non-Black students along with the observed student).

##### *Teachers*

During observations, students interacted with teachers 13% of the time. In 98% of the cases, students were interacting with female teachers. In terms of race, 71% percent of the time teachers were White while 29% of the time teachers were Black.

##### *Teacher assistants*

Students interacted with teacher assistants 4% of the time. In 91% of the cases, students were interacting with female teachers. In terms of race, 62% percent of the time teachers were White while 38% of the time teachers were Black.

#### What type of activities were students participating in over the observation period?

Less than one-half of one percent of observations took place during recreational activities. Over 99% of observations were conducted during classroom, or academic, activities. Fifty-five percent of the observations involved students interacting as part of the whole classroom. Twenty-five percent of the observations saw students working individually. Finally, 19% of observations noted students working as part of a small group.

#### How would students' affect be described over the observation period?

In a clear majority of the observation responses, 78%, children's affect was deemed to be neutral. Positive affect was observed in approximately 18% of the cases while negative affect was only observed one percent of the time.

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observations at a later date. For example, members of the SAAS team who conducted observations noted that they heard racially derogatory comments from White students on occasion but did not feel they had an appropriate place on the observation form to note these occurrences. Future protocols would likely have been able to address instances such as these. However, the limited resources (in terms of number of research team members) and a reticence on the part of some lower school teachers to allow observations led to the SAAS team deciding not to further develop or continue the classroom observation aspect of the SAAS project.

Observers were not able to ascertain students' affect approximately two percent of the time.

**2000-2001****Student**

A total of 108 students completed survey questionnaires for the 2001-2002 year. Students from all four participating SAAS schools completed surveys.

*Demographic Information*Personal and family data

Forty-nine (45%) students completing surveys in 2000-2001 were male while 59 (55%) students were female. The average age was 14.8 years with a range of 10 to 18. Students reported having from 0 (24%) to 8 (1%) siblings. The modal response was 1 sibling (39% of the sample).

Grade and school division

Students had been attending their respective schools for 5.5 years with a range from 1 to 13 years. Students were in grades five through twelve. Approximately 30% of the sample was middle school students with the remaining 70% upper school students. Table 64 details the percentage of students in each grade.

Table 64. *Grade distribution for 2000-2001 student sample*

<b>Grade</b>	<b>Percentage of students</b>
5	1.9
6	10.2
7	9.3
8	8.3
9	27.8
10	22.2
11	13.0
12	7.4

Racial identification

The majority of students (84; 78%) identified as Black or African American. Twenty-one students, or approximately 19% of the sample, identified as biracial, with three students, or another 3% of the students, identifying as Latino or "other."

Racial composition of neighborhood

The majority of students, approximately 30% of the sample, reported living in neighborhoods that were 81-100% Black. Twenty-four percent of students reported living in neighborhoods that were less than 20% Black. Table 65 details students' reports of the racial composition of their neighborhood.

Table 65. *Racial composition of neighborhood distribution for 2000-2001 student sample.*

<b>Racial composition of neighborhood</b>	<b>Percentage of students</b>
0-20% Black	24
21-40% Black	14

41-60% Black	16
61-80% Black	16
81-100% Black	30

### *Activities and employment*

Students reported participating in between zero (3% of the sample) and nine (1%) school activities. The modal amount of school activities reported was three (27% of the sample) with another 25% of the sample reporting two school activities. In comparison, students reported participating in between zero (12% of the sample) and six (1%) out of school activities. The modal response for out of school activities was one (39% of the sample). Eighteen percent of the sample reported working outside of school. The vast majority of these jobs were part-time.

### *Views on the school*

Sixty-three percent of the sample said they would contribute money to their schools and 74% said they would send their own child to the schools they attended.

### *College aspiration and selection*

#### Type of college

Nine percent of the sample reported that their top choice in a college was an elite historically Black college or university (HBCU). Examples of the institutions specifically mentioned were Howard University and Spelman College. Eighty percent of the sample indicated that their top choice in college would be a predominantly White college or university (PWCU). Over half of the students who reported wanting to attend a PWCU designated elite institutions such as Penn (the institution named most frequently by the sample) as their top choice. Ten percent of the sample did not answer the question about top college choice.

#### Who is influential in college aspirations?

Table 66 details how influential various constituents are in the college selection process for participants who provided answers to the college selection questions.

Table 66. *Influential constituents in the 2000-2001 student sample's college choices.*<sup>17</sup>

<b>Group</b>	<b>Percentage saying group is influential in college choice</b>
Parents	83
Friends	20
Siblings	12
Guidance Counselor	15
Other	18

<sup>17</sup> The percentages will add up to greater than 100% because students were allowed to check more than one group as being influential in the college selection process.

What factors play a role in college selection?

Students were asked to list in order from one to six what factors were most important in selecting a college. In the first place position, the factors that were listed most frequently by those who completed the college selection section were: academics (23%), reputation (21%), cost (19%), and location (19%).

*Peer group information*

Most of the students reported that their best friends were Black (56%) with 27% reporting White best friends. Nine percent stated that their best friend was biracial. Four percent reported the race of their best friend to be Latino or "other."

Twenty-three percent of the students said they were currently dating someone. The race of their current (or most recent if they were not currently dating) partner was Black for 55% of the students, White for 28% of the students, biracial for 8% percent of the students, and other people of color for 9% of the students.

### Survey Questionnaire Results

*Castenell Achievement Motivations Scale (CAMS)*

The overall mean response for the 2000-2001 sample on the CAMS was 2.57 (SD = .47) indicating that students have a moderate level of what can be referred to as achievement motivation. The range of the mean response for the overall scale was from .56 (well below the midpoint of the scale) to 3.78 (approaching the ceiling). The range of the mean response for the overall scale was from 1.67 (below the midpoint of the scale) to 3.78. The mean level for social approval was 2.32 (SD = .59) while academic investment had a mean level of 3.71 (SD = .50).

Table 67 lists the items and the percentage of the sample that believed each item to be "quite" or "very" important.

Table 67. *Percentage of students endorsing aspects of achievement motivation in the 2000-2001 student sample.*

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Percentage saying "quite" or "very" important</b>
Importance of being a good student (AI)	93.4
Importance of going to college (AI)	95.4
Importance of parents being proud of you (SA)	76.9
Importance of being good at sports (SA)	39.3
Importance of getting job to help family *	34.9
Importance of your teachers liking you (SA)	31.5

Importance of working hard at home *	29.9
Importance of being pretty or handsome (SA)	27.8
Importance of being popular (SA)	21.3

SA = Social approval item  
factor

AI = Academic investment item \* = Did not load in either

For the 2000-2001 sample of SAAS students, examining the items of the CAMS illustrates that the most important components of achievement motivation are “being a good student” and “going to college” with over 90% or more of the sample reporting that these goals were “quite” or “very” important. “Importance of being popular” and “pretty or handsome” were the goals described least frequently as “quite” or “very” important.

#### *Hare General and Area-Specific Self-Esteem Scale (HARE)*

The mean response for the thirty items comprising the HARE was 3.27 (SD = .34) indicating that the 2000-2001 student sample had a moderately high level of self-esteem. The range of the mean response for the overall scale was from 2.03 to 3.90. Table 68 lists items from each of the subscales – peer, school, and home – and the percentage of the sample that endorsed the item with an “agree” or “strongly agree” response.

Table 68. *Percentage of students endorsing aspects of general and area-specific self-esteem in the 2000-2001 student sample.*

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Percentage stating “agree” or “strongly agree”</b>
Parents are proud of the person I am	98.1
Parents feel that I can be depended upon	93.5
I'm as good as most at things people my age do	93.5
I'm an important person in my classes	90.5
I have as many friends as others my age	83.4
Most of my teachers don't understand me	21.5

For the 2000-2001 sample of SAAS students, the mean levels for peer, school, and home esteem are listed in Table 69.

Table 69. *Mean levels for subscales of the HARE for 2000-2001 SAAS student sample*

	<b>Mean (SD)</b>
Home Esteem	3.52 (.46)
Peer Esteem	3.19 (.41)
School Esteem	3.11 (.42)



Home esteem was the highest level of esteem for the students sampled during the 2000-2001 year, while school esteem was the lowest.

*Psychological Sense of School Membership (PSSM)*

The mean response for the eighteen items comprising the PSSM was 3.82 (SD = .66) indicating that students in the 2000-2001 sample have a moderately high level of sense of school membership. The range of the mean response for the overall scale was from 1.72 (below the midpoint of the scale) to 5.00 (upper limit of the scale). Table 70 lists select items from the PSSM and the percentage of the sample that endorsed the item with a “mostly” or “always” true response.

Table 70. *Percentage of students endorsing aspects of PSSM in the 2000-2001 student sample.*

<b>Statement</b>	<b>Percentage stating “mostly” or “always true”</b>
People here know I can do good work	82.4
Students like me the way I am	73.1
Most teachers are interested in me	67.6
I'm included in a lot of activities at school	62.1
I feel proud of belonging to my school	55.5
I feel like a real part of my school	47.3

For this sample of SAAS students, PSSM is expressed at a moderately high level. There is variation in the experience of school membership exemplified by the wide range of the mean PSSM scores and the range of endorsement level of some of the items in the above table. For instance, less than half of students in the sample reported feeling like a real part of their school. At the same time, over 80% felt as if people at their schools knew they could do good work.

*Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-teen version (MIBI-t)*

The MIBI-t is a 37-item modified version of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI). The MIBI-t uses language and situations that are relevant to adolescents. Students use a 5-point Likert scale (1 = “Really disagree” to 5 = “Really agree”) to respond to items covering three aspects of racial identity: how a person defines themselves in terms of race (centrality), how a person evaluates their racial group (regard—which is assessed in terms of both public and private regard), and how they think members of the racial group should act (ideology). The ideology component of the MIBI-t is comprised of four subscales: assimilationist (underscores the American identity of Black people), humanist (centers on people's shared humanity), nationalist (focuses on the specifics of the Black experience), and oppressed minority (emphasizes the similarities among oppressed groups). The mean levels for centrality, public regard, private regard, and the ideology subscales are listed in Table 71.

Table 71. Mean levels for subscales of the MIBI-t for the 2000-2001 SAAS student sample.

Subscale	Mean (SD)	Range
Private Regard	4.61 (.48)	2.50-5.00
Oppressed Minority	3.91 (.57)	2.33-5.00
Humanist	3.70 (.74)	1.40-5.00
Centrality	3.31 (.88)	1.00-5.00
Assimilationist	3.07 (.65)	1.20-4.80
Nationalist	3.05 (.81)	1.40-5.00
Public Regard	2.96 (.81)	1.20-4.80

As was the case for the 1997-1998 and 1999-2000 school years, private regard was the aspect of racial identity that had the highest mean for the 2000-2001 sample of SAAS students. The mean level for private regard approached the highest possible level which was a 5.0. Public regard had the lowest mean; however, the mean level was basically at the mid-point of the scale which indicates that, on average, students were neutral about their evaluation of how non-Black people viewed the Black community. Centrality was somewhat above the mid-point of the scale indicating that being Black was somewhat important for SAAS students in 2000-2001.

In terms of the ideology subscales, the oppressed minority scale had the highest mean level with a range that at the low end was 2.33 and ranged through 5.00 which was the ceiling of the response scale. The nationalist and assimilationist scales had the lowest mean levels though both values were approximately at the midpoint of the response scale indicating a moderate level of endorsement by students for both ideologies.

#### *Neighborhood Social Capital Scale (NSC)*

The mean level of NSC for the 2000-2001 student sample was 3.17 (SD = .65) which is somewhat below the mid-point of the scale. The range for the mean level was between 1.55 and 4.82. Table 72 presents the mean NSC score for students by their neighborhood racial composition.

Table 72. NSC by neighborhood racial composition for the 2000-2001 student sample.

Neighborhood racial composition	Mean (SD)
0-20% Black	3.40 (.68)
21-40% Black	3.03 (.68)
41-60% Black	3.28 (.56)
61-80% Black	3.04 (.71)
81-100% Black	3.07 (.61)

For the 2000-2001 student sample, NSC was reported to be highest in neighborhoods that were between 0-20% Black. This differs from mean NSC levels from prior student samples in the SAAS project where students in

neighborhoods that were 0-20% Black had lower levels of NSC as compared to students from other neighborhoods.

*Teenage Experience of Racial Socialization (TERS)*

The mean score for the TERS for the 2000-2001 student sample was 2.17 (SD = .33) with a range from 1.35 to 2.85. The TERS has several subscales; the mean levels for each are presented in Table 73.

Table 73. Mean levels of TERS subscales for the 2000-2001 student sample.

<b>TERS Subscale</b>	<b>Mean score (SD)</b>
Cultural Pride Reinforcement	2.62 (.29)
Cultural Legacy Appreciation	2.40 (.47)
Coping with Antagonism	2.09 (.47)
Alertness to Discrimination	2.06 (.56)
Cultural Socialization Experience	1.89 (.30)
Mainstream Socialization	1.53 (.37)

For this sample of youth, racial socialization messages were reported as given most frequently in the area of Cultural Pride Reinforcement and Cultural Legacy Appreciation. Students reported hearing Mainstream Socialization messages least often.

*The State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory (STAXI)*

Mean levels for the components of the STAXI for the 2000-2001 student sample are presented in Table 74.

Table 74. Mean levels of STAXI subscales for the 2000-2001 student sample.

<b>STAXI Subscale</b>	<b>Mean score (SD)</b>
Anger Control	2.83 (.58)
Anger Out	2.16 (.46)
Anger Suppression	1.93 (.54)

Youth reported higher levels of anger control and lower levels of anger suppression indicating that the 2001 sample of SAAS students is more inclined to control their aggressive expression of anger than to turn their anger inward.

*Multiscale Depression Inventory (MDI)*

An abbreviated version of the MDI, consisting of 24 items, was administered during the 2000-2001 academic year. On average, students' MDI level was a 4.87 (out of a possible 24; SD = 3.19) and ranged from a low of 0 to a high of 15. The mean level indicates a low level of overall distress for students. No subscales were obtained due to the administration of the abbreviated version of the MDI.

*School Climate (SC)*

The mean response for SC was 2.96 (SD = .54) indicating that the 2000-2001 student sample evaluated their school climate in a generally positive way. The range of the mean response for the overall scale was from 1.37 to 3.96 (approaching the upper limit for the scale). Table 75 details the mean levels for the SC subscales.

Table 75. Mean levels for SC subscales for the 2000-2001 student sample.

<b>Subscale</b>	<b>Mean (SD)</b>
Learning Satisfaction	3.15 (.55)
Educational Quality	3.03 (.52)
Teacher Support	2.93 (.57)
School Fit	2.78 (.73)

For SAAS students in 2000-2001, Learning Satisfaction was the most positively evaluated aspect of school climate while School Fit had the lowest mean level (though still moderate).

#### *Perceived Racism Scale-Adolescent (PRS-A)*

Beginning with the 2000-2001 academic year, SAAS students completed the Perceived Racism Scale-Adolescent version. The PRS-A is a 52-item, multidimensional measure of perceived racism for adolescents. It assesses the frequency of exposure to various types of race and racism-related stressors and the emotional and coping responses to such events in the following domains: on the job, academic, in public, and exposure to racist statements. Respondents are asked if, and how often, the events and situations across the four domains have been encountered over the past year and over their lifetime. The frequency is assessed using a 6-point Likert scale (0 = "not applicable" to 5 = "several times a day").

The mean response for the items comprising each of the four domains is listed in Table 76. For each domain, the average number of events encountered over the past year and lifetime is listed.

Table 76. Mean number of events for each PRS-A domain for the 2000-2001 student sample.

	<b>Mean number of events-Past Year (SD)</b>	<b>Obtained Range (Possible Range)</b>	<b>Mean number of events-Lifetime (SD)</b>	<b>Obtained Range (Possible Range)</b>
<b>Academic</b>	9.37 (6.00)	0-17 (0-17)	10.00 (5.53)	0-17 (0-17)
<b>Public</b>	6.99 (3.80)	0-12 (0-12)	7.31 (3.56)	0-12 (0-12)
<b>Racist Statements</b>	4.39 (2.47)	0-7 (0-7)	4.65 (2.28)	0-7 (0-7)

<b>On the Job</b> <sup>18</sup>	3.09 (3.33)	0-8 (0-8)	3.09 (3.33)	0-8 (0-8)
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Students reported encountering the most racism-related events in the academic domain and the fewest events on the job both over the past year and over their lifetime.

#### *Emotional responses to racism*

As noted above, the PRS-A also explores students' emotional and coping responses to racism. In terms of emotional responses, students were asked to use a 5-point Likert scale (1 = "not at all" to 5 = "extremely") to respond to ten different emotions they might feel after encountering racism across the four domains of interest. The mean emotional response for each domain is listed in Table 77.

Table 77. Mean emotional response to racism for each PRS-A domain for the 2000-2001 student sample.

Domain	Overall Mean (SD)
Racist Statements	2.42 (.78)
Public	2.41 (.75)
On the job	2.40 (.87)
Academic	2.39 (.75)

Level of emotional response was consistent across domains. For each domain, students reported feeling "angry" and "strengthened" most often in response to racism they encountered. Students reported feeling "self-hatred" and "ashamed" least often.

#### *Coping responses to racism*

In regard to coping responses, students were asked to review a list of ten coping responses and indicate with a check whether they used that response when they encountered racism in each of the four domains of interest. Students could also write in a coping response of their choice. The mean number of coping responses reported by students across domains is reported in Table 78.

Table 78. Mean number of coping responses by 2000-2001 student sample.

Domain	Overall Mean (SD)	Range
Academic	2.14 (1.40)	0-8
Racist Statements	2.10 (1.30)	1-7
Public	1.83 (1.27)	0-7
On the job	.64 (1.11)	0-5

<sup>18</sup> There were a total of 33 students who completed the "on the job" section. All other domains include responses from the total sample of 108.

Students used more coping responses in the academic domain and when they heard racist statements. The fewest coping responses were used on the job. The most frequently chosen coping responses for each domain are listed in Table 79.

Table 79. *Frequency of coping responses to racism for each PRS-A domain for the 2000-2001 student sample.*

Domain	Response	Percentage of students endorsing response
Academic	Speaking Up	75.5
	Proving Them Wrong	54.7
	Trying to Change Things	35.8
Public	Speaking Up	42.5
	Proving Them Wrong	35.8
	Ignoring It	34.0
On the job	Speaking Up	18.5
	Proving Them Wrong	13.9
	Ignoring It	9.3
Racist Statements	Speaking Up	73.8
	Proving Them Wrong	50.5
	Trying to Change Things	27.1

#### Bivariate relationships between variables for 2000-2001 SAAS students<sup>19</sup>

Some of the more important relationships between study variables for students during the 2000-2001 year of data collection are as follows. As students':

- **Grade level** rose, their levels of centrality (.29), anger out (.23), past year racism in public (.25), on the job (.37), and via hearing statements (.31), lifetime racism in public (.29), on the job (.37), and via hearing statements (.32), and coping responses to racism used on the job (.34) *increased* while their reports of psychological sense of school membership (-.27), school climate (-.29), public regard (-.27), and private regard (-.37) *decreased*.
- **School esteem** rose, their levels of psychological sense of school membership (.69), school climate (.61), public regard (.36), and anger control (.42) *increased* while their reports of overall racial socialization (-.38), anger suppression (-.35) and anger out (-.33), past year racism in school (-.29), in public (-.39), and via hearing statements (-.25), lifetime racism in school (-.43), in public (-.47), and via hearing statements (-.30), emotional response to racism in school (-.21) and via hearing statements (-.29), coping responses to racism in public (-.40), and emotional distress (-.62) *decreased*.
- **Psychological sense of school membership** rose, reports of general (.62) and school esteem (.69), school climate (.82), public regard (.50), and anger control (.38) *increased* while grade level (-.27), centrality (-.39), anger

<sup>19</sup> All correlations reported are significant at the .05 level.

suppression (-.35), anger out (-.27), past year racism in school (-.47), in public (-.49), on the job (-.24), and via hearing statements (-.41), lifetime racism in school (-.52), in public (-.49), on the job (-.25), and via hearing statements (-.46), emotional response to racism in public (-.20) and via hearing statements (-.30), coping responses to racism in public (-.25), and emotional distress (-.65) *decreased*.

- **Emotional distress** rose, reports of anger suppression (.58), anger out (.28), past year racism in school (.27), in public (.39), and via hearing statements (.25), lifetime racism in school (.42), in public (.45), and via hearing statements (.29), emotional responses to racism in school (.34), in public (.31), and via hearing statements (.44), and coping responses to racism in public (.25) *increased* while school esteem (-.62), PSSM (-.65), school climate (-.48), private regard (-.28), public regard (-.30), and anger control (-.48) *decreased*.
- **Past year racism in school** rose, reports of emotional distress (.27), private regard (.22), centrality (.34), racial socialization (.32), past year racism in public (.72), on the job (.37), and via hearing statements (.63), lifetime racism in public (.64), on the job (.63), and via hearing statements (.29), and coping responses to racism in school (.23), public (.28), and to hearing statements (.20) *increased* while school esteem (-.29), PSSM (-.47), school climate (-.44), and public regard (-.46) *decreased*.
- **Lifetime racism in school** rose, reports of emotional distress (.42), centrality (.33), anger suppression (.21), anger out (.25), racial socialization (.34), past year racism in public (.71), on the job (.32), and via hearing statements (.57), lifetime racism in public (.73), on the job (.34), and via hearing statements (.63), emotional responses to hearing racist statement (.25), and coping responses to racism in school (.28), public (.32), and to hearing statements (.21) *increased* while school esteem (-.43), PSSM (-.52), school climate (-.52), and public regard (-.49) *decreased*.

#### Summary of important bivariate relationships for 2000-2001 SAAS students

Of interest is that the variable that represented the number of years students had attended their school was not significantly related to any of the other variables of interest. Similarly to previous years, grade level was significantly related to several variables of interest including racial identity, experiences with racism, school context constructs, and socioemotional adjustment for the 2000-2001 student sample. Specifically, as grade level rose students reported higher levels of: racism in all domains except school (past year and over lifetime), number of coping responses to racism on the job, racial centrality, and anger out, and lower levels of: PSSM, school climate, and public and private regard.

It would make sense that older students would report encountering more racism than younger students as they are engaging in new contexts with more autonomy (such as a job or being able to go on social outings without parental supervision) and learning more about the way the world “works” which may lead to them seeing things, such as discrimination, in their environment they had not

seen before. Following this logic, racial centrality being higher for older students would make sense as well. As students get older they may learn more about what being Black means in society-at-large and incorporate these lessons in to a more central place in their identities. That anger out was higher for older students may fall in line with the reasoning that adolescence as a developmental period entails some “storm and stress.” It may be that youth need help in expressing anger more in moderation as opposed to in an aggressive way given the “storm and stress” they encounter during the teen years. On the other hand, as anger is an emotion all people feel at one time or another, it is possible that older youth feel more confident and safe in expressing different types of emotions, such as anger, than do younger students.

Older students appear to have a less positive view of their school contexts than younger students. For instance, older students reported lower psychological sense of school membership and school climate than younger students. As with the relationship between grade and reports of racism, it may be that as students get older they see new things within their school environments (or perhaps old things in new ways) which influence how they evaluate their schools and their place within them.

This “new vision” for older students may also be at play in the relationship between racial identity and grade level. Both public and private regard decreased as students’ grade level increased. Remember public regard is how Black students believe non-Blacks view Black people, while private regard is Black students’ personal evaluations of the Black community. Negative relationships between grade and the regard aspects of racial identity indicate that older students believe non-Blacks view Black people more negatively than younger students do (public regard) and that older students view the Black community more negatively than younger students (private regard). Why do older students perceive more negative evaluations – whether they are self or other based – of the Black community? The new set of situations in which older students find themselves (be it their gaining more independence out of school or transitioning from middle to upper school at school) may bring them into contact with people who hold different, and perhaps more negative, views of Black people than younger students would be exposed to in their interactions. Additionally, as students get older they may also encounter historical and contemporary lessons on race relations in America through coursework or personal experience that involve exposure to negative evaluations of the Black community that students may begin to internalize themselves and/or perceive non-Blacks to hold.

In terms of school context variables, there were numerous relationships between school esteem, psychological sense of school membership, and the other study variables. Both school esteem and PSSM were strongly positively correlated with school climate. The more students felt better about themselves at school and connected to the school community, the more positively they evaluated the climate of their school. School esteem and PSSM were also positively related to public regard and anger control so that students who reported high school esteem and PSSM also believed non-Blacks view Black people positively and were more apt to control their anger instead of expressing it



toward others or keeping it to themselves. School esteem and PSSM seem to relate to positive socioemotional adjustment and views of the school setting.

Conversely, for the 2000-2001 sample of youth, a negative relationship existed between school esteem and PSSM and students' reports of: emotional distress, anger out or anger suppression; racism across all domains except on the job (past year and lifetime); emotional responses to racism either at school, in public, or when hearing racist statements; and centrality (PSSM only) and overall racial socialization (school esteem only). In other words, the more students felt good about themselves in school and connected to the school, the less they: reported distress, expressed or suppressed their anger, perceived they experienced racism, felt that being Black was important to their sense of self and received messages about race from their family. The relationships between school esteem, PSSM, and socioemotional adjustment variables such as anger out or emotional distress are straightforward. Why would students who report higher school esteem and PSSM have lower levels of centrality and reported racial socialization? It may be that for Black students in predominantly White schools such as the participating SAAS schools focusing on race in contexts where race is not often openly addressed (unless there is some negative incident such as discrimination) may cause a disconnect with the school such that school esteem or sense of school membership was diminished. Since correlations are about relationships and not causation, there may be other factors at play here. Nevertheless, it is important to note how school context variables relate to race-related constructs such as identity and socialization for the Black students in the SAAS study.

Another race-related construct of interest is the experience of racism for students. The more students reported racism in schools, the lower their reports of the school context variables and of the public regard of racial identity. It would seem to follow that students would feel less at home in the school setting, view the school climate more negatively, and believe that non-Blacks see Black people less positively when they perceive they are encountering racism in their schools.

Conversely, the more racism students reported encountering in school, the more students reported emotional distress and overall racial socialization messages received from family and the higher the level of students' centrality and private regard. It is not unexpected that as students report more racism that they would report more emotional distress or receiving more race-related messages at home. In the case of racial socialization, students from families who talk about race in the home may be primed to see things in the school that they feel are racism-related. It is important to note that this does not mean that families who talk about race end up with students who "see racism everywhere." Students from these families may be more aware of how race dynamics play out in society and therefore report more racism in their schools. Similar reasoning holds for why students who reported more racism had higher levels of centrality. The more important being Black is to a student may lead them to consider race as a factor in social contexts and interactions in ways that youth who do not feel race is important to their identities do not. It is for another research study to

decide which strategy is most beneficial for youth. That private regard also rose as reports of racism in the school rose is at first-glance a somewhat contradictory finding. It may be that students use private regard as a coping mechanism for when they encounter racism such that they would remind themselves that the Black community does have many positive attributes to counter any negative feelings that encountering racism stirred.

## Parent

A total of 73 parents completed survey questionnaires for the 2000-2001 year. Parents from all four participating SAAS schools completed surveys.

### *Demographic Information*

#### Personal and family data

Fifteen (21%) parents completing surveys in 2000-2001 were male while 58 (79%) were female. The average age was 45.2 years with a range of 33 to 59. Fifty-eight percent of the respondents reported being married. Twenty-one percent were single/never married and 17% were separated or divorced. Four percent of the sample was widowed. Parents reported having from 1 (51%) to 5 (1%) children. The modal response was 1 child (39% of the sample).

#### Educational Background

Thirteen percent of mothers and 16% of fathers reported attending an independent school themselves. Forty-nine percent of parents said that someone in their family had attended an independent school at one time or another. Parents indicated their highest level of educational achievement and provided information as to what institutions of secondary and higher education they attended, if applicable. Table 80 lists the educational attainment of parents.

Table 80. *Highest Level of Education for the 2000-2001 parent sample.*

<b>Highest Educational Level</b>	<b>Percentage of mothers</b>	<b>Percentage of fathers</b>
High school diploma	1.4	6.0
Vocational school	1.4	3.0
Some college	13.7	25.4
College degree	21.9	20.9
Master's degree	31.5	16.4
Doctoral degree/JD/MD	12.3	19.4

Over half of the mothers and fathers have received at least a college degree with one-third or more of the parents having post-graduate degrees as well. In terms of the colleges that parents attended, 23% of mothers and 20% of fathers attended historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs). Additional information gathered on the educational background of the respondent's parents showed that 28.6% of SAAS parents' mothers and 23% of fathers completed at least a college education.

Occupation and income informationOccupation

Table 81 lists the distribution of SAAS mothers and fathers across the occupational spectrum.

Table 81. *Occupations of the 2000-2001 SAAS parent sample.*

<b>Occupational Category</b>	<b>Percentage of mothers</b>	<b>Percentage of fathers</b>
Executive, Manager, or Professional	50.0	52.6
Technical, Sales, or Administrative support	24.2	17.5
Service	18.2	10.5
Crafts or Repairs	1.5	5.3
Machine operator or Laborer	0.0	8.8
Retired, Student, or Armed Forces	6.1	5.3

The majority of parents in the 2000-2001 year held occupations that could be described as in the “Executive, Manager, or Professional” realm. Occupations that involved crafts or repairs held by the fewest parents.

Income

SAAS parents were asked to indicate into which category their gross household income could be placed. Categories ranged from below \$14,999 to above \$105,000. Forty-three percent of the parents for the 2000-2001 year indicated that their gross family incomes were above \$105,000. The median income level (i.e., half the families had incomes above and below this level) was \$85,000-\$94,999.

Racial identification

The majority of SAAS parents during the 2000-2001 year (67; 92%) identified as Black or African American. Six parents, or approximately 8% of the sample, identified as White. Of the respondents who had spouses/partners, the majority (80%) were Black, 11% were White, and 3% were Latino or “other.”

Racial composition of neighborhood

Parents were asked to indicate the racial composition of the neighborhood in which they currently resided as well as the composition of the neighborhood they spent the most time in during their youth.

In terms of their current neighborhood, the majority of parents, approximately 27% of the sample, reported living in neighborhoods that were less than 20% Black. For childhood neighborhoods the majority of parents, 36%, reported living in neighborhoods that were 81-100% Black. Table 82 details parents’ reports of the racial composition of their current and childhood neighborhoods.

Table 82. *Racial composition of current and childhood neighborhood for the 2000-2001 parent sample.*

<b>Racial composition of neighborhood</b>	<b>Current</b>	<b>Childhood</b>
0-20% Black	27.4%	18.1%
21-40% Black	9.6%	11.1%
41-60% Black	26.0%	13.9%
61-80% Black	17.8%	20.8%
81-100% Black	19.2%	36.1%

### *School Support*

Ninety percent of the sample said they had or would contribute money to the schools their children attended.

## **Survey Questionnaire Results**

### ***Parent Involvement in Education Scale (PIES)***

The PIES is a 54-item questionnaire for parents that uses a 4-point Likert scale (1 = “disagree a lot” to 4 = “agree a lot”) to measure parents’ involvement in the education of their primary and secondary school children. The mean level for the PIES for the 2000-2001 parent sample was 3.43 (SD = .25) indicating that parents were quite involved in their children’s education. The range for the mean PIES level was between 2.70 and 3.81 indicating that parents uniformly described themselves as involved and engaged in their child’s education. Table 83 provides examples of items from the PIES that illustrate the nature of the 2001-2002 SAAS parent sample’s involvement in their children’s education.

Table 83. *Select PIES items and percentage of parents endorsing “agree a lot” for the 2000-2001 parent sample.*

<b>Item</b>	<b>Percentage who “agree a lot”</b>
I spend time in my child's classroom	14.1
I attend parent meetings at my child's school	73.2
I talk with my child about educational opportunities and barriers	87.5
Contact with my child's school is typically pleasant	59.7
I volunteer at my child's school	27.8
I initiate communication with my child's teachers through notes, phone calls, visits to school	54.2

### ***Parent Experience of Racial Socialization (PERS)***

The PERS asks parents how often they have talked about race-related issues with their children. Parents use a 3-point Likert scale (1 = “never” to 3 =

“lots of times”) to indicate how often they have said any of 40 different statements to their child. The mean score for the PERS for the 2000-2001 SAAS parent sample was 1.96 (SD = .34) with a range from 1.18 to 2.70. The PERS has several subscales, the mean levels for each are presented in Table 84.

Table 84. *Mean levels of PERS subscales for the 2000-2001 parent sample.*

<b>PERS Subscale</b>	<b>Mean score (SD)</b>
Coping with Antagonism	1.93 (.43)
Alertness to Discrimination	1.89 (.58)
Cultural Pride Reinforcement	2.50 (.25)
Mainstream Socialization	1.20 (.28)
Cultural Legacy Appreciation	2.27 (.45)
Cultural Socialization Experience	1.77 (.30)

The 2000-2001 sample of parents reported giving racial socialization messages most frequently in the area of Cultural Pride Reinforcement and Cultural Legacy Appreciation. Parents reported giving Mainstream Socialization messages least often.

#### *School Climate (SC)*

The School Climate measure for parents is a 31-item instrument that uses a 4-point Likert scale (1 = “Never” to 4 = “Always”) to assess parent perception of the school environment. The four subscales of the SC include: learning satisfaction, teacher support, school fit, and educational quality. The mean response for SC for parents was 3.07 (SD = .41) indicating that parents evaluate their children’s school climate in a generally positive way. The range of the mean response for the overall scale was from 1.65 to 3.84 (approaching the upper limit for the scale). Table 85 details the mean levels for the SC subscales.

Table 85. *Mean levels for SC subscales for the 2000-2001 parent sample.*

<b>Subscale</b>	<b>Mean (SD)</b>
Learning Satisfaction	3.18 (.42)
Teacher Support	3.01 (.39)
School Fit	3.15 (.50)
Educational Quality	3.09 (.39)

For SAAS parents in 2000-2001, Learning Satisfaction was the most positively evaluated aspect of school climate (with School Fit evaluated almost as positively). Teacher Support had the lowest mean level (though still moderate).

#### *Neighborhood Social Capital Scale (NSC)*

The NSC is an 11-item measure using a 5-point Likert scale (from “never” to “always”) that aims to determine the degree to which neighbors and the neighborhood serve as a resource for teenagers and parents. The mean level of NSC for the sample was 3.01 (SD = .55) which is the mid-point of the scale and indicates a moderate belief on the part of parents that their neighborhoods serve

as a resource for their families. The range for the mean level was between 1.82 and 4.18.

#### *Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity*

The short form of the MIBI is a 20-item measure that uses a 7-point Likert scale (1 = “Strongly disagree” to 7 = “Strongly agree”) to assess the multiple dimensions of racial identity for Black people. There are three scales of the MIBI – centrality (how important race is to people's conception of themselves), public regard (beliefs about how others evaluate Black people as a group), and private regard (personal evaluation of Black people). The mean levels for centrality, public regard, and private regard are listed in Table 86.

Table 86. *Mean levels for subscales of the MIBI for the 2000-2001 SAAS parent sample.*

	<b>Mean (SD)</b>
Centrality	5.11 (1.26)
Public Regard	3.18 (.93)
Private Regard	6.56 (.51)

Private regard was the aspect of racial identity that had the highest mean for the parents; in fact, it approached the highest possible level which was a 7.0. Public regard had the lowest mean; however, the mean level was somewhat below the mid-point of the scale which indicates that, on average, parents were generally neutral about their evaluation of how non-Black people viewed the Black community. The mean level of centrality for parents was above the mid-point of the scale indicating that being Black was somewhat important for SAAS parents.

#### *Perceived Racism Scale (PRS)*

The PRS is a 51-item, multidimensional measure of perceived racism. It assesses the frequency of exposure to various types of race and racism-related stressors and the emotional and coping responses to such events in the following domains: on the job, academic, in public, and exposure to racist statements. Respondents are asked if, and how often, the events and situations across the four domains have been encountered over the past year and over their lifetime. The frequency with racism is encountered is assessed using a 6-point Likert scale (0 = “not applicable” to 5 = “several times a day”).

The mean response for the items comprising each of the four domains is listed in Table 87. For each domain, the average number of events encountered over the past year and lifetime is listed.

Table 87. *Mean number of events for PRS domains for the 2000-2001 parent sample.*

	<b>Mean number of events-</b>	<b>Obtained Range (Possible)</b>	<b>Mean number of events-Lifetime (SD)</b>	<b>Obtained Range (Possible)</b>

	Past Year (SD)	Range)		Range)
<b>Academic</b>	2.71 (3.89)	0-10 (0-10)	6.73 (3.87)	0-10 (0-10)
<b>Public</b>	7.22 (5.34)	0-16 (0-16)	9.29 (4.95)	0-16 (0-16)
<b>On the Job</b>	4.86 (4.18)	0-10 (0-10)	6.88 (3.75)	0-10 (0-10)
<b>Racist Statements</b>	4.74 (2.68)	0-7 (0-7)	5.59 (2.37)	0-7 (0-7)

Parents reported the most racism-related events in the public domain and the least amount of events in the academic domain for the past year. Events were encountered most frequently in the public domain and least often in the hearing racist statements for parents over their lifetime.

#### *Emotional responses to racism*

As noted above, the PRS also explores individuals' emotional and coping responses to racism. In terms of emotional responses, respondents were asked to use a 5-point Likert scale (1 = "not at all" to 5 = "extremely") to respond to eight different emotions they might feel after encountering racism across the four domains of interest. The mean emotional response for each domain is listed in Table 88.

Table 88. *Mean emotional response to racism for PRS domains for the 2000-2001 parent sample.*

Domain	Overall Mean (SD)
Academic	2.85 (.67)
Public	2.69 (.77)
On the job	2.73 (.62)
Racist Statements	2.65 (.74)

Emotional response was experienced consistently over the four domains. For each domain, parents reported feeling "angry" and "frustrated" most often in response to racism they encountered. Parents reported feeling "hopeless" and "ashamed" least often.

#### *Coping responses to racism*

In regard to coping responses, respondents were asked to review a list of ten coping responses and indicate with a check whether they used that response when they encountered racism in each of the four domains of interest. They could also write in a coping response of their choice. The mean numbers of coping responses reported by SAAS parents across domains are reported in Table 89.

Table 89. *Mean number of coping responses by the 2000-2001 parent sample.*

Domain	Overall Mean (SD)	Range
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Academic	2.07 (1.02)	1-4
Public	1.94 (1.14)	0-5
On the job	2.24 (1.10)	1-6
Racist Statements	1.90 (1.19)	0-7

Parents reported using the most coping responses in the on the job domain and the least when they heard racist statements. The most frequently chosen coping responses for each domain are listed in Table 90.

Table 90. *Frequency of coping responses to racism by domain for the 2000-2001 parent sample.*

Domain	Response	Percentage of parents endorsing response
Academic	Speaking Up	74.6
	Trying to Change Things	44.8
	Working Harder to Prove Them Wrong	43.3
Public	Speaking Up	76.9
	Praying	27.7
	Trying to Change Things	27.7
On the job	Speaking Up	80.3
	Trying to Change Things	45.5
	Working Harder to Prove Them Wrong	31.8
Racist Statements	Speaking Up	72.1
	Praying	25.0
	Trying to Change Things	23.5

### *Social Skills Rating Scale (SSRS)*

The SSRS is a rating scale completed by teachers, parents and students that explores social skills, problem behaviors, and academic competence. The scale is comprised of 55-items for youth in grades K-6 and 52 items for youth in grades 7-12. Parents use a 3-point Likert scale (1 = “never” to 3 = “always”) to respond to items regarding their child. The SSRS is comprised of two broad categories: Problem Behaviors and Social Skills. These categories are made up of a number of subscales (e.g., cooperation, assertion, internalizing problems). Table 91 presents parents standardized<sup>20</sup> ratings of their children and adolescents on the broad SSRS categories.

Table 91. *Parent ratings on the SSRS for the 2000-2001 parent sample.*

SSRS Domains	Mean (SD) for Children	Mean (SD) for Adolescents
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<sup>20</sup> By standardized ratings, we are referring to converted values such that the mean level is 100 with a standard deviation of 15 that can be compared to the scores of a larger sample of youth from across the country.



Problem Behavior	85.15 (22.88)	88.70 (14.75)
Social Skills	103.77 (21.59)	107.85 (19.24)

Overall, SAAS parents during the 2000-2001 year evaluated both their children and adolescents as above average on Social Skills and below average on Problem Behavior.

#### Bivariate relationships between variables for 2000-2001 SAAS parents<sup>21</sup>

Some of the more important relationships between study variables for parents during the 2000-2001 year of data collection are as follows. As parents':

- **Age** level rose, their reports of racial socialization-alertness to discrimination (.32), racial socialization-cultural legacy appreciation (.27), and centrality (.35) *increased* while their reports of school climate (-.31) *decreased*.
- **Education level (for mothers)** rose, their level of centrality (.36) *increased* while their report of racial socialization-mainstream socialization (.45) *decreased*.
- **Education level (for father)** rose, their reports of their child's social skills (.46) and lifetime racism on the job (.29), in academic settings (.41), and in public (.34) *increased* while their report of involvement in education (-.25) *decreased*.
- **Income level** rose, reports of lifetime racism on the job (.28), in academic settings (.30), and in public (.31) *increased*.
- **Involvement in school** rose, their evaluations of their child's school climate (.36) *increased* while their report of Dad's level of education (-.25) *decreased*.
- **Evaluation of the school climate** rose, their report of involvement in school (.36) *increased* while their age (-.31) and report of racial socialization-alertness to discrimination (-.34) *decreased*.
- **Racial socialization** rose, their reports of private regard (.29), their child's social skills (.41) and problem behaviors (.30); past year racism on the job (.29), in public (.40), and via hearing statements (.25); lifetime racism on the job (.46), in academic settings (.36), in public (.47), and via hearing statements (.43); and emotional response to racism on the job (.32), in academic settings (.32), in public (.28), and via hearing statements (.29) *increased*.
- **Reports of racism across domains-past year** rose, reports of overall racial socialization (.40), racial socialization-coping with antagonism (.39), racial socialization-alertness to discrimination (.43), racial socialization-cultural pride reinforcement (.40), racial socialization-mainstream socialization (.42), racial socialization-cultural legacy appreciation (.33), and racial socialization-cultural socialization experience (.41), and emotional response to racism in public (.30) and to hearing racist statements (.33) *increased*.
- **Reports of racism across domains-lifetime** rose, father's education level (.42), income (.33), reports of overall racial socialization (.52), racial socialization-coping with antagonism (.41), racial socialization-alertness to discrimination (.54), racial socialization-cultural pride reinforcement (.42),

<sup>21</sup> All correlations reported are significant at the .05 level.

racial socialization-mainstream socialization (.29), racial socialization-cultural legacy appreciation (.46), and racial socialization-cultural socialization experience (.50), and emotional response to racism on the job (.38), in academic settings (.36), in public (.39) and to hearing racist statements (.29) *increased*.

#### Summary of important bivariate relationships for 2000-2001 SAAS parents

Demographic variables, such as age, education level, and income, were related to a few of the major study variables. For instance, older parents reported giving more racial socialization messages to their children focused on alertness to discrimination and appreciation of cultural legacy. These parents also reported higher levels of racial centrality such that being Black is more important to the identities of older parents. Older parents found the school climate of their children's schools to be less positive than younger parents. It is possible that older parents are more likely to have children in middle and upper school which may be perceived as less welcoming and engaging than lower school.

Other relationships between demographic variables pertained to maternal and paternal educational attainment. Mothers with more education had higher levels of racial centrality and reported giving less racial socialization messages that have to do with socialization in the mainstream. Fathers with more education were less involved in their children's education, believe their children have better social skills and reported more lifetime racism in all domains except hearing racist statements than fathers with less education. As for family income, it was only positively related to lifetime parental reports of racism on the job, in academic settings, and in public such that parents from families with higher income report more lifetime racism in the above domains than do parents from families with lower income.

In terms of school context variables, parents who were more involved with their children's education reported a more positive school climate. Older parents and parents who reported giving more racial socialization messages focused on alertness to discrimination evaluated the school climate less positively than younger parents and those who gave less alertness to discrimination messages.

Overall racial socialization was related to a number of constructs for parents. In terms of racial identity, parents who reported giving their child(ren) more racial socialization messages also reported higher private regard (or personal evaluations of the Black community). In relation to racism, parents who reported more racial socialization also reported higher lifetime encounters with racism across all domains (i.e., academic settings, public, on the job, and hearing racist statements), more past year racism in all domains except academic settings, and more negative emotional response to racism in all domains. Finally, parents who reported giving their child(ren) more racial socialization messages also rated their children as having higher levels of both social skills and problem behavior.

It would seem that the more parents reported talking about race-related issues with their children, the better they, the parents, felt about the Black community. It would follow that parents who encountered more racism would

want to discuss race-related issues with their children as well. Perhaps parents were thinking that by having these discussions with their children they are better preparing them for any future encounters with racism they might have – be it in or out of school. It is unclear as to why racial socialization would be positively related to parents' assessment of *both* social skills and problem behavior.

### **Student-Parent links**

A total of 61 students and 59 parents completed both student and parent survey questionnaires in the 2001-2002. That is, there were 59 pairs of students and parents who completed students with two parents having two of their children participating in SAAS. Students and parents from all four participating SAAS schools completed surveys.

#### *Demographic Information*

##### Personal and family data

Thirty-two (52.5%) of the students making up the student-parent pairs in 2000-2001 were female while 29 (47.5%) students were male. The average age was 14.6 years with a range of 11 to 18.

Forty-six (78%) of the parents making up the student-parent pairs in 2000-2001 were female while 13 (22%) parents were male. The average age was 46.3 years with a range of 36 to 59. Fifty-seven percent of the parents reported being married. Seventeen percent were single/never married and approximately 21% were separated or divorced. Five percent of the sample was widowed.

##### Racial identification

The majority of students in the 2001 student-parent pairs (48; 81%) identified as Black or African American. Eleven students, or approximately 19% of the sample, identified as biracial.

The majority of parents in the 2001 student-parent pairs (53; 90%) identified as Black or African American. Six parents, or approximately 10% of the sample, identified as White.

##### Grade and school division of students

The students in the student-parent pairs had been attending their respective schools for 5.5 years with a range from 1 to 13 years. Students ranged from sixth through twelfth grade. Approximately 34% of the sample was middle school students with the remaining 66% upper school students.

##### Education and occupation of parents

In terms of educational attainment for the parents in the student-parent pairs, approximately 85% of mothers had at least a bachelor's degree and 64% of fathers had at least a bachelor's degree. Almost half (46%) of mothers reported working in the executive, managerial, or professional sphere while 55% of fathers reported working in the executive, managerial, or professional arena.

##### Racial composition of neighborhood

The majority of students, approximately 34% of the 2001 student-parent sample, reported living in neighborhoods that were less than 20% Black. Thirty

percent of students reported living in neighborhoods that were more than 80% Black.

Bivariate relationships between variables for the 2000-2001 SAAS student-parent pairs<sup>22</sup>

Some of the more important relationships between study variables for the student-parent pairs during the 2000-2001 year of data collection were as follows:

*School Climate*

The higher students' report of their school climate at the 2001 assessment, the higher (.41) parents' report of school climate.

*Neighborhood Social Capital*

The higher students' report of neighborhood social capital at the 2001 assessment, the higher (.45) parents' report of neighborhood social capital.

*Teenager and Parent Experience of Racial Socialization*

The higher students' report of racial socialization messages from parent, the higher reports of giving such messages by parents (.30).

*Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-teen/Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity*

The higher students' reports of public regard, the higher parental private regard (.33). Student private regard and centrality were not related to any aspect of parent racial identity or any of the other constructs reviewed in this section.

- *Perceived Racism Scale-Adolescent and Perceived Racism Scale*

Students' report of how many racism-related events they encountered over the lifetime was not related to parental report of racism-related events encountered over the lifetime or any of the other constructs reviewed in this section.

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<sup>22</sup> All correlations reported are significant at the .05 level.

**2001-2002****Student**

A total of 122 students completed survey questionnaires in the 2001-2002 year. Students from all four participating SAAS schools completed surveys.

*Demographic Information*Personal and family data

Fifty-four (44%) students completing surveys in 2001-2002 were male while 68 (56%) students were female. The average age was 14.9 years with a range of 11 to 18. Students reported having from 0 (25%) to 9 (1%) siblings. The modal response was 1 sibling (34% of the sample).

Grade and school division

Students had been attending their respective schools for 5.7 years with a range from 1 to 13 years. Students were in grades five through twelve. Approximately 37% of the sample was middle school students with the remaining 63% upper school students. Table 92 details the percentage of students in each grade.

Table 92. *Grade distribution for the 2001-2002 student sample.*

<b>Grade</b>	<b>Percentage of students</b>
5	.8
6	7.4
7	15.7
8	13.2
9	9.9
10	24.0
11	17.4
12	11.6

Racial identification

The majority of students (96; 79%) identified as Black or African American. Twenty-three students, or approximately 19% of the sample, identified as biracial, with two students, or another 2% of the students, identifying as Latino or "other."

Racial composition of neighborhood

The majority of students, approximately 29% of the sample, reported living in neighborhoods that were 81-100% Black. Twenty-one percent of students reported living in neighborhoods that were less than 20% Black. Table 93 details students' reports of the racial composition of their neighborhood.

Table 93. *Racial composition of neighborhood for the 2001-2002 student sample.*

<b>Racial composition of neighborhood</b>	<b>Percentage of students</b>
0-20% Black	21
21-40% Black	15
41-60% Black	21

61-80% Black	15
81-100% Black	29

*Activities and employment*

For the 2001-2002 survey, an expanded student activities questionnaire was used. Students were asked detailed questions about the activities they participated in and out of school. Additionally, the hours spent in activities and the racial composition of these activities were assessed. Table 94 presents the percentage of students participating in the overall activity categories, the average number of hours spent participating in the groups of activities, and the racial composition of the activity groupings.

Table 94. *Student activities for the 2001-2002 SAAS student sample.*

	<b>Percentage of sample participating</b>	<b>Hours per week</b>	<b>Racial composition -mostly Black</b>	<b>Racial composition-mixed</b>	<b>Racial composition-Mostly White</b>
Church activities	41%	2.88 (1.51)	72%	18%	10%
Creative/artistic-out of school	44%	4.53 (3.53)	18.5%	55.6%	25.9%
Civic & social-out of school	41%	3.42 (2.82)	60%	34%	6%
Athletics-out of school	51%	6.78 (5.02)	22.6%	43.5%	33.9%
Employment	24%	8.98 (8.28)	31%	34.5%	34.5%
Cultural groups-School	39%	1.24 (.92)	63%	32.6%	4.3%
Service activities-School	33%	1.62 (1.20)	2.5%	52.5%	45%
Creative/artistic-School	46%	3.39 (5.64)	3.6%	33.9%	62.5%
Athletics-School	67%	8.99 (5.35)	2.4%	59.8%	37.8%
Writing or speech-School	19%	1.73 (1.36)	4.3%	30.4%	65.2%

Table 95 provides examples of specific activities within the general categories listed above.

Table 95. *Examples of activities for the 2001-2002 SAAS student sample.*

<b>Activity categories</b>	<b>Examples</b>
Church activities	Church choir Church youth group
Creative/artistic-out of school	Music lessons Dancing
Civic & social-out of school	Volunteering Jack & Jill
Athletics-out of school	Students listed specific athletic activities
Employment	Students specified type of employment (part-time, summer)
Cultural groups-School	Multicultural Students Union Black Students Union
Service activities-School	Student Government Community Service
Creative/artistic-School	Orchestra Choir
Athletics-School	Cheerleading Students specified specific activities
Writing or speech-School	Newspaper Debate

Table 96 presents the most frequently endorsed activities of the 2001-2002 sample of SAAS students.

Table 96. *Out of school and in school activities for the 2001-2002 SAAS student sample.*

<b>Activity</b>	<b>Percentage of students participating</b>
<b>Out of school</b>	
Athletics	53
Volunteering	26
Church youth group	25
Music lessons	24
Part-time job	22
Jack & Jill	11



<b>In school</b>	
Multicultural Students Union	30
Community Service	30
School Choir	30
School sports team	76
Black Students Union	18

### *Views on the school*

Sixty-four percent of the sample said they would contribute money to their schools and 69% said they would send their own child to the schools they attended.

### *College aspiration and selection*

#### Type of college

Approximately sixteen percent of the student sample reported that their top choice in a college was a historically Black college or university (HBCU). The vast majority of these choices could be categorized as elite HBCUs. Examples of the institutions specifically mentioned were Howard University and Spelman College. Eighty-four percent of the sample indicated that their top choice in college would be a predominantly White college or university (PWCU). Over half of the students who reported wanting to attend a PWCU designated elite institutions such as Penn (the institution named most frequently by the sample) or Brown as their top choices. Two percent of the sample did not answer the question about top college choice.

#### Who is influential in college aspirations?

Table 97 details how influential various constituents are in the college selection process for participants who provided answers to the college selection questions.

Table 97. *Influential constituents in the 2001-2002 student sample's college choices.*<sup>23</sup>

<b>Group</b>	<b>Percentage saying group is influential in college choice</b>
Parents	80
Friends	25
Siblings	14
Guidance Counselor	12
Other	30

<sup>23</sup> The percentages will add up to greater than 100% because students were allowed to check more than one group as being influential in the college selection process.

What factors play a role in college selection?

Students were asked to list in order from one to six what factors were most important in selecting a college. In the first place position, the factors that were listed most frequently by those who completed the college selection section were: reputation (30%), location (21%), diversity (16%), and academics (15%).

*Peer group information*

Most of the students reported that their best friends were Black (57%) with 32% reporting White best friends. Seven percent stated that their best friend was biracial. Five percent reported the race of their best friend to be Asian, Latino or "other."

Sixty-six percent of the students said they had begun dating. Forty percent of these students said they were currently dating someone. The race of their current (or most recent if they were not currently dating) partner was Black for 51% of the students, White for 29% of the students, biracial for 13% percent of the students, and other people of color for 7% of the students.

### Survey Questionnaire Results

*Castenell Achievement Motivations Scale (CAMS)*

The overall mean response for the CAMS for the 2001-2002 student sample was 2.52 (SD = .41) indicating that students have a moderate level of what can be referred to as achievement motivation. The range of the mean response for the overall scale was from 1.11 (below the midpoint of the scale) to 3.67 (approaching the ceiling). The range of the mean response for the overall scale was from 1.67 (below the midpoint of the scale) to 3.78. The mean level for social approval was 2.21 (SD = .55) while academic investment had a mean level of 3.69 (SD = .53).

Table 98 lists the items and the percentage of the sample that believed each item to be "quite" or "very" important.

Table 98. *Percentage of students endorsing aspects of achievement motivation for the 2001-2002 student sample.*

Statement	Percentage saying "quite" or "very" important
Importance of being a good student (AI)	92.6
Importance of going to college (AI)	95.1
Importance of parents being proud of you (SA)	72.7
Importance of getting job to help family *	41
Importance of your teachers liking you (SA)	35.2
Importance of being good at sports (SA)	33.1

Importance of being pretty or handsome (SA)	28.1
Importance of being popular (SA)	28.1
Importance of working hard at home *	25.5

SA = Social approval item  
factor

AI = Academic investment item \* = Did not load in either

For the 2001-2002 sample of SAAS students, examining the items of the CAMS illustrates that the most important components of achievement motivation are “being a good student” and “going to college” with over 90% or more of the sample reporting that these goals were “quite” or “very” important. “Importance of being popular” and “pretty or handsome” were the goals described least frequently as “quite” or “very” important.

#### *Hare General and Area-Specific Self-Esteem Scale (HARE)*

The mean response for the thirty items comprising the HARE was 3.28 (SD = .28) indicating that the 2001-2002 student sample had a moderately high level of self-esteem. The range of the mean response for the overall scale was from 2.23 to 3.97. Table 99 lists items from each of the subscales – peer, school, and home – and the percentage of the sample that endorsed the item with an “agree” or “strongly agree” response.

Table 99. *Percentage of students endorsing aspects of general and area-specific self-esteem in the 2001-2002 student sample.*

Statement	Percentage stating “agree” or “strongly agree”
Parents are proud of the person I am	99.2
Parents feel that I can be depended upon	97.5
I have as many friends as others my age	94.2
I'm as good as most at things people my age do	87.6
I'm an important person in my classes	84.4
Most of my teachers don't understand me	24.6

For the 2001-2002 sample of SAAS students, the mean levels for peer, school, and home esteem are listed in Table 100.

Table 100. *Mean levels for subscales of the HARE for the 2001-2002 SAAS student sample*

	Mean (SD)
Home Esteem	3.53 (.33)
Peer Esteem	3.22 (.40)

School Esteem	3.10 (.43)
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As was the case in previous years, home esteem was the highest level of esteem for the students sampled during the 2001-2002 year, while school esteem was the lowest.

*Psychological Sense of School Membership (PSSM)*

The mean response for the eighteen items comprising the PSSM was 3.83 (SD = .67) indicating that students in the 2001-2002 sample had a moderately high level of sense of school membership. The range of the mean response for the overall scale was from 1.11 (below the midpoint of the scale) to 5.00 (upper limit of the scale). Table 101 lists select items from the PSSM and the percentage of the sample that endorsed the item with a “mostly” or “always” true response.

Table 101. *Percentage of students endorsing aspects of PSSM in the 2001-2002 student sample.*

Statement	Percentage stating “mostly” or “always true”
People here know I can do good work	80.3
Students like me the way I am	73.8
Most teachers are interested in me	66.6
I'm included in a lot of activities at school	58.7
I feel proud of belonging to my school	52.4
I feel like a real part of my school	48.4

For this sample of SAAS students, PSSM is expressed at a moderately high level. There is variation in the experience of school membership exemplified by the wide range of the mean PSSM scores and the level at which students endorsed certain items. For example, less than half reported feeling like a real part of their school while approximately 80% reported that people at their school knew they did good work.

*Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-teen version (MIBI-t)*

The mean levels for centrality, public regard, private regard, and the ideology subscales of the MIBI-t for the 2001-2002 sample of students are listed in Table 102.

Table 102. *Mean levels for subscales of the MIBI-t for the 2001-2002 SAAS student sample.*

Subscale	Mean (SD)	Range
Private Regard	4.61 (.43)	2.83-5.00
Centrality	3.48 (.81)	1.40-5.00
Oppressed Minority	3.83 (.64)	2.33-5.00
Humanist	3.69 (.76)	1.20-5.00

Nationalist	3.20 (.79)	1.20-5.00
Public Regard	3.09 (.80)	1.20-4.80
Assimilationist	2.97 (.65)	1.00-4.40

As was the case in the previous years of data collection for students, private regard was the aspect of racial identity that had the highest mean for the 2001-2002 sample of SAAS students. The mean level for private regard was again quite high, approaching the highest possible level which was a 5.0 with a restricted range such that no student has a mean score below 2.83. Public regard had the lowest mean; however, the mean level was basically at the mid-point of the scale which indicates that, on average, students were neutral about their evaluation of how non-Black people viewed the Black community. Centrality was somewhat above the mid-point of the scale indicating that being Black was somewhat important for SAAS students in 2001-2002.

In terms of the ideology subscales, the oppressed minority scale had the highest mean level. The lowest score on this scale was 2.33 and ranged through 5.00 which was the ceiling of the response scale. The assimilationist scale had the lowest mean level though it was approximately at the midpoint of the response scale indicating a moderate level of endorsement by students.

#### *Neighborhood Sense of Community Scale (NSOC)*

The NSOC is a 15-item measure using a 5-point Likert scale (from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”) that aims to determine the sense of community an individual feels within their neighborhoods. The mean level of NSOC for the sample was 3.60 (SD = .53) which is above the mid-point of the scale and indicates students had a moderately high sense of community in their neighborhoods. The range for the mean level of the NSOC was between 2.13 and 4.18. Table 103 presents the mean NSOC score for students in the 2001-2002 sample by their neighborhood racial composition.

Table 103. *NSOC by neighborhood racial composition for the 2001-2002 student sample.*

<b>Neighborhood racial composition</b>	<b>Mean (SD)</b>
0-20% Black	3.65 (.61)
21-40% Black	3.69 (.56)
41-60% Black	3.49 (.44)
61-80% Black	3.51 (.42)
81-100% Black	3.44 (.56)

NSOC was lowest in the 2001-2002 student sample for students in neighborhoods that were 81-100% Black (with 41-60% and 61-80% Black neighborhoods at similar levels). Mean levels of NSOC were highest for students in neighborhoods 21-40% Black with levels slightly lower for students in neighborhoods that were 0-20% Black.

#### *Teenage Experience of Racial Socialization (TERS)*

The mean score for the TERS for the 2001-2002 student sample was 2.22 (SD = .32) with a range from 1.30 to 2.85. The TERS has several subscales; the mean levels for each are presented in Table 104.

Table 104. *Mean levels of TERS subscales for the 2001-2002 student sample.*

<b>TERS Subscale</b>	<b>Mean score (SD)</b>
Cultural Pride Reinforcement	2.61 (.29)
Cultural Legacy Appreciation	2.45 (.42)
Coping with Antagonism	2.18 (.48)
Alertness to Discrimination	2.13 (.50)
Cultural Socialization Experience	1.93 (.29)
Mainstream Socialization	1.57 (.37)

For this sample of youth, racial socialization messages were reported as given most frequently in the area of Cultural Pride Reinforcement and Cultural Legacy Appreciation. Students reported hearing Mainstream Socialization messages least often.

#### *The State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory (STAXI)*

Mean levels for the components of the STAXI for the 2001-2002 student sample are presented in Table 105.

Table 105. *Mean levels of STAXI subscales for the 2001-2002 student sample.*

<b>STAXI Subscale</b>	<b>Mean score (SD)</b>
Anger Control	2.87 (.65)
Anger Out	2.08 (.46)
Anger Suppression	1.90 (.50)

For the 2001-2002 sample of SAAS students, youth reported higher levels of anger control and lower levels of anger suppression indicating that they are more inclined to control their anger than to turn their anger toward themselves or others.

#### *Multiscale Depression Inventory (MDI)*

The complete MDI, which consists of 47 items, was administered during the 2001-2002 year. On average, students' MDI level was a 10.49 (out of a possible 47; SD = 6.48) and ranged from a low of 1 to a high of 34. The mean level indicates a relatively low level of overall distress for SAAS students during the 2001-2002 year. The MDI is composed of a number of subscales (e.g., Low Energy, Social Introversion, etc.). The Guilt subscale had the highest mean level for the sample while the Sad Mood scale had the lowest mean level.

#### *School Climate (SC)*

The mean response for SC was 2.99 (SD = .45) indicating that students in the 2001-2002 sample evaluated their school climate in a generally positive way. The range of the mean response for the overall scale was from 1.89 to 4.00 (the

upper limit for the response scale). Table 106 details the mean levels for the SC subscales.

Table 106. *Mean levels for SC subscales for the 2001-2002 student sample.*

<b>Subscale</b>	<b>Mean (SD)</b>
Learning Satisfaction	3.18 (.43)
Educational Quality	3.06 (.43)
Teacher Support	2.95 (.50)
School Fit	2.77 (.64)

For SAAS students in 2001-2002, Learning Satisfaction was the most positively evaluated aspect of school climate while School Fit had the lowest mean level (though still moderate).

#### *Perceived Racism Scale-Adolescent (PRS-A)*

The mean response for the items comprising each of the four domains is listed in Table 107. For each domain, the average number of events is listed for the past year and over the lifetime. Both the obtained and possible range of responses are included in the table as well.

Table 107. *Mean number of events for each PRS-A domain for the 2001-2002 student sample.*

	<b>Mean number of events- Past Year (SD)</b>	<b>Obtained Range (Possible Range)</b>	<b>Mean number of events-Lifetime (SD)</b>	<b>Obtained Range (Possible Range)</b>
<b>Academic</b>	10.44 (5.99)	0-17 (0-17)	10.82 (5.66)	0-17 (0-17)
<b>Public</b>	7.00(4.00)	0-12 (0-12)	7.33 (3.79)	0-12 (0-12)
<b>Racist Statements</b>	4.48 (2.66)	0-7 (0-7)	4.82 (2.44)	0-7 (0-7)
<b>On the Job<sup>24</sup></b>	3.54 (3.33)	0-8 (0-8)	3.90 (3.32)	0-8 (0-8)

Students reported the most racism-related events in the academic domain and the least events on the job both over the past year and over their lifetime.

#### *Emotional responses to racism*

As noted above, the PRS-A also explores students' emotional and coping responses to racism. In terms of emotional responses, students were asked to use a 5-point Likert scale (1 = "not at all" to 5 = "extremely") to respond to ten different emotions they might feel after encountering racism across the four

<sup>24</sup> There were a total of 48 students who completed the "on the job" section. All other domains include responses from the total sample.

domains of interest. The mean emotional response for each domain is listed in Table 108.

Table 108. *Mean emotional response to racism for each PRS-A domain for the 2001-2002 student sample.*

<b>Domain</b>	<b>Overall Mean (SD)</b>
Racist Statements	2.58 (.69)
Public	2.56 (.68)
Academic	2.50 (.72)
On the job	2.40 (.79)

Students reported the most intense emotional response to hearing racist statements and the least emotional responses to racism on the job. For each domain, students reported feeling “angry” and “strengthened” most often in response to racism they encountered. Students reported feeling “self-hatred” and “ashamed” least often.

#### *Coping responses to racism*

In regard to coping responses, students were asked to review a list of ten coping responses and indicate with a check whether they used that response when they encountered racism in each of the four domains of interest. Students could also write in a coping response of their choice. The mean number of coping responses reported by students across domains is reported in Table 109.

Table 109. *Mean number of coping responses by the 2001-2002 student sample.*

<b>Domain</b>	<b>Overall Mean (SD)</b>	<b>Range</b>
Academic	2.43 (1.36)	0-7
Racist Statements	2.31 (1.26)	0-7
Public	2.08 (1.03)	0-5
On the job	1.65 (1.11)	0-4

Students used the least amount of coping responses on the job and the most in the academic domain. The most frequently chosen coping responses for each domain are listed in Table 110.

Table 110. *Frequency of coping responses to racism for each PRS-A domain for the 2001-2002 student sample.*

<b>Domain</b>	<b>Response</b>	<b>Percentage of students endorsing response</b>
Academic	Speaking Up	76.9
	Proving Them Wrong	57.9
	Trying to Change Things	37.2
Public	Ignoring It	48.8
	Speaking Up	40.5
	Proving Them Wrong	36.4
On the job	Speaking Up	57.1
	Proving Them Wrong	40.8



	Trying to Change Things	22.4
Racist Statements	Speaking Up	68.9
	Proving Them Wrong	58.2
	Trying to Change Things	35.2

#### Bivariate relationships between variables for 2001-2002 SAAS students<sup>25</sup>

Some of the more important relationships between study variables for students during the 2001-2002 year of data collection are as follows. As students':

- **Grade** level rose, their reports of past year racism via hearing statements (.19), lifetime racism in school (.21) and via hearing statements (.27) *increased* while their reports of psychological sense of school membership (-.22), school climate (-.36), public regard (-.37), and private regard (-.18) *decreased*.
- **School esteem** rose, their level of psychological sense of school membership (.58), school climate (.48), public regard (.21), ideology-oppressed minority (.22), and anger control (.24) *increased* while their reports of anger out (-.18), past year racism in school (-.27) and via hearing statements (-.21), lifetime racism in school (-.26) and via hearing statements (-.21), and emotional distress (-.50) *decreased*.
- **Psychological sense of school membership** rose, reports of school esteem (.58), school climate (.80), public regard (.41), ideology-oppressed minority (.30), ideology-humanist (.46), and anger control (.33) *increased* while grade level (-.22), centrality (-.41), ideology-nationalist (-.38), anger suppression (-.24), anger out (-.35), past year racism in school (-.62) and via hearing statements (-.48), lifetime racism in school (-.63) and via hearing statements (-.49), emotional response to racism in school (-.22) and via hearing statements (-.19), and emotional distress (-.55) *decreased*.
- **Emotional distress** rose, reports of anger suppression (.46), anger out (.37), past year racism in school (.32), lifetime racism in school (.34), and emotional responses to racism in school (.36), in public (.25), on the job (.36) and via hearing statements (.31) *increased* while school esteem (-.50), PSSM (-.55), school climate (-.36), private regard (-.19), public regard (-.25), and anger control (-.31) *decreased*.
- **Past year racism in school** rose, reports of emotional distress (.32), centrality (.39), ideology-nationalism (.32), anger out (.19), past year racism on the job (.42), and via hearing statements (.75), lifetime racism on the job (.40), and via hearing statements (.75), and emotional response to hearing racist statements (.21) *increased* while school esteem (-.27), PSSM (-.62), school climate (-.50), public regard (-.38), ideology-oppressed minority (-.31), and ideology-humanist (-.38) *decreased*.
- **Lifetime racism in school** rose, grade level (.27), reports of emotional distress (.34), centrality (.36), ideology-nationalist (.30), racial socialization (.34), past year racism on the job (.45), and via hearing statements (.67),

<sup>25</sup> All correlations reported are significant at the .05 level.

lifetime racism on the job (.46), and via hearing statements (.75), and emotional responses to hearing racist statement (.24) *increased* while school esteem (-.26), PSSM (-.63), school climate (-.52), public regard (-.38), ideology-oppressed minority (-.27), and ideology-humanist (-.35) *decreased*.

#### Summary of important bivariate relationships for 2001-2002 SAAS students

For the 2001-2002 student sample there was a negative relationship between years attended school and overall racial socialization. Those students who had been at their respective schools longer reported receiving fewer messages about race from their families than did students who had been at their schools for shorter periods of time.

Grade level was significantly related to several variables of interest. As grade level rises students report higher levels of: past year racism in the hearing racist statements domain and lifetime racism in school and hearing racist statements and lower levels of: PSSM, school climate, and public and private regard. Beginning with racial identity we see that as students' grade level rose, their racial centrality increased while their public and private regard decreased. Put another way, older students believed race was more important to their identity, that non-Blacks viewed Blacks more negatively, and themselves viewed Blacks more negatively than younger students. In a prior section of this report, the idea that older students are grappling with new contexts and ways of engaging in these contexts was posited as reasons for why being Black would be more important to them while their perception of how Black people are viewed becomes more negative. This reasoning is highlighted again in this section as a possible explanation for the relationship between aspects of racial identity and grade level.

Turning to racism's relationship with grade level, it was mainly in the area of hearing racist statements that older students reported more racism than younger students. As the world of adolescents expands it is likely that they will explore new contexts and engage in new interactions where they hear things said that they did not hear in other settings. It also makes sense that there was a positive relationship between grade and lifetime school racism. Older students have had more opportunity to encounter racism in school than their younger counterparts. This line of reasoning can apply to why PSSM and school climate were negatively related to grade. Again, older students may have experienced more events or situations in their schools over time that made them feel less connected to the school or led them to evaluate the school climate less positively.

In terms of school context variables, there were numerous relationships between school esteem, psychological sense of school membership, and the other study variables. As was the case in the 2000-2001 student sample, both school esteem and PSSM were positively correlated (quite strongly) with school climate. The more students felt better about themselves at school and connected to the school community, the more positively they evaluated the climate of their school. School esteem and PSSM were also positively both related to anger control and the public regard, ideology-oppressed minority, and ideology-

humanist (school esteem only) aspects of racial identity. Students who reported high school esteem and PSSM were more apt to control their anger than youth lower in school esteem and PSSM. These students were also more likely to believe non-Blacks view Black people positively and to endorse a sense of camaraderie with people from other minority groups and (in the case of students with high PSSM only) the notion of shared humanity across groups.

For the 2001-2002 sample of youth, a negative relationship existed between school esteem and PSSM and students' socioemotional adjustment, racism experiences and responses, and racial identity. Specifically, as students' school esteem rose, anger out, emotional distress, and past year and lifetime school racism and hearing racist statements decreased. Additionally, as students' reports of PSSM increased, their level of emotional distress, anger suppression and expression, racial centrality and ideology-nationalist, and past year and lifetime experiences with racism in school and via hearing racist statements (along with their emotional responses) decreased.

Taken together these relationships indicate that when students have a positive sense of self in school and believe they are connected to their school community they are less emotionally distressed, express their anger in healthier ways, and report less racism. Additionally these students tend to believe being Black is less important to their self-concept and are less likely to emphasize an ideology focused on the particularities of the Black experience while endorsing more negative evaluations of the Black community and ideologies that focus on common humanity and struggle across minority groups. As Black students who are racial minorities in their school settings, it may be that students have picked up the notion that emphasizing race (or more specifically Blackness) in their schools adds another layer of visibility (or invisibility) in the school context that threatens their sense of self in and connection to school. Those students who de-emphasize race may find that it is easier to feel a part of their school community and get the support from peers and teachers that enhance esteem. Alternative explanations for this relationship undoubtedly exist as well.

The experience of racism for students has been addressed in earlier sections of this summary. Students' encounters with racism in school will be the focus at this juncture. The more students report racism in schools (lifetime), the lower their reports of the school context variables and the public regard, ideology-oppressed minority, and ideology-humanist aspects of racial identity. It would seem to follow that students would feel less at home in the school setting, view the school climate more negatively, have a lower sense of self in school, believe that non-Blacks see Black people less positively, and endorse less of a shared oppression and common humanity perspective when they perceive they are encountering racism in their schools that is due to their being members of the Black community.

Additionally, the more racism students reported encountering in school, the more students reported emotional distress, overall racial socialization messages received from family, and higher levels of the racial centrality and ideology-nationalist aspects of racial identity. Aside from emotional distress, the variables positively related to lifetime school racism are all race-related

constructs. Having an awareness of race-related dynamics will likely influence an individual's perception of how much, if any, racism they encounter in contexts such as the school. Students who believed being Black was an important part of their identity or endorsed a perspective where the unique aspects of being Black were emphasized might be more inclined to perceive racism in their schools. Conversely, encountering racism in school may lead students to contemplate what role being Black plays in their life and what that means in terms of how they should act which would lead to an increase in centrality and higher levels of an ideology-nationalist point of view.

## Parent

A total of 59 parents completed survey questionnaires in the 2001-2002 year. Parents from all four participating SAAS schools completed surveys.

### *Demographic Information*

#### Personal and family data

Thirteen (22%) parents completing surveys in 2000-2001 were male while 46 (78%) were female. The average age was 46.3 years with a range of 29 to 60. Seventy-five percent of the respondents reported being married. Fourteen percent were single/never married and 12% were separated or divorced. Parents reported having from 1 (44%) to 4 (5%) children. The modal response was 1 child (44% of the sample).

#### Educational Background

Fifteen percent of mothers and 16% of fathers reported attending an independent school themselves. Thirty-four percent of parents said that someone in their family had attended an independent school at one time or another. Parents indicated their highest level of educational achievement and provided information as to what institutions of secondary and higher education they attended, if applicable. Table 111 lists the educational attainment of parents.

Table 111. *Highest Level of Education for the 2001-2002 parent sample.*

<b>Highest Educational Level</b>	<b>Percentage of mothers</b>	<b>Percentage of fathers</b>
Junior high school or less	0	1.9
High school diploma	0	7.4
Vocational school	1.7	1.9
Some college	12.1	13.0
College degree	27.6	22.2
Some graduate school	0	9.3
Master's degree	34.5	16.7
Doctoral degree/JD/MD	12.1	13.0

Over half of the mothers and fathers have received at least a college degree with one-third or more of both mothers and fathers having post-graduate degrees as well. In terms of the colleges that parents attended, 17% of mothers and 18% of fathers attended historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs).

Ten percent of mothers and 15% of fathers attended elite predominantly White institutions such as the University of Pennsylvania or Williams College. Additional information gathered on the educational background of the respondent's parents showed that 29% of SAAS parents' mothers and 23% of fathers completed at least a college education.

#### Occupation and income information

##### *Occupation*

Table 112 lists the distribution of SAAS mothers and fathers across the occupational spectrum.

Table 112. *Occupations of the 2001-2002 SAAS parent sample.*

<b>Occupational Category</b>	<b>Percentage of mothers</b>	<b>Percentage of fathers</b>
Executive, Manager, or Professional	70.7	60.0
Technical, Sales, or Administrative support	10.3	10.0
Service	8.6	0
Crafts or Repairs	0	2.5
Machine operator or Laborer	0	10.0
Retired, Student, or Armed Forces	0	2.5
Other	10.3	15.0

The majority of parents in the 2001-2002 year held occupations that could be described as being in the "Executive, Manager, or Professional" realm. Occupations that involved crafts or repairs or included being retired, a student or in the Armed Forces were held least frequently by parents.

##### *Income*

SAAS parents were asked to indicate which category their gross household income could be placed. Categories ranged from below \$20,000 to above \$200,000. Thirty percent of parents for the 2001-2002 year reported income below \$70,000. Fifty-one percent of the parents indicated that their gross family income was above \$100,000. The median income level (i.e., half the families had incomes above and below this level) was \$135,000-\$170,000.

#### Racial identification

The majority of SAAS parents during the 2001-2002 year (50; 86%) identified as Black or African American. Six parents, or approximately 10% of the sample, identified as White. Two parents identified as biracial or "other" and one parent did not specify their race. The race of the parent who was not completing the survey was Black 85% of the time with 6% being White and 9% described as "other."

### Racial composition of neighborhood

Parents were asked to indicate the racial composition of the neighborhood in which they currently resided as well as the composition of the neighborhood they spent the most time in during their youth.

In terms of their current neighborhood, the majority of parents, approximately 29% of the sample, reported living in neighborhoods that were less than 20% Black. For childhood neighborhoods the majority of parents, 35%, reported living in neighborhoods that were 81-100% Black. Table 113 details parents' reports of the racial composition of their current and childhood neighborhoods.

Table 113. *Racial composition of current and childhood neighborhood for the 2001-2002 parent sample.*

<b>Racial composition of neighborhood</b>	<b>Current</b>	<b>Childhood</b>
0-20% Black	29.3%	22.4%
21-40% Black	20.7%	10.3%
41-60% Black	20.7%	17.2%
61-80% Black	10.3%	15.5%
81-100% Black	19.0%	34.5%

### *School Support*

Eighty-five percent of the sample said they had or would contribute money to the schools their children attended.

## **Survey Questionnaire Results**

### *Parent Involvement in Education Scale (PIES)*

The mean level for the PIES for the 2001-2002 parent sample was 3.38 (SD = .25) indicating that parents were quite involved in their children's education. The range for the mean PIES level was between 2.63 and 3.81 indicating that parents uniformly described themselves as involved and engaged in their child's education. Table 114 provides examples of items from the PIES that illustrate the nature of the 2001-2002 SAAS parent sample's involvement in their children's education.

Table 114. *Percentage of parents endorsing aspects of parent involvement for the 2001-2002 parent sample.*

<b>Item</b>	<b>Percentage who "agree a lot"</b>
I spend time in my child's classroom	10.5
I attend parent meetings at my child's school	80.7
I talk with my child about educational opportunities and barriers	82.8
Contact with my child's school is	63.8

typically pleasant	
I volunteer at my child's school	29.3
I initiate communication with my child's teachers through notes, phone calls, visits to school	55.2

#### *Parent Experience of Racial Socialization (PERS)*

The mean score for the PERS for the 2001-2002 SAAS parent sample was 1.91 (SD = .38) with a range from 1.05 to 3.08. The PERS has several subscales, the mean levels for each are presented in Table 115.

Table 115. Mean levels of PERS subscales for the 2001-2002 parent sample.

<b>PERS Subscale</b>	<b>Mean score (SD)</b>
Cultural Pride Reinforcement	2.39 (.36)
Cultural Legacy Appreciation	2.26 (.93)
Coping with Antagonism	1.81 (.48)
Alertness to Discrimination	1.76 (.55)
Cultural Socialization Experience	1.67 (.36)
Mainstream Socialization	1.19 (.23)

This sample of parents reported giving racial socialization messages most frequently in the area of Cultural Pride Reinforcement and Cultural Legacy Appreciation. Parents reported giving Mainstream Socialization messages least often.

#### *School Climate (SC)*

The mean response for SC for parents in the 2001-2002 sample was 3.08 (SD = .42) indicating that parents evaluated their children's school climate in a generally positive way. The range of the mean response for the overall scale was from 2.00 to 3.84 (approaching the upper limit for the scale). Table 116 details the mean levels for the SC subscales.

Table 116. Mean levels for SC subscales for the 2001-2002 parent sample.

<b>Subscale</b>	<b>Mean (SD)</b>
Learning Satisfaction	3.20 (.41)
School Fit	3.14 (.51)
Educational Quality	3.10 (.41)
Teacher Support	2.99 (.47)

For SAAS parents in 2001-2002, Learning Satisfaction was the most positively evaluated aspect of school climate (with School Fit evaluated almost as positively). Teacher Support had the lowest mean level (though it was still at a moderate level).

#### *Neighborhood Social Capital Scale (NSC)*

The mean level of NSC for the 2001-2002 parent sample was 3.57 (SD = .55) which is somewhat above the mid-point of the scale and indicates a moderate belief on the part of parents that their neighborhoods serve as a resource for their families. The range for the mean level was between 2.13 and 4.87.

#### *Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity*

The long form of the MIBI is a 56-item measure that uses a 7-point Likert scale (1 = “Strongly disagree” to 7 = “Strongly agree”) to assess the multiple dimensions of racial identity for Black people. There are three broad domains of the MIBI – centrality (how important race is to people’s conception of themselves), regard which includes public regard (beliefs about how others evaluate Black people as a group) and private regard (personal evaluation of Black people), and ideology (how individuals think members of the racial group should act).

The ideology component of the MIBI is comprised of four subscales: assimilationist (underscores the American identity of Black people), humanist (centers on people’s shared humanity), nationalist (focuses on the specifics of the Black experience), and oppressed minority (emphasizes the similarities among oppressed groups). The mean levels for centrality, public regard, private regard, and the ideology subscales are listed in Table 117.

Table 117. *Mean levels for subscales of the MIBI for the 2001-2002 SAAS parent sample.*

<b>Subscale</b>	<b>Mean (SD)</b>	<b>Range</b>
Private Regard	6.58 (.59)	3.83-7.00
Humanist	5.11 (.63)	3.56-6.56
Assimilationist	5.09 (.70)	3.56-6.44
Centrality	4.86 (.76)	2.38-6.63
Oppressed Minority	4.52 (.78)	2.44-6.56
Nationalist	4.00 (.78)	2.00-6.11
Public Regard	3.75 (1.02)	1.67-6.17

Private regard was the aspect of racial identity that had the highest mean for the parents; in fact, it approached the highest possible level which was a 7.0. Public regard had the lowest mean; however, the mean level was somewhat below the mid-point of the scale which indicates that, on average, parents were generally neutral about their evaluation of how non-Black people viewed the Black community. The mean level of centrality for parents was above the mid-point of the scale indicating that being Black was somewhat important for SAAS parents.

In terms of ideology, Nationalism had the lowest mean level. However, at 4.00 it was exactly at the midpoint of the scale indicating parents held a neutral attitude about how Black people should act as a racial group. The Humanist scale (followed closely by the Assimilationist scale) had the highest mean level for SAAS parents in the 2001-2002 year. It is important to note that since the MIBI is a multidimensional scale, different ideologies do not contradict one



another but complement one another in illustrating how complex racial identity is for individuals. That is, someone can have a higher score on a Nationalist scale while scoring high on the Oppressed Minority scale as well. The benefit of a multidimensional model of racial identity is that it enables us to recognize the complexity that exists among a group of people.

#### *Perceived Racism Scale (PRS)*

The mean response for the items comprising each of the four domains of the PRS for the 2001-2002 parent sample is listed in Table 118. For each domain, the average number of events encountered over the past year and lifetime is listed.

Table 118. *Mean number of events for each PRS domain for the 2001-2002 parent sample.*

	<b>Mean number of events-Past Year (SD)</b>	<b>Obtained Range (Possible Range)</b>	<b>Mean number of events-Lifetime (SD)</b>	<b>Obtained Range (Possible Range)</b>
<b>Public</b>	7.58 (5.25)	0-16 (0-16)	9.57 (4.41)	0-16 (0-16)
<b>On the Job</b>	6.11 (3.80)	0-10 (0-10)	7.57 (3.14)	0-10 (0-10)
<b>Racist Statements</b>	4.66 (2.76)	0-7 (0-7)	6.11 (1.57)	0-7 (0-7)
<b>Academic</b>	2.58 (3.78)	0-10 (0-10)	6.36 (3.62)	0-10 (0-10)

Parents reported the most racism-related events in the public domain and the least amount of events in the academic domain over the past year. They reported the most events in the public domain and the least events in the hearing racist statements domain over their lifetime.

#### *Emotional responses to racism*

As noted above, the PRS also explores individuals' emotional and coping responses to racism. In terms of emotional responses, respondents were asked to use a 5-point Likert scale (1 = "not at all" to 5 = "extremely") to respond to eight different emotions they might feel after encountering racism across the four domains of interest. The mean emotional response for each domain is listed in Table 119.

Table 119. *Mean emotional response to racism for PRS domains for the 2001-2002 parent sample.*

<b>Domain</b>	<b>Overall Mean (SD)</b>
On the job	2.71 (.80)
Academic	2.64 (.74)

Public	2.61 (.80)
Racist Statements	2.56 (.77)

Emotional response to racism was most intense in the on the job domain and relatively consistent across the remaining domains. Across the four domains, parents reported feeling “angry” and “frustrated” most often in response to racism they encountered. Parents reported feeling “hopeless” and “ashamed” least often.

*Coping responses to racism*

In regard to coping responses, respondents were asked to review a list of ten coping responses and indicate with a check whether they used that response when they encountered racism in each of the four domains of interest. They could also write in a coping response of their choice. The mean number of coping responses reported by SAAS parents across domains is reported in Table 120.

Table 120. *Mean number of coping responses by the 2001-2002 parent sample.*

Domain	Overall Mean (SD)	Range
On the job	2.13 (1.13)	0-4
Academic	1.96 (1.19)	0-5
Public	1.87 (.99)	0-4
Racist Statements	1.79 (1.01)	0-4

Parents reported using the most coping responses in the on the job domain. The most frequently chosen coping responses for each domain are listed in Table 121.

Table 121. *Frequency of coping responses to racism by domain for the 2001-2002 parent sample.*

Domain	Response	Percentage of parents endorsing response
Academic	Speaking Up	71.7
	Trying to Change Things	43.4
	Working Harder to Prove Them Wrong	35.8
Public	Speaking Up	66.6
	Trying to Change Things	34.0
	Ignoring It	28.3
On the job	Speaking Up	84.9
	Trying to Change Things	45.3
	Working Harder to Prove Them Wrong	30.2
	Praying	30.2
Racist Statements	Speaking Up	81.1
	Ignoring It	26.4
	Trying to Change Things	20.8

### Social Skills Rating Scale (SSRS)

Table 122 presents the 2001-2002 parent sample's standardized<sup>26</sup> ratings of their children and adolescents on the broad SSRS categories.

Table 122. *Percentile rating of SSRS categories for the 2001-2002 parent sample.*

SSRS Domains	Mean (SD) for Children	Mean (SD) for Adolescents
Social Skills	102.00 (15.11)	113.45 (14.26)
Problem Behavior	92.24 (11.93)	89.59 (8.74)

Overall, SAAS parents during the 2001-2002 year evaluated both their children and adolescents as above average on Social Skills (more so for adolescents) and below average on Problem Behavior.

### Bivariate relationships between variables for 2001-2002 SAAS parents<sup>27</sup>

Some of the more important relationships between study variables for parents during the 2001-2002 year of data collection are as follows. As parents':

- **Age** level rose, reports of racial socialization-cultural pride reinforcement (.31) *increased*.
- **Education level (for mothers)** rose, reports of level of centrality (.32) and ideology-oppressed minority (.37) *increased*.
- **Education level (for father)** rose, level of ideology-assimilationist (-.48) *decreased*.
- **Income level** rose, level of centrality (.32), reports of lifetime racism on the job (.30), and emotional response to racism in academic settings (.36) and via hearing racist statements (.32) *increased*.
- **Evaluation of the school climate** rose, reports of racial socialization-mainstream socialization (.54) and public regard (.46) *increased* while their level of ideology-nationalist (-.45) *decreased*.
- **Involvement in education** rose, reported racism across domains-lifetime (.39) *increased*.
- **Racial socialization** rose, level of ideology-oppressed minority (.36) and number of coping response to racism in public (.32) *increased*.
- **Reports of racism across domains-past year** rose, reports of racial socialization-alertness to discrimination (.35), emotional response to racism on the job (.47), in academic settings (.36), and to hearing racist statements (.42) *increased*.
- **Reports of racism across domains-lifetime** rose, level of involvement in their child's education (.39) *increased*.

<sup>26</sup> By standardized ratings, we are referring to converted values such that the mean level is 100 with a standard deviation of 15 that can be compared to the scores of a larger sample of youth from across the country.

<sup>27</sup> All correlations reported are significant at the .05 level.

### Summary of important bivariate relationships for 2001-2002 SAAS parents

Demographic variables, such as age, education level, and income, were related to relatively few of the major study variables. Age of parent was only related (negatively) to racial socialization-cultural pride reinforcement such that the older parents were the less racial socialization messages centered on cultural pride reinforcement they gave to their children. Why this would be the case is unclear.

Maternal and paternal educational attainment were related to various dimensions of racial identity. Mothers with more education had higher levels of the racial centrality and ideology-oppressed minority aspects of racial identity. Fathers with more education had lower levels of the ideology-assimilationist aspect of racial identity. It is interesting to note that as parental educational attainment rose, the aspect of parents' racial identity that decreases was the one that emphasized assimilation into the mainstream while other aspects, such as the importance of being Black or connecting with other oppressed minority groups, increased.

As for family income, it was positively related to lifetime parental reports of racism on the job, emotional responses to racism in academic settings and via hearing racist statements, and racial centrality such that parents from families with higher income reported more lifetime racism on the job than did parents from families with lower income, had higher levels of negative emotional responses when they encountered racism in academic settings or when they heard racist statements, and believed being Black was more central to their identities. That centrality and reports of racism on the job rose as family income rose seems to contradict some of the prevailing thinking that middle or upper class Black families do not think race is important and are not affected by racism in the same ways as are lower income Blacks.

In terms of school context variables, parents who were more involved with their children's education reported higher levels of overall lifetime racism. This finding is intriguing because one would almost expect parents who have experienced more racism to be reticent to interact in settings where the potential to encounter racism might be increased. A possible explanation for the relationship is that parents who have experienced more racism make a concerted effort to be involved in their children's school to ensure that their children are not treated inequitably.

The other school context variable – parental evaluation of the school climate – was positively related to racial socialization-mainstream socialization and the public regard aspect of racial identity and negatively related to the ideology-nationalist aspect of racial identity. As parents' evaluation of the school climate became more positive, the more racial socialization messages about mainstream society parents gave to their children and the more parents believed non-Blacks view the Black community positively. Conversely, the more negative parents' evaluation of the school climate, the more parents endorsed the aspect of racial identity that emphasizes the unique experiences of being Black.

Overall racial socialization was positively related to the ideology-oppressed minority aspect of racial identity and the number of coping responses to racism in public for the 2001-2002 sample of SAAS parents. Parents who gave more messages about race-related issues to their children reported using a larger number of coping responses to public racism and higher levels of the aspect of racial identity that emphasizes commonality across minority groups. While it is interesting that the ideology-nationalist aspect of racial identity was not also significantly related to racial socialization, it makes sense that parents who discuss race-related issues with their children more often would have more coping responses ready when they encounter racism in public. That this relationship does not exist in other domains (such as on the job or when hearing racist statements) is somewhat puzzling.

In an earlier paragraph in this section, it was detailed that as lifetime reports of racism across domain rose, that parents' involvement in their child's education also rose. There were also positive relationships between past year racism and racial socialization-alertness to discrimination and emotional responses to racism in academic settings, on the job, and when hearing racist statements. That parents who have experienced more racism in the past year would give more racial socialization messages to their children about discrimination seems quite logical. It also makes sense that parents would report more negative emotional responses to racism across multiple domains as they encounter more racism over the past year. Why there is no relationship between emotional responses in public and past year is an interesting question. Since the current summary explores bivariate relationship between variables, future multivariate statistical analysis would be an appropriate way to explore this relationship further.

### **Student-Parent links**

A total of 50 students and 46 parents completed both student and parent survey questionnaires in the 2001-2002 year. That is, there were 50 pairs of students and parents who completed students with four parents having two of their children participating in SAAS. Students and parents from all four participating SAAS schools completed surveys.

#### *Demographic Information*

##### Personal and family data

Twenty-two (44%) of the students making up the student-parent pairs in 2002 were female while 28 (56%) students were male. The average age was 14.7 years with a range of 11 to 18.

Thirty-eight (76%) of the parents making up the student-parent pairs in 2002 were female while 12 (24%) parents were male. The average age was 47.1 years with a range of 29 to 60. Seventy-six percent of the parents reported being married. Twelve percent were single/never married and approximately 12% were separated or divorced.

Racial identification

The majority of students in the 2002 student-parent pairs (39; 78%) identified as Black or African American. Ten students, or approximately 20% of the sample, identified as biracial.

The majority of parents in the 2002 student-parent pairs (43; 90%) identified as Black or African American. Three parents, or approximately 6% of the sample, identified as White.

Grade and school division of students

The students in the student-parent pairs had been attending their respective schools for 6.1 years with a range from 1 to 13 years. Students ranged from fifth through twelfth grade. Approximately 42% of the sample was middle school students with the remaining 58% upper school students.

Education and occupation of parents

In terms of educational attainment for the parents in the 2002 student-parent pairs, approximately 86% of mothers had at least a bachelor's degree and 70% of fathers had at least a bachelor's degree. Over two-thirds (68%) of mothers reported working in the executive, managerial, or professional sphere while 54% of fathers reported working in the executive, managerial, or professional arena.

Racial composition of neighborhood

The majority of students, approximately 32% of the 2002 student-parent sample, reported living in neighborhoods that were less than 20% Black. Twenty-two percent of students reported living in neighborhoods that were more than 80% Black.

Bivariate relationships between variables for the 2001-2002 SAAS student-parent pairs<sup>28</sup>

Some of the more important relationships between study variables for the student-parent pairs during the 2001-2002 year of data collection are as follows:

*School Climate*

There was no relationship between students' and parents' report of school climate at the 2002 assessment. A negative relationship was found between parent report of school climate and student racial centrality (-.36).

*Neighborhood Sense of Community*

There was no relationship between students' and parents' report of neighborhood sense of community at the 2002 assessment. However, the higher students' report of neighborhood sense of community at the 2002 assessment, the higher parents' report of public regard (.30) and the lower parents' reports of how many racism-related events encountered over the lifetime (-.31).

*Teenager and Parent Experience of Racial Socialization*

The higher students' report of racial socialization messages from parent, at the 2002 assessment, the higher reports of giving such messages by parents (.43). Additionally, the higher students' reports of racial socialization, the higher parental race centrality (.32) and the lower parent neighborhood sense of community (-.36).

<sup>28</sup> All correlations reported are significant at the .05 level.

*Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-teen and Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity*

The higher students' reports of public regard, the higher parental race centrality (.32). Furthermore, the higher students' reports of race centrality, the lower parental report of school climate (-.36) and neighborhood sense of community (-.39). Student private regard was not related to any aspect of parent racial identity or any of the other constructs reviewed in this section.

*Perceived Racism Scale-Adolescent and Perceived Racism Scale*

Students' reports of how many racism-related events they encountered over the lifetime were not related to parental report of racism-related events encountered over the lifetime or any of the other constructs reviewed in this section.

## Trends across 2000-2001 and 2001-2002 data

### Student

A total of 89 students completed survey questionnaires in both the 2000-2001 (Time 1) and 2001-2002 (Time 2) school years. Students from all four participating SAAS schools completed surveys across the two years.

#### *Demographic Information*

##### Personal and family data

Thirty-nine (44%) of the students who completed surveys in both 2001 and 2002 were male while 50 (56%) students were female. The average age of these students at Time 2 (i.e., during the 2001-2002 school year) was 15.5 years with a range of 12 to 18.

##### Grade and school division

The students who participated in SAAS across Time 1 and Time 2 had been attending their respective schools for 6.3 years with a range from 2 to 13 years. Students ranged from six through twelfth grade. Approximately 23% of the sample was middle school students with the remaining 77% upper school students. Table 123 details the percentage of students in each grade.

Table 123. *Grade distribution for the 2001 & 2002 student sample during the 2002 year*

Grade	Percentage of students
6	2.3
7	10.2
8	10.2
9	6.8
10	30.7
11	23.9
12	15.9

##### Racial identification

The majority of students (70, or 79%, in the 2001 year) identified as Black or African American. Seventeen students, or approximately 19% of the sample, identified as biracial, with two students, or another 2% of the students, identifying as Latino or "other."

##### Racial composition of neighborhood

The majority of students, approximately 27% of the sample, reported living in neighborhoods that were 81-100% Black (as assessed in the 2001-2002 year). Twenty-one percent of students reported living in neighborhoods that were less than 20% Black. Table 124 details students' reports of the racial composition of their neighborhood.

Table 124. *Racial composition of neighborhood distribution for the 2001 & 2002 student sample during the 2002 year.*

Racial composition of neighborhood	Percentage of students
------------------------------------	------------------------



0-20% Black	21
21-40% Black	16
41-60% Black	20
61-80% Black	16
81-100% Black	27

### *College aspiration and selection*

#### Who is influential in college aspirations?

Table 125 details how influential various constituents were judged to be in the college selection process for participants who provided answers to the college selection questions over the 2001 and 2002 years.

Table 125. *Influential constituents in college selection for students in 2001 & 2002.*<sup>29</sup>

<b>Group</b>	<b>Percentage saying group is influential in college choice in 2001</b>	<b>Percentage saying group is influential in college choice in 2002</b>
Parents	82	81
Friends	24	26
Siblings	11	14
Guidance Counselor	16	16
Other	19	33

## **Survey Questionnaire Results**

Paired-sample t-tests, which allow comparisons to be made between means for measurements of the same variable at different times for one person, were conducted using values from the various questionnaires students completed in both the 2001 and 2002 years.<sup>30</sup>

### *Castenell Achievement Motivations Scale (CAMS)*

The CAMS is a measure designed to assess students' motivation for achievement in different areas. The difference between the mean levels of the overall, social approval, and academic investment aspects of the CAMS during the 2001 and 2002 assessments were not statistically significant.

### *Hare General and Area-Specific Self-Esteem Scale (HARE)*

The HARE is a measure designed to assess students' levels of self-esteem in general and across specific areas (with peers, at school, at home). The mean levels of general self-esteem, peer esteem, and home esteem did not

<sup>29</sup> The percentages will add up to greater than 100% because students were allowed to check more than one group as being influential in the college selection process.

<sup>30</sup> All paired-sample t-test comparisons used a significance level of .05.

differ significantly from Time 1 to Time 2. School self-esteem was *significantly lower* in Time 2 with a mean level of 3.07 (SD = .43) as compared to a mean level of 3.14 (SD = .40) at Time 1.

#### *Psychological Sense of School Membership (PSSM)*

The PSSM is a measure that assesses students' perception that they are a part of and belong in the school community. PSSM is *significantly lower* at Time 2 with a mean level of 3.82 (SD = .67) as compared to a mean level of 3.93 (SD = .67) at Time 1.

#### *Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-teen version (MIBI-t)*

The MIBI-t is a measure that assesses multiple dimensions of racial identity for Black adolescents. Mean level comparisons across Time 1-Time 2 indicate that neither how a person defines themselves in terms of race (centrality) or how a person evaluates their racial group (both public and private regard) significantly differ. The only aspect of how individuals think members of the racial group should act (ideology) that does significantly differ from one year to the next is the nationalist (focuses on the specifics of the Black experience) subscale. It is *significantly higher* at Time 2 with a mean level of 3.22 (SD = .78) than it was at Time 1 where the mean level was 3.00 (SD = .82).

#### *Neighborhood Social Capital Scale (NSC) and Neighborhood Sense of Community (NSOC)*

Different measures were used to assess students' evaluations of their neighborhoods during the 2001 and 2002 years. Therefore, mean level comparisons cannot be made.

#### *Teenage Experience of Racial Socialization (TERS)*

The TERS asks youth how often they have heard their parents or family talk about race-related issues. For the various subscales of the TERS only Coping with Antagonism and Alertness to Discrimination show a statistically significant difference between Time 1 and Time 2. Overall racial socialization, Mainstream Socialization, Cultural Legacy Appreciation, Cultural Socialization Experience did not differ. Specifically, Coping with Antagonism and Alertness to Discrimination were *significantly higher* at Time 2 (mean levels 2.18 (SD = .48) and 2.15 (SD = .52) respectively) than at Time 1 (mean levels 2.08 (SD = .48) and 2.02 (SD = .57) respectively).

#### *The State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory (STAXI)*

The STAXI is a measure that assesses anger expression across 3 components: (1) anger out, (2) anger in, and (3) anger control. Mean levels for anger in and anger control do not significantly differ between Time 1 and Time 2. Anger out is *significantly lower* at Time 2 with a mean level of 2.07 (SD = .46) as compared to Time 1 where the mean level was 2.17 (SD = .44).

#### *Multiscale Depression Inventory (MDI)*

The MDI assesses moods, energy level, and other emotions that may be related to how students succeed in school. Since an abbreviated version of the MDI, consisting of 24 items, was administered during the 2000-2001 academic year, comparisons for the 2001 and 2002 years will be on the students' responses to those 24 items during Time 1 and Time 2. The mean MDI score was *significantly higher* at Time 2 with a mean score of 6.06 (SD = 3.69) as Time 2 compared to a mean score of 4.67 (SD = 3.19) at Time 1.

#### *School Climate (SC)*

The School Climate measure assesses student perception of the school environment. The four subscales of the SC include: learning satisfaction, teacher support, school fit, and educational quality. The overall SC score, along with three of four subscales, were *significantly lower* at Time 1 than they were at Time 2. At Time 2, the overall SC score was 2.96 (SD = .41) as compared to 3.06 (SD = .48) at Time 1. At Time 2, the mean level for School Fit was 2.75 (SD = .64) while at Time 1 it was 2.88 (SD = .66). Teacher Support was 2.91 (SD = .45) at Time 2 compared to 3.02 (SD = .54) at Time 1. Finally, at Time 2 Educational Quality was 3.03 (SD = .39) while at Time 1 it was 3.12 (SD = .47). Learning Satisfaction was the subscale did not differ significantly across years.

#### *Perceived Racism Scale-Adolescent (PRS-A)*

The PRS-A is a multidimensional measure of perceived racism for adolescents. It assesses the frequency of exposure to various types of race and racism-related stressors and the emotional and coping responses to such events in the following domains: on the job, academic, in public, and exposure to racist statements. In terms of comparing the mean number of events students encountered in 2001 versus 2002, there were no statistically significant differences across domains for the past year or lifetime. When examining total racism frequency encountered by students (without including "on the job" racism which would decrease the sample size by approximately one-half), there were no statistically significant differences in mean frequency. However, for those students who did complete the "on the job" section, 43 students for past year and 42 students for lifetime, total racism frequency-past year was *significantly higher* at Time 2 with a mean level of 39.93 (SD = 20.84) than at Time 1 where the mean level was 29.35 (SD = 19.18). A similar relationship held for total racism frequency "on the job"-lifetime where the mean level at Time 2 was *significantly higher*, 44.17 (SD = 20.50), than at Time 1 where the mean level was 34.17 (SD = 17.75).

#### *Emotional responses to racism*

As noted above, the PRS-A also explores students' emotional and coping responses to racism. In terms of emotional responses to racism the only statistically significant mean level difference between Time 1 and Time 2 was seen in the "on the job" domain where at Time 2 the mean emotional response was *significantly higher* at 2.43 (SD = .81) compared to 1.43 (SD = 1.44) at Time 1.

*Coping responses to racism*

In regard to coping responses to racism the only statistically significant mean level difference between Time 1 and Time 2 was seen in the “on the job” domain where at Time 2 the mean number of coping responses used was *significantly lower* at .86 (SD = 1.13) compared to 1.53 (SD = 1.08) at Time 1.

Table 126 details if certain variables were *significantly higher*, *significantly lower*, or *basically unchanged* for students in 2002 as compared to 2001.

Table 126. Mean level differences for some student variables across the 2001 and 2002 data.

Variable of interest	Significantly higher	Significantly lower	No significant difference
Psychological Sense of School Membership		x	
School Climate		x	
Overall achievement motivation			x
School esteem		x	
Emotional Distress	x		
Anger in			x
Anger out		x	
Anger control			x
Nationalist	x		
Racial socialization-Coping with Antagonism	x		
Racial socialization-Alertness to Discrimination	x		
Total racism frequency-past year (job included)	x		
Total racism frequency-lifetime (job included)	x		
Coping response to racism-on the job		x	

Summary of mean level differences across Time 1-Time 2 for SAAS students

When comparing mean levels for variables across Time 1 and Time 2 results fell into one of three categories: significantly higher, significantly lower, and unchanged.

*Variables significantly higher at Time 2*

At Time 2, the mean levels for emotional distress, ideology-nationalist, racial socialization-coping with antagonism and racial socialization-alertness to discrimination, overall racism (including the job domain) during the past year and lifetime, and emotional response to racism on the job were significantly higher than they were at Time 1. It appears that as students got older they reported feeling more emotionally distressed and having more of a negative emotional response to racism they may encounter on the job. Since overall levels of emotional distress were relatively low for SAAS students, it is not surprising that youth would report more distressful emotions as they get older. Engaging in new social settings and new interactions may lead youth to experience emotions that they had not when they were younger or experience certain emotions more intensely. Similarly, the discrimination youth encounter at their jobs may involve personal encounters that may lead to them feeling emotions such as confusion or anger more deeply as they get older.

That youths' reports of overall racism (including the job domain) during the past year and lifetime increase over time is to be expected. As youth get older the likelihood that they will encounter some type of race-based discrimination rises. For that reason it is likely that youth report receiving more race-related messages about coping with [race-based] antagonism and alertness to discrimination from their families at Time 2 than at Time 1. Parents are probably responding to the situations and events their children are encountering and want to help them make sense of what is going on by conveying lessons and race and racism. Related to this process, youth may learn more about the specifics of the Black experience in America which would help to explain why their nationalist ideology beliefs increase from Time 1 to Time 2.

*Variables significantly lower at Time 2*

At Time 2, the mean levels for psychological sense of school membership, overall school climate along with school climate subscales of teacher support, school fit, and educational quality, overall achievement motivation along with the social approval subscale, school esteem, anger "out" expression, and coping response to racism on the job were significantly lower than they were at Time 1. In the previous section, overall racism (past year and lifetime) and nationalist ideology were noted to have significantly increased from Time 1 to Time 2. With that in mind, that coping responses to racism on the job decrease from Time 2 to Time 1, even as negative emotional responses to racism on the job increase, is somewhat surprising. One would expect youth to develop and implement more coping strategies in problem areas as they got older. It may be that youth do not believe what they do in response to racism on the job has much of an effect and elect to "ride out" whatever encounters with race-based discrimination they may have in the job setting.

Over time students' sense of self in the school context and connection to their school community decreased. Additionally, evaluations of the school climate became less positive from Time 1 to Time 2. If students believed they were being treated differently and unfairly because of their racial group membership in the school context decreases in each of the above areas would not be out of the

ordinary. Youths' reports of teacher support, school fit, and educational quality declined significantly from Time 1 to Time 2 as well. As SAAS students got older they reported feeling as if they fit in their schools less and that their teachers were not as supportive. Furthermore, their perception of the quality of their education also decreased. Race-based discrimination, personality conflicts, and normative confrontations with authority figures may all play a role in the decline in the various aspects of school climate.

The decrease in anger "out" expression for SAAS youth was likely due to their increasing awareness of the appropriate ways to express their emotions, particularly anger, in social settings.

*Variables not significantly different from Time 1 to Time 2*

While it may seem that it is more interesting to see what variables significantly increased or decreased from Time 1 to Time 2, it is also informative to explore what variables remained relatively stable for SAAS students across time points. For instance, while overall school climate and almost all of its subscales decreased in a statistically significant manner from Time 1 to Time 2, the Learning Satisfaction subscale remained relatively the same. It appears that while students may feel support from teachers or other aspects of the school context worsened, their satisfaction with the learning process at their schools stayed the same. Given that the educational resources at participating SAAS schools (and independent schools in general) are quite rich and unlikely to decline in a substantial way from one year to the next, it makes sense that students would be satisfied with this aspect of their school climates across time.

Bivariate relationships between variables across Time 1-Time 2 for SAAS students<sup>31</sup>

Some of the more important relationships between study variables for students across the 2001 and 2002 years of data collection are as follows. When there is a:

- Rise in **psychological sense of school membership at Time 1**, students' reports of general (.59) and school esteem (.47), school climate (.69), public regard (.40), ideology-oppressed minority (.37), ideology-humanist (.36), and anger control (.28) *increase at Time 2* while emotional distress (-.56), centrality (-.39), ideology-nationalist (-.39), anger suppression (-.27), anger out (-.41), emotional distress (-.58), racial socialization-alertness to discrimination (-.22), past year racism in school (-.58), in public (-.42), and via hearing statements (-.44), lifetime racism in school (-.62), in public (-.48), and via hearing statements (-.49), and emotional response to racism in school (-.27), in public (-.26), and via hearing statements (-.33) *decrease at Time 2*.
- Rise in **school esteem at Time 1**, students' level of psychological sense of school membership (.59), school climate (.43), ideology-oppressed minority (.23), and anger control (.26) *increase at Time 2* while their reports of emotional distress (-.53), anger out (-.29), emotional distress (-.52), past year racism in school (-.30) and via hearing statements (-.25), lifetime racism in

<sup>31</sup> All correlations reported are significant at the .05 level.

- public (-.24) and via hearing statements (-.26), and emotional response to hearing racist statements (-.23) *decrease* at **Time 2**.
- Rise in **emotional distress** at **Time 1**, reports of anger suppression (.45), anger “out” expression (.22), past year racism in school (.28), lifetime racism in school (.37), in public (.32), and via hearing statements (.24), and emotional responses to racism in school (.33), in public (.29), and via hearing statements (.34) *increase* at **Time 2** while school esteem (-.43) and general esteem (-.53), PSSM (-.51), school climate (-.38), private regard (-.28), public regard (-.24), and anger control (-.25) *decrease* at **Time 2**.
  - Rise in **overall racial socialization** at **Time 1**, reports of public regard (-.25) and emotional responses to racism on the job (-.33) *decrease* at **Time 2** while centrality (.39), ideology-nationalist (.28), hearing racist statements past year (.26) and lifetime (.25) *increase* at **Time 2**.
  - Rise in **racial centrality** at **Time 1**, reports of school climate (-.38), PSSM (-.53), public regard (-.27), ideology-assimilationist (-.28), ideology-oppressed minority (-.26), and ideology-humanist (-.44) *decrease* at **Time 2** while private regard (.22), ideology-nationalist (.56), anger “out” expression (.27), racial socialization-alertness to discrimination (.26), past year racism in school (.42), in public (.31), and via hearing racist statements (.36), lifetime racism in school (.42), in public (.28), and via hearing racist statements (.37), and number of coping responses on the job (.36) *increase* at **Time 2**.
  - **Lifetime racism in school** rises at **Time 1**, reports of emotional distress (.28), centrality (.35), ideology-nationalist (.26), racial socialization (.30), past year racism – overall (.58), and lifetime racism – overall (.64) *increase* at **Time 2** while school esteem (-.31) and general esteem (-.29), PSSM (-.50), school climate (-.45), ideology-humanist (-.23), public regard (-.39), and emotional responses to racism on the job (-.35) *decrease* at **Time 2**.

### Summary of important bivariate relationships across Time 1-Time 2 for SAAS students

Areas explored with bivariate correlations across Time 1 and Time 2 include: school context (psychological sense of school membership), socioemotional adjustment (esteem and emotional distress), and race and racism (racial identity, racial socialization, and lifetime racism in school).

#### *School context*

There was a positive relationship between PSSM at Time 1 and some school context variables, aspects of racial identity, and socioemotional adjustment at Time 2. The more students felt more connected to their school communities at Time 1, the better they felt about themselves overall and in the school context and the more highly they evaluated the climate of their schools at Time 2. Additionally, the higher PSSM is at Time 1, the more students believed non-Blacks viewed Blacks positively and endorsed ideas about race that focus on commonalities across minority groups and shared humanity at Time 2. Finally, the more students felt connected to schools at Time 1, the more they controlled their anger expression at Time 2.

Overall, it appears that a stronger sense that one is a valuable member of their school community served to promote positive views of school and the self in that context. For Black students attending predominantly White schools such as the SAAS schools, feeling that one is an important member of the school community would seem to coincide with notions about race that emphasize similarities among people across racial groups. Feeling connected to and supported within the school community also probably provides students with internal and external support for healthier expressions of emotions such as anger.

PSSM was also negatively related to aspects of socioemotional distress and racial socialization, and experiences with and responses to racism decrease at Time 2. As students felt more connected and part of their school communities at Time 1 their reports of emotional distress and anger out and suppression; racial socialization messages focused on alertness to discrimination and beliefs about the importance of being Black to their identity; and past year, lifetime, and emotional responses to racism in school, public, and via hearing racist statements decreased at Time 2. As was discussed above, it makes sense that as students are connected more to their schools that they would be able to develop internal resources or take advantage of resources within the school to serve as support for their emotional development. These students would be less inclined to exhibit emotional distress, express their anger outward in aggressive ways, or turn their anger inward. Viewing themselves as valued members of their school community may also decrease their perception that they are being discriminated against at school. Why higher levels of PSSM at Time 1 would be related to lower reports of racism out of school or via hearing racist statements at Time 2 is unclear. As for racial socialization messages that emphasize alertness to discrimination, it may be that parents who observe that their children are connected to their school communities and feel that they are valued at school choose to provide them with fewer race-related messages about being alert to discrimination because they feel that discrimination may not be a salient problem for their children in their respective schools.

#### *Socioemotional adjustment*

Esteem and emotional distress are components of what is being referred to as socioemotional adjustment. Each of these constructs was related to a number of the major variables of interest in the SAAS study. Students' school esteem at Time 1 was positively related to the other school context variables (PSSM and school climate), ideology-oppressed minority, and anger control at Time 2. It is not surprising that students who feel good about themselves in school at Time 1 would feel more of a connection to their schools and evaluate them more positively at Time 2. Feeling good about oneself in school at one time point might lead to more anger control at a later date because the student would have more resources to use in school (for example, peer or teacher support) that would enable them to deal more effectively with any stressful emotions, such as anger, that may arise. It is unclear as to why students who feel better about themselves in school at Time 1 would endorse an ideology focused on



commonalities among minority groups as opposed to ideologies such as humanist, assimilationist, or nationalist.

School esteem at Time 1 was negatively related to emotional distress and anger out, various types of racism (past year and lifetime), and emotional response to hearing racist statements such that as school esteem rose at Time 1 each of the above variables decreased at Time 2. The better students felt about themselves in school at Time 1, the less emotional distress they reported, the less they expressed their anger in more aggressive ways, the less racism they reported at school (past year), in public (lifetime), and via hearing racist statements (past year and lifetime), and the less they had negative emotional responses to hearing racist statements at Time 2. Examining these relationships it is clear that students who have stronger esteem in school avoid a number of psychosocial stressors for whatever reason. Feeling better about oneself in relation to teachers and peers in the school setting may provide youth with the internal and external support to manage their emotions better and to react better to race-related stressors such as hearing racist statements.

Emotional distress at Time 1 was positively related to other aspects of socioemotional adjustment and experiences with and responses to racism at Time 2. Specifically, students who reported more emotional distress at Time 1 had higher levels of anger suppression and reported more racism in school (past year and lifetime), public (lifetime), and via hearing racist statements (lifetime) and more negative emotional responses to racism in school, public, and via hearing racist statements at Time 2. It may be that students who experienced distress, tended to internalize emotions such as anger and report a variety of other stressful emotions when they perceived they had encountered racism across a variety of contexts. Youth who are distressed may report more racism in their contexts because they are more inclined to read their environments in more negative ways. It may also be the case that youth who report more emotional distress are more vulnerable in their social contexts and are on the receiving end of more inequitable treatment by significant others, such as peers or teachers, in their contexts. The possibilities proposed above do not claim to exhaust potential explanations for this relationship. Other plausible alternatives likely exist.

At Time 1 emotional distress was negatively related to school context variables, aspects of racial identity, and socioemotional adjustment. Students who reported more emotional distress at Time 1 had lower general and school esteem, felt less connected to their school community, and viewed their school climates more negatively; believed that non-Blacks, and themselves personally, evaluated the Black community more negatively; and reported lower levels of anger control at Time 2. That emotional distress might dampen how students feel about themselves, whether it is on or out of school, and their school environment is not surprising. Emotional distress may also lead students who are grappling with how to express their emotions, including anger, to have more difficulty controlling them. Students who report more emotional distress may tend to be more pessimistic thereby lowering their expectations for how non-Black view Black people. They may also internalize these negative perceptions and then personally evaluate Black people more negatively as well.

### *Race and racism*

Racial socialization. The only significant relationships overall racial socialization had were with other race and racism-related variables. Specifically, as students reported receiving more race-related messages from their families at Time 1, their views of how others see the Black community and their emotional responses to racism on the job become more negative at Time 2 while the importance of being Black as part of their identity, a focus on the uniqueness of the Black experience, and reports of hearing racist statements over their lifetime and past year increased at Time 2.

Part of racial socialization is imparting information about the devalued status of the Black community in American society while conveying strategies to deal with any bias that may result from such a perspective. In that regard, lower public regard and higher centrality and nationalist ideology would seem to be natural consequences of racial socialization. Why hearing racist statements is the only domain that students report more encounters with racism and the job domain is the only area in which youth higher negative emotional responses to racism at Time 2 when overall racial socialization increased at Time 1 is unclear.

Racial identity. The centrality aspect of racial identity was related to variables across a number of areas, including: school context, socioemotional adjustment, other aspects of racial identity, racial socialization, and experiences with and coping responses to racism. At Time 1, the more being Black was an important part of a student's identity, the more they reported: a focus on the unique aspects of being Black, anger "out" expression, receiving alertness to discrimination messages from their families, past year and lifetime experiences with racism in school, public, and via hearing racist statements, and coping responses to racism on the job at Time 2. Additionally, the more being Black was an important part of a student's identity at Time 1, the less they reported: positively evaluating their school climates or feeling connected to their school communities, endorsing perspectives that focused on commonalities across minority groups, assimilating into mainstream society, or shared humanity as opposed to addressing race; and the more they believed non-Blacks viewed Black people negatively at Time 2.

It seems sensible that youth who feel being Black is more important to their sense of self would focus on what makes Black people unique and less so on commonalities across minority groups or on the idea that people should focus on being "human" and not members of different racial or ethnic groups. Youth for whom race is more central may have an awareness that the Black community is not always positively evaluated by society-at-large that other youth do not. These youth may focus more on race dynamics within social settings and as a result perceive more racism across the contexts in which they interact. If that is the case, their parents may tailor messages they give about race to address being alert to discrimination. It may also be that youth who believe being Black is an important part of their identity have thought about how to deal with racism and therefore have more coping strategies to use when they confront racism. Why this would be the case in relation to the job domain only is not clear however.

The youth participating in the SAAS study who were more race central may have felt less connected to or evaluated their schools more negatively because of their status as distinct racial minorities within their predominantly White school settings. That is, if students do not sense that they or their community are reflected or respected within their schools, students may not feel they are valued in their schools or that their school environments are welcoming or supportive of them.

Racism. Youths' lifetime report of racism encountered in school was related to school context, socioemotional adjustment, and race and racism variables. Specifically, students who reported more racism at Time 1, experience more emotional distress, believe being Black is more important to their identity, more strongly endorse beliefs focused on the specifics of the Black experience, receive more race-related messages from their family, and encounter more racism across domains (both past year and lifetime) at Time 2.

Furthermore, students who perceived more lifetime racism at Time 1, report: lower levels of general and school esteem, being less connected to their school communities, lower evaluations of the school climate, fewer beliefs that emphasize shared humanity as opposed to membership in different racial groups, less of a belief that non-Blacks view Blacks positively, and lower negative emotional responses to racism on the job at Time 2.

That there is a relationship between encounters with racism in school during Time 1 and how students feel about themselves in school, their level of connectedness within the school community, and their evaluation of the school context at Time 2 should not be unexpected. If students are confronting situations or events in school that they perceive to be due to racism it is reasonable that they may feel as if they do not truly belong in the school community or not feel as good about themselves in their schools as they could. Students reporting higher emotional distress at Time 2 following more encounters with racism at Time 1 would follow the above logic.

The positive relationship between lifetime racism at Time 1 and higher reports of overall racism at Time 2 might be due to the fact that youth who perceived more racism at Time 1 were more inclined to be aware of the possibility that racism may play a role in interpersonal interactions. Additionally, students with higher reports of racism at Time 1 reported receiving more race-related messages from their families at Time 2. Parents and families of these youth may provide more messages about race to help their child negotiate school and other contexts where they confront race-based discrimination.

Encountering more racism in school at Time 1 may lead to youth's focusing more on the role race plays in their lives and wanting to know more about what it means to be a Black person in America hence the higher levels of centrality and nationalist ideology at Time 2. Furthermore, because these youth perceive they have been treated differently because they are Black, they would be less likely to endorse beliefs emphasizing shared humanity (i.e., a humanist ideology) since their personal experiences attest that not everyone follows such utopian ideals. Lower levels of public regard, which indicate that youth believe that non-Blacks do not view Blacks positively, would also be expected from youth

who have encountered more lifetime school racism. Why these students' negative emotional responses to racism is only lower for the job domain is unclear.

## **Parent**

A total of 41 parents completed survey questionnaires in both the 2000-2001 (Time 1) and 2001-2002 (Time 2) school years. Parents from all four participating SAAS schools completed surveys across the two years.

### *Demographic Information*

#### Personal and family data

Thirty-four (83%) of the parents who completed surveys in both 2001 and 2002 were female while 7 (17%) students were male. The average age of these parents at Time 2 (i.e., during the 2001-2002 school year) was 47.1 years with a range of 35 to 60.

#### Racial identification

The majority of SAAS parents who completed surveys during the 2001 and 2002 years (35; 85%) identified as Black or African American. Six parents, or approximately 15% of the sample, identified as White.

#### *School Support*

Ninety percent of the sample said they had, or would, contribute money to the schools their children attended in 2001 compared to 88% in 2002.

## **Survey Questionnaire Results**

Paired-sample t-tests, which allow comparisons to be made between means for measurements of a variable at different times for same person, were conducted using values from the various questionnaires parents completed in both the 2001 and 2002 years.<sup>32</sup>

### *Parent Involvement in Education Scale (PIES)*

The PIES is a 54-item questionnaire that measures parents' involvement in the education of their primary and secondary school children. The mean level for the PIES PSSM is *significantly lower* at Time 2 with a mean level of 3.40 (SD = .22) as compared to a mean level of 3.45 (SD = .25) at Time 1.

### *Parent Experience of Racial Socialization (PERS)*

The PERS asks parents how often they have talked about race-related issues with their children. The overall PERS score and various subscales of the PERS did not differ significantly between Time 1 and Time 2 for parents.

### *School Climate (SC)*

The School Climate measure assesses parent perception of the school environment. The four subscales of the SC include: learning satisfaction, teacher support, school fit, and educational quality. The overall SC score and the various subscales did not differ significantly between Time 1 and Time 2 for parents.

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<sup>32</sup> All paired-sample t-test comparisons used a significance level of .05.

*Neighborhood Social Capital Scale (NSC) and Neighborhood Sense of Community (NSOC)*

Different measures were used to assess parents' evaluations of their neighborhoods during the 2001 and 2002 years. Therefore, mean level comparisons cannot be made.

*Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity*

The MIBI is a measure that assesses multiple dimensions of racial identity for Black people. Since the short form of the MIBI was given in 2001 and the long version administered in 2002, comparisons can only be made between centrality (how important race is to people's conception of themselves), public regard (beliefs about how others evaluate Black people as a group), and private regard (personal evaluation of Black people) across the two years. Mean level comparisons across Time 1-Time 2 indicate that neither centrality nor private regard significantly differed from one time point to the other. Public regard was *significantly higher* at Time 2 with a mean level of 3.68 (SD = .97) as compared to Time 1 where the mean level was 3.24 (SD = 1.06).

*Perceived Racism Scale (PRS)*

The PRS is a multidimensional measure of perceived racism. It assesses the frequency of exposure to various types of race and racism-related stressors and the emotional and coping responses to such events in the following domains: on the job, academic, in public, and exposure to racist statements. Respondents are asked if, and how often, the events and situations across the four domains have been encountered over the past year and over their lifetime.

In terms of the mean number of events parents encountered, there were no significant differences in events encountered across domains at Time 1 as compared to Time 2. The frequency with which parents encountered racism across domains also did not significantly differ from Time 1 to Time 2.

*Emotional responses to racism*

As noted above, the PRS also explores people's emotional and coping responses to racism. In terms of emotional responses to racism there were no statistically significant mean level differences between Time 1 and Time 2 for parents.

*Coping responses to racism*

In regard to coping responses to racism there were no statistically significant mean level differences between Time 1 and Time 2 for parents.

*Social Skills Rating Scale (SSRS)*

The SSRS is a rating scale completed by parents that explores social skills, problem behaviors, and academic competence. The SSRS is comprised of two broad categories: Problem Behaviors and Social Skills. There were no statistically significant mean level differences on parents' rating of Problem Behaviors or Social Skills between Time 1 and Time 2.

Table 127 details the trend for variables of interest over the 2001 and 2002 years of data collection by presenting whether variables were *significantly higher*, *significantly lower*, or *basically unchanged* in 2002 as compared to 2001.

Table 127. *Trends for parent variables across the 2001 and 2002 data.*

<b>Variable of interest</b>	<b>Significantly higher</b>	<b>Significantly lower</b>	<b>No significant difference</b>
Parent Involvement in Education		<b>x</b>	
Overall racial socialization			<b>x</b>
MIBI-Public Regard	<b>x</b>		

Summary of mean level differences for variables across Time 1-Time 2 for SAAS parents

The vast majority of variables for SAAS parents assessed at Time 1 and time 2 remained statistically unchanged. Specifically, there were no significant differences from one year to the next for all aspects of racial socialization, school climate, racial identity (except public regard), racism (including encounters and responses), and ratings of children's social skills.

*Variables significantly changed at Time 2*

There were two instances in which parent reports did significantly differ from Time 1 to Time 2. The mean level for public regard was significantly higher at Time 2 than it was at Time 1. It appears that over time SAAS parents believed that non-Blacks viewed the Black community more positively. Given the levels of racism reports by SAAS parents this finding is somewhat surprising. The change in public regard may have been due to interactions with non-Blacks across a number of contexts that indicated to SAAS parents that the Black community was held in more positive regard than they had previously thought. Alternate explanations, of course, also exist that may shed light onto the increase in public regard.

The other significant change in mean levels of variables for parents related to parent involvement in education. It was significantly lower at Time 2 than it was at Time 1. That parent involvement in education decreased from one year to the next may be explained by the rising ages of SAAS students. As youth get older it is more appropriate for parents to let youth work on assignments by themselves. Additionally, there are fewer opportunities for parents of youth in middle or upper school to be directly involved in their children's school activities as are lower school parents.

### Bivariate relationships between variables across Time 1-Time 2 for SAAS parents<sup>33</sup>

Some of the more important relationships between study variables for parents across the 2001 and 2002 years of data collection are as follows:

- As **mother's education** increased at **Time 1**, the level of centrality (.44) *increased* at **Time 2** while reports of racial socialization-mainstream socialization (-.41) *decreased* at **Time 2**.
- As **father's education** increased at **Time 1**, the level of overall racial socialization (.47), racial socialization-coping with antagonism (.36), racial socialization-cultural pride reinforcement (.34), racial socialization-cultural legacy appreciation (.36), racial socialization-cultural socialization experience (.45), and number of coping responses to hearing racist statements (.37) *increased* at **Time 2**.
- As **household income** increased at Time 1, the level of racial socialization-cultural pride reinforcement (.37), overall report of racism in the last year (.43), and emotional response to hearing racist statements (.38) *increased* at **Time 2**.
- There were no significant relationships between **parent involvement in education** at **Time 1** and other major variables of interest during Time 2.
- As **school climate** increased at **Time 1**, reports of past year racism – overall (.49) *increased* at **Time 2**.
- As **overall racial socialization** increased at **Time 1**, reports of all aspects of racial socialization, excluding cultural legacy appreciation, and emotional responses to racism in school (.38) *increased* at **Time 2**.
- As parents' **centrality** increased at **Time 1**, the level of private regard (.40), ideology-nationalist (.65), and lifetime reports of racism in academic settings (.44) *increased* at **Time 2** while reports of racial socialization-mainstream socialization (-.41), ideology-humanist (-.43), and school climate (-.45) *decreased* at **Time 2**.
- There were no significant relationships between **public regard** at **Time 1** and other major variables of interest during Time 2.
- As parents' **private regard** increased at **Time 1**, the level of lifetime racism in public (.42) *increased* at **Time 2**.
- As overall **lifetime racism** increased at **Time 1**, reports of racial socialization (.60), racial socialization-coping with antagonism (.63), racial socialization-alertness to discrimination (.54), racial socialization-cultural pride reinforcement (.48), racial socialization-cultural socialization experience (.59), and past year overall racism (.44) *increased* at **Time 2**.

### Summary of important bivariate relationships across Time 1-Time 2 for SAAS parents

Areas explored with bivariate correlations across Time 1 and Time 2 include: demographic variables (parental education and income), school context (school climate and parent involvement in education), and race and racism (racial identity, racial socialization, and racism).

<sup>33</sup> All correlations reported are significant at the .05 level.

Demographics. Parents from families where the mothers had higher education levels at Time 1 reported more of a belief that being Black was central to their identity and imparted fewer race-related messages that focused on navigating mainstream culture at Time 2. Families where the fathers had higher education levels at Time 1, reported higher levels of all types of racial socialization (excluding mainstream socialization) and more coping responses when hearing racist statements at Time 2. It appears that parents who have obtained more education invest more in conveying messages about race to their children than do parents with less educational attainment. It may be that more educated parents have either engaged in contexts or interactions through their educational experiences that increase the importance of talking about race with their children. Because more educated parents talk more with their children about race it makes sense that they might have more coping responses at the ready when they hear racist statements. Why coping responses to hearing racist statements is the only domain of coping responses related to parental education is unclear.

As household income increased at Time 1, parents report giving more race-related messages focusing on cultural pride reinforcement, encountering more overall racism over the past year, and having a more negative emotional response to hearing racist statements at Time 2. It may be that as families move up the socioeconomic ladder in terms of income they want to ensure that their children hold Black culture in positive regard and do this by giving more race-related messages that deal with cultural pride. It also may be the case that parents with higher incomes report more racism in the past year because they engage in contexts where they are in the racial minority which could make them more susceptible to encountering racial discrimination. Isolation that may arise due to racial minority status may evoke more negative emotional responses when hearing racist statements. Or it may be that higher income parents are relatively insulated from crude expressions of racism so that when they do encounter racism in such a manner, that is, hearing racist statements, they may be more emotionally affected by them.

#### *School context*

The relationships between school context variables at Time 1 and other study variables of interest at Time 2 was surprising in that almost no relationships existed. There were no relationships between parent involvement in education at Time 1 and any of the study variables at Time 2. School climate at Time 1 was positively related with overall racism in the past year at Time 2. It is counterintuitive that the relationship between school climate and perception of racism would be positive. One would expect parents who evaluated their children's school less positively might perceive more racism across domains at Time 2. This was not the case. Parents who evaluated the school climate more positively at Time 1 reported encountering more racism over the past year. It is unclear as to why these variables correlate in the manner they do.

#### *Race and racism*

Racial socialization. Parents who give more overall race-related messages to their children at Time 1 reported giving more racial socialization messages to



their children that focus on every area except cultural legacy appreciation and have more negative emotional responses to racism encountered in academic settings at Time 2. Racial socialization is an ongoing interactive process between parent and child. It stands to reason that parents who are committed to giving their children messages about race would continue to be so committed from one year to the next. It may be that race-related messages that focus on cultural legacy appreciation are not related to level of racial socialization from the prior year because parents who sense that their children seem to understand the historical significance of Black culture believe that they do not need to repeat the historical significance of Black cultural achievement. Given the importance the Black community places on education, parents who emphasize racial socialization at Time 1 may have more negative emotional responses to racism encountered in school settings because they had been or currently are invested in education as a means to success. Encountering racism in the school context may then be more hurtful than confronting racism in more public venues.

Racial identity. In terms of parental racial identity, public regard at Time 1 (or how Black people think non-Blacks view the Black community) was not related to any study variables at Time 2. Private regard, or an individual Black person's personal evaluation of the Black community, at Time 1 was only related to parent's lifetime report of racism in the public domain at Time 2. Parents who evaluated the Black community more positively at Time 1 reported confronting more racism in public over their lifetimes at Time 2. It may be that over time parents have developed a positive sense of the Black community based on their observations and awareness of Black culture and history. These parents may also read the different social contexts in which they interact, such as public domains, such that they are more aware of race-based discrimination.

The other aspect of racial identity, centrality, or how important being Black is to an individual's self-concept, was related to several study variables. For instance, parents who believe being Black is more important to their identity at Time 1 reported higher personal evaluations of the Black community, stronger support for beliefs that focus on the unique experience of the Black community, and more encounters with racism in academic settings at Time 2. Higher centrality parents at Time 1 also reported giving fewer race-related messages to their children that emphasize adapting to mainstream society, endorsing fewer beliefs that focus on shared humanity as opposed to specific racial groups, and evaluating their child's schools less positively at Time 2.

It stands to reason that parents high in race centrality would also evaluate the Black community positively and endorse beliefs that focus on the unique experience of Black people in America. It follows that race central parents would advocate a humanist ideology less frequently and give fewer race-related messages about adapting to mainstream culture. It also was not surprising that race central parents would perceive more racism in academic settings. Parents who focus on race would likely perceive disparate treatment to be due to race more often than those parents for whom being Black is not an important part of their identity. Why race central parents would be related to racism in academic

settings only is unclear. The nature of this relationship may factor in to parents' less positive evaluations of their children's schools.

Racism. Parents who perceived that they encountered more overall lifetime racism at Time 1 reported confronting more overall racism in the past year and giving their children more race-related messages in general as well as in regard to coping with antagonism, being alert to discrimination, reinforcing cultural pride, and the Black cultural experience at Time 2. It may be that parents who have encountered more racism over their life are familiar enough with the experience that they are quite aware of discriminatory treatment when they see it, hence, the higher reports of racism encountered over the past year. It may also be the case that parents who have confronted more racism want to ensure that their children have a more thorough understanding of race dynamics and attempt to accomplish this by giving their children more race-related messages in a number of different areas.

## DISCUSSION

In a previously published summary of the SAAS project<sup>34</sup> we posited three assumptions that succinctly represented the foundation of our work:

1. Promoting Black students' connection to the school community and their emotional health is key to their academic success.
2. Schools not only socialize students academically, they also socialize students racially.
3. The experience of racism is a reality for Black youth that can compromise the quality of their school experience and tax their emotional resources.

The findings presented throughout this report and reviewed in this section build upon the above tenets and illustrate how the experience within independent schools for African American students is related to background characteristics, race and racism (including racial socialization), and perceptions of self and the school environment.

Examples of pertinent background characteristics we discovered in our sample over the years included the proportion of our sample of youth that was biracial ranging from 11% to 19% and that most youth lived in either predominantly Black (> 80% Black) or predominantly White (<20% Black) neighborhoods. The majority of SAAS parents who completed surveys were in executive, managerial, and professional occupations with the next largest group in technical, sales, or administrative support positions. There was a range of reported family income for the parents who completed surveys; the median income was over \$100,000 for both years parent data was collected.

The impact of race and racism on the experiences of Black students was clear in the multiple areas assessed in the SAAS study. How students viewed the Black community and how they felt others viewed the Black community were negatively related to age. The importance of being Black to students was positively related to age, such that older students reported higher levels of racial centrality. When comparing the same students, racial identity remained stable from one year to the next. Reports of racism in the school were negatively related to students' sense of school membership and evaluation of the school climate. School racism was positively related to emotional distress and anger expression among other constructs. Lifetime reports of racism across the measured domains did significantly increase from one year to the next when comparing the same students. Students reported receiving messages from their parents about race with moderate frequency across the five types of racial socialization we measured. Students reported messages focusing on reinforcing cultural pride most often and on mainstream society least often.

A number of interesting themes arose from interviews and focus groups with students. While many students believed that their schools were doing a good job at addressing diversity, others felt that efforts being made were not as effective as they could be. Educational quality and school resources were consistently mentioned most often as positive aspects of attending independent schools. Students discussed how others in the school community responded to

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<sup>34</sup> See Arrington, E. G., Hall, D. M., & Stevenson, H. C. (2003). The Success of African American Students in Independent Schools Project. *Independent School Magazine*, 62 (4), 11-21.

students' racial minority status and community norms as negative aspects of attending their schools.

Stereotypes, visibility, and responses to racism were some of the facets of how race was described as influencing students' school experience. Many students spoke about visibility issues in regard to gender and the ways in which gender interacted with race within the school setting. Most often students felt that teachers did not try to address diversity in the classroom. When diversity was addressed in class, students reported that it was most often seen in English and History classes or due to the efforts of one teacher. When Black students did speak to one another about their school experiences, feelings of disconnection were most frequently discussed followed by the sense of community that existed among Black students.

The recommendations made by students to a variety of constituents were insightful and meaningful. For example, recommendations to other Black students included being open, managing time well, and sticking together. Being fair, considerate, and not judging or singling out by race were the most frequent recommendations made by students to teachers. Students recommended that parents be open and encouraging and help them to maintain their focus. Those students who had any recommendations for the Administration at their school emphasized increased financial aid, getting more Black students and hiring more diverse faculty.

One of the benefits of collecting data from parents of students who participated in SAAS was observing the connections between parents and students in a number of different areas. There were positive relationships between student and parent evaluations of the school climate as well as student and parent reports on the frequency of racial socialization messages. In focus groups, parents mentioned several themes that were similar to those discussed by students in interviews and focus groups. For instance, many parents noted that the quality of the academic experience in independent schools was a major reason for enrolling their students in independent schools. This theme parallels the educational quality theme discussed by students. Representation of Black students in independent schools was an important theme discussed by parents in focus groups. It mirrors the visibility theme and the concern about how Black students felt they were perceived in their schools that arose in student interviews.

Information garnered from African American alumni, faculty, and administrators provided evidence that parallel experiences exist between African American adults and youth in the independent school context. In interviews and focus groups with Black faculty, themes discussed included how students and teachers deal with racial minority status and strategies used by teachers and students to negotiate race and diversity in their schools. African American administrators spoke about tokenism and how they were perceived as racial minorities in their schools in a similar vein to those students who spoke about heightened visibility and their minority status. Black alumni's discussion of fitting in and being disempowered in the school setting mirrored the portion of interviews with current SAAS students who spoke about feeling disconnected and their sense of community within their schools. Based on the themes that

consistently arose in data gathered across the SAAS constituent, we use the final section of the report to offer several recommendations.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Attempting to represent the many years of work that has comprised the SAAS project into a final report was only surpassed in difficulty by the task of delineating salient recommendations that would speak to the experiences and needs of the varied constituencies that participated in SAAS. At the most basic level in terms of recommendations is the need for the participating SAAS schools, and the many independent schools similar to them in a number of ways, to begin or continue having open discussion about race in the school community. We emphasize race because it remains one of the more difficult aspects of diversity in schools to discuss. Accordingly, honest communication about race does not happen as often as it could and should. The latter contention is one that we have seen repeatedly confirmed in the interviews and focus groups we have done with SAAS constituents ranging from students to teachers.

The ramifications of the lack of communication or even miscommunication about race are seen in the stressful school experiences articulated by Black students who were currently or formerly enrolled in SAAS schools. Reports of race-related stressors rose for students who viewed being Black as a more central part of their identity. It is important that schools allow race-central students to have an outlet to discuss their perceptions of and feelings about their experience as Black students in their schools. Affinity groups are essential in this regard. We suggest that dialogue take place intra-and inter- racially. The most effective and honest conversations will need to be facilitated by adults in the school setting who have grappled with race and identity in their lives. They should also be comfortable discussing topics that may cause tension and involve the expression of emotions, such as anger and sadness, that many people try to avoid in the effort to “keep the peace.” Furthermore, small group discussions that continue over a sustained period of time will provide a context for genuine connection and the most potential for understanding among and between students from diverse racial groups. Bringing speakers to school communities will also aid in open racial dialogue, particularly if they involve engagement in dialogue that is more than a “one-shot” occurrence. Schools that reinforce speakers’ messages through programming that is integrated with the curriculum will find their race and diversity efforts will have a deeper impact on members of the school community.

Our second recommendation developed from the contact we had with Black students and their parents before and during the data collection years of the SAAS project. There are very real consequences for Black students when they attend schools in which they are less than 20 percent of the student body. At all of the participating SAAS schools, and most, if not all, of the independent schools in the greater Philadelphia region, Black students do not comprise more than 10 percent of the student body. Given our assertion that schools socialize students racially and the reality that Black students remain distinct racial minorities in their schools, it is crucial that schools provide support for Black students and their parents. Schools should provide multiple opportunities for youth to be in culturally and racially integrated social groups as well as mono-cultural or mono-racial social groups of their choosing. The key to the creation

and maintenance of these groups in the school community is open dialogue about the need for such groups and the effort required to keep groups beneficial and relevant for students. It goes without saying that resources should be allocated so that cultural and affinity groups can function adequately.

A key aspect of the research we conducted as part of the SAAS project was attending to the expression of racial identity by students. It is our contention that student support groups should address racial identity development. This need is particularly salient during transitions from middle to upper school that coincide with adolescent development and burgeoning identity across multiple areas (not just racial identity). We saw a relationship between age and reports of more race-related stressors (in and out of school) and lower sense of school membership. Creating a context in which students can address new observations about the role of race in their lives and how this might relate to their experience in school might bolster school connection and mitigate the impact of race-related stress. Again, adults who facilitate these student groups must be comfortable addressing the tension and emotion that discussion of race and racism engenders so that they do not make a topic that may be difficult or awkward for students to discuss even more so.

In terms of organizations and support for parents of Black students and other parents of color, recommendations are similar to those for students. Opportunities for parents of color to come together and discuss their experience as parents in independent schools as well as their children's experience in the school should be provided at regular intervals. It appeared to some of the Penn team that SAAS parents in individual schools did not know one another well. Programming to promote parent connection with one another and to the school could decrease isolation that some parents feel. Orientations for parents and students of color new to the independent school environment would be highly beneficial. Parent and student supports provided by organizations such as The Steppingstone Foundation to the students and families they work with are commendable. Parents and students who do not participate in organizations such as Steppingstone could benefit from this type of programming.

Schools may want to assist in the connection of parents across school communities. Although some issues students and parents face may be unique to the individual school context, there is a common thread to the independent school experience for Black students and their families. Creating a network of parents of color across schools is an idea that schools might want to explore. Recognizing the diversity among Black families is important; that some Black families might not want to participate in race or diversity initiatives is fine and to be expected. This should not preclude schools from providing this support to families who are interested in receiving it.

Our next recommendation focuses upon areas pertaining to faculty and staff. We were able to interview faculty, staff, and administrators as well as conduct focus groups with them. A constant theme was the emotional burden on administrators, counselors, and teachers of color in upholding the values of the independent school while keenly feeling the need to represent and support the experiences of students and parents of color. Carrying such a burden over

extended periods of time can certainly lead to heightened stress. Support for faculty and administrators of color must acknowledge this experience. One successful example is the faculty of color support group that met regularly each school week at one SAAS school. Other SAAS schools would benefit from developing similar organizations within their communities. Social gatherings could also serve a valuable purpose. Organizations outside of individual schools, such as People of Color in Delaware Valley Independent Schools (POCDVIS) and the Independent School Consortium of Greater Philadelphia, are useful resources for faculty and administrators of color.

The feasibility of a faculty of color support group is contingent upon the presence of such faculty in the school. Although a great deal of progress has been made in hiring faculty of color at some SAAS schools in the years since the study began, retention continues to remain a problem and hiring itself ebbs and flows over the years. The hiring and retention of faculty of color demands sustained attention and commitment. Choosing an administrator who is charged with addressing diversity has the potential to effect positive change in the hiring and retention of faculty of color. Most participating SAAS schools currently have either a Director of Multicultural Affairs (or Diversity) or an administrator serving in a more general capacity in regard to Community Life. The Diversity administrator should be an integral part of schools' hiring efforts. Schools that do not have someone serving in an official capacity regarding diversity initiatives will have to make sure they consistently address the role of diversity in their hiring and retention processes. Consultation with resources outside of the school, such as organizations that promote faculty of color hiring and retention, will be helpful in this regard.

Another recommendation pertaining to faculty and staff pertains to racial identity development initiatives for teachers of color and White teachers designed by members of the Penn research team. The goals of the identity development initiatives include: 1) cultivating teacher competence in interacting with diverse students and families, 2) evaluating teacher *in*competence, or holding teachers who consistently have difficulty communicating with diverse students and teachers accountable by consistently asking questions about how teachers relate to all of their students and families and providing constructive criticism on how to improve in this area, 3) encouraging exploration of the emotions surrounding racial identity in order to promote interracial dialogue and collaboration among teachers, students, and families, 4) promoting opportunities for dialogue between teachers of color and White teachers where the unique insight of teachers of color is recognized but the burden of having to teach their colleagues about diversity is not placed upon them, and 5) providing outlets for White teachers to work amongst themselves on recognizing the multiple facets of racial identity and related privilege issues as they pertain to their identity development and work with racially diverse families and students.

The final recommendation we are making involves assessment of the school environment for how it addresses race and other aspects of diversity. While we are aware that many schools do not have the resources to allocate to a project with the scope of the SAAS study, routine assessment of how diversity is



experienced by students in the school community would produce valuable information. Obtaining the perspective of parents and faculty will yield a multifaceted view of how key members of the school community experience the school context. Surveys, focus groups, and interviews are labor and time intensive yet provide valuable information. Case studies may be a more manageable assessment method for schools.

Regardless of the way a school chooses to undertake an assessment of the community, commitment from school leadership so that the assessment is actually undertaken and viewed seriously by members of the school community is a necessity. As many members of the school community as possible should be willing to listen to the findings with their defenses lowered so that they are able to *hear* the findings and then act on them. Follow-up sessions where the school discusses how they collected and analyzed the data, disseminated the findings, and the steps taken as a result of the assessment are strongly suggested.

Future directions for a collaborative action research project between independent schools and university researchers might include directly measuring academic areas such as course grades and standardized tests. Relationships between the social-emotional aspect of attending independent schools and achievement could then be examined. Individual interviews yielded some of the richest data over the years of the SAAS study. A small sample of students was interviewed twice. Interviewing students over an extended period of time—for example, each year a student was in the upper school—would provide a window into students' perspectives that a single interview could not. Finally, technological advances, such as data collection using the Internet, can serve to facilitate research endeavors that appeal to today's youth thereby making research engaging for students while collecting valuable information.

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

We have presented broad recommendations based on the overarching themes that stood out from the data we collected over the multiple years of the SAAS study. While we believe these recommendations are applicable for each of the participating SAAS schools, as well as similar schools in and out of the Philadelphia area, after approximately 10 years of involvement with independent schools we are well aware that each school has a unique culture that would influence how likely any of our recommendations would be acted upon and/or how successful they might be if implemented. One constant across schools is the commitment required from the administration, faculty, parents, and students to engage in the challenging work of making school communities inclusive and equitable environments. It is our hope that the findings presented in this report along with the discussion and recommendations will serve to motivate sincere reflection on the part of all members of SAAS and other interested schools about how race and other aspects of diversity are experienced by Black students and their families within the school community.

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**APPENDIX A**

- 1) On a scale of 1 to 5 how well does this school address issues of cultural diversity?      Very poorly      Poorly      Average      Well  
Very Well
- 2) How would you describe your experience here in this school?
- 3) What are the positive things about being a student in this school?
- 4) What are the negative things about being a student in this school?
- 5) Have you experienced any situation or incident related to your race?
- 5b) Or to your gender?
- 6) What things in the school would you change if you had the power to do so?
- 7) What things in the school would you keep the same?
- 8) Which academic areas do you do well at (e.g., math, science, history, etc)?
- 9) Which extracurricular areas do you do well at (athletics, debating, drama, band, etc)?
- 10) What strategies has the school tried in addressing diversity issues for all children over the last 5 years?
- 11) How have teachers tried to discuss diversity issues in the classes that you take?
- 12) What have other African American boys said to you about their experience here?
- 13) How do you think the females do in this program?
- 14) Is there a question NOT on this questionnaire that you would ask? If so, what is it, who would it be directed to and what is the answer you would expect to receive?
- 15) What recommendations would you make to the following groups about how to help boys? **Boys, Teachers, Parents, Administration, Trustees** [Ask about each constituency individually]
- 16) On a scale of 1 to 5, how well does this school address issues of cultural diversity?      Very poorly      Poorly      Average      Well  
Very

**Questions added or amended in the 1998-1999 year:**

- 5a) How do you think that your race has influenced your experiences in this school?
- 5b) How do you think that your gender has influenced your experiences in this school?
- 12) What have other African American students said to you about their experience here? 13) How do you think the African American males/females do in this school?
- 15) What recommendations would you make to the following groups about how to help African American students? **Other students, Teachers, Parents, Administration, Trustees**

## **APPENDIX B**

### **CASTENELL ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATIONS SCALE (CAMS)**

The CAMS is a 9-item, 4-point Likert scale (1= not important to 4=very important) self-report designed to assess students' motivation for achievement. The CAMS is unlike other measures which assess achievement motivation in that it was developed with the understanding that achievement motivation is multidimensional and varies across group. The CAMS includes achievement with peers, at home, and at school. The goal is to assess student motivation and to see if differences exist in different contexts.

### **HARE GENERAL AND AREA-SPECIFIC SELF-ESTEEM SCALE (HARE)**

The HARE is a 30-item, 4-point Likert scale (1=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree) self-report designed to assess students' levels of self-esteem. The HARE differs from other self-esteem measures in that it was designed to assess how a child feels about himself or herself in general, as well as in specific areas (with peers, at school, at home). The goal is to assess self-esteem and to see if differences exist in specific areas.

### **MULTIDIMENSION INVENTORY OF BLACK IDENTITY**

The MIBI was developed as the measurement aspect of the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998). On the MIBI individuals use a 7-point Likert scale to respond to 62 items (or 20 items in the short version). It covers three aspects of racial identity: how a person defines themselves in terms of race (centrality), how a person evaluates their racial group (regard—which is assessed in terms of both public and private regard), and how they think members of the racial group should act (ideology).

### **MULTIDIMENSION INVENTORY OF BLACK IDENTITY-TEEN**

The MIBI-t is a 37-item modified version of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI). On the MIBI-t students use a 5-point Likert scale to respond to various items covering three aspects of racial identity: how a person defines themselves in terms of race (centrality), how a person evaluates their racial group (regard—which is assessed in terms of both public and private regard), and how they think members of the racial group should act (ideology).

### **MULTISCALE DEPRESSION INVENTORY (MDI)**

The MDI, which consists of 47 items, is an effective measure of depression in children. The MDI assesses moods, energy level, and also taps into a wide variety of emotions that may be related to how students succeed in school. The MDI provides information about general trends in emotion that may indicate strengths (such as optimism) and possible risk factors (like low self-esteem).

### **NEIGHBORHOOD SOCIAL CAPITAL SCALE (NSC) [1998-2001]**

The NSC is a measure for understanding how much teenagers and parents rely on their neighbors, have neighbors who know about their activities,

and how safe they feel in their neighborhood environment. The goal is to determine the degree to which neighbors and the neighborhood serve as a resource for teenagers and parents.

### **NEIGHBORHOOD SENSE OF COMMUNITY SCALE (NSOC) [2002]**

The NSOC is a measure for assessing parent and adolescents' sense of community in their neighborhoods.

### **PARENT EXPERIENCE OF RACIAL SOCIALIZATION SCALE (PERS)**

The PERS is a measure for parents to report how frequently they have told their children a set of 40 statements about how to handle racial issues in school, neighborhood, or society. The parents can answer "NEVER", "A FEW TIMES", or "LOTS OF TIMES". The goal is to see how much families talk to their youth about these issues.

### **PARENT INVOLVEMENT IN EDUCATION SCALE (PIES)**

The PIES is a 60-item, 4-point Likert scale (1 = disagree a lot to 4 = agree a lot) parent self-report questionnaire that is intended to measure the involvement of parents in the education of their primary and secondary school children. The instrument represents a range of attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs such that parent involvement is conceptualized as a broad construct. Specifically, it attempts to capture the varied definitions of parent involvement that reflect home, school, school-home, parent empowerment, and community activities that promote child academic learning.

### **PERCEIVED RACISM SCALE**

The PRS is a 51-item, multidimensional measure of perceived racism for adults. The dimensions of the PRS are: frequency of exposure to types of racist incidents, emotional responses to racism, and behavioral coping responses. Each dimension is measured in the following domains: employment, academic, public, and exposure to racist statements. Individuals respond to items in each domain using a 6-point Likert scale ranging from "Not applicable" to "Several times a day." The emotional response to racism section consists of 10 emotions to which respondents use a 5-item Likert scale ranging from "Not at all" to "Extremely" to indicate how much they experienced that emotion when they experience racism in a particular domain. The coping response to racism section consists of 10 coping responses to which respondents check if they have used the response.

### **PERCEIVED RACISM SCALE-ADOLESCENT (PRS-A)**

The PRS-A is a 52-item, multidimensional measure of perceived racism for adolescents. It is a modified version of the PRS that is used with adult populations. The dimensions of the PRS-A are: frequency of exposure to types of racist incidents, emotional responses to racism, and behavioral coping responses. Each dimension is measured in the following domains: employment, academic, public, and exposure to racist statements. Adolescents respond to

items in each domain using a 6-point Likert scale ranging from “Not applicable” to “Several times a day.” The emotional response to racism section consists of 10 emotions to which respondents use a 5-item Likert scale ranging from “Not at all” to “Extremely” to indicate how much they experienced that emotion when they experience racism in a particular domain. The coping response to racism section consists of 10 coping responses to which respondents check if they have used the response.

### **PSYCHOLOGICAL SENSE OF SCHOOL MEMBERSHIP (PSSM)**

The PSSM is an 18-item, 5-point Likert scale (1 = not at all true to 5 = completely true) self-report measure that students complete. The PSSM can be used with early to late adolescents to assess perception of their sense of belonging to the school community. The PSSM will provide information as to the extent that students themselves feel that they are part of and belong in the school community.

### **REJECTION SENSITIVITY (RS) [1998, 2000]**

The Rejection Sensitivity Scale is composed of 2 parts. Part 1 consists of 12 short vignettes in which a child may feel a sense of nervousness or anger, followed by 3 6-point Likert scale questions. The questions assess degree of nervousness and anger that would be felt in the situation, as well as the student’s perceived outcome of the situation. Part 2 consists of 2 vignettes, with 15-16 3-point Likert scale questions each. The questions ask the respondent to report how he or she thinks and feels about the situation in the vignette. Advantages to the Rejection Sensitivity Scale are that it includes interactions with friends, peers, and teachers, and it assesses both feelings and thoughts about various interactions.

### **SCHOOL ATTITUDE MEASURE (SAM) [1998, 2000]**

The SAM is a nationally normed measure that can be given to students from Kindergarten through 12th grade. Different forms for different ages make this measure ideal for studying students across academic years and over time. The flexibility of the measure allows for assessment of motivation for school and students’ feelings about their academic abilities.

### **SCHOOL CLIMATE MEASURE (SC)**

The School Climate measure is a 21-item instrument that attempts to assess both student and parent perception of the school environment. It asks how welcome they feel, how supportive teachers are, how they get along with their peers, and generally how comfortable they feel in the school setting.

### **SOCIAL SKILLS RATING SYSTEM (SSRS)**

The SSRS is a rating scale that can be completed by teachers, parents and students. The SSRS can be used with preschool, elementary, and secondary students. The SSRS explores social skills, problem behaviors, and academic competence. The SSRS will provide information as to how parents and

teachers see students in regard to a variety of behaviors that involve relating to and being perceived by others. The teacher's version also provides information as to how teachers believe students are doing in regard to their school performance. The student version allows for self-rating on social behaviors. The advantage of the SSRS is that it allows for comparison of the perspectives of students, parents, and teachers.

### **THE STATE-TRAIT ANGER EXPRESSION INVENTORY (STAXI)**

The STAXI is a 44-item, 4-point Likert scale designed to assess current anger state, general disposition toward anger, and general reactions or behaviors when angry. The STAXI is unique in that it conceptualizes anger expression as having 3 components: (1) anger out, or the expression of anger toward others or toward the environment; (2) anger in, or suppression of angry feelings; and (3) anger control, or the extent to which the respondent attempts to control the expression of anger. Differences in anger expression may have important implications for how students perceive and cope with their environment.

### **TEENAGE EXPERIENCE OF RACIAL SOCIALIZATION (TERS)**

The TERS is a measure designed to ask youth from the ages of 10-18 how often they have heard their parents or family tell them how to handle racial issues. The youth can answer "NEVER", "A FEW TIMES", or "LOTS OF TIMES" to 40 statements on racial messages. The goal is to see how much families talk to their youth and whether they have heard and internalized what their parents have told them.



**APPENDIX C**

- 1) What were the benefits and drawbacks you considered in making your decision to enroll your child in an independent school?
- 2) What led you to choose this particular school for your child?
- 3) What have been some of the actual benefits of having your child enrolled in this school? What about the disappointments?
- 4) Do you think that the school acknowledges and supports your child's talents and abilities? Do you think social status plays a part? What about race?
- 5) How has your child adjusted in this school? Do you think social status plays a part? What about race?
- 6) Are you comfortable participating in school activities? Do you think social status plays a part? What about race?
- 7) What has your child told you about his or her experience in this school related to race, class and diversity, and how have you responded?
- 8) How much do you talk with your child about race and class? What topics do you discuss?
- 9) How has the school addressed issues related to race and class?
- 10) Do you think teachers address race and class in their lessons and/or activities?
- 11) Is there a question NOT on this questionnaire that you would ask? IF SO, what is it, who would it be directed to, and what is the answer you would expect to receive? **(END OF ORAL INTERVIEW... additional questions to be written out by individual)**
- 12) What recommendations would you make to the following groups to promote the success of African American boys in this school?  

<b>Boys</b>	<b>Teachers</b>	<b>Parents</b>	<b>Administration</b>	<b>Trustees</b>
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- 13) On a scale of 1 to 5, how well does this school address issues of cultural diversity?  

<b>Very Poorly</b>	<b>Poorly</b>	<b>Average</b>	<b>Well</b>	<b>Very Well</b>
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**APPENDIX D**

- 1) On a scale of 1 to 5, how well does this school address issues of cultural diversity?  
Very Poorly      Poorly      Average      Well  
Very Well
- 2) How has this school addressed diversity issues over the last five years?
- 3) How have you addressed diversity issues in your classroom?
- 4) What do you think the experience is like, both academically and socially, for African American students in this school?
- 5) If applicable, how do you think experiences differ between African American females and African American males in this school?
- 6) What challenges do you think African American students face at this school?
- 7) What strategies have been tried, if any, to address the challenges? Have they been successful?
- 8) How have African American students been successful at this school?
- 9) What strategies have been tried, if any, to promote the successes? Have they been successful?
- 10) What are the factors that contribute to the positive adjustment for African American students at this school?
- 11) Have you seen any incidents in which race played a role in your classroom (or in your general contact with students).
- 12) How would you describe the concerns of the parents of African American students?
- 13) Is there anything else you would like to add? Is there another question you think we should be asking?

**(END OF ORAL INTERVIEW... additional questions to be written out by individual)**

- 14) What recommendations would you make to the following groups to promote the success of African American boys in this school?  
**Boys   Teachers   Parents   Administration   Trustees**

**APPENDIX E**

- 1) How would you describe your positive and negative experiences at your alma mater?
- 2) What strategies did the school use to address diversity when you were a student? Were these strategies successful?
- 3) What strategies did teachers use to integrate diversity issues in your classes when you were a student? Were these strategies successful?
- 4) How did your experience at this influence your choice of college (if applicable)?
- 5) Describe any conversations you have had with other alumni about your experiences here.
- 6) What did your parents do or say that provided you with lessons about race? What was your take on this?
- 7) Looking back, what would you have changed at your alma mater?
- 8) Is there a question NOT on this questionnaire that you would ask? IF SO, what is it, who would it be directed to, and what is the answer you would expect to receive? **(END OF ORAL INTERVIEW... additional questions to be written out by individual)**
- 9) What recommendations would you make to the following groups to promote the success of African American boys in this school?

**Boys   Teachers   Parents   Administration   Trustees**

10) On a scale of 1 to 5, how well does this school address issues of cultural diversity?

**Very Poorly                  Poorly                          Average                  Well                  Very Well**