

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion, Conclusions, and Recommendations

What happens to a dream deferred?
Does it dry up
like a raisin in the sun?
Or fester like a sore----
And then run?
Does it stink like rotten meat?
Or crust and sugar over----
like a syrupy sweet?
Maybe it just sags
like a heavy load.
Or does it explode?

Hughes, Langston (1994)

The purpose of this study was to explore how two urban, African American, male adolescents with histories of poor school performance experienced the turn-around phenomenon associated with improved academic achievement in a high school setting. To accomplish this goal, two subjects were selected for in-depth case study from an original sample pool of ten students. The constructs that were developed and presented in the previous chapter represent the researcher's effort to organize the experiences of these two young men and to understand the interactive processes that were revealed during their transformations. Constructs that emerged from the data analysis in the two in-depth case studies are not exhaustive. However, in the researcher's mind, they represent a compelling understanding of the uniqueness and the complexity in each young man's experiences during the turn-around process. What has been captured in this study is a small part of a very large picture.

The high school program that facilitated the achievement and positive social growth of these urban youth marginalized by poverty and violence was an open, humane system that actively recruited the supportive resources in the home and the community. The success the staff experienced in accomplishing this goal was largely due to its knowledge of the unique academic learning, performance problems of its learners and the level of hard work to which the staff committed itself, in order to facilitate improved student achievement. The reluctant African American learners in this study, their families, and their communities had internalized many of the negative messages which the dominant culture has used to stigmatize their identity and their ability to compete in mainstream America. The learners associated their life chances and their potential for success with members of their community who have been systemically excluded from the opportunity structure. Not only had they developed an anti-academic fictive kinship structure (Fordham, 1996) to cope that further limited their opportunity to participate in mainstream America, but they had also devalued academic achievement as a viable vehicle towards the improvement of their economic condition. One premise, however, on which the critical mass of educators operated in this school was that each of these students wanted to be successful. However, the structural support they needed to be successful in secondary school had never been provided. How did one high school program address these issues and help students divorce academic pursuit from the idea of identity loss?

The first part of this chapter will address the research questions of the study. The second part of the chapter will discuss the results of the findings found in the two in-depth case study subjects. Part three will present conclusions and generalizations. Finally, part four will proffer recommendations for action and questions for further consideration.

What interactive processes within the school, home, and community facilitated the turn-around phenomenon associated with each student's success, positive social growth and development? Eight interactive processes addressed the intricate needs of these African American, urban, male adolescents to facilitate their turn-around. The first process was a school process and can be described as the creation of a nurturing, relational, organic structure that complemented its institutional care programs. Interpersonal care was established and maintained between students and staff, not only to validate and honor students' individual uniqueness, but also to hold them accountable for their own behavior and academic learning. The philosophy of the school's program was grounded in the worth of every student. Students were taught to turn their negative behaviors into positive behaviors; in the process they became more self-respecting and protective of their opportunity to stay in school to learn and to improve. The development of a cyclical reciprocal care phenomenon evolved between the subjects and the organic care system. The relational experiences between faculty and students established trust, which created confidence that subsequently inspired their transformations.

The second school process was the staff's recognition of the fictive kinship structure as a group survival vehicle. Culturally synchronous adult role models at the Academy purposively reconfigured the anti-academic fictive kinship structure by influencing the key adolescent players who operated inside it. Group membership is very important in Black adolescent male relationships. Fordham (1996) described the fictive kinship in the African American culture as the collective identity of Black Americans, ethnic consolidation, and a sense of peoplehood expressed by feelings and language. She also postulated that Black children tend to associate their chances for success with those of their peers and their community. This study supports her findings.

The two students in this study were aware of the discrimination against them that exists in society. As these students transformed, the burden of "acting white" associated with academic excellence that Signithia Fordham and John Ogbu (1986) explain was removed:

White Americans traditionally refused to acknowledge that Black Americans are capable of intellectual achievement, and ...Black Americans subsequently began to doubt their own intellectual ability, began to define academic success as White people's prerogative, and began to discourage their peers, perhaps unconsciously, from emulating White people in academic strivings, i.e., from 'acting white'.²⁰

The third interactive process was identified in the school, in the family and in the community. In school, it constituted the hiring of committed staff to interact with these learners in three capacities: adult male role model, mentor, and teacher. The environment in which these students lived did not expose them to enough successful Black mainstream role models to counter their exposures in their communities. In order to complement the limited exposure that each subject encountered at home and in his community, the Academy had deliberately selected

²⁰ Signithia Fordham and John. U. Ogbu, "Black Students' School Success: Coping with the Burden of 'Acting White'," Urban Review 18 (1986) p. 177.

quintessentially committed African American male role models whose interactions with each subject contributed significantly to each student's positive turn-around. The relational connections established with these teachers influenced these students and formed a pattern of respectful interaction, through a culturally synchronous validating experience. The school role models were critical in Simeon's transformational development. Colin established significant motivating relationships at the Academy, but his father, grandfather, and minister were the major male influencers in his development. Men within the family, school, and community who were credible models in the eyes of these adolescents had a lasting impact on their positive development when they were men these youngsters aspired to emulate, because they believed in their authenticity and integrity.

Processes four and five were complementary functions. The first part of process four involved selecting staff members who were seriously committed to working with all students. The second part of the process trained all staff members to sensitively address the unique learning and performance problems of the reluctant African American learner. Its complement in the fifth process imposed frequent, persistent qualitative and quantitative monitoring and documentation that underscored teacher accountability in all classrooms. Many staff development sessions to address the specific needs of learners were conducted. Monitoring and holding teachers accountable for their success and failure rates were processes as critically germane as the training itself; the bottom line was student achievement.

Before the change of leadership and composition in the administrative team, large numbers of teachers comfortable with failure were judgmental toward students, stigmatized and failed them excessively. They were unskilled in demonstrating strategies, techniques and affective stances required to address their learners' needs. Failure was also used as a method of control. There was no effective accountability model in place to change this pattern of negligence. With the new administration, it was understood that student failure which encompassed a majority of students in a class or in a school was a failure of the school. Teachers were held accountable for doing the hard work required for the delivery of effective instruction. The administration concomitantly confronted the difficulty of the cross-cultural teaching experience.

It became the mission of all staff leaders to insist that students' sense of self was not left out of the discourse of effective instruction. Working to help these African American learners develop good feelings about who they were culturally, while they learned and improved academically, was as critical as the subjects they needed to master. Consequently, feeling secure in their cultural identity affirmed them as Black learners who did not have to "act white" to achieve. This meant that teachers had to be skilled and sensitized enough to teach students something society had failed to do.

The sixth interactive process reflected a home/school dynamic: helping parents understand their role at school and holding them accountable for participation and follow-through. In both case studies, each student's extreme love for a parent was complemented by supportive structures the school provided to sustain the student's effort that motivated him to seek parental love and approval. For Simeon, his mother was his inspiration; for Colin, his father kept him focused and hopeful. In the home life of each of these students, a parent had taught him the value of an education, and had instilled in him an awareness of its role in his survival, although there was no significant demand by any of the parents for persistent academic excellence. The school not only enhanced the home values these subjects had been taught, it required parents to help plan and monitor the participation of their children in programs that the school had structured to accommodate their needs. Parental participation resulted in a significant positive impact on the turn-around each child made.

The intensified concentration of each of these interactive processes for ninth grade students in a smaller, separate Annex within the larger school complex constituted the seventh interactive element. There were greater attention to student need and smaller numbers of students with whom to interact; stronger relationships among students, teachers, and administrators existed. Closer ties with more frequent communication and collaboration among faculty were possible as well. The positive processes that evolved to effect change in students were doubled and tripled in the Annex, not only because of its size but also because of the village learning culture it embodied.

The final interactive process is exemplified in the unique negative events in each subject's life that created a need for each to establish a good academic record. For Simeon, it was his crime, the impending threat of the judge's sentencing that he tried to manipulate and the tormenting dread of being separated from his mother. For Colin, it was his need to avoid the possibility of further painful disappointment in his life by creating a self-reliant plan of total independence. These negative home and community process issues significantly influenced each one's will to succeed. The school program facilitated the actualization of growth towards their goals.

How did each young man conceptualize the three systems of school, family, and community, during his transformation? This was most revealed in how these conceptualizations reflected his situation in each system, and how these students acted in school, as they began to see their peers achieve and gain positive recognition for their academic accomplishments. Academic success had become a genuine part of their fictive kinship language, because it commanded genuine newly-experienced respect. The peer pressure, for them, had changed from being accepted for not doing well in the peer order to doing well to obtain "status" membership within the kinship order. The burden of "acting white" did not apply. They began to view their potential for success differently; it was achievable. And as they were changing, their families and peers viewed their potential more positively, supported it constructively, and appreciated it more enthusiastically.

School became a home-away-from-home; a place that had broken the impersonal bureaucratic vacuity of the system with which they had historically experienced failure and cultural dissonance. It became a place to be cared about because it was viewed as a place that cared about them. And because it was a place that hadn't given up on them, the care was reciprocated.

Because the values of the home were enhanced by the school, they were reinforced. The community became a place that forced them to examine their options more carefully; this included choosing relationships that would complement their efforts to change, reinforce and enhance their progress. Many decisions they made in the community began to reflect their own best interests.

How did each of these conceptualizations reflect his situation within each system during the process of change? As improved students, they were often identified to lead by staff members and classmates, and they were instrumental in convincing other students of the importance of the "academic" message. It was important to work to improve their own academic achievement and their own academic self-esteem. They became model change agents within the fictive kinship order. Simeon became a vocal activist who led discussions and peer conferences with student recruits. Colin modeled and influenced by example. Among his student associates, he projected a no-nonsense persona. As they excelled, they were extolled as peer role models to emulate in school and among siblings at home. In the community, their efforts were lauded in some instances and guarded in others. Negative peer pressure was often withdrawn if they took a stand in the face of its negativity. Teachers, peers, and family afforded them respect for their accomplishments. The possibility of responsible citizenship participation became a reality. Simeon expressed it:

It means that you can always help somebody or somebody can always look up to you 'cause you doin' good in school. That makes them want to do good in school, too. Being successful in school is like being a role model, to me.

In Simeon's mind it gave them status; people looked up to them. Colin expressed his social growth and his desire to reach out to others: "I've been [noticed] by someone and helped, and so when I know I am being helped, I help someone else." They felt that the change in their actions and perceptions and those of their peers were a direct result of the staff's high expectations, its push for them to be the best they could be and its support and demand for them to exert persistent effort to pursue a path of excellence.

Discussion

Accessing the Care Structures

How each subject accessed the care structures, as he transformed his values toward school and achievement, was realized through several of the school's critical components. Simeon was the boisterous, gregarious, street-wise, 'wanna-be' hustler who disruptively disengaged from the learning process, demanding attention and carving a machismo niche for himself among the peers within his network. Simeon needed discipline, direction, focus, and positive attention. Even though he was under house arrest during his entire tenure at the Academy, it was never held against him. The seriousness of his wrongdoing was never taken lightly, but he was never judged harshly by members of the staff for the mistake that he had made. This non-judgmental attitude of the staff helped him become less defensive, more amenable, more willing to trust and cooperate with the teachers to whom he was assigned. His teachers took advantage of every opportunity to help him redirect his energies and his talents to maximize his potential. His English teacher described her posture:

How you relate to their situations can turn them off. I knew what Simeon was involved in, but that didn't change how I related to him as a person. And I looked at it as if he had made a mistake. Some teachers would take this type of information and use it to shut kids off. You can't do that to them.

Colin was the nice, quiet boy who had been a disengaged, introverted loner all of his school career. His rage was suppressed beneath a need to be noticed, accepted, loved and encouraged. The psycho-social dynamics in his history had caused him to withdraw from actively seeking emotional support from those around him. He had built an inner world of spiritual and mental strength behind which he retreated, and trusting was difficult. He formed a few superficial relationships at school with students that other teachers considered to be really nice kids, but mostly he was alone. He rarely talked, and his English teacher described him as a student who made a special effort not to interact at all in classes with anyone, unless he was called on to participate.

Withdrawal and detachment had been his standard practice; he had gone through the motions of schooling most of his life. The Youth 2000 Program broke through the impersonality of his historical interaction with school structures and devoted its attention to his needs, aspirations and problems. Its team structure facilitated teachers' ability to address his deeper psychological-sociological needs, which were stifling his learning performance. The release of his rage in

detention had ended an old way of behaving for him. His was a need to express pent-up pain. When he let his pain go, he was embraced, not punished or judged. Responsive empathy on the part of the staff provided Colin the opportunity to release his personality in tiny incremental steps from a shell that he had been constructing for a very long time. As he saw teachers grant power to his unique qualities of sensitiveness, quietness, pain, inner turmoil, confusion, frustration, and rage, he sought refuge in the warmth of his daily interactions with them. Colin's transformation evolved from the significant change in this pattern of teacher-student relationships precipitated by his demonstration of rage and trust, which were both respected. He described his need, "I need encouragement more than anything." Sensitized to his needs, his teachers provided the consistent affect of praise and verbal hugs. His English teacher described how she interacted with Colin and Simeon:

I was very nurturing to Colin; I talked very softly to him.
I stood in close proximity to him. But with Simeon I wasn't.
I talked loud to Simeon; you had to let him know: Yeah, this
is how you are; but this is my classroom. He had to see me
be really authoritative and take control in my room.

Simeon had come to the setting with a real need for parameters, because of the mother's permissive, indulgent parenting style that had provided unconditional love, rescue and ambiguously defined limits. The consequences of this parenting style were problematic for him in school situations; he persistently experienced problems with authority. The detention experience for him at the Academy was designed to teach him behaviors that facilitated his adjustment in the mainstream. Detention was an interaction intentionally structured to be positive for students; more specifically, it facilitated the conversion of Simeon's machismo problems. Simeon's sense of appropriateness was converted from a negative to a positive and highly acceptable frame of reference. A time had been provided for him to talk about the problems he had experienced in classes or with authority figures: a time to examine the results of many of his actions and an opportunity for him, along with his peers, to examine his behavior, to develop strategies which would be more fruitful for his growth, development and success. In turn, he was given the opportunity to advise peers who came with problems for which he could provide productive feedback and suggestions for their improvement. This was a place for Simeon to examine ways of behaving that would help keep him from eventual long-term failure and permanent exclusion from the mainstream. It was not simply a punitive experience that resulted in a student's time being taken away for one hour and fifteen minutes, only to return the next week to spend another nonproductive hour and a half. A time segment of each detention session was also designated for students to do homework and complete assignments. Tutoring assistance was provided by the faculty member in charge of detention or by peer tutors who were scheduled to be available after school.

Later when Simeon realized that the judge whom he had been trying to manipulate was not going to waive his charges, his genuine sense of efficacy, competence, and worth had already materialized. At that point he took control of his own learning. He had decided that it really didn't concern the judge anymore; it was his life, his progress and his pursuit. Achievement had meaning and his needs and values had been transformed constructively, rather than aggravated negatively. The school's nurture and support had created confidence in him, "It's good to be successful, so you don't have to keep putting your goals on hold. You just get that feeling inside that you're on top of things. It's a good feeling inside." It was something he had never experienced in a school setting, and he was very grateful for it. He had often rebelled against and tested the limits of this organic care structure because it imposed definitive limitations; in his own words, he had felt "overpowered." In the beginning he had perceived his "vanquishment" as the school's problem

with authority; by the end of the year, he had perceived the school's efforts as a reflection of its faculty's commitment to care. For Simeon, it was important for the school to establish authority through the kind of interpersonal care relationships that inspired his respect for staff. Through its transference, he learned its requisite attributes for respecting himself.

It was equally important for Simeon and Colin to be pushed toward an uncompromising standard of high expectation. Without the supportive care in the organic and institutional structures, however, none of the students in the sample indicated that they could have met these high standards by themselves. Their history in school substantiates this. When asked to describe his teachers at the Academy, Simeon responded:

They were concerned, helpful, reliable, honest and true. If I needed them, I could always go to them for help. I could rely on them. Ms. J; [i.e., the program administrator] she cared about anybody. The teachers was caring about me. They really didn't give up on me. It's something I gotta thank them for. They ain't give up on me.

Colin interpreted the verbal and nonverbal affect he received from teachers, "They all want you to be something in life. Ms. J., I think she stayed on me real hard because she know I can do it." All of his teachers knew about the tragedies he had endured; he didn't want to disappoint any of them. He was struggling with the re-entry of his permissive, indulgent mother's parenting style and the authoritarian parenting style of his adopted mother. It was difficult for him to resolve his resentment and confusion about the two styles. The program administrator had helped him find his way through the maze; therefore, he took most of his problems to her and to several other teachers on the team. School was no longer a place where he was compelled to withdraw or persistently act out his anger and pain.

When he did poorly, he was required to serve academic detention to make up failed tests, to do missed homework assignments and to do supplemental work when he had problems in certain content areas. Accountability for his achievement was never compromised. When he received an award for achieving a 2.71 G.P.A. during the third quarter of his freshman year, he remembered his feelings, "It made me feel good that I got it...that I'm doin' something." It motivated him to keep striving to improve. The support and positive affect introduced Colin to something inside himself worth honoring; because he was able to hold on to it, his development was enriched.

The Fictive Kinship and Culturally Synchronous Role Models

Since society's racialized messages about Black males are persistent, negative, and corrosive, being able to rely on mentors and positive, successful role models in adolescence can mean the difference between losing many of them to the elements of criminal exposure or turning them around to pursue more positive life choices for survival. If there is hope of breaking the cycle of malignancy associated with poverty and the stigma of race they negotiate daily, the presence of positive, credible individuals who inspire trust and self-respect must be ubiquitous. For whatever academic skills many Black adolescents lack, the brilliance of their affective perspicacity regarding the actions, intentions, and feelings of people is grossly underestimated, and often misperceived.

The teachers with whom Simeon related most gave him an opportunity to share his thinking, as negative as it was in some cases, and receive strong, positive mentoring that fit the values his mother had single-handedly tried to teach him. The absence of Simeon's father had

clearly affected his achievement; there was no male achiever role model, and his teachers had introduced him to a different way of being a man in a society that rejects and stigmatizes him. One of the three Saturday School teachers with whom Simeon had bonded shared his feelings and thoughts:

Sometimes all three of us lament over seeing so many kids go towards crime and violence; it is frustrating. That's why we're so dedicated. We really love them [*i.e.*, the kids]; we love working with them. We come to work six days a week, and we don't get paid for Saturdays. That's one reason they respect and listen to us. Another reason they respect us is we all came from the same experience in this area; we know the kids. We know what they're saying. It wasn't long ago when we were in their shoes.

These three teachers were African American men in their twenties, who, by their own admission, knew that to be significantly influential it was important not to be far removed from the experience of their students. Historically, Simeon had always made a practice of hanging out with much older guys. His "peer role models," as he called them, were eighteen, nineteen and twenty. However, they had often been negative models for his decision-making, attitude and behavior. He was finally able to resist these influences, because they were replaced by his teachers who offered him a choice of meaningful substitute attitudes and behaviors from which to select. One teacher commented:

It gave us a chance to interact with him...to show him that there was another side of life outside the one he knew in his immediate environment. He began to see that. He was always trying to be like the little brother. He always stayed after just to talk, just to shoot the breeze [*i.e.*, engage in casual conversation].

The program mentor who was not a Saturday School instructor said, "Simeon had to get into his mind that there was a lot more of life in this world than where he lived and what he was used to and what he saw." Their insight into the needs of students was invaluable. Often students' fictive kinship reference point will not permit them to listen for learning, unless the transference of the teacher's experiences has real meaning for them and makes sense as viable solutions that fit their own experiences. These instructors were able to do that. When asked why he thought his social studies teacher was such a good teacher, he expressed the fulfillment of his need to have had a teacher who made sense of his world, "Cause he Black and he know what he's talkin' about." The teachers knew he needed help choosing and conceptualizing his daily realities and they were able to provide that for him. Eventually, he was attending Saturday School because he had nothing constructive to do on Saturday mornings, and he found this school structure of care more appealing than the street danger from which he was seeking an honorable retreat. There was a sense of family that had been created from the continuity between the daily classroom interactions and the Saturday School interactions. The Academy was helping him focus, believe in himself enough to rely on his home values, and have the confidence and conviction to walk the walk that really did finally fit his own talk.

The issue of societal discrimination against them as African Americans was not unknown to these adolescents. Simeon felt powerless and vulnerable in the face of oppression, "We ain't got no power; they can do anything to you. In some jobs you don't see nothin' but White people."

Almost everything he had done in school, prior to his enrollment at the Academy, had been a reflection of his anti-academic fictive kinship response to school work and the lack of value he had given it in his future. In his mind, he had to fight to be accepted and respected by his peers. He only became involved in activities that reflected a lack of commitment to the values within the school context; he worked harder at resolving his feelings of powerlessness by not being a chump. He became aware of a difference in attitude toward school, respect and survival when he transferred to a White suburban school in Annapolis, where he lived temporarily with his uncle. In his own words:

In my neighborhood, I felt like I had something to prove; I had to prove I was a tough guy; if I showed them I was smart, I'd look like a nerd; so I just wanted to earn my respect by being a tough guy. But when I moved down Annapolis, I seen you ain't gotta earn your respect as being no tough guy; you earn your respect by being smart. In my neighborhood, you have to demand your respect by fighting and doing things like that.

He was a member in good standing of the fictive kinship in his community. Against all these forces, his negative ideas had to be changed. The administration understood this social context and the school goals for changing behavior and attitude were directly related to these recurring dynamics among the urban reluctant learners in this study. The task itself was transformational.

One of the major things that helped change Simeon's attitude and his academic progress was his realization that his peers were doing well. Since he had arrived at the Academy late in the school year, many of his friends had already begun to change by the time he enrolled. Akbar, a member of the original sample in this study, had achieved a 4.0; another friend, Dante, had a 2.87 G.P.A. Simeon read the unity of the psychological message of the staff's commitment to care. It was verbally and affectively communicated to students.

All of us knew we had to do what we had to do. If we didn't, teachers were going to make us do it. At the Academy, most of the people [i.e., staff] when you said forget it [i.e., doing class work], they be like you gonna do this; you gonna do this now. You ain't gonna forget about nothin'.

Colin said, "They stayed on me, and they didn't let me settle for one A or two A's or a C. Colin's place in the fictive kinship was occupied quietly and intensely. When he was asked what being a Black guy had to do with being a success or not being a success, his awareness of oppression was expressed clearly:

It makes me start thinkin' about slavery; it brings hate to my heart when I think of what White people did; so I just leave that alone. Every time, it makes me think that all White people are the same. In order to keep going, I have to blot it out.

He knew he wasn't living up to his potential, and even though he had made progress towards improved achievement, he felt he had a long way to go before he actually accomplished what he was capable of doing. He remembers teachers in middle school making him feel incapable of improving his skills and changing his economic condition:

In eighth grade, a lot of teachers used to tell us we ain't gonna never be nothin' in life. 'It don't matter,' they said. 'Ya'll ain't gonna be nothin.' The math teacher walked out and never came back. It made me feel like he ain't really care about us....I stopped caring because [pause] I guess 'cause nobody else cared.

In middle school, he had created a bump-on-a-log persona; consequently, he had received almost no attention from teachers. His program administrator said that Colin needed to have the same degree of expectation set for him in every class for him to reach his potential. He received that kind of support in all his Annex classes, because of their concentrated positives there. When he moved to the classes in the larger building, the support he received was less intense. He didn't always want to do work in class, and he didn't even always want to go to class. Homework was something he often tried very hard to finish during the school day, during lunch period and after classes. Deep down inside, he was holding back, which represented his struggle with the anti-academic fictive kinship phenomenon.

Even though the male mentoring within the Academy was available for him, he selected only three to whom to go for advice, counsel, and bonding: his program mentor, his science teacher, and his math teacher. Colin's father, grandfather, and minister were the men who provided the greatest influence in his life; his father was, at the time of this study, the most significant. His father represented a model of the turn-around phenomenon that Colin strived to approximate. He had used his knowledge of business and accounting to inspire Colin's interest and his determination to have everything he wanted in life. The other influential model that inspired Colin's vision of his own success was the minister of his church. The entrepreneurial ventures of the church that were a major success story in the city of Washington guided his dreams as a young Black man who could also be successful. Colin's idea of accumulating wealth was grounded in a definitive, methodical mainstream plan of action, inspired by the achievements of these men.

His program mentor understood that Colin was not a streetwise student and that his expression of rage in detention was really a cry for help: a risk taken to be loved by teachers who were pushing him to do and to be more than he had ever been pushed before. Much of his frustration had to do with not being able to live with his father, from whom he continued to experience some feelings of rejection, even though his father had returned to his life and had taken an active role in it. His program mentor worked to convince him that everything he did now, especially at school, would affect the rest of his life and his life choices. He helped him understand that he had to accept the fact that he had no control over the events of his past that led to his present circumstances; that his present situation was not his fault, even though it was one he had to deal with; and that, too, was a situation over which he had no control. These were difficult realities for a fourteen year old to bracket, in order to do well in a school program. The staff worked to teach him that if he really focused and used his school work to have some control over his future, he could make things better for himself eventually. The insight of the program mentor had rallied support around Colin that inspired him to work hard at not disappointing the significant adults within the school program with whom he had formed a relational connection.

Like Simeon's, his efforts were visibly celebrated, concretely recognized and rewarded by the school. The awards and academic recognition he received in church were also instrumental in helping him maintain a focus that resulted in steady progress for him.

Benefiting from the Staff Development Model

Teachers had collaborated extensively about learning readiness in the anti-academically inclined student. These non-judgmental exchange sessions scheduled with regular in-service workshops were designed to sensitize staff to student needs, and they facilitated the refined application of appropriate methodology and technique. A combined professional repertoire of approaches which did not divorce the students' identities from academic pursuit evolved.

Colin's science teacher's comments were vivid in their explanation of what he viewed as some of the obstacles these students faced:

Colin, like the others, has probably been told all the negatives about Blacks and education. 'Why go to high school? It's not going to get you anywhere. You'll only go so far; your grades will only be so good. You're not looking at the same peak as White society.' So they expect to fail. In fact some of them work subconsciously to fail. They say to themselves, 'Well, I'm not going to be but so good, so why should I try?' That operates in a lot of our kids' minds.

These teachers were committed and were operating with culturally specific knowledge about learning and performance problems. He felt it was his responsibility to encourage each of Colin's efforts to succeed toward greater effort, even if it figuratively meant holding his hand to do so. Another strategy that the science teacher used to establish readiness was to devote one day a week in all of his classes to talk about issues in the community, problems that related to their lives and things about which they needed to know and/or talk:

- gang-related school violence; community violence;
- child abuse;
- school busing; the magnet school program, integration and its impact on them as students in a complex high school with magnet programs;
- the resurgence of tuberculosis in the Washington, D.C. area.

The teachers of the students in this study were frequently able to relate the experience of the students to their curricula. The perspective they brought to students was culturally specific and when applied to effective methodology, it maximized the learning experience by maximizing motivation. In this way, they were able to influence the transformation of their attitudes and their behaviors.

Conclusions

This research supports the following conclusions about two African American urban, adolescent males who demonstrated a reluctance toward learning. (1) They changed their attitude towards learning and succeeded when there were organic and institutional care systems in the school that supported their efforts to change. Their own positive identities were revealed to them through nurture, positive affect and supportive intervention which pushed them to higher standards of performance expectation. Credentialed faculty who were genuine in their commitment to work with all children were selected; interpersonal care was the critical attribute in their turn-around experience. The hopelessness of poor schooling and racial discrimination cannot be alleviated by a flawed and impersonal bureaucratic learning environment which only exacerbates their conditions. (2) The psychological message sent to these students by the staff was a powerful one of unity in its commitment to care, and it was unambiguous in its affect. In this way a genuine reciprocal cycle of care was created; trust was engendered and student confidence was inspired for transformation. (3) Teachers who were culturally synchronous, sensitive, male role models were available to them for mentoring and relational learning experiences. They believed that these teachers were genuine. These teachers were critical academic influencers for these young men who lived in father-absentee homes and they helped these young men conceptualize a place for themselves in the mainstream, as self-respecting academic participators. Role models were able to do this, in part, by penetrating the anti-academic fictive kinship culture; positively influencing its reconstruction; and maximizing its potential to change student attitudes and behaviors from within. (4) These students benefited from staff development initiatives that sensitized staff to the socio-economic and culturally specific needs of economically impoverished urban, Black male adolescent learners and those that addressed the problems of cross-cultural differences and conflicts between teachers and learners. (5) These adolescents also responded positively to their parents' supportive participation. The faculty dismantled the intimidating messages and barriers often created among class, race, and gender differences, in order to structure parental involvement and enhance the positive educational values that were taught in the home. (6) Finally, because a smaller school structure which not only magnified the dynamics of interpersonal and institutional care, but also accentuated each interactive process facilitated the transformation in these two adolescents, it is reasonable to expect that this kind of finding would be applicable to other African American urban, adolescent males who are reluctant learners in high school.

Recommendations and Questions for Further Consideration

A school environment of interpersonal care which was sensitive to their psycho-social needs was the critical factor that transformed the attitude of these anti-academic, urban, Black male, teenagers towards learning. Within this environment of trust and respect, they benefited from the genuine commitment, sincere care, hard work, and mentoring on the part of a faculty determined to make a difference in their lives. It also required the careful, conscientious structuring of ancillary programs within the high school setting that were designed to support their efforts to change. The recommendations for educators are based on these research findings. While the conclusions reached about the effects of the school environment on two students in this study should not be overly generalized, the following suggestions are implied:

1. Select a strong instructional leader, a risk-taker, who is sensitive enough to student needs to create maladjustment that subverts the perpetuation of an impersonal, discriminatory system which exacerbates their condition.
2. Provide support at the school board level for the flexibility inherent in the process of creating an organic system of care that promotes their transformation.

3. Learn, value and practice the importance of interpersonal care for these young men.
4. Learn the dynamics of the anti-academic fictive kinship structure and recognize it as a symptom of the blocked opportunity structure. The staff must be able to reconstruct it and maximize its power to influence student attitudes positively within the school setting. Recognize, also, that culturally synchronous mainstream teacher role models will be able to penetrate the structure, initiate and maintain its reconfiguration, if they are able to establish trust and respect among the students inside it.
5. Push all students toward a standard of high expectation for performance by:
 - providing the ancillary structural and organic support systems they need to actualize these expectations and change their attitudes toward learning;
 - creating ways to concretely reward and persistently celebrate their effort and incremental academic achievement; and
 - sending one unified faculty message of high performance expectation for all students to meet.
6. Learn and apply students' learning style preferences : cooperative learning, kinesthetic, relational and constructivist approaches.
7. Realize the enhanced potential for transformation within an environment that engenders student trust, respect, confidence and willingness to risk changing. Create a microcosmic mainstream model within the school ethos that insists on high and achievable academic standards. Teach students who are unfamiliar with accepted mainstream standards of behavior how to behave within the model. Teach participation skills through nurture, care, and discipline; restrain from inflexible, punitive approaches that inspire distrust, rebellion, disengagement and ultimate separation. Focus on teaching discipline and inspiring reciprocal care.
8. Provide, at the leadership level, those staff experiences of team collaboration, training and monitoring that inspire professional growth and development. The problematic issue of cross-cultural teaching represented in classroom situations of cultural difference and conflict between teachers and learners must also be addressed. This situation can be mitigated by the infusion of collegial role modeling; the training of faculty in peer coaching; and the frequent scheduling of peer observations followed by faculty collaboration and productive exchange of ideas. The leadership must model effective cross-cultural communication. It is equally important to rely on administrative monitoring for formative and summative assessments for the purposes of refinement. Administrators have to be tolerant of the idea of growth in teachers, as well as in students during this process.
9. Insist on the participation of high school parents in frequent meetings and conferences about their child's achievement progress; structure parental involvement in the process of enhancing their children's academic progress.

Although Simeon and Colin had the desire to do better because they had learned the value of education at home, they needed the supportive care of the staff and the ancillary components of the school's program to actualize the process. Further study needs to be done to address the following questions: (1) Why do some students continue to fail when these interactive school

effects are available for their support ? (2) Why do some students who struggle with the same kinds of stressors identified in this study do well without the kinds of supportive effects this high school provided?

Additionally, even with all of its successes, this school has not been able to address the issues in the community to which some of its students succumb after graduation. In spite of their cooperation, effort, and effective participation inside the school's mainstream model, many students who were successful in this school were not able to turn away from the influences of violence in the neighborhoods where they lived. Poor decision-making and blocked opportunity after graduation were the significant mitigating factors in their demise. How can a school develop extensive resources to influence student decision-making about violence and crime, once they leave the safety of the school setting? Further study in helping these young men develop coping strategies to reject the violence and crime in their neighborhoods is worth consideration. Changing the opportunity structure to be more inclusive of these young men, their skills, ambitions, and talents as they finish school is imperative. Effective schools can only complement the systemic reparation necessary to end their deferred participation in the American mainstream. When the school structure facilitated their growth and development, the students in this study were able to change their ideas about learning and about themselves in the process of their academic turn-around.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Letter to the Superintendent Request for Permission to Complete a Doctoral Study

April, 1995

To: Superintendent of Schools

From: Ms. Jacquelyn L. Boddie
Vice Principal -in-Charge of Instruction and Grade 9
The Academy

Re: Request for Permission to Complete a Doctoral Study in Achievement Patterns
of Urban African American Male Adolescents

Having completed all the course work at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, I am now in the final stages of a doctoral program in Curriculum and Instruction; in May 1995, I will submit a prospectus to my dissertation committee.

I have selected to write a qualitative case study design that illustrates why African American male teenagers with histories of school failure begin to succeed at the Academy in grade 9. The principal there has expressed enthusiasm about the project, and I have talked with the principal at the feeder school, who is supportive, as well. Several parents of the students whom I have selected to study have also expressed interest in the project.

This research will involve my interviewing students, staff, and parents of the schools where these young men have been enrolled at the secondary level. I will respect the anonymity and confidentiality of every participant. It is quintessentially a study of Black Male Achievement. The Academy is, I believe, a forerunner in the struggle to educate urban African American males who are in various stages of disaffection. I think it is important to document the research and publish the findings, in order to assist educators who remain befuddled and baffled about the mind-sets and plight of these young men who, if not effectively educated, will eventually withdraw from the mainstream and create an underclass in numbers which, in the end, will be devastating for America. It proves to be a challenging and insightful pursuit.

I await your response. Thank you.

APPENDIX B

Success for Young African-American Men Questionnaire

1. Name _____
2. What do you want to be or what do you want to do after high school?

3. If you had to list three things that have helped you have a more successful year than in the past, what would they be?

4. Identify at least three things to put at the top of your list that have helped you be more focused on academics and be more successful at this school.

5. What do you do when you feel that someone is trying to hinder you from accomplishing what you want to do?

6. Where do you do most of your school assignments?
_____At home _____At school _____At the library
Other _____
7. What do your parents do for a living?

Mother _____

Father _____

Guardian _____

8. If you had to determine the amount of money that comes into your household per year, check one:

_____ \$5,000-\$15,000 _____ \$15,000-\$25,000 _____ \$25,000-\$35,000

_____ \$35,000-\$50,000 _____ \$50,000+

9. Do you live with Both Parents Father Only
 Mother Only Neither Parent

If you live with neither parent, describe your circumstances: _____

10. If you had to identify one thing that improved your attitude towards school and contributed to your academic success, what would that one thing be or who might that one person be? Describe how this one person or one thing helped you improve.

(Use the back, if necessary.)

11. Do you consider yourself a winner? Why? _____

(Use the back of this paper, if necessary.)

12. What suggestions on how to succeed academically would you give to new students at this school who have not been successful?

(Use the back.)

12. Name three things on how to improve the school that you could tell the principal.

13. Having a 2.0+ makes you feel a lot of ways. Tell all the ways you feel about yourself, since your academic improvement.

(Use the back, if necessary.)

14. What is your present G.P.A.? _____

15. If you have any other comments to make, please feel free to write them on the back of this page.

Thank you very much. What is the best period to interview you during the school day?

Period _____ Teacher _____ Subject _____

I will contact the teacher and discuss the time.

APPENDIX C
Permission Letter to Parents

January, 1996

Dear _____:

My name is Ms. Jacquelyn L. Boddie, and I am an Instructional Specialist in the Academy school district area. Recently, I served in the capacity of grade level administrator at the Academy and was your child's administrator during his ninth grade year. Presently, I am doing a research project on African-American Teenage Male Achievements and Success, and I would like to include your son in the study. The successes of your son can help us develop projects and programs to assist other young African-American men. As a doctoral student at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, I ensure strict, professional confidentiality. Many of my conclusions will come from observing and interviewing students, as well as talking to you. I will be interviewing teachers, giving out questionnaires, taking your son to lunch chats and talking with his friends who agree to participate in the study. Parts of the written study will be given to you and the students to review before publication. Participants will remain anonymous for publication.

If you agree to allow your son to take part in the study, please sign the permission slip below and return it to me by your child at the Academy tomorrow. (He should leave it with his English teacher, Ms. Lane or Ms. Kettering). If you would like to get more information, please call the school and leave a phone number on which you can be reached. I would like to discuss the project with you. Thank you.

Sincerely,

(Ms.) J. L. Boddie

Name of Student _____

Please check one and sign.

I agree to allow my son to participate in the study.___

I would like to discuss this further. ___ **Home Phone:** _____

I do not agree to allow my son to participate.___

(Signature) _____

APPENDIX D

Interview Schedule/Guide²¹

McGinty (1992)

Student Interview

Research Questions: (1) What interactive processes within the school, home, and community facilitate the turn-around phenomenon associated with each student's success, positive social growth and development? (2) How does each young man conceptualize the systems of school, family and community during his transformation? (3) How does each of these conceptualizations reflect his situation within each system during the process of change?

PART I: Biographical Information

Childhood: Location; family circumstances (marriage, divorce, stress, living arrangements); siblings; beginning school; friends; extended family; elementary school experiences; illnesses; other significant early childhood experiences.

Adolescence: Middle school experiences; high school experiences; extra curricular activities; successes; failures; illnesses; work; money; cars; girlfriends; friends; What kinds of things are important to your closest group of friends? What kinds of things are important to them about the people in the group? What kinds of things do they not particularly like about people and would not accept in the group? Are your friends good, average, or poor students, generally? In your group of friends, who has the most status? Why? Do you look up to him? Why? Why not? significant adolescent experiences; attitudes towards sex; attitudes toward What relationships; involvement in drugs, alcohol, criminal activity; who are your heroes? What advice do you think this person would give you? Who is the most educated adult you know? How much education does this person have? What does this person do? Who is the smartest person that you know? Why? How do you perceive the differences between smartness and education? the future, as you see it? How do you see yourself in 10 years? Where do you live? A house, apartment? Describe it. Describe your neighborhood. What is your favorite thing about your house/apartment? What is your favorite thing about your neighborhood? What don't you like? Do you think that other people in your family feel the same way? Describe what your parents do: type of work, home activities, for fun?

PART II: Context of Education

Relationships: Explore the relationship with mother/ father/ brothers/ sisters. Other significant relatives: grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, etc. The relationship between these people and education. Expectations? Limitations? Family tensions? How do these impact your education? How do you negotiate time/ space with your parents? What are the things that your family value/ regard as important?

²¹ Adapted from S. McGinty, Not Your Usual Success Story: Young Women Achieve Academic Success Against the Odds. Doctoral Dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1993, pp. 345-349.

Relationships with Teachers: Teachers you feel you have learned from: (middle/ high school) What did you learn from them? How would you describe your relationship with them? What would you tell them about the way they teach? Talk about the teachers that you feel you have not learned from: (middle/ high school) How would you describe your relationship with them? Why do you feel you did not learn from them? What would you tell them about the way they teach? What is your relationship with the administration (counselors, disciplinarians, assistant principals, principal)? How has this helped or hindered your being a student at The Academy?

Relationships with Peers: Tell me about the friends you have at school. What do you do together? What are the interests you share? Tell me about the friends you have outside the school? How important are they to you? What do you do together? What interests do you share? How much time do you spend with your friends? When do you spend time with them mostly? (Distance/Intimacy? Nature of the relationships?)

PART THREE: Educational Experiences

Being a Student: What is your favorite subject? Why? What does educational success mean to you? What have been your best experiences at this school? Why was that a good experience? What have been some of the most difficult times? Why were they difficult? Tell me about a bad experience you have had at school? Why was that a bad experience? What advice would you give to freshmen, who want to be successful students, coming into this school?

Being an African-American male student: Does being an African-American male affect your success? How? How are African-American males treated in this school compared to African-American females, European-American students? [Do African-American males receive equal, better, worse treatment, based on your perceptions?] Have you ever experienced racial discrimination at this school? At any school where you attended? Describe. Describe what you believe to have been its effect on you, personally/academically. Are there advantages/disadvantages in being an African-American male? What are they?

Educational Achievements: GPA; grades; prizes; awards; significant educational experiences; Do you agree that you can be anything you want to be? Explain. What kinds of things need to be in your life for this to be real for you? What kinds of things might try to block your aspirations? How would you overcome the obstacles? What does your family say about your dreams? What do your friends say about your dreams? Are there things you feel you have no control over? What are they? What leadership opportunities have you had? What colleges have you looked at?

PART FOUR: Perceptions of Self

Being a Student: How would you describe yourself as a student? What are your strengths/weaknesses? Why do you like a particular subject area? What leadership opportunities have you had? Involvement in extra curricular activities? Do you consider yourself more mature than others your age? In terms of the past, what is the first memory you have of anything having to do with learning? Describe. How did it influence you? Think back to the time when you felt very good about yourself in school. Recall the experience and describe it. Describe the reactions of parents, teachers, and friends, or family. Think back and recall the worst experience you had in school. Describe this situation. What have you done to ensure that this never happened to you again? Did this experience change you in any way? Explain. Can you think of any teacher(s) who have really made you want to be a very good student? Who were they

and how did they do this? Have there been any teachers who made you feel like being a poor student? Who were they? How did they do this?

Being a Student at the Academy: Explain to me, as an administrator here, the important things I miss about the Academy. What are your main supports at the Academy? How are they supports? If you were principal for a year what changes would you introduce to this school? Why? What are the strengths of this school? What are its weaknesses? How does this school support you in being a successful student? How does it hinder you? [I will informally observe the classes that each student attends.] How often do you feel good about yourself in school? Describe these experiences. Do different teachers have different ideas about what it means to be a good student? Describe the similarities among teachers. Describe the differences. What teachers have really made you want to be a good student? How? What teachers have made you act like a very poor student? How did they do it? How would your teachers describe you as a student, now? How would your classmates describe you as a student now? Is that different from other years or the same? If it is different, how and why did it change? Will it change in the future? What kind of student do your parents expect you to be? What do your parents think of the kind of student that you are? Do they ever talk about school? Describe these conversations. What kinds of feelings do these conversations precipitate in you? Do you think that your teachers have favorite students? Describe these students. What do you think of these students?

Being a successful student: What does being a successful student mean to you? Do you perceive yourself as a successful student? Do you feel smart? Why/why not? Do you feel in control? Unafraid of taking risks? Do you /have you always expected to be successful? Do you ever feel like giving up? Do you prefer to hang out with successful students? With whom do you mostly hang out? Are they successful? What are your perceptions of being involved with this project? As you move into adulthood, describe the kinds of skills that you will need to make you successful and happy. Do you perceive disparities in the reward system of this country? Who get the greatest rewards, in your estimation? What kinds of rewards, do you perceive to be important? more important? Does this society make it easy for some and hard for others? How? What impacts do you perceive race and SES to have? How do you think male students like you decide whether or not they want to be good students or poor students?

Absenteeism/tardiness? What do you do when you don't come to school?

The Self Outside of School: What do you do after school? Favorite pastimes? On the weekends? During the summer holidays? Do you maintain contact with school friends? What educational resources do you use outside of school [libraries, personal computers]? What are your reading habits? What do you read? Why do you read this type of literature? Why do you not read? What is about reading that you don't like? Socializing- the nature of this? religion - What part does this play in your life? What do you do with your family? Do you think you will marry? Have children?

Work: Where do you work? How many hours? Why do you work? How do you balance homework and work? Do you have a curfew? [Probe parental discipline.]

Parent Interview Guide

Part I: Childhood.

Describe this youngster's childhood: location/moves: family circumstances: marriage, divorce, stress, living arrangements/extended family. Siblings: describe them.

Describe his beginning school year: the friends he made: his elementary school experience, as you remember them: highs/lows. School work. His relationships with teachers/significant men. Your relationship with the school. What was the school like? What were some things you liked about it? Disliked about it? Difficult experiences? Helpful experiences? Extent of your involvement? Struggles as a parent? Illnesses? Absences? His attitude toward school and learning? Spare time activities?

Part II: Adolescence.

Describe your relationship. Describe the relationship with father/sister/brother/significant relatives. Tensions? Stress? How do you see him in 10 years? What is your dream for him? What family expectations related to his education is he aware of? What is your educational background? How does your educational history play into the plans in your mind for your son's future? What is his goal? How have you planned to help him achieve this goal? Is his goal the same as yours? Different? How? Describe his neighborhood. What things do you like about it? What things do you dislike about it? Describe your work. What kinds of things do you do for fun? What kinds of things do you do at home? What kinds of things do you do together? With other family members?

Part III: Middle/High School Years

Describe his middle school experience: academically. extra curricular activities. successes. failures. attendance. truancies.. illnesses. work. friends.changes. Which teachers/school staff do you remember? Describe your interactions with them. Describe his relationships with his teachers. Whom did he discuss as being significant? Explain. What teachers do you feel your son really learned from? Explain. What teachers do you feel he didn't learn from. Why? What things about school would he talk about? What were his spare time activities: at school/home/ in the neighborhood. What kinds of things were important to his friends? What kinds of things did they not like? What kinds of things did they do that you approved of/disapproved of? Were his friends good students? Did you know the parents of his associates/friends? Describe the relationships that evolved in the community based on your son's association with people he befriended and those who befriended him. To whom did he look up? Why? What were significant adolescent experiences, as you saw them? What were his attitudes towards sex? towards drugs? towards alcohol? towards criminal activity?

What interests did his friends have (middle/high). Describe some of his most difficult times. Most successful times. Good experiences. How did he handle the difficult experiences? What advice did you give? Were there role models for him? Specify. Describe.

How has being an A-A male affected your son's success in school? Specify: Middle School/High School. How were A-A males treated in middle school? High School? Has he experienced racial discrimination in school: middle/high? Outside school? Explain. Explain the effects: personally and academically. Are there advantages/disadvantages in being A-A male? Explain.

GPA. prizes. significant educational achievements. Do you believe your son can be anything he wants to be? What kinds of things need to be in his life for this to be real? What kinds of things might try to block his aspirations? How do you think your son overcomes the obstacles in his way? or does he? Explain. Have you heard him discuss his dreams with his friends/others/family members? What does he say? Are there things you feel he has no control over? Explain. Describe. What college or preparatory plans does he have? Other future plans?

Staff Interview

Part I: Teacher Perceptions

Tell about this student's middle school experience as you remember it.

Extra curricular activities: (Find the teachers involved here/coaches.)

Awards this student has won.

Leadership displayed?

Friends

Kinds of students he associated with. Who were/are his friends? Kinds of things were/are important to this group. Tell about shared interests. Students with status in his group. Describe. Explain. Involvement in drugs, alcohol, crime?

Describe his parents. Describe the parents' interaction with the school.

Describe his relationships with people in the home: mother /father /sister brother/aunt/uncle/cousin. What kinds of things did the family value?

Relationships with teachers and counselors

Did you feel you really taught this student? Why? How did you know? What do you think he learned from you? Cite examples. What did you learn from him? Describe your relationship with him. What way(s) did you teach that worked for him that were different from any technique you have used in the past. Explain. How are you like other teachers to whom you have talked? How are you different? How do you think you could make a student act like a poor student? How many of these things do you do/have you done? How many of these things go on here?

Explain/specify. How do you think you could make a student act like a good student? How many of these things did you do/have you done? How many of these things go on here? Have you any evidence that this has occurred for either of these young men? Specify and describe. What is a good student? Describe this youngster as a student now.

Part II: Perceptions of Counselors and Administrators

Do you think being an African American male affects/has affected his success? How? How are African American males treated in this school? In your classroom? In your program? In other programs. In other classrooms you know about. Does racial discrimination occur in this school against African American males? Describe; identify; specify. What are its effects on African American males personally; academically? Specify. Are there advantages in being African American males in this school? What are the advantages? Why? What are the disadvantages? Explain. Do you perceive disparities in the reward system of this society? This school's programs? Who gets the greatest rewards in society? Why? In this school? Why? Does society make it easy for some and harder for others? Does this school make it easier for some and harder for others? Explain. How do you think these students decide whether or not they want to be good students or poor students? What impacts do you perceive race, gender and SES to have on this student's educational world?

APPENDIX E

Confidentiality Statement

Confidentiality: Any written or oral presentations associated with this study will not include your real name and every effort will be made to eliminate any identifying features from information you provide. All conversations we have will be kept confidential. Only the researcher will have access to a master list associating your name with interview material. This list will be kept under lock and key and will be destroyed at the end of the data collection phase of this project along with all audiotapes. Should a research assistant transcribe your audiotape, he or she will be required to sign a statement pledging confidentiality and to withdraw from further involvement should it be discovered that he or she knows you. If you wish, you may review a draft for accuracy and anonymity.

Please sign below if your rights and your role with regard to this research investigation are understood and you wish to participate.

Participant's signature

Researcher's Signature

Date

APPENDIX F

Codes Used in Ethnograph

RELATIONSHIPS

REL - FAM

Relationships with the Family

<i>Rel - Mthr</i>	Relationship with the Mother
<i>Rel - GMthr</i>	Relationship with the Grandmother
<i>Rel - GFthr</i>	Relationship with the Grand-father
<i>Rel - Aunt</i>	Relationship with the Aunt
<i>Rel - Uncle</i>	Relationship with the Uncle
<i>Rel - Sib</i>	Relationship with Siblings
<i>Rel-Fthr</i>	Relationship with the Father
<i>Rel-StepF</i>	Relationship with the Step-father
<i>Rel-Fospnt</i>	<i>Relationship with the Foster Parents</i>
<i>Rel-Fospop</i>	<i>Relationship with Foster Father</i>
<i>Rel-Fosmom</i>	<i>Relationship with Foster Mother</i>
<i>Rel-PGMthr</i>	<i>Relationship with Paternal Grandmother</i>
<i>Rel-PGFthr</i>	<i>Relationship with Paternal Grandfather</i>

Behaviors Toward Subject

<i>Ilegl-Mthr</i>	Mother involved in illegal behavior
<i>Ilegl-Fthr</i>	Father involved in illegal behavior
<i>Collde-Mthr</i>	Colluding with subject's wrong-doing
<i>Disc-Mthr</i>	Disciplining; setting limits
<i>Suprt-Mthr</i>	Supporting, encouraging
<i>Disapt-Mthr</i>	Expressing disappointment in subject; regret
<i>Model-Mthr</i>	Modeling behavior
<i>Guide-Mhr</i>	Guiding behavior
<i>Motiv-Mthr</i>	Motivating behavior
<i>Secur-Mthr</i>	Providing security/safety
<i>Seprte-Fam</i>	Forced separation from natural family
<i>Abandon-M</i>	Abandonment by mother
<i>Abandon-F</i>	Abandonment by father
<i>Abandon-GM</i>	Abandonment by grandmother
<i>Abandon-GF</i>	Abandonment by grandfather
<i>Suprt-FPnt</i>	Support provided by Foster Parent
<i>Letdown-M</i>	Let down by Mother (etc.)
<i>Letdown-F</i>	Let down by Father
<i>NegB-Mthr</i>	Negative behaviors by mother
<i>NegB-Fthr</i>	Negative behaviors by father
<i>NegB-Fprnt</i>	Negative behaviors by foster parent(s)

(Substitute other code roles with prefixes when appropriate: i.e., *Disc-Unc*)

REL-PEER	Relationships with peers <i>Neg-Peer</i> Negative Peer Behaviors/Influences <i>Pos-Peer</i> Positive Peer Behaviors/Influences
REL-COMMTY	Relations with others in the community <i>NEGadult</i> Negative Adult Influence <i>POSadult</i> Positive Adult Influence <i>Victmadult</i> Victimized by Adult <i>Church-Inf</i> Influence by the Church <i>Counsl-Inf</i> Influence by a Counselor
REL-TCHR	Relationships with Teacher <i>Distrust-T</i> Teacher shows <u>distrust</u> toward student/vice-versa <i>Diss-Tchr</i> Teacher shows <u>disrespect</u> towards student <i>Decept-Tchr</i> Teacher uses <u>deception</u> to dupe and to control student <i>Insen-Tchr</i> Teacher shows <u>no sensitivity</u> toward student needs <i>Humil-Tchr</i> Teacher <u>humiliates</u> student to control behavior <i>Racst-Tchr</i> Teacher shows <u>racist</u> , cultural prejudicial attitudes to student <i>Ndiff-Tchr</i> Teacher shows <u>indifference</u> toward student concerns <i>Unjust-Tchr</i> Teacher unfair <i>Discurg-T</i> Teacher discourages
REL-ADM	Relationships with administrators or school counselors <i>(Same codes: substitute <u>Adm</u> for <u>T</u> to designate administrator's behavior)</i>
<u>IP-CARE</u>	<u>Interpersonal caring towards student affect, concerns</u> <i>SekIPcare-T</i> Student seeks interpersonal care from the teacher <i>Trust-Tchr</i> Trust on the part of the teacher toward student/vice-versa <i>Sncer-Tchr</i> Student experiences the teacher as sincere/real/true <i>Respect-T</i> Teacher shows respect toward student/vice-versa <i>Motiv-Tchr</i> Teacher motivates student <i>Suprt-T</i> Teacher supports/encourages student <i>Guide-T</i> Teacher guides student <i>Model-T</i> Teacher serves as role model sought <i>Disappt-T</i> Teacher openly expresses disappointment in student's actions to student <i>Meangeduc-T</i> Teacher makes curriculum meaningful to student's life; gets into student's head <i>Fair-Tchr</i> Teacher is just <i>Disc--T</i> Teacher disciplines student <i>Sensitive-T</i> Teacher is sensitive to student
<u>INST-CARE</u>	<u>Staff provided institutional care on site for student needs</u>
<u>INSTNDIFF</u>	<u>Insitution is indifferent to the needs of student</u>

SUBJECT'S BEHAVIOR THAT IS POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE AT HOME, AT SCHOOL, OR IN THE COMMUNITY

PB

Positive Behaviors

<i>PB - pray</i>	Prayed compassionately
<i>PB - lrmthr</i>	Loved/respected mother
<i>PB-lrfthr</i>	Loved/respected father
<i>PB - work</i>	Worked a job for money or not for money
<i>PB-hobby</i>	Spends time in a productive pasttime of interest
<i>PB - study</i>	Studied school lessons
<i>PB - avdnegs</i>	Sought to avoid negatives: fights;violence;crime
<i>PB - loyal</i>	Valued loyalty
<i>PB - dorite</i>	Tried to do the right thing
<i>PB - care</i>	Showed care/concern
<i>PB - lovefam</i>	Loved his family;protected when able
<i>PB - empthy</i>	Showed empathy
<i>PB - frend</i>	Acted as a real friend; sought out friendship
<i>PB - setgoal</i>	Dreamed about his future/set goals
<i>PB - valeduc</i>	Valued education
<i>PB - skrspct</i>	Sought respect
<i>PB - respct</i>	Gave respect; showed respect for self
<i>PB - confence</i>	Shows confidence in self/ability
<i>PB - pride</i>	Subject shows pride
<i>PB - respble</i>	Accepts responsibility; accepts responsibility for actions
<i>PB - Pacheve</i>	Made positive academic achievements
<i>PB - skmodel</i>	Sought role model to follow as a young man
<i>PB - likelern</i>	Liked learning in school
<i>PB - slfmotv</i>	Motivates self
<i>PB- dreame</i>	Has a real dream
<i>PB - model</i>	Seeks to be a model for others to follow

NB

Negative Behaviors

<i>NB-depress</i>	Student seems depressed
<i>NB-apathy</i>	Student is apathetic/depressed
<i>NB-discurg</i>	Student is discouraged/indifferent
<i>NB-dssfthr</i>	Had no respect or regard for father; showed hate and anger
<i>NB-dssmthr</i>	Disrespected; disobeyed mother; disregarded parameters set by her.
<i>NB-manipmthr</i>	Manipulated mother
<i>NB-dsstchr</i>	Showed disrespect for teacher
<i>NB-dssadlt</i>	Showed disrespect to adults
<i>NB-conflct</i>	Participated in/initiated conflicts, arguments, fights with peers and/or adults in authority
<i>NB - disrule</i>	Disrespected school rules: hooked, disrupted classes/school environment
<i>NB - fail</i>	Failed
<i>NB - violent</i>	Did violent acts
<i>NB - tempr</i>	Displays uncontrolled anger; rage
<i>NB - crime</i>	Participated in criminal activity in the community; used weapons
<i>NB - drugs</i>	Used drugs; sold drugs

NB - predjce Acted out in biased ways against other races
NB - cold Showed no empathy; showed no care/concern for others
NB - irresp Fled responsibility and responsibility for his actions
NB - disself Showed disrespect/low regard/degrading behavior towards self
NB - lakconf Lacked self-confidence and worth
NB - skpower Sought power in negative ways
NB - skrspct Sought respect in negative ways
NB - alien Was alienated

STRSS

Stressful experiences

STRSS-incar Stress of incarceration/house arrest
STRSS-ofthr Stress of having no father
STRSS-hood Negatives in the hood caused stress/fear/dread
STRSS-race Stress from perceived racial discrimination

APPENDIX G
Teacher Action Plan for Improved Instruction

September

To: **Teacher**
From: **Annex Vice Principal**
Re: **Action Plan for Improved Instruction and Student Behavior**

The teacher will focus on the following areas.

- I. Maintain consistent on-task student behavior
 - A. Cooperative Learning - Tighten the structure with the assistance of the departmental coordinator
 - B. Whole group instruction- Tighten the students' on-task behavior .

- II. Require orderly student participation
 - A. Post classroom rules by September 15
 - B. Read classroom management information provided by vice principal on September 10.
 - C. Submit classroom rules with methods of behavior modification, follow-through/consequences by September 18.

- III. Demonstrate instructional variety in lesson design.
 - A. Work with coordinator to incorporate at least four different approaches to teach for the Maryland Test of Citizenship Skills.
 - B. Incorporate higher order thinking skill activities
 - C. Incorporate the use of graphic organizers
 - D. Advise the vice principal when you will be ready for a formal observation of these techniques by November 1.
 - E. Submit three lesson plans that use these techniques to the department coordinator
October 15.

- IV. Motivate students and help them develop academic self-esteem
 - A. Select a section of the room to post all "star" student achievement.
 - B. Change the display every two weeks.

- V. Participate in the lunch bunch staff development sessions held every two weeks in the Annex.

- VI. Develop a quarterly student evaluation instrument to be reviewed by the department coordinator on November 6, January 25, and March 29.

- VII. The teacher will write measurable objectives for every lesson.

Teacher Signature _____

Annex Vice Principal Signature _____

APPENDIX H

Refinement Plans Grade 9 - Annex Teachers

English Teacher - Youth 2000 Program

- Use positive slogans and inspirational messages all over the classroom
- Use a greater variety of learning materials and activities to motivate learners.
- Highlight the accomplishments of local heroes and heroines, in order to demonstrate that success is obtainable.

Math Teacher - Youth 2000 Program

- Brighten up my classroom and make it more colorful and warm.
- Display individual work and accomplishments of students.
- Use positive slogans and inspirational messages all over the classroom.
- Organize curriculum around central ideas and themes.

Science Teacher - Youth 2000 Program

- Do research on learning styles to become knowledgeable about learning style preferences.
- Identify learning styles in the classes I teach; develop strategies to teach to various preferences.
- Work on developing rapport with each of my students.

Government Teacher - Youth 2000 Program

- Foster mutual helpfulness between students by making use of the buddy system and a peer coaching network.
- Show more empathic understanding towards students without lessening my expectations for their achievement.

APPENDIX I

**Administrator's Parent Advisory Committee
Report
Assessment Submitted Quarterly**

ADMINISTRATOR _____

Grade Level _____

Quarter 1____ **Quarter 2**____ **Quarter 3**____ **Quarter 4**____
(Check one.)

Number of Parents: Qtr. 1 _____ Qtr. 2 _____ Qtr. 3 _____ Qtr. 4 _____

Meeting Dates and Times:

Quarter 1 _____

Quarter 2 _____

Quarter 3 _____

Quarter 4 _____

Goals:

Plan of Action/Activities:

Comments:

APPENDIX J

SUSPENSION DATA THE ACADEMY

Number of Students Suspended Third Grading Quarter 1994-1995

Grade	Feb	Mar	April	Total Suspended	%	Total Students Enrolled
9*	8	9	4	21	3.00%	704
10	9	21	2	32	5.00%	632
11	4	9	0	13	24.00%	Not Available
12	4	9	3	16	3.00%	526
Total	25	48	9	82		

* All students in this study were in Grade 9 during the year 1994-1995.

APPENDIX K

David's Report Card Grades Elementary School

Subject	Grade 1	Grade 2	Grade 3	Grade 4	Grade 5	Grade 6
Reading	B	B	B	C	D	C
Language	B	C	B	B	D	D
Handwriting	B	C	B	C	D	C
Spelling	C	A	A	A	C	B
Social Studies	B	C	A	B	C	D
Science	C	C	B	C	C	D
Math	B	C	B	B	D	C
Work Habits	B	C	B	C	C	C
Behavior	A	A	A	C	C	B

APPENDIX L

ZEKE'S BEHAVIORAL RECORD GRADES 4-8

Date	Grade	Description of Behavior Referred to Administration
9/25/89	4	Student hit Linda Smith in the side of her head. Linda said she was doing her paper for math and did not in any way provoke Zeke. Zeke said that Linda was kicking him under the desk. Linda went to the bathroom to wash off her face, as she was crying.
5/2/90	4	Zeke was sent to my room for Chapter 1. I told him to enter and he refused. He said he couldn't get water when they had bathroom break, so he won't do anything today until he gets his water. He continued to say loudly he wasn't going into the room.
5/22/90	4	Katy and Zeke had exchanged words earlier, and I told them to ignore one another. They were allowed to get up to check out books. Then they came face to face and it rapidly accelerated to blows.
6/1/90	4	Zeke worked his way through the discipline plan to the severe clause. When told to get out paper and begin to work he said, "No." Zeke was instigating fights with anyone within voice reach. He has been uncooperative and disruptive in class all morning.
9/92	7	As I was preparing book lists, someone was throwing erasers, papers, etc. and hitting other students on the back of their heads and necks. I never saw anyone throw anything, but I found these items stashed in the front of Zeke's desk. He said he had picked them up off the floor.
1/22/93	7	When I turned around from writing a problem on the board, Zeke and Linwood were fighting. They had each other around the neck and took a while to separate them. I have no idea what began the fight. One minute prior they were in their seats reasonably quiet.
1/29/93	7	While on duty to organize the children for lunch, Zeke was told that he could not go out of the back gate. He was very rude and nasty. He told me that he would go through that gate if he wanted to and there was nothing that I could do to stop him. He demanded entry 3 times with the same comment to Ms. Landis and myself. Then he walked away and mumbled what he was going to do to us if we wouldn't let him through.
2/3/93	7	Zeke was standing in the doorway and refused to move. When another girl tried to walk around him, he smacked her in the back and then chased her to the bathroom. He refused to turn around when I called for him.
4/20/93	7	Student was fighting.
9/30/93	8	Student chasing male classmate down the hall; refused to stop until I told the other student that I would write referral. They yelled at me. (12:10) (1:10) Child and same classmate running down the hall; refused to enter their scheduled class. Pulled door away from substitute teacher's hands and forced their way, yelling at teacher and at me. Today unprepared in class.
10/6/93	8	Running down hall, laughing and trying to bump into 8th graders at lockers.
11/3/93	8	This student ran down the hallway toward my line. He and Dee Dee

		engaged in a fight by pushing, shoving, and kicking each other. I called an administrator and Zeke took off running down the hallway.
11/17/93	8	Left class line to stand in the front of class in progress. Took several attempts before he regained line, as he chased girl classmate in the hall. (10:34) He and girl classmate left line again, started 'play-fighting' (exchanging hard blows), tried to stop and return to line. He hit girl on head with a textbook and was hit hard by her on his chest. They finally rejoined line. This witnessed by another teacher.
12/17/93	8	It was agreed by the in-house suspension monitor and the teacher that the child would spend mods 5,6,7 in the in-house center. When I entered cafeteria at 12:00 to pick him up he was gone. At 12:35, he entered my class followed by a teacher. He admitted that he sneaked out of cafeteria to Mr. Brook's class sheer he claimed he was staying. Mr. Clangor stated that he had a full tablet of green passes on him which he admitted to me.
3/3/94	8	Zeke yelled at me, "You are a pressed m_____f_____." Then he stated, "You have no proof that I stated that because everyone in here will deny I said it." Zeke yelled, "You are pressed as sh___," because I wrote his name on the board for talking during test.
3/3/94	8	Left class line to go to locker at the end of hall; does this frequently. In class, exchanged money to classmate 3 times in spite of teacher's orders 3 times to put money away. Throwing papers at others, during the class.
3/24/94	8	Zeke wrote on my teacher's desk with black marker. He had been told once to keep away from that area.
4/6/94	8	Zeke hit me in the head with a roll of paper. He said at first, "I was just playing." Then he said he pushed me; it was an accident. My head hurts.
4/14/94	8	Zeke was in my doorway disrupting my class. I asked him to leave; he refused, persisted in his unruly behavior, and made a rude gesture. When I asked him his name, he walked off and ignored me.
4/21/94	8	Walking around class; passing candy around; disobedient towards teacher. Repeated talking. Asked to stop, he told me to shut up. When referral put on desk, lied and said I told him in hall, "Shut the hell up." I wasn't near him in the hall. "She be pressed" aloud to class. Repeated talking during class; turning around banging of desks. Female classmate said he touches her. Said he would do what he wanted; the principal wasn't going to do anything.
5/5/94	8	Zeke walked out of the locker room and refused to return. His response to being written up was to yell as loud as he could, "I don't care!" The same problem most days at the beginning and end. I always have to run him in. He will go sometimes and sometimes he will not. (He is not in my p.e. class.)
5/24/95	8	Threw paper across room continuously even after confessing. Left seat to play basketball to male classmate. When disciplined, yelled to teacher that he doesn't have to listen to her. That she is just s stupid big _____head. That the vice principal said she's not going to pay you no mind! Disruptive.

APPENDIX M

Zeke's Behavioral Referral Record Freshman Year at the Academy

1994-1995

Date	Referral	Administrator's Response
10/12/94	Class disruption	Youth 2000 Detention (1 Day)
10/25/94	Conflict in the neighborhood	Conflict resolution. Matter closed.
11/14/94	Late to School	Youth 2000 Detention (1 Day)
1/25/95	Loitering	Youth 2000 Detention (1 Day)
2/27/95	Failure to achieve in English	Counseled student regarding failing grades in English. Expressed concern re: his lack of effort, his failure to complete h.w./class work and his overall attitude towards achievement. Directed student to write an action plan to improve every D or E grade received. He is to submit tomorrow at 7:50 a.m. before his first period class begins.
4/4/95	Horseplay in the hall.	Youth 2000 Detention (1 Day)
4/26/95	Mother requested that program administrator speak to her son about making long-distance calls on her home telephone	Counseled student. He was not able to tell me how he would pay the \$90 he had charged. He was directed to write a plan to repay the money and submit it to me tomorrow.

APPENDIX N

DARIUS' SUSPENSION RECORD MIDDLE SCHOOL

GRADE	DATE	REASON FOR SUSPENSION
7	11/92	Physical Attack 5 Day Suspension
7	4/93	Physical Attack or Threat Thereof... 2 Day Suspension
7	5/93	Continued Class Disruption/Disrespect 5 Day Suspension
8	11/93	Disruption and Disrespect 3 Day Suspension
8	12/93	Loitering/Disruption/Inciting Others 3 Day Suspension
8	3/94	Physical Attack on Another Student 3 Day Suspension
8	3/94	Student left the building and returned later in the day Extended 10 Day Suspension
8	4/94	Continued Disruption/Insubordination 3 Day Suspension

APPENDIX O

SIMEON'S BEHAVIORAL REFERRAL RECORD MIDDLE SCHOOL GRADES 7-8

Date	Grade	Behavioral Referral
10/91	7	Class disruption; disrespect; insubordination
10/91	7	Conflict; physical attack on other students; insubordination
10/91	7	Sexual harassment
10/91	7	Conflicts; continued class disruption; picking and bothering other students; insubordination
10/91	7	Swinging arms in air; arms land on another student; teacher classifies as threat
10/91	7	Badgering; picking at other students; disruption
11/91	7	Refusing to serve detention after teacher came back from absence.
12/91	7	Disruptive; eating candy in class; refused to give candy to teacher
1/92	7	Conflicts; continued disruption; irritates other students verbally/physically. Parent conference held yesterday.
1/92	7	Conflict; fighting
2/92	7	Conflict; verbal argument w/student in class; refused to stop. Written up for insubordination
2/92	7	Conflict; running in hall. Pushing girl; knocked books out of her hand. Got slapped. Punching girl in hall.
3/92	7	Threats against counselor; finished no academic work in class.
3/92	7	Counselor reports that no intervention has helped Simeon improve or change.
5/92	7	Persistent, daily disruption; playfulness; disrespect.
6/92	7	Loitering, persistent class disruption; hitting girls.
10/92	7	Disruption; disrespect; insubordination; disregards all teacher directives.
10/92	7	Class disruption; throwing objects across room; hitting student in eye.
10/92	7	Class disruption; disregarding authority.
11/92	7	Refusal to do what teacher directs; getting out of seat; disruption by constantly talking.

11/92	7	Disruption; refusal to follow teacher directive; yelling out in class.
11/92	7	Disruption; sexual harassment; gyrating sexually; beckoning girls and gyrating. Called a girl a bitch.
11/92	7	Physical attack on another student; kicked student.
11/92	7	Insubordination; smashed door in girl's face; ran and played with girl in hall.
		STUDENT TRANSFERRED OUT OF COUNTY
1/93	7	Misbehaving; insubordination: Refusal to report to the office when directed.
5/93	7	Referral to pupil services to "monitor inappropriate behavior."
5/93	7	Disruption in Language Arts
		STUDENT RETURNED TO COUNTY SCHOOL SYSTEM
11/93	8	Disruption; loud; out of order; finished no work; insubordination
11/93	8	Disruption; insubordination
12/93	8	Threatened a teacher over a grade: "Don't let me catch you in a dark alley."
12/93	8	Biting fingers until they bled; refused to work; insubordination.
12/93	8	Physical attack on another student.
1/94	8	Disruption; yelling across classroom; insubordination.
1/94	8	Physically abusive to other students; refused to follow teacher directives; disruption
2/94	8	Disruption; insubordination.
2/94	8	Disruption; verbally abusive; vulgar; insubordination.

APPENDIX P

SIMEON'S SUSPENSION RECORD MIDDLE SCHOOL

GRADE	DATE	REASON FOR SUSPENSION
7	11/91	Insubordination 3 Day Suspension
7	1/92	Fighting 3 Day Suspension
7	3/92	Refuses to follow directions; throwing objects which endanger other students continually putting his hands on other students; continued tardiness to class. 10 Day Suspension
7	5/92	Fighting and Disrespect 3 Day Suspension
7	9/92	Insubordination 3 Day Suspension
7	10/92	Physical Attack on Another Student 3 Day Suspension
7	11/92	Disruption; Insubordination and Inciting Others to Disruption 3 Day Suspension
8	2/94	Disruption; Disrespect; Insubordination 5 Day Suspension
8	2/94	Continued Disruption and Insubordination 3 Day Suspension
8	5/94	Sexual Harassment; Disruption, Inciting Others to Disruption 3 Day Suspension

VITA

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EDUCATION

Degrees

- Ed.D. 1997: Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University,
Blacksburg, Virginia
Major: Curriculum and Instruction
- M.S.T. 1972: Drake University
Des Moines, Iowa
Major: Teaching
- B.S. 1970: Minot State Teachers' College
Minot, North Dakota
Major: English

Certification and Special Training

Maryland Advanced Professional Certificate (5-12, Secondary Principal and Supervisor)

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

- 1995-Present: Instructional Specialist
(Prince George's County Public Schools, Maryland)
- 1987-1995: High School Vice Principal
(PGCPS)
- 1982-1987: High School English Teacher Coordinator
Potomac High School (PGCPS)
- 1980-1982: English Department Chairperson
Potomac High School (PGCPS)
- 1978-1982: English Teacher
Potomac High School (PGCPS)
- 1972-1978: English Teacher
Milton Somers Middle School
(Charles County Public Schools, Maryland)
- 1970-1972: English Teacher Intern
Calanan Junior High School-Teacher Corps
(Des Moines Independent School District, Iowa)