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Under One Roof, Through Many Doors: Understanding Racial Equality in an Unequal World

by

Anne Galletta

Volume I

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2003

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Approval Page

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

Under One Roof, Through Many Doors:

Understanding Racial Equality in an Unequal World

by

Anne Galletta

Adviser: Professor Michelle Fine

This case study of the desegregation of the Shaker Heights, Ohio, school system, from 1965 through the present, examines how parents, students, and educators have conceptualized racial equality and what their experience of racial equality has been in the school system. Primary methods of data collection included semi-structured interviews and a review of archival materials, with a review of student data. Using a qualitative research approach, the study points to the persistence of relations of power accorded to race and class, in which the potential for loss of white students and, more recently, middle class and affluent black students portends the loss of resources and reputation for academic excellence, a conundrum for desegregated schools. The study notes the district's competing and interdependent efforts to draw African American students into sites of educational privilege for which the district is known, while endeavoring to retain those students who keep the system racially and economically balanced. The study also discusses the increase over time of academically homogeneous classrooms, resulting in patterns of enrollment based on race. An analysis of student narratives suggests the effectiveness of structural and social psychological boundaries in reinforcing racial stereotypes concerning achievement and motivation. The study underscores vastly

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different experiences of schooling, contributing to the gap between white and black students in terms of accessing equal educational opportunities, producing equal academic outcomes, and exercising equal relations of power. Finally, discrepant experiences in schooling influenced students' views of racial equality in the school system. The study builds on Apfelbaum's theory of relations of power in intergroup conflict (Apfelbaum, 1979, 1999) and theorizes education as a "property of power" (Ng, 1979), with its distribution subject to tensions between beliefs about individual social mobility and beliefs about community-wide social change. The study provides a complex portrait as to how members of a racially and economically diverse community have raised and resisted questions about race and power as they struggled to make racial integration a possibility.

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Acknowledgements

This study was inspired, nurtured, and brought to completion as the result of the support and encouragement of many. The Rockefeller Foundation provided a generous dissertation grant to support the final year of my writing the dissertation. This recognition of the research on the part of the Rockefeller Foundation gave me a tremendous boost in a year of many conversations and countless drafts. The grant has enabled me to contribute to a field of literature all the more significant as we approach the fiftieth anniversary of 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* Supreme Court decision.

I would like to thank my adviser, Michelle Fine, without whom I would not have pursued the scope of this work. Within the rich theoretical traditions of social psychology and qualitative research, Michelle pushed my writing and theorizing along, supported my moments of uncertainty and worries, and celebrated the progress of the research. Responding to the bulky and frequent packages I sent to her from Ohio, with unfinished text and a very slowly emerging analytical framework, she would respond by e-mail with encouraging words such as "wonderful" and "gorgeous" followed by a new round of critical questions about theory, methods, and later, analysis and writing. I am honored and forever grateful to have had the privilege to study alongside Michelle. She is a gifted educator, a voice for justice, and a source of rigorous and compelling research.

I am also immensely grateful for the support of members of my dissertation committee. Bill Cross and Colette Daiute critiqued the earliest stages of the research, in my development of a literature review and a research design. Bill pressed me to develop the writing in a way that cogently presented what the data reveal – the persistence of

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racial inequality in public education. Colette focused on aspects of the qualitative analysis, suggesting approaches for analyzing the data and organizing the text, and she pushed me to convey more clearly the development and organization of my analytical framework. Linda Powell encouraged me to think about memory and its power in shaping how individuals recall and narrate the privilege or the exclusion they have experienced in their schooling. Leanne Rivlin provided a close reading of the text, while providing encouraging feedback about the arrangement of the chapters, particularly the presentation of history first followed by the narratives of students. All of the members of my committee engaged with me in the struggle of how to present research that celebrates educators and institutions for their endeavors to facilitate racial equality, while at the same time providing a careful analysis of the structures, beliefs, and interactions through which equality is thwarted. I am indebted to my committee and all of my professors at the City University of New York Graduate Center for their high standards, encouragement, and agitation.

I also must direct my thanks to the superintendent of the Shaker Heights City School District, Mark Freeman, who allowed me to conduct the research, and who expressed interest in the research question. Dr. Freeman influenced the design of the research by recommending that my starting point in my study of the district's desegregation be closer to 1965, and not 1970, which I originally intended. This was a critical recommendation, since so much of the debate and formulation of policy occurred during those rich and turbulent five years. Dr. Freeman also directed me to Dale Whittington. Dr. Whittington, director of research and evaluation at the district,

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encouraged me in my work and discussed with me several sources related to desegregation and the study of achievement in the district.

Several other members of the district office staff were helpful in the research. Carole West assisted me in locating archival materials from the district office. She found me a quiet space in the building and was very helpful with my questions about additional reports or documents. Brook Harville and Ruth Candela worked nearby to this space and they provided a friendly atmosphere. Wade Grant transported heavy file boxes into the office for my review and was always checking with me to see that I had what I needed. Glorina Morris also made me feel welcome and helped me reach others in the office if I needed to talk with them.

I am especially indebted to the wonderful staff at the Shaker Heights Public Library. Kristen Pool, archivist and local history librarian for the Shaker Heights Public Library Local History Collection, was extremely informative and provided me with access to a rich trove of archival material. The Local History Collection was invaluable in my study of the district's history, with its collection of school newspapers, yearbooks, videotapes, reports on the school district and its desegregation, and other useful archives. The Collection is a treasure, as is the library itself. This was evident immediately to me upon walking into the building and interacting with the members of library staff. Rosemary Nugent, administrative services secretary, allowed me to conduct my interviews in a small meeting room in the library, as part of the library's support for local history projects. Rosemary reserved meeting rooms for my interviews, which were quite frequent in the height of my data collection. I will miss stopping by to say hello to her.

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I could not have even imagined this work without the support of those closest to me, my family. Neither my husband Larry nor I anticipated just how much time and labor each phase of the research would require. He endured my burgeoning collection of files, stacks of paper, yellow sticky notes, late night hours, and habitual lateness in accomplishing anything outside of the research itself. Larry kept our life balanced with his sense of humor, love for music, closeness with our children, and his cooking abilities. He also provided tremendously useful technological support. In short, he kept me sane. I am grateful to my daughters, Leanne and Julia, who often worked late into the night alongside me on their own assignments, and who assumed responsibilities at home. They frequently reinforced for me the goal – and joy – of completing the dissertation. My youngest daughter, Clare, wrote me many love notes and kept me grounded in her affection and playfulness. Finally, my parents, Tom and Dottie, encouraged each phase of the research and celebrated its progress. Larry's parents, Gene and Jean, are both educators, as are some of his siblings, aunts, uncles, and cousins. They continue to instill in me an appreciation for the incredible life work of those who teach our children.

Finally, I cannot say enough words of gratitude toward the students, parents, and educators who participated in the study. My interviews ran from one to three hours. Many participants extended the interview beyond the time they had originally told me that they could afford. Some were justifiably cautious about meeting with me and about what they were willing to tell me. Most agreed to a taped interview. Their responses to my questions and the experiences they narrated resulted in hundreds of pages of transcripts and countless insights. There were moments I simply had to turn off the tape and absorb the full impact of a participant's story. Sometimes, too, their silence was

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telling. Additionally, there were exchanges between the participants and myself during some interviews that provided key turning points in the direction of my ongoing data collection and analysis. The compelling nature of this document is fundamentally a result of the participants' narratives, conveying their passion for education and for justice in a racially and economically diverse school system. I am profoundly grateful for their time and for their willingness to share the history of their lives and their schooling. I dedicate this work to all of them.

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INTRODUCTION

> While participants had a variety of motives, many were influenced by a strong commitment to the ideal of equality and the crucial importance of raising their children in a way that would contribute to racial harmony in America.
>
> - Mason & Adamson, 1983, p. 2

Building on the very rich and influential work on distributive justice by Morton Deutsch (1985), this study looks specifically within the field of public education, and examines individuals' considerations of equality in the distribution of educational opportunities, particularly when the distribution involves a racial group formerly excluded from the community. Guided by the Erika Apfelbaum's theory of relations of power (Apfelbaum, 1979, 1999), this study examines the history of public school desegregation from a social psychological perspective. Apfelbaum notes that central to any study of intergroup conflict is the existence of power, which shapes the experience within groups and between groups. This study theorizes that education is a "property of power" (Ng, 1979), and as such, the question about equal opportunities and equal academic outcomes is not an abstract dilemma but is instead very concrete, influencing the economic and social future of one's child. As Ng notes, "Once equality and discrimination are connected to the concrete situation, our moral stance begins to sway" (p. 179).

The community under study is Shaker Heights,[1] developed in the early 1900's as an inner-ring suburb to Cleveland. This community used restrictive covenants until they were struck down in the courts, and has since become increasingly diverse. Over the past 40 years, as many African American families moved into the community, the district's

[1] As a result of discussions with the current district superintendent, the district is identified in the research.

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commitment to excellence in education for all children and its stellar academic reputation inherently tied it to efforts to ensure racial equality. In the past, the school system supported its argument for "well-integrated schools," as both a "moral imperative to assure all children equality of opportunity" and an "equal necessity to prepare every child to take her or his place in a world where no race may live alone" (Blue, 1981, p. 17). More recently, the arguments for equal educational opportunity and for racial diversity continue to be articulated in one form or another by residents and educators, preserving the concern for racial equality in the schools. While achievement data disaggregated by race reflects national achievement trends (NAEP, 2000), the district has concentrated a great deal of energy and resources in efforts to narrow the achievement gap between white and black students (Ferguson, 2001).

In a national context that is shifting away from race-conscious to "color-blind" or race-aversive educational policies and practices, as reflected in recent judicial decisions to lift desegregation rulings and to challenge universities' race-conscious admission policies, it is my hope that this case study of a school district's desegregation over time contributes to the body of literature theorizing race and relations of power in classrooms and communities. This is very much needed at this time, given the compelling evidence of the divergent experiences of white students and students of color, experiences that have real consequences for perpetuating racial inequality. The methods used in this study, which include semi-structured interviews to collect oral histories, a review of archival materials, and a review of student data, have yielded a fairly complicated portrait of the struggles, hopes and fears of members of this community over a period of time in which

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their school system initiated and sustained efforts to facilitate racial equality through desegregation.

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CHAPTER I:

LITERATURE REVIEW

> [F]ew in the country, black or white, understood in 1954 that racial segregation was merely a symptom, not the disease; that the real sickness is that our society in all of its manifestations is geared to the maintenance of white superiority.
>
> -- Robert Carter, 1968, p. 237

Introduction

A culmination of social forces here and abroad precipitated the unanimous 1954 Supreme Court *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision outlawing racial segregation. Beyond American borders, African countries moved toward independence from European colonial governments. There was pressure from foreign partners for the United States to abolish segregation (Bell, 1980/1995). With the end of World War II, and the framing of the Holocaust as an isolated atrocity that had finally been contained—a "temporary dysfunctioning" (Apfelbaum, 1999)—social scientists and activist lawyers directed their efforts toward reversing legal and social impediments to equal access in education, jobs, and housing for African Americans, many of whom had returned from the war with expectations of equal opportunity.

Before the *Brown* decision by the Supreme Court to reverse the 1896 "separate but equal" ruling of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, a series of early victories by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) had been secured, giving African Americans access to higher education in well-established, highly reputable, formerly all-white institutions of learning. These victories were significant in paving the way for the *Brown* decision and identifying avenues of power and privilege accessible to white students but not replicable for African American students in presumably "equal" settings.

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It is precisely because of the history of race relations in the United States that these "intangibles" (*Sweatt v. Painter*, 1950) were situated in white *public* institutions. Access to white public schools in an era of segregation, in social terms, meant direct connections with dominant societal structures—educational, economic, legal, and cultural—and interaction with students of the dominant culture. In material terms, it translated into better facilities and higher level course offerings. It also presented an inherent conflict, in that dismantling segregation was likely to lead to the toppling of the vehicles that sustained white dominance. It is not surprising, therefore, that various expressions of white resistance emerged and that the response of educational leadership was to develop strategies least likely to disturb majority white interests in public education.

In the *Brown* decision, the Court argued that segregation imposed (Cross, 1991) an inferior status on African Americans, "a feeling of inferiority as [sic] their status in the community," as stated by Chief Justice Warren (*Brown*, 1954). In so doing, the Court recognized the power differentials between whites and blacks. However, the argument turns on the "inferiority" of the black child, not on a dominant culture embedded in notions of white as morally and intellectually superior. Clearly, this argument effectively convinced the justices of their legal obligation to reverse *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Nevertheless, the Court's argument reveals the reticence[2] among white leaders at the time toward acknowledging that black subordination does not exist in isolation, but exists through, by, and for white domination.

---

[2] Later Supreme Court decisions, such as *Green* (1968), *Swann* (1971), and *Keyes* (1973) are much more explicit in identifying the cause and effects of segregation. Their arguments and remedies, not surprisingly, resulted in clarity of purpose as well as an increasing fear among suburban whites that desegregation would ultimately alter the organization of their schools.

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This literature review will trace how school segregation efforts over time reflect a similar pattern of reticence among educational leadership in the mobilization of support among whites, sustaining white loyalty and participation in public education (Hirschman, 1970; Tajfel, 1974), thus maintaining its stability and longevity. Using Apfelbaum's theory of relations of power (Apfelbaum, 1979, 1999), this chapter will examine the history of public school desegregation from a social psychological perspective. Apfelbaum notes that central to any study of intergroup conflict is the existence of power, which shapes the experience within groups and between groups. Building on a rich trove of theoretical work (Cartwright, 1953/1959; Park, 1913/1950; Lewin, 1948; Coser, 1956; G. Allport, 1954), she notes that intergroup conflict produces positive and negative outcomes and inevitably points to a set of dominant-subordinate relations and the expression of resistance toward that domination on the part of the subordinate group.

Beginning with a review of the Supreme Court decisions on desegregation, including and following *Brown*, this paper will examine how relations of power were maintained or disrupted by the desegregation rulings, as well as other forms of intervention designed to increase equal educational opportunity for students of color. It will weave through this historical review a corollary study of the desegregation literature produced by social scientists subsequent to the *Brown* decision. In particular it will look at the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), a central concept that influenced the thinking of social psychologists around the time of the *Brown* decision.

The literature review will discuss the work of social psychologists and sociologists who tested out and critiqued the contact hypothesis in laboratory and field settings (Cohen, 1975, 1984; Cohen & Roper, 1972; Schofield, 1982, 1986a, 1986b;

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Schofield & Sagar, 1979; Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995). As related to the contact hypothesis are those theories that focus on the "objective," or functional, aspects, of intergroup relations (Sherif & Sherif, 1953, Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1988) and the "subjective," or cognitive-based aspects (Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1986; Brewer & Miller, 1984; Miller & Brewer, 1986) and those that incorporate "objective" and "subjective" aspects through their recognition of the role of cognition, motivation as well as sociocultural factors (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1986; Gaertner, Mann, Murrell, & Dovidio, 1989; Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993). It will include more recent work from Critical Race Theory (Bell, 1980/1995; Delgado, 1995; Matsuda, 1995; Peller, 1995) and the study of racism (J. M. Jones, 1972/1997, 1997, 1998), which provide an important critique of how the contact theory has been operationalized in desegregated schools.

The literature review will consider how the avoidance of conflict and the effort to be neutral or fair in a racially diverse environment leads school officials to use a policy of what Schofield (1982, 1986a, 1986b; Schofield & Sagar, 1979) calls the "colorblind" approach. The "colorblind" approach views race as unimportant to the education of young people in desegregated schools; it views attention to race or race-related matters as inappropriate, likely to unleash conflict, and as unfair to students who should be viewed as individuals and whose academic work should be judged by its merit. The chapter will consider how the "colorblind" approach fails to address the salience of race in desegregated schools, and appears "blind" only to the relations of power inherent in interracial contact. It also does not attend to the influence of unequal social status on the potential effectiveness of the contact situation, thus failing to interrupt the process

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through which student and teacher expectations of competency are linked with race, ethnicity, class, or gender (Cohen, 1975, 1984; Cohen and Roper, 1972; St. John, 1975). Nevertheless, there is an increasing trend in the United States away from race-conscious policies and toward a "colorblind" approach. While the preference for the "colorblind" approach flourishes in the dominant discourse about education and race, it is profoundly critiqued by many, including activist legal scholars, social psychologists, educators, and the leadership of a number of universities (Bowen and Bok, 1998; Fine, Weis, Powell, Wong, 1997; Fine, Weis, Powell, 1997; Firestone, 1999; Wells and Crain, 1997; Fine, Anand, Jordan, and Sherman, 2000; Orfield and Eaton, 1996; Orfield and Whitla, 1999; Orfield and Yun, 1999).

While this paper looks at the history of desegregation, it also considers the contemporary status of desegregated schools. The late 1990's and early 2000's witnessed continued challenges and more reversals in desegregation rulings. The Supreme Court has exercised increased scrutiny on race-attentive policies implemented in public education. The reversal of public school desegregation rulings, and the retreat from race-conscious admission policies in universities, has impeded the direction that the country, however imperfectly, was moving toward racial integration. Recently in *Grutter v. Bollinger* (2003), the Supreme Court ruled the affirmative action policies at the University of Michigan Law School to be constitutional and affirmed that the state had a compelling interest in racial diversity in higher education. At the same time, in *Graz and Hamacher v. Bollinger* (2003) the Court ruled the admission policies of the University of Michigan on the undergraduate level to be unconstitutional, because the Court deemed the policy of a point system not "narrowly tailored" to achieve diversity. This literature

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review traces the evolution of court rulings and educational research on desegregation in public education from the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* to the current University of Michigan cases.

The Brown Decision: Its Focus and the Relationship of Social Psychology to the Supreme Court Case

A whole body of research on prejudice and intergroup relations was well underway prior and subsequent to the *Brown* decision. Jackson (1998) notes that Gunnar Myrdal's (1944) comprehensive study of racial inequality in the United States was a critical factor in stimulating the organization of a variety of groups focused on advocacy, education, litigation, and research[3]. Closely connected with the field of social psychology was the Commission on Community Relations (CCI), established in 1945 by the American Jewish Congress (AJC), in order to carry out research in communities on reducing religious and racial discrimination. Kurt Lewin acted as chief consultant for this organization and during its peak of active research, he worked with Stuart Cook, Kenneth Clark, Isidor Chein, Gordon Allport, and Marie Jahoda, among many others. In the sociological field, writings from Simmel (1955), and Coser (1956) were also addressing intergroup relations, prejudice, and racial conflict.

Meanwhile, the NAACP had shifted its litigation efforts from access to public universities to access to the public school system. The four cases preceding (and including) *Brown* represented a more direct challenge by the NAACP as to the constitutionality of the "separate but equal" clause established in 1896 through the Supreme Court decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Thurgood Marshall was leading the work

[3] The numbers of such organizations grew from approximately 300 in 1945 to 1,350 by the 1950 (Jackson, 1998, p. 122).

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at the NAACP and had included testimony by Stuart Cook and Isidor Chein in a number of court cases (Cherry & Broshuk, 1998). In addition, a Committee on Intergroup Relations, as part of the Society for the Study of Social Issues (SPPSI), was engaged in preparing for *Brown*. Kenneth Clark, who worked directly with Robert Carter and Thurgood Marshall of the NAACP, drafted the first Social Science Statement along with Isidor Chein and Stuart Cook. In an early draft of the statement, Clark argued in several ways why segregation was a problem for the United States, including the following: "It is a major problem because of the *damaging* [my emphasis] effect that such segregation has on the leadership position of the United States in this critical period of world affairs. Even more important, it is a major problem because it has always constituted an unresolved or only partially resolved issue in the evolution of American democracy." (Jackson, 1998, p. 150: from "Draft of the Social Science Statement," n.d.). Clark's arguments were replaced later, probably by Stuart Cook according to Jackson, in order to make the argument less political and more objective.

It is, of course, important to consider the need to create in the Social Science Statement a document that both asserted an objective stance and provided the kind of social science evidence sufficient to argue for the end of segregation. It is not surprising, therefore, that statements considered "political" or too complex were eliminated.[4] Hence, the document itself reflected the primary purpose of making the most persuasive, but "professional" (Jackson, 1998) case against segregation. As a result, the final Social Science Statement that went to NAACP and was included in their argument in *Brown*,

[4] Once they completed the Social Science Statement, those in the Committee on Intergroup Relations sought signatures of many other members of SPSSI as well as from its sociological counterpart, the Society for the Study of Social Problems (SSSP), indicating that the statement reflected the knowledge from the field (Jackson, 1998).

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emphasized as its first point the psychological damage done "*both to* minority and majority group children" (my emphasis). The second point raised in the Social Science Statement focused on the social scientists' assertion that desegregation could take place smoothly if it were done "quick and firmly" (Jackson, 1998, p. 152).

With the signatures of thirty-two social scientists, the Social Science Statement was filed in 1952 with the Supreme Court. It is interesting to note what aspects of the statement carried through the case and were included in the decision. Jackson notes, "The famous damage argument—that segregation had 'detrimental effects on the personality of minority group members' (from "Social Scientific Argument")—was only a small part of the original SPSSI outline and not necessarily given more weight than any other argument made in the outline" (p. 149). This point traveled throughout the proceedings and found its way into the final text of the Court, *absent* the reference to majority children. In doing so, we see the early stages of the avoidance toward referencing the dominant hold of whites on public institutions in an effort to mobilize white support for desegregation and maintain white interests in public education, a point which will be discussed later in this paper.

Elizabeth Cohen (1975) underscores the focus in the final *Brown* papers on inferiority among African Americans and the omission of its psychological counterpart, white superiority. By excluding this equally devastating psychological factor in the argument against segregation, white dominance was absolved of its complicity. It was not linked to the problem of racial inequality. According to the Court's argument, the problem of segregation rested in the lives of black Americans—in their poor self esteem and the other cultural deprivations that resulted from the discrimination and segregation.

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This is likely to have occurred through the requirement of an argument sufficiently compelling to create a sense of moral urgency but not so analytical as to identify white superiority as a principal cause. As a result, the dominance of whites emerged from *Brown* argument unscathed.

It is important to note, however, that in the findings of Kenneth and Mamie Clark's original research, as detailed in Cross's in-depth study of black identity (Cross, 1991), the results indicate that African American children who had medium to dark skin color displayed a preference *for their own racial group* at the age of seven. These findings contradicted earlier work done by Ruth Horowitz (1939) on the "wishful thinking," or preference for whites among African American children (most of whom were between the ages of two and three years old) and subsequent studies of black identity, which emphasized ingroup denigration, sometimes referred to as "self-hatred."[5]

Cross notes that while the Clark and Clark's findings suggested preference for one's *own* racial group among seven year old black children, what they found most disturbing were the data they collected anecdotally from the children as well as additional data from work with children in psychiatric treatment with whom they were conducting clinical observations. It is from these data that the Clarks found the negative perceptions of African Americans. Cross reports that the children's demonstration of negative perceptions toward African Americans was deeply unsettling to Kenneth and Mamie Clark, and as a result they focused heavily in their discussion on the self-rejection and inferiority exhibited by these children. He writes:

> It is a perspective in which the actuality of race as a debilitating factor in the lives of a fraction, albeit a significant fraction, was confused with the *potentiality* of

[5] For an in-depth study of Clark and Clark's research and its relationship to other work done in black identity, see Cross (1991).

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> race damaging the lives of the majority. Race as a "hassle," "imposition," "stigma," and "mark of oppression" is at the core of their analysis. To the extent that Negro identity was a two-sided story, one about oppression and its consequences and the other about culture and the way people survive and, on occasion, transcend their oppression, the Clarks became experts not on Negro identity as a cultural phenomenon, but as a clinical case study in imposition. (p. 29)

Beyond the requirements of securing a legal victory, it is useful to consider why the inferiority of African Americans, or "the intellectual canonization of the self-hatred thesis," as Cross writes (1991, p. 129), became a standard in social psychological literature, while white superiority was not viewed in the same way—as disabling for whites—as black inferiority was viewed for blacks. While white educators and parents vexed over what they saw as the negative influence that African American children might introduce to a school setting (Bronfenbrenner, 1967), less public concern was expressed about the negative influence of hostility and disparagement among white educators and students towards black children. Likewise, there was little emphasis on the potential negative effect of educational institutions steeped in white culture on the social and academic experience of students of color. Within many desegregated schools and in the social psychological literature, attention to power differentials was scarce. Much of the attention was given to the experience of whites in desegregated schools and their acceptance of students of color.

Erika Apfelbaum (1979) recalls a 1953 presidential address to SPSSI, noting the lack of attention in the study of intergroup conflict to relations of power (Cartwright 1953/1959) and recommending a study of the influence of power in discriminatory practices. As Apfelbaum notes, this insightful critique could not have been presented at a more crucial moment—one year before the *Brown* decision. Nevertheless, she reports that this argument went unattended. Apfelbaum observes, citing Coser's analysis as well

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(Coser, 1956), that social psychological research on school desegregation took a "social problem/cure approach" and in doing such, set aside those questions of the asymmetric power differentials in interracial relations.

Relations of Power and Resistance

Apfelbaum (1979) analyzes the asymmetric power relations between groups, indicating that such an analysis involves "two linked intergroup phenomena: domination and subordination" (p. 188). Apfelbaum notes that most research conducted in the United States focused on the *effects* of intergroup conflict, not its *cause*. Similarly, the effects of desegregation were studied widely but the underlying questions about power were not addressed. As a result, she notes,

> This perspective—focusing on the consequence of intergroup relations involving domination—has obscured the central role that power plays, both in shaping the activities occurring *within* each individual group and in determining the character of the relation that is evolving *between* these groups. (p. 188).

According to Apfelbaum, power is expressed in a dependency relation, privileging one group and marginalizing the other, using a "representative sociale" or a "universal rule" (p. 199) as a backdrop that supports the dominant-subordinate relationship and that shapes both the external and internal dynamics of groups. Power is established and maintained through the use of two specific mechanisms: *grouping*, the differentiation of the subordinate group by the dominant group, where values and norms of the dominant group are viewed as natural and normal and those of the subordinate group are seen as unnatural, deviant, inferior or abnormal.

Thus Apfelbaum describes the dominant-subordinate relationship as "dependent" and "circular" in nature, in that both grouping and degrouping are integral to preserving

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dominant-subordinate relations. As Frantz Fanon notes in his psychological analysis of the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized in Madagascar, "...the Malagasy alone no longer exists...the Malagasy exists *with the European*" (Fanon, 1967, p. 96-97). Similarly, Apfelbaum's theory is premised on "a confrontation between two fundamentally heterogeneous opponents, the inequality lying in the differential access to the decision-making concerning values and rules that control our social future" (Apfelbaum & Lubek, 1976, p. 83). Apfelbaum says that the inequality is based on more than a gap in resources, that it is based on "a status of dependency" in which "neither power, nor either of the two groups, can exist independently, outside of the relationship binding them" (Apfelbaum, 1979, p. 196). This dependency influences the relationship between the two groups as well as the nature of relations for members within each group.

Apfelbaum notes, however, that there are clear instances where historically subordinate groups have thwarted the grouping/degrouping mechanisms, through a process she calls *regrouping*. In the act of regrouping, the subordinate group disrupts the dominant group's hold on power, whereby the subordinate group develops its own discourse, culture, and history, often times rewriting the dominant narrative about its group, and exercises a critical awareness and analysis of the structures and discourse through which the dominant group keeps the subordinate group powerless. While there may be many vehicles of regrouping, clearly one avenue is through the engagement of conflict with the dominant group. In this situation, conflict is functional in that it helps the subordinate group achieve social change. This conflict must be engaged by the group, and not the individual, since it is the group that has been "marked" as subordinate. There are corollaries of this kind of identity formation in individuals in the study of

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nigrescence, which identifies stages of development in black identity (Cross, 1991). Cross notes that this term emerged in the late 1960's as "observers, particularly Black American psychologists, tried systematically to map and codify the identity transformation that accompanied an individual's participation in the Black Power phase (1968-1975) of the Black Social Movement" (p. 147).

The circular nature of relations of power is evident in the counterresponse of a dominant group toward the regrouping of a subordinate group, achieved through a *degrouping process*. The degrouping works in a number of ways. First it denies that there is a power struggle. This is done successfully through what Apfelbaum calls the "illusion of social mobility" (p. 199), that those in a subordinated group may secure their rights and that they possess the same power and legitimacy as those in the dominant group. Degrouping is also evident in the side effects of domination. These side effects include internal conflict within the subordinate group and the expression of the dominant discourse by members of the subordinate group in viewing members from their own group.

Finally, degrouping is also achieved through tokenism, the practice of giving a few individuals from the subordinated group the opportunity to participate in social mobility while denying it to most. While the "universal rule" shapes discourse about privilege, power and legitimacy, tokenism structures "opportunities" by limiting the extent to which group members can become established and secure in their legitimate positions. It situates opportunity within conditionality. Apfelbaum notes this is key to degrouping:

> Moreover, the assimilation and integration of token persons into the dominant group is only illusory: the constraints placed on these individuals...rely on a

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> contractual bond that assumes certain reciprocities; the token person is still bonded by mechanisms involving an insurmountable dissymmetry and a nonreversible subordination. While "equals" in the reciprocal relation (members of the dominant group) are secure, the token (group)/group member at any moment can be removed, disqualified, and his/her position in the upwardly mobile hierarchy can be suddenly invalidated. (p. 199)

Apfelbaum's theory of relations of power is useful in juxtaposing the "colorblind" approach with race-conscious policies. In the increasing shift away from race-conscious policies that characterizes current national policy, the "colorblind" approach is viewed as "fair" in that it does not use race as a determinant in competitive environments, whether that be a classroom, a high school, a university admission program, a contract bidding process, or a job search. If race-conscious policies could be theorized as a means to enable the regrouping process, then "colorblind" policies, through their unwillingness to recognize the salience of race even as racism persists, effectively stymie the regrouping of subordinate groups, through the use of the degrouping mechanism.

As these court-ordered desegregation rulings have been lifted and the country has become increasingly resegregated, it is useful to analyze the social psychological literature in its theoretical work on intergroup conflict and explore the relationship of this work to the progress, and interruption, of desegregation efforts. This paper reviews the history of desegregation rulings and related work in the social sciences on intergroup conflict, the contact theory, and "colorblind" policies.

History of Desegregation Rulings

After *Brown* in 1954 and *Brown II* in 1955, which determined that desegregation must proceed "with all deliberate speed," subsequent Supreme Court rulings directly tackled the obstacles that districts used to stall desegregation. Significant among these

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cases were *Green v. New Kent County*, Virginia (1968), which determined that a school district could not maintain a dual system with a voluntary "freedom of choice" plan as its means to desegregate; *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, North Carolina (1971), which determined "when racial assignment is linked to integration rather than segregation, it is constitutionally permissible" (Fiss, 1979, p. 10) and that busing was an acceptable and necessary solution when the only other alternative was to leave schools segregated; and *Keyes v. School District No. 1*, Denver (1973), the first ruling outside the South, determined that segregation in one part of the system had a "reciprocal effect" (Wisdom, 1975), affecting all of the system, and required a system-wide desegregation effort. *Keyes* was also important because it determined that Latino students were constitutionally entitled to being recognized as a single ethnic entity, and as such had been discriminated against through deliberate segregation (Orfield, 1978; Orfield and Yun, 1999).

Prior to these rulings by the Court on desegregation in the late 60's and early 70's, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) had been actively enforcing desegregation in the South with the backing of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the support of President Johnson, delaying or cutting off federal aid to systems that did not desegregate, and with the Justice Department civil rights lawyers taking on those systems that did not abide by the law. Concerted action on the part of the federal government significantly altered the landscape of Southern school districts[6] and lent credibility to the government's protection of the 14th amendment for African Americans. However, efforts

[6] Orfield and Yun (1999) note that "By 1970, the enforcement of the 1964 civil rights act by the Johnson Administration and the courts had made the South the nation's most integrated region for blacks and whites" (p. 11), rising from .1 percent black students in majority white schools in 1960 to 33.1 percent black students in majority white schools in 1970.

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to eliminate segregation, while they gave hope to African Americans, at the same time generated unease among whites. While whites appeared to support desegregation in the abstract, their view on its actual implementation was more contested. With the *Keyes* decision, Northern whites saw the possibility of federal intervention in their urban and suburban school systems.

In 1966, a government funded report on desegregation was published, which was to have lasting import in reinforcing perceptions about academic competency and color. Known as the *Coleman Report* (Coleman, E. Campbell, Hobson, McPartland, Mood, Weinfeld, York, 1966), it is credited with providing the evidence necessary to encourage racial-balance desegregation plans. At the same time, it also led to conclusions that further denigrated African Americans and elevated whites. The findings from the *Coleman Report* suggested there was a positive influence on the academic achievement of African Americans when they are in classrooms with white students. It also found few differences between educational facilities of all-white schools and all-black schools. While this finding could certainly be debated (Dollard, 1937/49; Jones, 1979) in terms of comparisons of school materials, equipment, building maintenance, teacher salaries, after-school activities and the like, another important issue is not addressed in the comparison: the report does not address the "intangibles" (*Sweatt v. Painter*, 1950) attached to white institutions in terms of social and political power. As a result, these findings, welded together, produced an assumption that tied academic ability to being white and by contrast, tied lack of ability to being black (Bell, 1975; Peller, 1995). Without the necessary analysis of power relations, these assumptions persisted,

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generating stereotypes about race and academic ability and influencing expectations of teachers toward students and students toward each other.

At the same time, Lagemann (2000) notes Coleman's finding that "schools seemed to be relatively powerless in overcoming disadvantage," was de-emphasized by the Office of Education in order to ensure the funding of the Title 1 budget, allocated by Congress for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Lagemann writes that this finding in Coleman's research of the replicative power of schools was minimized, until Daniel Patrick Moynihan at Harvard asked Coleman to report on his findings for *The Public Interest.*[7]

Elizabeth Cohen (1975) connects the assumptions underlying the literature on desegregation, particularly on the benefits of African American children attending schools that were predominantly white, with the literature on black cultural deprivation. It is likely that the conclusions disseminated on the *Coleman Report* reinforced white anxiety that the presence of African Americans would "bring down" the social and academic climate of schools, a corollary of white views of African Americans moving to white neighborhoods. Cohen notes how deeply ingrained among whites are the subjective negative evaluations of black culture:

> The failure to recognize the underlying assumption that blacks can only become achievement-oriented by close ties with whites is like the failure to recognize the fears that less educated white parents have concerning busing plans which will send their children back into lower class, black neighborhood schools. The policy maker is unprepared for the deep resistance to desegregation expressed by some blacks—particularly the younger intelligentsia and the adherents of Black Power

[7] Lagemann also emphasizes the controversial nature of Coleman's ambitious efforts to survey school districts. She notes that while Coleman intended to survey 900,000 students, half black and half at several grade levels across the span of schooling, "Fearing invidious comparison and worried about queries from Washington concerning matters of race, more than one-tenth of the school districts Coleman had planned to sample refused to participate" (Lagemann, 2000, page 195).

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> ideology—and by less educated whites. Without explicit attention to the underlying value assumptions, reliance upon social science research evidence may have some unfortunate consequences. (Cohen, 1975, p. 289)

Tajfel (1974) emphasizes that part of the social comparison process involves the assignment of status to group membership. He notes, "The characteristics of one's group as a whole (such as its status, its richness or poverty, its skin colour or its ability to reach its aims) achieve most of their significance in relation to perceived differences from other groups and the value connotation of these differences" (p. 115). As raised by Cohen (1975), group differences, such as skin color, language, culture, and class, are ascribed varying levels of status within a white dominated society, producing power differentials. Along with this grouping process, as Apfelbaum calls it, is a deep reserve of uncontested assumptions, predominantly among whites but largely accessible in the media and in public institutions such as schools, implying that difference is not a neutral factor, but a means of distinguishing contrasting and evaluative attributions. Before considering further the history of desegregation rulings, it is important to consider social psychological theories on how intergroup comparison works and how it is tied to relations of power.

Power, Social Identity and Intergroup Comparison

Tajfel and Turner (1979) found in their studies the existence of minimal in-group bias, noting that even in experiments where groups were randomly formed with no identifiable group distinctions other than "ingroup" and "outgroup," subjects still exhibited an ingroup bias. They conclude that minimal intergroup discrimination "is not based on incompatible goal interests" (pp.40-41) and not dependent on "the frequency of

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intermember interaction, systems of role relationships, or interdependent goals" (p. 40), but on "essential criteria for group membership, as they apply to large-scale social categories," through a process in which "the individuals concerned define themselves and are defined by others as members of a group" (p. 40). This definition is tied to the idea of social categorizations, which Tajfel and Turner describe as "cognitive tools that segment, classify, and order the social environment, and thus enable the individual to undertake many forms of social action" (p. 40). In addition, they note, social categorizations also provide a means for referencing the self within the society, and as such give an individual a social identity, which Tajfel and Turner describe as "those aspects of an individual's self-image that derive from the social categories" (p. 40) to which an individual views herself as belonging.

Tajfel and Turner point out that in stratified societies, the group that is accorded low status is often *more* likely to derogate its ingroup. In societies where groups possess equal power, the ingroup is likely to exhibit outgroup hostility and efforts to reclaim lost status, as demonstrated in Sherif and Sherif's work on realistic group conflict (Sherif & Sherif, 1953; Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1988). Tajfel and Turner view status not as a scarce resource but as an outcome of intergroup comparison, reflecting a group's "relative position on some evaluative dimension of comparison" (p. 43).

Tajfel and Turner's (1979) theory corroborates Cohen's evidence of unequal status operating in interracial cooperative groups in desegregated schools. In one study Cohen (1975, 1984; Cohen and Roper, 1972) created four-person groups of white and black male junior high school students to participate in a game that required they make decisions as a team. Students were matched in terms of socioeconomic status, height,

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attitude toward school, so that they were very similar, except in terms of race. Nevertheless, Cohen (1975) reports that "stereotypical expectations" about competence "for higher group status members" among both black and white students "were fulfilled and reinforced" (p. 293) which resulted in "...observably different rates of contribution to the task, and ultimately, in differential rates of influence, with the prestige and peer ranking of the groups replicating the status ranking or order of society at large." (p. 293).

Tajfel and Turner (1979) note that in such a context of a socially stratified society and institutions, there is less focus on "objective deprivation" (p. 37) due to conditions where "...social-structural differences in the distribution of resources have been institutionalized, legitimized, and justified through a consensually accepted status system" (p. 37). In such a setting the stratification is pervasive enough to preclude the development of "cognitive alternatives." If, however, members of a subordinate group feel their group status is unfair, they have two options: leave their existing group and join a more positively viewed group or reverse the negative views of their current group to positive views.

The decision to stay with one's group or move to another has very different implications in a socially stratified society. If individuals opt to leave their existing group, they are exercising "individual mobility" and in doing so "disidentify" with their group. Thus, the low status of the group remains stable while the individuals have moved to a higher status. Tajfel and Turner note that as such this is a *personal*, not a group, solution. They are also likely, if their move has been successful, to express a belief system of "social mobility," meaning that they view "the society in which the individuals live is a flexible and permeable one, so that if they are not satisfied, for whatever reason,

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with the conditions imposed upon their lives by membership in social groups or social categories to which they belong, it is possible for them (be it through talent, hard work, good luck, or whatever means) to move individually into another group which suits them better" (p. 35). However, Tajfel and Turner caution that the "individual mobility" strategy tends to "blur the perception of distinct group interests corresponding to the distinct group identity" and as such hinders the mobilization of the group around common concerns, establishing a "disintegrative" process that can impede any positive change in group status.

Staying within one's group, on the other hand, but desiring higher status, is likely to result in "social creativity," whereby the social situation is altered so that the group gains higher status, leading to a *group* solution. A person who acts in this manner is likely to express a belief system approximating that of what Tajfel and Turner call "social change" which they describe as the belief by an individual that "he is enclosed within the walls of the social group of which he is a member; that he cannot move out on his own into another group in order to improve or change his position or his conditions of life; and that therefore the only way for him to improve or change these conditions (or for that matter, to resist the change of these conditions, if he happens to be satisfied with them) is together with his group as a whole as a member of it rather than as someone who leaves it" (p. 104).

If we apply this theory to the history of desegregation, and the low status accorded to African Americans on the basis of skin color, then the opportunities for blacks in terms of gaining higher status, at a very fundamental level, require a group solution. Whites, on the other hand, whose race does not impose limitations on

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individual mobility, can effectively gain higher status as individuals. However, if African Americans as a group are successful in gaining higher status, through what Apfelbaum calls regrouping, then those whites committed to maintaining their higher status will exercise their power as a group to collectively stymie social change. This is exactly what we are seeing now in the shift away from race-conscious policies: a collective, predominantly white-based push for "colorblind" policies to maintain status quo from which they benefit.

The discourse that has found its way to the courts recently by white parents who say that their child has been discriminated against is an example of using group-based social change to protect the status quo. Tajfel and Turner's work on social mobility and social change is useful in analyzing what began to take place after the dissemination of Coleman's report in 1966, which was followed by a series of landmark Court desegregation rulings, effectively removing obstacles common in segregated school districts. As these rulings were implemented, they threatened long-standing dominant white interests in public education. The following section analyzes the collective response to that threat during a period of history in which many of the desegregation gains were reversed, defunded, and delegitimized by the federal government, regaining the confidence of whites while generating withdrawal and distance from blacks.

Protection of White Interests, Insurance against White Flight

For some time after the *Brown* decision, educational leadership appeared to focus on maintaining white loyalty, and avoiding white exit, in order to maintain the stability and connections with other powerful white individuals and institutions—the "intangibles"

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that keep an institution in good stead. During this time, public school systems were able to maintain white loyalty by the following strategies: delaying desegregation; implementing token desegregation in some schools or resegregating black students in remedial or general education academic tracks and white students in magnet programs or honors academic tracks; too readily suspending and expelling African American for offenses while penalizing white students in less extreme ways or not at all when they committed similar offenses; laying off African American teachers in order to ensure white faculty their positions despite organizational changes during desegregation; busing black children more frequently and for longer distances; and closing schools that served black students in black neighborhoods rather than sending white children to these schools.

As a result of these strategies that impeded desegregation, frustration increased among African Americans. Furthermore, while Southern blacks were experiencing first hand the desegregation of their schools, African Americans outside the South, largely segregated from the suburbs and living in patterns of concentration in cities, were not experiencing commensurate change. The Civil Rights Movement had generated a lot of hope among African Americans in all regions in the country and an awareness of how the relations of power between African Americans and whites could be disrupted and altered while gains were secured (Wilson, 1973). However, during the period between 1963 and 1965 activists encountered a significant increase in white violence, ranging from state violence on the part of police toward non-violent protesters, white civilian violence toward those who supported the movement, including the firebombing of homes and churches, and the murder of civil rights workers and leaders in the civil rights movement.

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In addition, civil unrest among blacks in cities outside the South called attention to the privileged isolation of the North from federal intervention. Civil unrest between 1964 and 1968 among African Americans in Watts, Detroit, and Newark alone resulted in 103 deaths and 3,600 injuries, primarily African American. It led to 10,600 arrests and property damage in billions of dollars (Wilson, 1973).

Meanwhile, at the judicial level, some of the most important desegregation rulings were in the process of being decided upon. With rulings from *Green* (1968), *Swann* (1971), and *Keyes* (1973), which eliminated obstacles to desegregation, the possibility that Northern districts would desegregate increased. In addition, there was a lot of hopefulness among those pursuing desegregation about the use of a metropolitan plan as a remedy for increasingly segregated cities sharing borders with all-white suburbs.

However, the desegregation rulings not only disrupted educational options for whites; they also impeded white social mobility. What is important to note about these rulings was that in their use of race-conscious policies, whites "became" a race in terms of educational policies. In doing so, they were no longer identified as the "norm," or the "majority"; they were no longer the invisible backdrop against which "difference" was evaluated (Apfelbaum, 1979). In desegregation rulings and racial balance plans, whites were counted and grouped within assignment plans that paid attention to social and material power. With this turn in national events, whites lost (only briefly) their privilege of exit, or social mobility. Because they could no longer act as individuals, exercising choice, their only option in expressing dissatisfaction was voice (Hirschman, 1970; Tajfel, 1974), which had long been the vehicle of protest (along with boycott) for African Americans.

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As a result, white loyalty (Hirschman, 1970) to the institution of public education was deeply tested during the shift in judicial decisions and HEW monitoring from the South to the North. With the first test being *Swann* (1971), which laid out for any city school district the mechanisms available to implement desegregation, particularly the use of busing, the Supreme Court suggested that it would judge the inaction of the Northern cities with the same unwavering stance as it had in the South. The *Swann* decision, and then the *Keyes* (1973) decision, let loose a sense of high anxiety among those in Congress concerned about protecting deeply rooted interests in preserving neighborhood schools, which reflected the segregation of residential housing, an area of middle class life relatively free of judicial or legislative interference (Coleman, 1975; Fiss, 1979; Jones, 1979; Orfield & Eaton, 1996). In a country where busing was quite common to get children from home to school (and distance in terms of transporting students to private schools had not been an issue), there was deep tension over what children were being bused and the destination of that bus ride. Within the American—predominantly white—tradition of social mobility there was now a wrinkle: choosing a white neighborhood no longer guaranteed a white school.

In the past, public education had enabled social mobility, predominantly for whites, who could move freely from one school to another without restrictions. As suburbs were developed and city demographics became increasingly African American, whites moved to the suburbs. When cities were desegregated and the neighborhood schools in formerly all-white areas in the cities were desegregated, whites again used the exit option. The more recent move for vouchers reveals similar psychological ties to the need for exit from the public schools.

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However, while the Supreme Court decisions were removing obstacles to desegregation, the executive and legislative branches of the federal government were engaged in efforts to stall and then reverse the direction of the Court. Major shifts away from the implementation of race-conscious policies as exhibited in judicial desegregation decisions were introduced with the election of President Nixon in 1968. The Nixon administration's explicit stance against desegregation, particularly busing, resulted in the stalling of desegregation work at all levels of government. Nixon appointed new justices to the Court, who interpreted *Brown* in a narrower and more conservative way, thus shifting the unity of the Court from unanimous in *Brown* to increasingly divided in the subsequent key Court rulings. The most conservative of the justices was William Rehnquist, who had expressed disapproval while a clerk for the Court during the *Brown* decision and was opposed to pursuing desegregation cases in the North (Orfield and Eaton, 1996)[8].

Nixon worked with Congress to terminate the level of enforcement required of HEW by the Civil Rights Act of 1964, taking advantage of the increasing fear among Northern congressional representatives that the suburban school systems might be vulnerable to future Court rulings, requiring their desegregation. This last factor produced an unusual alliance between the North and South (as it did after Reconstruction) in the forging of legislation that allowed the South to retreat on some of its desegregation efforts and protected the North from ever getting there (Wilson, 1973; Orfield, 1978; Jones, 1979; Fiss, 1979). In addition, there were parallel tactics of

[8] According to Orfield and Eaton (1996), Rehnquist denied later that the memo in which these views were expressed was his, claiming that it was an expression of Justice Jackson's views early on in the *Brown* case. Nevertheless, that Rehnquist had a clear oppositional stance toward desegregation, particularly the establishment of race-conscious views as determined by *Green*, *Swann*, and *Keyes*, is unquestionable.

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defunding legal centers supporting desegregation suits, as well as cutting gasoline funds for bus transportation, and securing legislation that prohibited busing beyond the next closest school to a student's home.

The *Milliken v. Bradley* (1974) decision reflected the success of the Nixon administration in its opposition to court-ordered desegregation, particularly that which was most threatening to predominantly white suburban communities—the metropolitan plan. In the *Milliken* decision, the Court ruled that although it deemed the state of Michigan and the Detroit Board of Education responsible for the segregation within the city of Detroit, it did not allow as a remedy the proposed metropolitan plan that would have established cross-district busing between the city and its nearby suburban school systems. The Court ruled that this remedy did not "fit" the violation (Fiss, 1979), although Fiss notes, "...the decision to limit the remedy in *Milliken* in such a way as to leave most of the Detroit schools predominantly black and the suburban systems white suggests that the segregation is not at the center of the Court's concern" (p. 32). Fiss also notes that while the Court had made clear in *Swann* (1971) and *Keyes* (1973) "that if there was a conflict between integration and other values...[e]very *possible* step had to be taken to produce integration" (p. 35), with *Milliken*, a limitation was placed upon court-ordered remedies—not across school district lines. Leon Jones (1979) comments, "At the time of the *Brown* decision, there were those who argued that the Supreme Court undid in 1954 what it had done in 1896 in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. To the extent that busing across jurisdictional lines is a vehicle to implement the *Brown* decision, the Supreme Court of 1974 undid what the Supreme Court of 1954 had done" (Jones, 1979, pp. 4-5).

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The year after the *Milliken* decision, Coleman (1975) published an article in *Phi Delta Kappan*, distancing his support for court-ordered busing, which he says in a footnote in the text, had gone "well beyond equal protection under the 14th amendment" (Coleman, 1979, p. 130), and had, according to findings he reported in his study of major cities undergoing desegregation, resulted in the exodus of whites. Coleman's study covers the changes in racial composition of cities undergoing desegregation. Coleman notes that "By the standards of 1954, *de jure* segregation had been largely eliminated along with much segregation (principally in the South) which coincided with residence" (pp. 123-124) and he argues that "...it is neither proper nor necessary to require the elimination of school segregation that arises from individual actions (principally via residential segregation) without asking what that policy accomplishes" (p. 122). Coleman concludes that his data show that "substantial desegregation" increases white flight from the city to the suburbs, although Coleman notes that the loss is likely to be a "one-time acceleration" and not a yearly pattern. Nevertheless, he notes, "Ironically, 'desegregation' may be increasing segregation between districts through accelerated white loss" (p. 127).

Coleman's report also reverses a conclusion drawn from his 1966 report on the contribution that the presence of white students in a classroom make to the academic performance of African Americans (Coleman et al., 1966). He notes that while academic benefits "appeared substantial" when he studied them in the mid-1960's, more recent studies of achievement "in actual systems" implementing desegregation plans, and using more rigorous methodologies than he did in 1966, have found smaller or no effects.[9]

[9] Coleman cites the work of Nancy St. John (1975) as providing this finding of smaller or no effects. While St. John does reach this conclusion, it appears that Coleman's summarizing her

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It is important to note that in Coleman's article, he underscores the individual's right to social mobility. He states that court-ordered busing for desegregation of schools reverses the right one has to select one's child's school. He notes that this right is one that "Americans will not part with easily" (p. 130), adding that "Those with the most resources will continue to exercise the right in one way or another. And those concerned about their children's education will be most avid to exercise the right" (p. 130). In Coleman's argument, then, there is the view that those "concerned about their children's education"—white and African American parents who can afford to exit[10]--will do so if they cannot select their child's school. Finally, Coleman's support of desegregation seems limited to a "colorblind" approach. Race-conscious policies jeopardize individual (private) rights, while protecting the (public) right of groups. In advocating for the end of race-conscious policies in order to stem white flight, Coleman shows his unwillingness to support interventions that, as Leon Jones (1979) writes, in talking about whites' views of two-way busing, would "incur the wrath" of whites.

Without the necessary analysis of power relations, the accessibility of conclusions such as Coleman's retraction of support for court-ordered desegregation led to increasing

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research in this uncomplicated statement, without considering her elaboration of diverse and competing factors, included in her analysis of 120 desegregation studies, improperly represents her research. In her concluding chapter, St. John writes: "But having admitted these limitations, and fully cognizant that all the facts may not be in, I believe the evidence of wide-ranging studies is in one respect clear: school desegregation per se has no unitary or invariable effect on children...First desegregation is a multifaceted phenomenon which can be simultaneously beneficial in some respects and harmful in others. Second, its impact (i.e., whether the benefits outweigh the harm) depends both on children's individual needs and more important on how it is implemented by the school staff" (p. 121).

[10] As part of the evidence produced against the Detroit Board of Education and the State of Michigan in the *Miliken* case (1974), it was noted that African American students in a suburb outside of Detroit were required to cross district lines to attend a school in Detroit with other black students, rather than attend the suburban all-white school in their district, so the extent to which middle class African Americans had exit options was thwarted by racist policies in the suburbs.

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confusion about the goals of desegregation and an erosion of public support for its implementation. In reviewing the literature at this time, there is evidence of a deepening split between those social scientists concerned about the overall stability of public education and the costs of desegregation policies, particularly for white students but also students of color (Coleman et al., 1975), and those social scientists sensing the retraction of support, who were determined to counter these claims with evidence of how the claims were flawed (Pettigrew & Green, 1976; Rossell, 1975/1976; Fawley, 1975). Starting with Coleman et al., (1975) and then Fawley (1975), Rossell (1975/1976), and Pettigrew and Green (1976), among others, there was extensive analyses of the same data from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), producing very differing conclusions about white flight.

Pettigrew and Green (1976) note that national media coverage of this debate was intense, with considerable attention given to Coleman's data and his argument that court-ordered desegregation resulted in white flight and that the courts had exceeded their jurisprudence in their rulings. According to Pettigrew and Green, when Kenneth Clark and seven other social scientists held a press conference to critique Coleman (June 1975), there was very little press coverage. In addition to Pettigrew and Green, Rossell (1975/1976) and Fawley (1975) also critique Coleman's definition of white flight and his selection of cities to include in the study, and conclude that his findings are flawed as a result of his methodological errors. In their own critique, Pettigrew and Green conclude that white flight is more influenced by the conditional relationship between desegregation and the "proportion black" of school enrollment, and they note that a remedy such as a metropolitan plan would stanch the flow of white families out to the suburbs. Pettigrew

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and Green comment that Coleman's study was conducted "in a demographic vacuum," (p. 133) in that it "ignores separation of races between suburbs and central cities" clearly already underway, or as a "fait accompli" before court-ordered busing began. Finally, Rossell (1975/1976) notes that the data indicate that whites are more likely to leave just before desegregation is implemented. She writes, "In other words, if whites leave, it is typically not because they participated in the plan and did not like it, but because they refused to participate at all" (Rossell, 1975/1976, p. 221).

In Coleman's article, there is a clear outlining of the argument for "colorblind" policies. He states that de jure segregation has been eliminated and what remains is simply the actions of individuals, which should not be frustrated through court-ordered rulings. In his writings, he is unwilling to recognize persistent obstacles to African Americans' advancement in the United States. In this argument against government intervention in the "private" affairs (Bookman and Morgen, 1988; Fraser, 1990) of people, his construction of "fairness" protects the privileges established for the mostly white middle class, particularly after World War II and the rapid growth suburban housing.[11]

The Shift in the Direction of the Court

Other factors may have influenced Coleman's writing in 1975. For example, the Supreme Court had signaled with Milliken its limits in court-ordered desegregation; Milliken represented a deference to local control of school systems and a symbol of the autonomy of the suburbs from federal jurisdiction (Orfield, 1978; Fiss, 1979; Jones,

[11] For a particular helpful analysis of economic and political variables that shaped race and class divisions, see Sacks (1995) and Oliver & Shapiro (1995).

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1979; Orfield and Eaton, 1996). The experience of Boston's court-ordered desegregation was fully covered by the media, portraying intense white opposition to busing. National polls revealed a drop of support between the mid-1960's and the early 1970's among Americans from a very high to a very low priority in the areas of racial equality and racial relations (Orfield and Eaton, 1996).[12] Further complicating the national sentiment was the dissatisfaction among African Americans toward the lack of attention given to conditions inside desegregated schools for African American children, which increasingly led to a weakening of support among African Americans toward desegregation.

The distancing among African Americans toward desegregation efforts that all too often sacrificed their children's education for the sake of white children's advantage was exploited by those desiring to reverse desegregation gains and return to variations of the "separate but equal" policy. In addition, the federal government faced the dilemma of addressing the issue of increasing all-black city school systems. *Milliken II*, decided in 1977 in lieu of a metropolitan plan, required the state of Michigan to provide a significant amount of funding for educational programs in the Detroit school system. In doing so, the Court set a precedent, and both *Milliken* and *Milliken II* provided the model for responding to predominantly African American urban school districts: leave them segregated but provide them with ample funding to create educational settings that are similar, presumably "equal." Those arguing for this approach framed the distancing among African Americans toward desegregation in such a way as to lend support for "separate but equal" schools. This argument clearly reflected the co-optation among

[12] From George H. Gallup, The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1935-1971 (New York: Random House, 1972), as reported in Orfied and Eaton (1996).

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white leaders of a period of time during which black activist lawyers and social scientists were coming to terms with the signals of retreat toward the enforcement of racial integration, emanating from the highest levels of government leadership. As Nancy St. John (1975) points out, black social scientists were "conspicuously absent" from the debate on the effects of desegregation.

However, the distancing of African Americans toward desegregation efforts was evident well before Nixon's administration and the culminating expression of Supreme Court arguments against broad, wide-scale implementation of desegregation, as seen in *Milliken* (Wilson, 1973). Nevertheless, the opposition solidified with Nixon, his influence on Congress, his appointment of conservative justices to the Supreme Court, and his firing of any staff from HEW who attempted to carry out the charge to that agency, as laid out in the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

For African Americans, the cost of desegregation was particularly worrisome. Mindy Thompson Fullilove (1999) recounts her experience, as a child of activist parents living in Orange, New Jersey. Her father, who was African American and her mother, who was white, had successfully gotten the school board in 1958 to integrate its system. Elated by the victory, her parents placed her at the age of seven in the newly desegregated school. She writes of the sense of loss of a place where she felt welcome and comfortable, her all-black elementary school, and the knowledge she possessed of being "a child of crisis, a tender warrior" who had "done the right thing" and for this, was "the pride of my race" (p. 51). But she also writes of the contradictory emotions she experienced in attending the newly desegregated school: "Ambition and suspicion remained with me as the dual lessons of school desegregation. Obstinacy and terror.

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Fearlessness and phobia" (p. 52). She writes about her identification with the Old Testament heroine, Esther, who had to plead to the king, her husband, on behalf of the Jewish people, her people, who were to be massacred because of a decree from Haman. To do so, Esther risked her own death, in appearing before her husband, the king, without his calling for her. Fullilove writes that Esther did so, after three days of fasting and praying, and her request was granted. Fullilove connects her experience of attending the desegregated school with Esther's courageous act:

> The beautiful Esther went in spite of her fear and was welcomed by her king. The little Mindy went, but I do not believe that I was welcomed at Heywood Avenue School. I do not believe that any of us felt wanted or beautiful. It is one thing to be deeply frightened and then triumphant. It is another to be so fearful but not succeed.
>
> I lost my school, a place that had made me feel welcome, a place where I felt like hopping. It took no effort to move through space. If place is embodied in our bones, muscles, and minds, then Oakwood Avenue School was in me like a pocket rocket. I had to reconstitute myself at Heywood, an alien setting where I was allowed but not embraced. I hopped to Oakwood because that school empowered me, it gave me energy to dance and fly. I had to push myself at Heywood, the strength of my will pounding at my wish to stay at home. (Fullilove, 1999, p. 53)

For Fullilove, Esther's defiance of protocol, in appearing before her husband without his summoning her to save her people, defined this particular time of her young life. Her memory reveals the power relations that influenced her experience of school as a place of acceptance or rejection, no matter how thinly veiled. The white school was an institution of power, and she rightly belonged there to claim some of that power "for her people" but it was achieved at great cost and sense of loss. In her writing she notes that the story of Esther has remained her story throughout her life, alluding to future battles she later fought in medical school and thereafter. She writes, "That struggle did not end

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in the past. I still live with timidity and obstinacy warring in my bones. Go and die or stay and die. Every day is the third day. I usually go" (p. 53).

The absence of full commitment from a broad base of whites led to wide-scale rethinking among African Americans in their organizing for equal rights. Derrick Bell, for example, involved early on as a lawyer in desegregation cases in Mississippi, noted the contradictions and discrepancies as they emerged in desegregation efforts, and in general complicated the advocacy for integration (1975, 1987). He writes in a piece reflecting on the NAACP's strategies in achieving a victory in Brown:

> Moreover, the early problem, as I remember it, was that resistance to desegregation was so fierce and came from so many directions that any progress we made in overcoming it was simply accepted as a victory without much thought of how we—always the understaffed, underfinanced underdogs—had prevailed. We knew we were in the right, that God was on our side, and all of that, but while we spoke and thought in an atmosphere of 'rights and justice,' our opponents had their eyes on the economic benefits and power relationships all the time. And that difference in priorities meant that the price of black progress was benefits to the other side, benefits that tokenized our gains and sometimes strengthened the relative advantages whites held over us. (Bell, 1987, p. 108)

Related to the growing distancing of African Americans toward desegregation efforts that ultimately incurred great costs on black students, and the way in which whites interpreted that withdrawal, are those desegregation rulings that resulted in "separate but equal" determinations. In the case of Atlanta, for example, the city did not pursue a desegregation plan that would have involved busing students to and from suburbs outside the city. In doing so, African Americans gained control of leadership of the school system. Ravitch (1978) views this decision as a positive event in the national landscape of desegregation, crediting the district's desire for autonomy and its recent establishment of curriculum and instructional policies emphasizing hard work and basic skills, an orderly environment and the creating of a new high school that will be "remarkably"

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selective and competitive. Ravitch notes Andrew Young's enthusiasm, while a congressional representative for Atlanta around the time of its decision, stating that Atlanta would ultimately offer its students more than those schools in the suburbs, through the cultural resources that the city itself offered. Ravitch comments, "Imagine that: 'white flight' to the city, resulting not from coercion or condescension, but from an earnest search for good public schools" (p. 255). However, Orfield (1979) notes that despite the discourse of "equal educational opportunity" and of the need to pump resources into urban, predominantly African American schools, the Nixon administration cut funding for education in major cities, while providing increased funding to suburbs.[13]

In addition, as these cities struggled with the cost of maintaining old school buildings, a declining tax base as businesses moved out to the suburbs, increasing isolation of poor communities, and those harmful factors often accompanying poverty: crime; domestic, alcohol and drug abuse; incarceration; infant mortality, illness and poor health in general, the hopes pinned on these autonomous, black-led large urban districts were dampened. More recently, the view of these school systems by outside, predominantly white, business leaders, politicians, and some educators, has been focused on their failure to provide academically strong schools. However, the history of relations of power, deeply etched by racial conflict, is largely ignored or addressed in a tangential way. Worse, it is viewed as in the past, and as such, not an issue to be tackled in the current set of reforms being planned in state takeovers by largely white state

[13] Orfield notes that in 1974 the House Education and Labor Committee cut funding for New York City, Los Angeles, and Chicago and gave 12 percent less to Washington, DC, while providing Montgomery County, Maryland (one of the wealthiest counties in the country) with a 44 percent increase (Orfield, 1979, p. 294).

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administrations.[14] As Grant notes (1979), "Having a black school board is a hollow victory when the state legislature really controls school budget and taxing power" (p. 333).

Additionally, Orfield and Eaton (1996) note that in general, "concentrated school poverty is a problem affecting minority students only" (p. 56), reporting that the most severe segregation occurs in large cities. According to statistics from the U.S. Department of Education (Common Core of Educational Statistics) as cited in Orfield and Eaton (1996), ninety-six percent of segregated white schools have a majority of middle-class students. Furthermore, depressed academic achievement is closely connected to race and concentrated poverty, largely due to a higher turnover of faculty, lower salaried positions for teachers, provision of general or remedial academic courses rather than higher level, college preparatory courses, and poverty-related factors that interfere with students' pursuit of academics. Orfield and Eaton note the court rulings attempting to remedy past discrimination with the provision of large amounts of funding instead of desegregating the district with nearby suburbs, as begun by *Milliken II*, do not take into consideration the influence of racial isolation on schools and its consequences for students:

> Since 1977, school districts across the nation have used *Milliken II* provisions to install state-sponsored compensatory educational programs for minority students in racially isolated schools...School districts in the nation's central cities and some older suburbs enroll large proportions of minority students, while surrounding suburbs remain predominantly white. As patterns of isolation persist, racial integration of the type envisioned in *Brown* has become increasing difficult to achieve. This pattern has forced school officials and courts to rely on *Milliken II* programs to supplant rather than supplement true racial integration. (Orfield & Eaton, 1996, p. 145)

[14] See Hyde (1999) on Detroit state takeover and Anyon (1995) on the economic and political history of the Newark school system.

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Orfield and Eaton (1996) note that while these programs have brought resources into financially strapped inner city school districts, they have not been the solution for creating equal educational opportunity. They feel the funding is necessary but not sufficient, and, further, that the compensatory education efforts absolve those parties deemed complicit in the segregation of African American and Latino students.

Orfield and Eaton indicate that for the Court to have created equal educational opportunity, significant structural changes were needed in school systems, *including* their desegregation. However, they note that considerations were not given for what would benefit the students in the segregated school district the most; instead, the Court's focus was on "educational compensation as an obligation to provide temporary relief rather than as a systemic, comprehensive plan" (p. 150). Similarly, recent court rulings lifting desegregation orders point to the argument by the Court that after a certain period of time, those states required by the Court to compensate for past discrimination should be viewed as having sufficiently compensated the "victims." This notion that discrimination has been eliminated is tied to the idea of expiation of guilt. Several years after the *Milliken II* decision, the Court directed that the state's compensation should end after 1989. The comments of a judge who participated in a panel supervising *Milliken II* reveal this sense of closure and absolution, noting that "the court could not hold the state perpetually liable...sooner or later one expiates his or her own guilt" (Orfield & Eaton, 1996, p. 151).

This measuring of equal educational opportunity in terms of dollars spent on programs, while it is important in providing much needed funding to poor districts, does not get at the heart of what suburban schools, predominantly white, possess that inner city

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schools, predominantly African American and Latino, do not. The requirement that a school be sufficiently white for desegregation to be effective, when analyzed through a study of power relations, reveals that it is not that academic ability is a characteristic of whites and not people of color, but that social power is. Wells and Crain (1997) note that students in inner city school districts are "cut off from powerful people and economically viable institutions" in their experience as students in racially isolated schools:

> ...educational achievement alone does not solve economic inequality among different racial groups. School desegregation must do more than raise black students' test scores and close the black-white achievement gap; it must also break the cycle of segregation that leaves black and whites worlds apart. As the NAACP lawyers in the *Sweatt* and *McLaurin* cases argued, *who* you know and associate with is as important (or even more important) as *what* you know. Most black students in segregated urban schools lack the social networks and personal contacts with people in corporations, law firms, universities, and art museums—contacts who could help them get summer jobs, teach them about career paths, and introduce them to possibilities for life after high school. (Wells & Crain, 1997, pp. 83-84)

In addition, recent court rulings have concluded that districts subject to desegregation rulings in the past have now sufficiently remedied the effects of past discrimination. *Riddick v. School Board of the City of Norfolk*, Virginia, (1986) was the first federal court case to release a school district from its desegregation ruling, largely based on its having been declared a "unitary" district many years before (Orfield and Eaton, 1996), thus "eras[ing] Norfolk's discriminatory history," (p. 119) and freeing it from its desegregation ruling.[15] A similar decision was made in the *Board of Education of Oklahoma v. Dowell* (1991) decision. In the 1992 *Freeman v. Pitts* decision (DeKalb County, Georgia), the Court ruled that a school district could be released partially from

[15] Orfield and Eaton (1996) note that signals from the Reagan administration, particularly the Justice Department, encouraged the school board chairman of the Norfolk school system to pursue an end to the district's busing plan.

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its desegregation rulings even though the district had failed to achieve integration as outlined in the earlier *Green* (1968) decision. The Court also lifted rulings that reflected the *Milliken II* decision, specifically in the case of *Missouri v. Jenkins*, St. Louis, (1995) in which it ruled that funding streams serving as "equalization remedies" required limitations in terms of time and scope regardless of whether they succeeded in correcting inequities produced through segregation.

In Boston, the city's School Committee voted in 1999 to eliminate using race as a factor in determining what school a child must attend (Goldberg, 1999), noting court challenges. These included a pending federal lawsuit by white parents arguing that their children were discriminated by the district's controlled choice system, and a November 1998 decision by a federal appeals court that struck down a racial preference plan used by the Boston Latin School, a public school to which students compete for admission.

Similarly, the Charlotte-Mecklenburg school district had its desegregation ruling lifted in 1999.[16] In this district, the historic 1971 *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* decision introduced busing as a mechanism for desegregation when no other means were available. Federal District Court Judge Robert D. Potter[17] stated in his ruling that the district had "eliminated, to the extent practicable, the vestiges of past discrimination in the traditional areas of school operations" (Yellin & Firestone, 1999).

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[16] Mickelson (2001) outlines the series of court decisions, first in September 1999 declaring the district as having unitary status and therefore no longer a dual system that required race-conscious policies, followed by the December 1999 decision by the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals issuing an indefinite stay along with the overturning of the lower court's unitary decision in November 2000; in January 2001, the case was heard by the full Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, which agreed to hear the case *enbanc*, and as a result, the first unitary decision was reinstated. Mickelson notes that those studying the case expect it to return to the U.S. Supreme Court.

[17] According to Yellin and Firestone (1999), Judge Potter worked is a Reagan appointee, a former campaign worker for Senator Jesse Helms, and, as a private citizen he collected signatures for a petition against the busing plan in 1969.

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The plaintiff, white parents of a child who did not make the lottery for her neighborhood school, along with six other white families who later joined the suit (the district's racial balance policy had been 60 percent white, 40 percent black, which reflects the district's demographics), argued that the district had discriminated against his child. At the same time black parents argued that the district needed more time to enforce the desegregation order. School board chairman Arthur Griffin, who is African American and attended schools in the district before the 1971 *Swann* desegregation ruling, stated that "the vestiges of a dual system remain in this district."

In her analysis of survey data from the Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools, Mickelson (2001) points to concerns that "joint effects of first- and second- generation segregation affect academic outcomes for all students" and she writes "even in an ostensibly desegregated school system Whites retain privileged access to greater opportunities to learn" (p. 242-243). At the same time, Mickelson also emphasizes her equally important finding that "Black students educated in desegregated learning environments do better than comparable youth schooled in segregated settings" (p. 243), and warns that the "subversion of *Swann*" has the potential to reverse important gains in narrowing a still-too-wide achievement gap.

These rulings often have often concluded that districts paying damages had sufficiently remedied the effects of past discrimination. In these rulings, "discrimination" is viewed as an artifact of the past, and as such, is no longer present, making it unnecessary to pursue race-conscious policies or practices in public schools. As a result, Orfield and Eaton (1996) report, there is an increasing trend toward resegregation in the South particularly, but also in many other parts of the country as well. Furthermore, in

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large cities, where the greatest proportion of people of color reside, school systems are entirely segregated, and likely also impoverished, while in the suburbs schools are primarily white and middle class (with the exception of "inner-ring" suburbs that they note, are becoming increasingly segregated). This trend toward resegregation, has led public officials and judges, as well as many white parents, to conclude that racial segregation is "natural" (*Missouri v. Jenkins*, 1995) and "inevitable" (*Freeman v. Pitts*, 1992).

These desegregation decisions also set the stage for more recent reversals as affirmative action policies in employment and in admission to colleges and universities have been weakened or eliminated. On the college level, during the 1990's race-attentive policies for admission were scrutinized and ruled unconstitutional in the courts. The *Hopwood v. University of Texas Law School*, ruled in March of 1996 that the University of Texas law school "could not take race into consideration in admitting students unless such action was necessary to remedy past discrimination by the school itself."[18] That same year, in November, voters in California approved Proposition 209, which made affirmative action in public employment, public education, or public contracting illegal.[19]

However, in June of 2003, the Supreme Court ruled in *Grutter v. Bollinger* that "When race-based action is necessary to further a compelling government interest, such

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[18] Bowen & Bok (1998), page 14, referring to text from *Hopwood v. University of Texas Law School* 78 F.3d 932 (5th Cir. 1996), *cert. denied*, 116 S.Ct. 2581 (1996).

[19] See Chavez, L. (1998). The color bind: California's battle to end affirmative action. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press. Chavez reports the language of Proposition 209 as follows: The state shall not discriminate against, or grant preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in the operation of public employment, public education, or public contracting." (Chavez, 1998, p. 271, footnote 58.)

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action does not violate the constitutional guarantee of equal protection so long as the narrow-tailoring requirement is also satisfied" (*Grutter v. Bollinger*, 539 U.S. 14 (2003) and also that "we hold that the Law School has a compelling interest in attaining a diverse student body" 539 U.S. 16 (2003). While the Supreme Court ruled the undergraduate admissions' use of a point system for underrepresented racial or ethnic groups at the University of Michgan's College of Literature, Science and the Arts unconstitutional, the *Grutter* ruling provided a fundamental pause in the direction in the country away from race-conscious policies.

The degree to which the Justice Department and organizations such as the Center for Individual Rights have pursued a ruling against affirmative action in post-secondary education appears to have provoked a groundswell of support for race-conscious efforts. Corporate executives, military leadership, and individuals from other public and private organizations filed a substantial number of friend-of-the-court briefs supporting the University of Michigan's policies.[20] This is in contrast to the friend-of-the-court brief by the Justice Department, which argued the validity of "race-neutral" admissions policies as opposed to "quota" policies. Ironically, the admissions policies raised as exemplary in the Justice Department's briefs are only successful in diversifying campuses when the high schools in the state, from which the highest performing students are accepted, are

[20] Approximately 300 organizations signed more than 60 briefs supporting the University. [Schemo, D. J. (2003, February 20). U. of Michigan Draws a New Type of Recruit. *The New York Times*]. Among the briefs cited by Justice O'Connor in her June 23, 2003, writing of the Opinion of the Court were those from the American Educational Research Association, Bowen and Bok's (1998) *The Shape of the River*, Orfield & Kurlaender's (2001) *Diversity Challenged : Evidence on the Impact of Affirmative Action* as well as briefs from General Motors Corporation and from the United States military (*Grutter v. Bollinger, et al.*, 539 U.S. 18 (2003).

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segregated. Hence, "race-neutral" policies reinforce a policy of "separate but equal" at the high school level.[21]

As Gary Orfield and Susan Eaton (1996) write, there is a "quiet reversal" of the *Brown* (1954) decision occurring in the country and a "dismantling" of its implementation in school districts. In the next section, the paper explores the social psychological study of "colorblind" policies and examines how grouping and degrouping (Apfelbaum, 1979) flourish within such a policy, allowing for the social mobility of white students but creating the kinds of "walls" as described by Tajfel and Turner (1979) and "parentheses" as described by Apfelbaum (1979) in her study of relations of power.

The "Colorblind" Approach

In place of the race-conscious policies of the past, recent federal court decisions reflect the use of "colorblind" policies. Janet Schofield (1982, 1986a, 1986b; Schofield and Sagar, 1979) references Rist (1974) in his work in desegregated schools as identifying the prevalence of "colorblind" policies, which she defines as the view that desegregated schools provide an opportunity for class assimilation, in order to give all children "a fair chance to learn the skills necessary for success in a basically middle-class society" (Schofield, 1982, p.49). Schofield studied "colorblind" policies and interracial interaction among middle school students for three years in a newly built, newly desegregated school, the Wexler Middle School.

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[21] Lewis, N. A. (2003, January 17). U.S. Says Michigan System Amounts to "Racial Quota." *The New York Times*. For more elaborate critique: Liptak, A. (2003, January 19). Racial math: Affirmative action by any other name. *The New York Times*. Week in Review, Section 4, pp. 1, 5.

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Schofield notes that the "colorblind" perspective was the driving force behind what she calls a "taboo" among teacher *and* students against reference to racially-related matters. Schofield says that to take this perspective requires the stance that it is "unfair or at least inappropriate to bring up race, since it is essentially irrelevant to one's needs and the opportunities that should be provided" (p. 50). However, this "colorblind" perspective prohibited considerations of what teaching practices reinforced racial stereotypes in the classroom and sustained the achievement gap between black and white students. For example, she notes that traditional teaching methods influenced children's rate of participation by race, their view of themselves as competent or incompetent learners, and their anticipation of success or failure. She notes, "The children were sensitive to the fact that, in most classrooms, doing well meant doing *better* than others" (p. 94). The traditional teaching methods also reduced opportunities for students to have intergroup contact. For example, an interviewer asked a student if there were times when "black and white kids get along better than others" and this student responded:

> Becky (white): For me there are. Like in reading, [blacks] stay on one side of the room and the whites stay on the other....Now in language arts, [the teacher] puts us together. So it's more like we talk in language arts and we hate each other in reading. (Schofield, 1982, p. 82)

Among teachers, Schofield observed what she called a "natural progression assumption" (p. 46) whereby mostly white teachers and some teachers of color expressed a belief that the experience of contact, in and of itself, would improve intergroup relations. Many teachers reported that explicit efforts to structure a setting designed to improve interracial relations would backfire, make students suspicious, and generate resistance. Even among those teachers who implicitly created conditions conducive to cooperation, such as heterogeneous group work at tables instead of traditionally spaced

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desks, there was an emphasis that the students should not "know it is happening" because if they did "they might start thinking about it" (p. 48), and this situation was one in which teachers indicated was more than they felt they could handle.

The sentiment expressed by teachers, which will be raised again later in this paper, that intergroup relations and academics were mutually exclusive and that attention to one would result in a deficit of the other, is an important factor in what did and did not get accomplished at Wexler. Schofield notes the ramifications of such an approach for students at Wexler:

> Indeed, teachers who do not take their academic responsibilities seriously would not be suitable staff for any school, let alone one that purports to be a model of academic excellence. However, important consequences for the evolution of intergroup relations resulted from the fact that many of the teachers focused virtually exclusively on academic achievement and tended to see maximizing achievement as potentially in conflict with or, at the very least, as unrelated to the second goal of fostering positive relations between black and white students. (p. 40)

Noting that one of Allport's conditions for effective interracial contact is equal status among the participants, Schofield, like Amir (1969), points out the distinction between equal status within and outside of the contact setting, reporting that the staff at Wexler tried to provide a contact setting with equal status but factors such as socioeconomic status, academic performance, and expectancies linking racial group membership and competence often interfered with their efforts.

Schofield also notes that there was an awareness among teacher and students of the relations of power. Academic performance and race were often correlated, with the gifted classes being all or predominantly white and the general education classes being majority black. The traditional academic instruction was heavily individualistic and competitive, creating wide status differentials between African American and white

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students. Combined with the absence of attention to race-related matters, these conditions reinforced white dominance, permitting the school to reflect the social script of its larger society. Schofield notes these relations of powers in the following analysis of interracial interaction among students, particularly students calling another student "white" or "black":

> ...our society's history is such that calling others white is not likely to have the potential to injure or distress them that calling them black has often had. The traditionally powerful position of whites relative to blacks and long-held beliefs about white superiority mean that relatively few white children are very sensitive about being white and some may even feel at an advantage. On the other hand, reminding a child that he or she is black makes salient membership in a group that has traditionally been subordinate in this country. Hence black children may feel somewhat freer to try to insult whites by using racial epithets than vice versa because the insult is less likely to hurt deeply and thus less likely to evoke a strong reaction. (p. 72)

Thus, this taboo influenced students' and teachers' behaviors in such a way so as to avoid any mention of race-related matters. Outside the school, and in settings that were not mixed race, such as among families, the taboo lifted and students reported discussing race-related matters with their parents. Calls to the schools from parents, primarily white, indicated that although the taboo was pervasive, it did not prevent white parents from voicing their concerns to the administrators, who were predominantly white,[22] regarding race-related matters.

A "colorblind" policy was also effective in allowing discriminatory practices to go unnoticed. With a "don't ask, don't tell" policy, classroom practices and school policies largely went unexamined in terms of the consequences that they had for students, by race. For example, a teacher told Schofield how she had reversed the final tally of a

[22] The school's principal was white, as was the principal of the eighth grade. There were two African American vice principals, one for the sixth grade and the other for the seventh grade.

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student council vote so that a white boy who she felt was more "responsible" would win, as opposed to a black girl whose behavior she was concerned about and described as "unstable." Schofield notes how this and other actions taken by staff were not subject to the kind of analysis more characteristic of a setting with race-conscious policies. As a result, policies and practices that had negative consequences for students of color were not subject to any kind of scrutiny, and persisted unquestioned.[23] Schofield writes:

> The taboo also helped insure that those teachers who noticed worrisome facts would not raise potentially disruptive questions. For example, although, to our knowledge, roughly 80 percent of all students suspended were black, the question of why this was so and whether anything could or should be done about it never arose. (p. 66)

Gary Peller (1995) analyzes a race-neutral, or "colorblind" approach, by juxtaposing it with a study of the development of race-consciousness. He locates the origins of race-consciousness in the conflict in the late 1960's and early 1970's between the black nationalists with the white and black "integrationists." By contrast, Peller notes that this race-neutral approach as it more recently has been linked with integration, particularly integration of public schools, was not widespread among African Americans in the late 1950's and early 1960's. At that time, integration did not emphasize race-neutrality and did not assume an "equation of integration with assimilation" (p. 141). On the contrary at that time, "...the idea of racial integration represented a powerful,

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[23] Jones (1979) reports that a 1974 Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) survey of 2,908 school systems indicated that in 1972-1973, African American students were suspended from schools at twice the rate of whites and a report by the Southern Regional Council (1973) points to lack of sufficient justification for these suspensions (the report cites, for example, disciplinary action taken by schools when the infraction was related to biracial dating). Schofield (1982) notes the disproportionate number of suspensions of African American students in the newly desegregated middle school in which she conducted her ethnographic study and the absence of any consciousness linking race and suspensions in a school that was half white, half black.

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spiritually rooted social resistance movement that threatened to destabilize the status quo of American institutional life in profound ways" (p. 129).

Similarly, Peller notes that the intent of integration shifted over time from its early efforts to dislodge the status quo, reflected in the early civil rights movement, to strategies that maintained white dominant relations of power. Furthermore, the move from segregation to integration was viewed by the "integrationists" as a movement from race-consciousness to race neutrality. As such, integration was represented as reflecting "social progress" and by that it reflected "movements from myth to enlightenment, from ignorance to knowledge, from superstition to reason, from the primitive to the civilized, from religion to secularism, and most important, the historical self-understanding of liberal society as representing the movement from status to individual liberty..." (p. 131).

According to Peller, while the dominant discourse of the late 1960's and early 1970's represented integrationists as allied with "social progress," it portrayed black nationalists, because of their race-consciousness, as exhibiting "reverse" racism. Peller notes that as a result the black nationalists were categorized in the media and elsewhere as being in the same league as that of white supremacists. Not surprisingly, predominantly middle-class moderate blacks and middle and upper-class liberal whites rejected the arguments of the black nationalist movement. Peller explains, "But where integrationists saw school integration in terms of transcending the bias at the root of segregation in favor of an 'objectively' defined 'quality education,' nationalists saw that process as assimilating black children to white middle-class norms" (p. 140). As a result,

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the black nationalists spurned integration efforts, and advocated for community control of all-black schools.[24]

Peller argues that integrationists failed to scrutinize institutions that, having achieved some form of racial balance, persisted in other practices and policies that advantaged white students while disadvantaging students of color. He notes, for example, how this has taken place in law schools:

> The notion that racism was limited only to the exclusion of blacks from law schools, and was not a part of the infrastructure for thinking about and constructing 'qualifications,' is emblematic of the limiting assumptions that nationalists perceived as underlying integration. (p. 143)

Finally, Peller notes that part of a fundamental difference between the integrationists and the black nationalists was the view by integrationists that racism was a kind of "cognitive distortion" (p. 143) that therefore could be corrected. Peller writes that the black nationalists viewed racism as shaped by relations of power. The cure, then, from the perspective of integrationists was education and interracial contact, while for the black nationalists it was reversing and transforming the power relations between whites and blacks. Peller notes, "Where integrationists understood race through the prism of universalism—from within which race-consciousness appeared arbitrary, irrational, and symmetrically evil whether practiced by whites or blacks—nationalists viewed race in the particular context of American history: racial identity was seen as a central basis for comprehending the significance of various social relations as they are actually lived and experienced, and the meaning of race was anything but symmetrical" (p. 137).

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[24] Peller points to Ocean Hill-Brownsville (New York City) and Adams-Morgan (Washington, D.C.) as well known community control initiatives influenced by the Black Power Movement (p. 141).

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Given Schofield and Peller's analysis, the "colorblind" approach can be characterized in the following way: it is absent considerations of power and full historical disclosure, it presumes to be conflict-free and raceless, and it emphasizes merit and individualism. In being absent full historical disclosure, the "colorblind" approach fails to disclose the historical events that have influenced the social, economic, and educational advantages whites possess in the present as a result of the subordination of blacks through segregation and slavery. Furthermore, this approach focuses on the present time and it relies on the "promise" of the future that will bring greater enlightenment and progress (Peller, 1995). It distances itself from the past, suggesting a kind of rupture that separates historical actions and actors from the present (Trouillot, 1995), thus delegitimizing any claims as to the consequences of past acts of oppression, consequences that have found their culmination in the present circumstances of people of color. In this view, events of the past are disconnected to the present. As Apfelbaum (1999) notes in her critique of the social sciences after the Holocaust,

> ...the social sciences were called in to understand this temporary dysfunctioning so that it would never happen again. This view, which became deeply entrenched in public consciousness, was that the world was still safe; it had the further advantage not to endanger the prevailing post-enlightenment ideology, the belief in modernity, and in science as the royal road toward general human welfare. Therefore, dissenting voices such as those of George Steiner, Hannah Arendt, and Primo Levi, who insisted that the Holocaust was not an accident of civilization but rather "its horrifying yet legitimate product" (Bauman, 1989, p. viii) were for a long time ignored. (Apfelbaum, 1999, p. 2)

The "colorblind" approach is absent considerations of power, and does not recognize a relationship between race and power. Because this approach is presumably race-blind, it is unwilling to consider how people of color experience subordination. To do so would render visible white dominance. If white dominance were to become visible,

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the legitimacy of the current construction of American culture and politics would be in question, leading to great instability of public institutions, not too unlike what occurred during the Civil Rights Movement, which was then physically, psychologically and socially assaulted by the white power reflected in policing, presidential politics, and legislation protecting white interests in congressional districts.

Because it presumes to be "power-free," the "colorblind" approach also presumes to be "conflict-free." As long as differentials in power are not addressed, the opportunity to engage in conversation about the differentials is deeply constrained. As a result, those who point to racial inequalities and the racial dominance of whites are often trivialized or viewed as disturbing the "natural progression assumption" (Schofield, 1982) upon which the "colorblind" approach relies, that "mere contact, in and of itself, would bring about improved intergroup relations" (p. 46). Efforts by educational leaders to avoid conflict reveal a reluctance to disrupt the predominantly white interests in public education, thus avoiding "backlash" (Schofield, 1982, p. 47) and possibly exit. It is also evident in the level of support among whites toward integration initially, reflecting an "interest convergence" (Bell, 1980/1995) among African Americans and whites, followed by an erosion of support among whites as it became clear through Supreme Court rulings between 1968 and 1973 that various obstacles to desegregation could be legally challenged and dismantled.

The "colorblind" approach presumes to be "raceless." Evidence suggests, however, that its denial of race allows for the maintenance of advantage among whites and the persistence of racism toward people of color (Jones, 1998). In addition, the tendency to ignore or reduce the salience of race in schools denies African Americans a

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sense of social identity *and* it facilitates the disconnectedness among whites to their own racial identity, particularly the social and historical dimensions of being white that entitle them to their privileged social circumstances. What is not addressed, moreover, is that "colorblind" policies and practices resemble and reflect the dominant white culture. As such, they are not "raceless" but are white. As a result, they create conditions similar to those described by Frantz Fanon (1967) in his writing of the dilemma of the colonized Malagasy, that being to "...turn white, or disappear" (p. 100).

Instead of race-conscious policies, the "colorblind" approach uses "merit" as the legitimate means of determining admission to universities and employment. The shift away from race-conscious policies, as evidenced in the recent lifting of desegregation rulings and referenda being placed before voters that seek to replace affirmative action policies with policies based on merit, views race as an irrelevant factor in the education of young people, who should be viewed as individuals and should be judged on their merit, and therefore views attention given to race or race-related matters as inappropriate, likely to unleash conflict, and as unfair to students. Admission policies instituted under the leadership of Governor Jeb Bush of Florida for public colleges and universities in the state, which automatically admit the top fifth of every high school in the state, exemplify this aversion to educational structures intended to facilitate racial equality (Bragg, 1999). Advocacy for "colorblind" policies reflects two goals: 1) it seeks to replace affirmative action as a "failed" policy, although there is little evidence presented concerning what constitutes its failure, and 2) it suggests that racism is no longer an obstacle for students of color, since it removes the means of counteracting the consequences of racism by ensuring access to higher education.

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Finally, the "colorblind" approach is individualistic—or void of community. This is a key ingredient in the theme of "social mobility" (Hirschman, 1970; Tajfel, 1974; Tajfel and Turner, 1979) that is a fundamental concept to American political and cultural thinking. According to the "colorblind" approach then, those who do not take advantage of the social mobility available to them do so for reasons that reflect personal flaws, not because of flaws in the social structure of society. Community, then, is a kind of temporary station, one that can be exited whenever it no longer serves the individual's purpose. This view ignores the importance of cultural connections that African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, Native Americans and other groups possess and on which they rely, connections common to other immigrant groups before they assimilated and "became white" (Sacks, 1995). It also thwarts efforts by subordinate groups to regroup, often a necessary strategy when a group that has been accorded low status seeks to change relations of power while remaining intact as a group and while maintaining strong community connections.

Similarly, the individualistic emphasis in a "colorblind" approach provides no means for whites to examine their influence as a group in racial domination. Note the comment of a white teacher from a paper submitted to Beverly Daniel Tatum and her colleagues who were teaching a professional development course that involved a significant commitment of time (over a period of seven months) and readings, discussions, and shared written work on recognizing and responding to racism in school settings. These comments reveal the influence of individualism on whites' response to racism: "I had been taught that racism was an individual act of meanness perpetrated

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against some minority group. I never suspected that it was an intricate system of advantage, of which I was a part" (Lawrence and Tatum, 1997).

Thus, critical to the "colorblind" perspective is the view of individual as a free agent, not tied to particular groups and not subject to being viewed by others as a member of a particular group. This perspective incorporates a view that is absent considerations of power and full historical disclosure, presumes to be conflict-free and "raceless." It emphasizes individual merit, and in doing so, relieves whites of their obligation to scrutinize everyday relations for expressions of power and to become aware of the "normalcy of racism" (Jones, 1998, p. 648). Furthermore, it cloaks the power maintained in institutions that advantages whites and disadvantages students of color, perpetuating the myth that students of color are "inferior" in academic performance and other social areas—areas in which the "standards" have been constructed and maintained by leadership adhering to a "colorblind" approach (Peller, 1995; Guinier et al., 1994).

Looking for Power in the Midst of Work on Intergroup Conflict

It is helpful to consider some theoretical corollaries in social psychology to the "colorblind" policy. The work of Brewer and Miller (1984) and Miller and Brewer (1986) provides an elaborate theoretical framework for establishing social cohesion through interpersonal attraction among groups in an interracial contact setting. Brewer and Miller (1984) theorize that contact is most effective when there are the conditions at the site where category-based social interactions can be replaced by social relations that are more "interpersonally oriented and more consistent with goals of desegregation" (p. 286). They note that decategorization may not be appropriate at all times, such as when

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social movements and group identity are necessary and therefore override the self-interest of an individual. They note that in "situations in which group outcomes are highly interdependent, however, an emphasis on intergroup distinctions introduces dysfunctional social competition and outgroup rejection that interferes with collective action and interpersonal acceptance" (p. 287). They state that an individual of high status who feels secure in that status will not think long nor hard about his or her social category identity, but that if the security of the status is threatened, the social category identity will become very salient. Brewer and Miller view intergroup interactions where there are highly salient social categories as "dysfunctional" because they will not create the possibility for interpersonal attraction but will instead lead to conflict.

In discussing equal status, Brewer and Miller acknowledge that status differentials carry over from outside the contact situation to within it. They do not recommend, however, efforts at trying to reduce or eliminate these differentials, indicating that in doing so, one runs the risk of frustrating the higher status individuals and instigating social competition in order for the higher status individuals to regain their status. They note, "...systematic attempts to reduce or reverse existing status differences may threaten members of the initially high-status group, leading to active resistance and attempts to reestablish ingroup distinctiveness and positive status differentials" (p. 291). Because Brewer and Miller see interpersonal attraction as the goal of the contact experience, they feel it is most important not to upset the possibility that the high status and low status individuals get along. This being the case, they conclude, "True equal status interaction under these conditions is more likely to be a consequence of intergroup acceptance than its cause" (p. 292).

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Brewer and Miller note that, "If status mobility is possible on an individual level, members of low-status groups will tend to minimize category identity and avoid category-based social behavior" (pp. 284-285). There is no consideration of what happens if the individual wants to achieve high status *and* remain associated with the category membership with which he or she is identified. They do concede that the salience of social category membership may be *functional* if it is perceived by the individual that he or she is saddled with his or her group membership and the inferior status of that group membership is an obstacle to his or her achieving higher status, but they caution that it will be dysfunctional for society in general because it will require a concession on the part of the high status group. They situate their analysis within the desegregation efforts, noting:

> Under such circumstances it is our assumption that the intended goal of desegregation is not simply to redistribute members of different social categories but to promote intergroup acceptance and to reduce the role that category membership plays in creating barriers to individual social mobility and to the development of positive interpersonal relationships. (Brewer & Miller, 1984, p. 287)

Brewer and Miller's work provides a theoretical framework for the contact theory, using a "colorblind" approach. It appears that Brewer and Miller have developed their theory with a view that desegregation went "awry" by becoming complicated by conflict and focusing on what made groups different, not what made them the same. Because relations of power are ascribed to race, social psychologists and educators often fail to ply these two factors apart or to attend to them at all. Brewer and Miller appear to be very sensitive to white fears and anxieties about losing their high status position. Their focus on the dysfunctional nature of intergroup conflict due to efforts to reverse status

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differentials is reminiscent of Apfelbuam's point about the avoidance among social psychologists toward addressing relations of power (Apfelbaum, 1979).

In his summary chapter on the contact hypothesis revisited, Thomas Pettigrew (1986) critiques Brewer and Miller (1984) for their "exclusive" focus on social attraction at the interpersonal level. He notes that their emphasis on reducing social category salience is flawed in its assumption that conflict cannot ultimately help intergroup conflict. Pettigrew mentions examples where early conflict in a desegregated setting allowed for a broader level of commitment among African American parents to the desegregation effort (Crain & Mahard, 1982). He notes, "Presumably, early conflict did create heightened salience, but this led to positive rather than negative outcomes for the intergroup contact" (p. 183). Pettigrew, in a footnote, also comments, "Interesting, Brewer and Miller (1984, p. 286) regard the racial desegregation of American schools as a prime example of institutional change that leads to situations that accentuate group categorization," (p. 194), and he points out that this stance may have been what prompted Miller to provide expert witness in a few desegregation court cases where he represented urban school systems defending their schools segregated by race.

For Brewer and Miller, then, the goal in the contact site is to eliminate categorized responding in an intergroup social situation. They theorize that through two processes intergroup acceptance and the reduction of social competition can occur: first, through differentiation, which involves attention to the distinctiveness of individual members within a category but it does not necessarily imply the elimination of category boundaries that differentiate ingroup from outgroup; and second, through personalization, which involves responding to other individuals in terms of their relationship to the self, which

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necessarily involves making direct self-other interpersonal comparisons that cross category boundaries. Brewer and Miller note that shared egalitarian norms can also provide "an alternative source of positive self-identity that may replace social category identity" and note that "Such values may be brought to the situation by participants who come together for that purpose, as in voluntary desegregation efforts" (p. 295), suggesting what they call a "cooperative venture."

The Dilemma of Equal Status

Much of the early work on the contact theory was an effort to reduce prejudice and the circulation of derogatory views of whites toward African Americans. Central to the social psychological interest in desegregation around the time of the Brown decision was Gordon Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis, which lent support to the argument that under the right conditions black and white children could be brought together in desegregated schools and classroom in such a way that benefited both racial groups. Allport wrote:

> Prejudice (unless deeply rooted in the character structure of the individual) may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals. The effect is greatly enhanced if this contact is sanctioned by institutional supports (i.e., by law, custom or local atmosphere), and if it is of a sort that leads to the perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups. (Allport, 1954, p. 267)

Some of the research provides examples of efforts to manipulate equal status (Cook, 1984; Aronson & Gonzalez, 1988), while other research demonstrates efforts to make equal status an outcome of the cooperative group experience (Brewer & Miller, 1984; Miller & Brewer, 1986). Elizabeth G. Cohen (1975, 1984; Cohen & Roper, 1972) notes that even when group members are of the same academic level and same

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socioeconomic status, if the members differ on race, that differential will create unequal status in the cooperative group. Cohen studies the "phenomenon of white dominance in interracial work groups" (Cohen & Roper, 1972, p. 644), which she calls "interracial interaction disability" (Cohen, 1975, p. 293). Cohen builds on earlier work with Berger, Cohen and Zelditch (1966), furthering the development of a theory of status characteristics and expectation states. Berger et al. view race as "an instance of a diffuse status characteristic" (Cohen & Roper, 1972, p. 644) because it is "associated in people's minds with a set of specific beliefs involving valued and disvalued characteristics" (p. 644), in this case the beliefs concerning competence as it is linked to race, leading to dominant behavior on the part of whites and subordinate behavior on the part of blacks.

These beliefs about competence are part of a larger cultural set of beliefs, and can be conscious or unconscious, so that a white student could be accepting of African Americans, and friendly toward his black classmates, yet still interact with them in a dominant way. Cohen notes that the interracial interaction begins with a higher participation rate on the part of whites, influenced by their own and the black students' expectations of whites as more competent than blacks. The initial difference in rate of participation, then, is followed by greater white influence in decision-making, producing a self-fulfilling prophecy about white competence. In this way, Cohen notes that "the origin of the problem lies in the beliefs and expectations of *both* blacks and whites" (Cohen, 1975, p. 294). Thus, there is a racial imbalance, not in terms of numbers of black students to number of white students, but in terms of the actual rates of participation and influence in the classroom.

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Cohen proposes a treatment designed to produce equal status behavior, the outcome of which she says should look like the following: "When a group behaves in an "equal status" manner, one cannot tell from a person's color the amount of influence he will exert on the particular experimental task assigned to the group" (p. 294-295). Through this treatment, which she calls "expectation training," the initial expectations that black and white students bring to the setting are treated and prior expectations are "altered," such that black students' "assignments of superior competence on a general performance characteristic becomes the basis for performance expectations [in the subsequent decision-making game] rather than expectations coming from differences on a diffuse status characteristics" (p. 646).

Cohen's research is very important in that it points to the interaction between white students and students of color as a reinforcer of dominant-subordinate relations. This focus on the interracial interaction allows the analysis to move beyond individual attitudes in order to look at behaviors in terms of performance, action opportunities, positive and negative evaluations as well as designations of those who are the initiators and recipients in various interactions.

Cohen demonstrates the kind of race-conscious interventions necessary in a desegregated setting in order to reverse cultural notions of competence that are linked to race and to decrease white dominance. In a culture, however, where white dominance is largely invisible and easily denied, such race-conscious interventions appear to unfairly favor one race over the other. To some people of color for whom the issue of white dominance is less salient, these interventions might also seem abhorrent. Nevertheless, Cohen and Roper (1972) note that, unlike interventions that seek to attain equal status

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interaction among interracial groups by providing only students of color with some form of treatment (such as efforts to increase self-esteem), their study focuses on "the general phenomenon of interaction in mixed status groups," addressing expectations of black *and* white students and the pervasiveness of white domination in interracial groups. In a critique of the literature at that time, they conclude, "*It is not a deficiency of the low status member* [their emphasis] as so much literature on race and education argues" (Cohen & Roper, 1972, p. 656). They note:

> A deficient self-concept is an individual trait. In this study, the problem does not reside in the individual. White dominance is seen as a social product of the evaluation of self and other transmitted through cultural beliefs about the competence of blacks and whites, often reinforced in social interaction. (Cohen & Roper, 1972, p. 656)

Cohen's work is refreshing in its sharp critique of the contact hypothesis as it is often carried out in desegregated schools and in her analysis of where it is weakest and how this might be addressed through intervention. This was an important step forward in advancing educators' and social scientists' understanding of desegregated classrooms. She is also helpful in pointing to ways in which schools and classrooms can be a source of alternative status characteristics that will affect "interracial interaction" (Cohen, 1984, p. 93). Where it falls short, however, is in explicitly bringing to light for those students themselves the way in which they were guided by the cultural beliefs about race and competence. It implicitly occurs when the adult, or "host experimenter" reinforces the competency just enhanced by the training of the African American students prior to their participating in the cooperative group experience.

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The Persistent Effect of Stereotypes and Their Influence on Students

Even when interventions are given, the larger social context and the stereotypes it generates can serve as impediments for high achieving students of color. Recent work done by Claude M. Steele (1997) and Steele and Aronson (1995) addresses the persistent gaps in academic achievement (in terms of grades and standardized test scores) between whites and "non-Asian minorities" for which he includes African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans, which persist even in the middle and upper socioeconomic classes. Furthermore, Steele (1997) notes that according to a study by the Educational Testing Service (Ramist, Lewis, & McCamley-Jenkins, 1994), or ETS, the predictive validity of SAT is high for whites and Asian students but not for African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans. Also, it is not highly predictive for white females in such technical courses of study as engineering, economics or computer science, although it is for courses in the arts or the humanities. The ETS study shows that the lack of predictive validity means that although students produce high scores on the SAT's, once they get on campus and begin the coursework, their performance in college lags behind their potential, as measured by the SAT. Given these persistent gaps in academic performance, Steele suggests that "something other than skill deficits depresses" the performance of these students, acting as a barrier to their "identification with the domains of schooling" (p. 616).

Steele (1997) points to the influence of social structure and stereotypes as affecting the academic "identities" and performance of students belonging to those groups that are stereotyped. The theory is built on the assumption that students need to be "identified with school achievement" (p. 613), in that school achievement is part of

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how they define themselves, to be successful in school. Steele notes that many female students and students of color face obstacles to identifying with the academic domain due to social structural impediments, such as socioeconomic disadvantage, constrained cultural views, effects of historical and continuing segregation, and few role models. However, Steele notes that some students overcome these structural limitations and become identified with the domain of schooling. His work concentrates on the experience of these students, who are then vulnerable to an additional social-psychological factor, a situational factor which he calls a "stereotype threat."

The presence of a stereotype threat affects the individuals who have identified with the domain of schooling and have membership in the groups being stereotyped. When negative stereotypes are used, these individuals are likely to experience increased anxiety that they might be defined by a stereotype, particularly stereotypes concerning gender or racial group membership. This occurs when a stereotype relevant to one's race, ethnicity, or gender becomes "self-relevant" in that it creates the fear or sense of "spotlight anxiety," a phrase Steele attributes to Cross (Cross, 1991, p. 195), through which "one can be judged or treated in terms of a racial stereotype" (Steele, 1997, p. 616). Hence,

> ...The situational contingency it establishes—the possibility of conforming to the stereotype or of being treated and judged in terms of it—becomes self-threatening. It means that one could be limited or diminished in a domain that is self-definitional. For students from groups in which abilities are negatively stereotyped in all or some school domains and yet who remain identified with those domains, this threat may be keenly felt, felt enough, I argue, to become a further barrier to their identification with the domain. (Steele, 1997, p. 617)

Steele says that in situations where individuals encounter this threat on a frequent basis, a process called disidentification is likely to occur, where they sever their

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attachment to the domain of schooling, and engage in a "re-conceptualization of the self and of one's values, so as to remove the domain as a self-identity, as a basis of self-identification" (p. 614). Although disidentifying from the domain of schooling reduces the stereotype threat, it has obvious consequences for students, resulting in lower levels of motivation, and impeding academic performance.

Steele emphasizes that the vulnerability toward this threat is not due to individual's internalization of the stereotype but to "their identification with the domain and the resulting concern they have about being stereotyped in it" (p. 614). Hence, he notes that removing the situational threat of the stereotype is the necessary intervention, as opposed to efforts to influence individual's "internal psychology" (p. 614). Furthermore, he notes that as students of color move along in the educational system, "the obstacles of structure and stereotype threat take their cumulative toll," and more of them are likely to disidentify, such that they are more likely to underperform and "not persist" in those "domains" or arenas, such as the classroom or in test-taking, even after the stereotype threat is not salient.

Steele (1995) and Steele and Aronson (1995), like Cohen (1975, 1984; Cohen and Roper, 1972), focus on the situational factors that affect students of color and as a result of their research, they maintain that the traditional view of "changing the individual" does not address the larger problem: the culture of dominance, aligned with whiteness, that affects social interactions and psychological perceptions about competency, intelligence, and moral character. While Steele calls it "something in the air" that can get triggered when females and students of color are identified with their domain and encounter a situation where they feel vulnerable to being stereotyped, Apfelbaum (1979) calls it a

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"universal rule," a discourse that is accessible and unquestioned by those included in the dominant group. Part of the privileging of this dominant discourse is its protection from scrutiny, the assumption that it is theoretically (Herrnstein and Murray, 1994) and morally right. This is the discourse that embeds the stereotypes and it is what is "in the air," floating around and attaching itself to individuals from subordinate groups, and not at all interfering with individuals from the dominant group.

Lani Guinier, Michelle Fine, Jane Balin, with Ann Bartow and Deborah Lee Stachel (1994) conducted quantitative and qualitative research at the University of Pennsylvania Law School, including an analysis of academic performance data, self-reported survey data and written narratives, as well as group level interview data. They found large academic differentials between male and female law students, who entered with comparable LSAT scores, undergraduate GPA's, etc. The gap emerged in the first year and persisted in the years following. They also found "strong attitudinal differences between women and men in year one and yet a striking homogenization by year three," (p. 3) in terms of career plans (many women shifted from plans to work in public interest law to corporate law) and in a reduction of a critical stance regarding the practice of law as well as the policies and practices of the law school, evident in the women's views during the first year but largely absent from their views in year three. Finally, they found that women were very alienated from the technique used for classroom instruction during the first year, which was largely the Socratic dialogue, a form of instruction that uses professor-directed questions concerning principles of law. Women reported that this instructional approach resulted in a highly competitive and hostile classroom environment.

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As a result of their study, Guinier et al. concluded that efforts to assimilate women into traditions of law school result in depressed academic performance and a kind of "splitting" of self in terms of career goals and ways of interacting in the classroom: most women reported having to take on a different persona in order to succeed in law schools. While this worked for some (and these women often encountered some hostility from other women for what appeared to be their unencumbered success, usually at some unarticulated cost), it was deeply alienating for others. As a result, those who exhibited a "biculturalism" succeed by functioning as "social males." Those who could not or would not, received mediocre grades or experienced failure.

Guinier et al. note that for those who see the "standards" of the law school as a selection device, the failure of the women is interpreted as their inability to meet the standards, not as a concern about the extent to which the standards are legitimate. Guinier et al. state, "In our view, the presence of genuine gender differences does not undermine the important message that some change must come from the Law School, not simply from the women." (p. 84).

The "Disability" of Domination

Throughout the study of interracial contact, a number of social scientists have noted the unease with which many whites experience when discussing race. For example, research conducted by the Public Agenda (Farcas & Johnson, 1998) pointed to the willingness and comfort with which African Americans discussed race-conscious matters as compared to white parents. Even in focus groups with all white participants and a

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white leader, there was a pervasive "reluctance" to discuss race. Farcas and Johnson note:

> White parents in every part of the country and from every income and educational level would circle warily around the issue [education in racial terms] for half an hour or more, resisting discussions about categories of people: 'You can't generalize' and 'It doesn't make a difference if you're black or white' were common refrains. The sense was that they simply felt it was not appropriate or fair to talk baldly about either white or black people. The reluctance was especially strong when the subject was academic underachievement among African-American students. When the moderator persisted, the discomfort was clear and the reluctance to engage palpable. (pp. 21-22)

Similarly, Schofield (1982) notes that students and teachers at the Wexler Middle School expressed the fear that attention paid to race may be misconstrued as a sign of prejudice. As a result teachers (and consequently, she notes, students) avoided making reference to race even though evidence suggests that for both constituencies, race was clearly salient. Schofield suggests that for students avoiding references to race provided a "safe" path by reducing the chances that one might offend another and trigger a confrontation. When references were made among students, they tended to be within their own racial group. African American children tended to make more racial references than white children. Schofield notes that although the tendency to avoid references to race decreased the potential for misunderstandings, it also has several negative consequences: "First and most obviously, the children by and large lost the opportunity to educate each other about issues relating to their race in the casual give and take of the classroom atmosphere. The need for such education, especially among some white children, was apparent" (p. 73). To this end, Schofield concludes, their education "was clearly impeded." Only among the administrators was race considered as a "valid

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consideration for planning and decision making" (p. 51) and for considerations in dealing with the larger public.

White teachers also expressed a reluctance to discuss race-related matters. In two instances, Schofield mentions how white teachers framed this hesitation as something that they were not "equipped" to handle. Schofield describes an interview with one teacher, Mr. Little:

> Mr. Little (white):...You know, there is a thing...when we were talking in class about a person who was black...I was sort of hesitant, wondering what reaction it would bring...
>
> Interviewer: Now, let me make sure I understand what you were saying...If you were talking about someone like George Washington Carver, would you say, "He's a well-known scientist who is black."
>
> Mr. Little: *In the beginning I wouldn't have.* I don't know why, but I never kind of – I had a fear when I came here of what was going to happen. *Now it doesn't bother me*....Before I was at an all black school, which was much easier. You just came out and discussed things like prejudice, why there is hatred between blacks and whites when they don't know each other. It hasn't come out here yet....Maybe I haven't – maybe I've made sure to keep it down. I really don't want to hear it, you know. (Emphasis added [by Schofield]). (Schofield, 1982, pp. 62-63)

Interestingly, although this white teacher explained that he felt uncomfortable (it was the first year at this new desegregated school) discussing race-related matters, he also reported an absence of discomfort in discussing race and racism when he was teaching in an "all black school." This excerpt from an interview raises a perplexing question as to why this white teacher felt comfortable in an all black school in discussing racial group memberships and racism but was unable to do so at Wexler. In another interview, a white teacher, Ms. Winters, also notes her ease in talking about race-related matters with students in an all-black school:

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> Ms. Winters (white): One discussion we had in a sixth grade class at Hoover [an all black school] was about why white shop owners are very suspicious when a group of black kids come in. And you know someone said, "Why are all white people like that?" and someone said, "Well, Ms. Winter's white." Then the other one replied, "Yea, well she's a teacher...." I wasn't in the category of black or white, I was in the category of teacher....I haven't had the occasion to get into discussions like that [at Wexler]. (Schofield, 1982, p. 65)

When the interviewer asks Ms. Winters if it is better to talk openly with students about the experience of being in a desegregated school and encountering peers from a different racial group or to not address the subject altogether, the teacher prefers the latter, saying "I don't know how I would handle the first approach...is probably what I'm saying....I would get too bogged down in it" (p. 65). While the anticipated volatility of frank conversations with a mixed race group of students about race-related concerns made these white teachers reluctant to initiate a discussion, it is evident that the presence of white students and the tendency among whites to avoid or gloss over race-related concerns presented an even greater difficulty for these white teachers. There is no teacher, for example, who says that he or she came from an all-white school where it was common and easy to discuss race and racial prejudice. This raises the question of what loyalties exist that create psychological pressures among whites to avoid mentioning race in racially mixed settings. There appears to be a similarity here, between the "micro-level" of the classroom and that at the "macro-level" of school systems as well as federal legislation and judicial decisions, in that both reveal a tendency among white leadership to carry out desegregation in such a way that it would not decrease white loyalty to public education and lead to their exit.

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In addition, when race was brought up in classes in Wexler, it was more likely to be an African American teacher or student who did so. For example, one African American teacher told the interviewer:

> I think they do need some planning. Some of these things will normally happen but if more things were planned to bring the races closer I think we'd get there quicker, because some of the students you'll never even get them together unless things are planned to force them together. (Schofield, 1982, p. 47)

It is important to note that African Americans comprised only 25 percent of the staff at Wexler. This likely placed them in a difficult position of either abiding by the taboo, or appearing to abide by the taboo while operating clandestinely in dealing with race-related matters, or ignoring the taboo and possibly experiencing disapproval from white staff and white parents.

Schofield notes that when the school provided professional development for teachers to prepare them to be responsive to race-related concerns, teachers trivialized the course and acted as though it was unnecessary. Linda C. Powell (Powell, 1994) trained teachers of students in urban school settings in the early 1990's in using family group, which brings small clusters of students together with an educator on a regular basis over an extended period of time. Powell notes that family group goals include helping young people to "become more self-reflective" and to "take responsibility for their own learning" (page 116). Family group assists schools "to build community" and helps "students and family group leaders appreciate this kind of activity as a legitimate part of intellectual inquiry" (page 116). Powell writes of the reluctance of teachers initially to engage in this kind of work, as they "expressed worry about their ability to facilitate a group as opposed to teach a class" (page 115).

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Similarly, in more recent work, Powell explored with graduate level education students (Powell, 1997) "the challenge of change" in urban school settings and "the issues of race, poverty, and power" (page 5) by using the engagement between students and between Powell and the students as the "material" studied for the course, beginning with a two-day group relations conference. Like the family group experience, the course itself produced anxiety and intellectual growth for the racially diverse class and their African American professor in the context of a predominantly white institution. Powell writes about a class discussion concerning the pattern of student grades by race, after the first major writing assignment. She says in a footnote that for her the discussion "was tightrope walking without a net" (page 12), and she notes that for the group it revealed multiple viewpoints and responses to the task itself and the interactions in the context of race and power with Powell as the professor. Powell underscores the importance of "controversial classroom work" (page 10):

> Some believe that doing work involving the unconscious in an academic environment is irresponsible. On the other hand, to continue to teach as though everything important lies in our awareness is also irresponsible. Finally, "casualty" is not simply a word used to identify someone psychologically hurt in group work; if children are suffering and dying at alarming rates in this country, maybe the benefits we would accrue toward change would be worth the risk of psychological discomfort in our classrooms. Kids are already taking the risks. Maybe educators could take more. (page 10)

In settings where adults are not trained or encouraged to create space for young people to address interracial conflict, academic struggles, or other concerns, students will tend to model what they see in adult behavior. At Wexler, students appeared to "collude" as Schofield says with the "colorblind" approach and the "taboo" from talking about race-related matters. For example, a white teacher described by Schofield as "unusually concerned with relations between black and white children" (p. 60) noted in her interview

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how she experienced a lot of resistance on the part of students in general regarding discussions of race. This teacher, Ms. Richards, describes to the interviewer the kind of behavior her students exhibited when she attempted to draw them into a discussion regarding race-related matters:

> Interviewer: Do you think the kids...understood that they were there as a group to improve race relations?
>
> Ms. Richards: Initially they did...and there was resistance on their part...like non-verbal resistance. They just though it was hopeless...kids were really passive and afraid...
>
> Interviewer: Did the kids even get into a discussion on what attitudes whites and black hold toward each other here and that sort of thing?
>
> Ms. Richards: They were reluctant to bring that out....When I would bring it up, they would cut me off....The more I did [this], the more they resisted the whole thing. (Schofield, 1982, p. 60)

Schofield reports that children expressed on occasion that they thought mentioning the race of someone, even in describing another student's features, would indicate they were prejudiced. They also believed that referring to race-related matters at Wexler would create trouble for them, in their dealings with students, but also in their interactions with teachers. African American and white students mentioned the possibility of getting physically hurt by other students if they bring up race-related matters. They were conscious about not wanting to "offend" another student of the other race in order to make friends or, at the very least, to try to get along with their classmates. Schofield notes that when race was brought up, it was more likely brought up by an African American student. In general, however, students spoke about not wanting to get into trouble with teachers or the principal for creating race-related problems.

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Fine, Anand, Jordan, and Sherman (2000) reflect on why African American students freely talk about race, and at times insist that race be included in the discussion, while white students appear to be extremely uncomfortable and often unable to talk about race. Some white students repeatedly assert status through their discourse about every individual having access to social mobility and/or by exhibiting an unwillingness to give students of color the opportunity to speak (this was corrected by teacher intervention) or rejecting the point of view of students of color. Other white students, Fine et al. note, do not resist discussing race-related matters, nor do they strive to reassert their status: "Interestingly, most white students refuse to employ these displays or barricade themselves but don't know what else to do. They can't yet invent another discourse of whiteness. And so they retreat to a kind of silence, sometimes wonder, sometimes embarrassment..." (p. 23)

Nevertheless, there are clear differences in the willingness of white students and students of color to discuss race-related matters and in the meaning that these matters had for students. Linda Powell (Fine, Weis, Powell, and Wong, 1997) found similar responses with students at the university level. In reflecting on these differences, Fine et al. note,

> Then I have a frightening thought: Is it possible that whites work 'optimally,' that is, uninterrupted, when we don't have to discuss race and ethnicity and that students of color can only be engaged and most unburdened when race and ethnicity are squarely on the table? (Fine, Anand, Jordan, and Sherman, 2000, p. 20)

The links between white students and teachers' discomfort in discussing race and the evidence that suggests sustaining such a "colorblind" environment clearly disadvantages students of color requires that relations of power in desegregated schools

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be given serious consideration. As Schofield notes, "colorblind" policies, which free white students and teachers from addressing race-related matters are costly for students of color: instructional practices such as homogeneous grouping and tracking, a competitive academic environment, and narrow forms of assessing students that do not look at multiple competencies or various ways of determining academic performance. It is further problematic for students of color in its aversion to race-related matters, whether that be in the curriculum or social interaction of students.

At the national level, this aversion among whites to talking about or engaging in serious conversation about race and education has enabled an increasing reversal of race-conscious policies, an acquiescence that resegregation is "inevitable" (*Freeman v. Pitts*, 1992) and a trivializing the concerns of those who suggest that "colorblind" policies advantage white students and disadvantage students of color. The comments of Carlton Jordan (Fine et al., 2000), reveal the links between white dominance as seen in the classroom by students, and is reflected in the surveillance of their parents, and the expression of white dominance evident in the current federal policy on desegregation. Jordan is an African American teacher of a pilot program in Montclair, a high level honors English class, which is heterogeneous by race, ethnicity, class, gender, and academic background. He notes:

> I don't know. Some students cannot or won't connect – things might fall apart for them. There's a lot riding on the unwillingness and inability to see themselves with or for others. It's like a disability of privilege. What are they holding onto? But the only way they can make the connection is to co-opt it, that it has to become <u>their</u> hurricane. They have to define how the winds move and whether they go from north to south. If it's not mine, how do I conquer it? And then, once I conquer it, even if in the conquering I have to destroy it, I can still say that I know it better than everyone else and make people listen to me. This is a problem of privilege that needs remediation in our course. (p. 22)

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Expressions of Resistance and Attempts to Navigate the "Colorblind" Curriculum

Now and then some events or acts interrupt the "colorblind" policy. For Schofield in her study of Wexler Middle School, one of these was the airing of *Roots*. She notes, "A number of students spontaneously mentioned in interviews occurring as much as eighteen months later that black children who saw the series tried to get back at whites for the historical oppression of blacks" (p. 169). Schofield does not mention any attention given on the part of the staff to *Roots*, in terms of a discussion about the program to address the anger that the black students were experiencing after viewing the film, or a linking of its content to curriculum. As a result, what might have been an opportunity to talk about the history of racial relations in the United States was not seized, and conflict simmered beneath the veneer of the "colorblind" setting.

The role that history plays in relations of power is important to consider here. For both the dominant and subordinate groups, history is a contested narrative. It reflects dominant views on events of the past and is framed in a way that further justifies the contemporary relations of power (Trouillot, 1995). For African Americans the history of interracial conflict and racial oppression was frequently called upon to point to the persistence among blacks to secure justice and equality or to underscore the determination of a white dominated society to maintain its hold on power. For black students in Wexler Middle School, it is likely that *Roots* provided a counternarrative on the history of the United States, one which a "colorblind" setting is unwilling to include in its curriculum. Furthermore, Schofield notes that students reported that while the anger generated by the film appeared to dissipate, it emerged again at different junctures

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over the course of a year and a half, always when "something went wrong between black and white students" (p. 170).

Similarly, the process of establishing parallels between current historical events and those of the past further was likely to have exacerbated the experience of African Americans at the close of the Civil Rights era. William J. Wilson (1973) points to historical trends whereby constitutional rights were secured by people of color, followed by a period of time of strict enforcement, economic and political gains and optimism on the part of African Americans. For example, the Reconstruction Acts in 1867 enforced the 14th amendment and led to the electing of a number of African American public officials. However, this progressive legislation and its enforcement was brief. In 1872 Congress removed the troops that were stationed in the South to enforce federal election laws, and compromises between Northern and Southern congressional representatives lead to further erosion of enforcement. Following this withdrawal of enforcement, the number of lynchings increased, in the 1870's through the 1890's, averaging 150 a year between 1880 and 1890 (Wilson, 1973). Schools were resegregated. The movement by the federal government away from protection of the 14th amendment was fully captured in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. Hope for "meaningful assimilation" (Wilson, 1973, p. 97) turned to skepticism among African Americans and efforts at distancing and separation on the part of African Americans from integrating with the dominant white society became the norm, with briefer periods in between of mobilization, protest and gains then losses, withdrawal and distance.

In this sense, the "colorblind" approach, in its focus on the individual and its efforts to reduce the salience of race, also prevents white students and students of color

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from adequately exploring the history of the United States. Absent study and discussions about racial injustice and the denial of equality to African Americans, young people are less likely to understand and scrutinize social privilege and power in contemporary society. As Fine et al. (2000) and Schofield (1982) emphasize, relations of power are particularly conspicuous to students of color. Furthermore, the way in which African American students navigate and/or resist these relations of power tend to be "read" by white teachers and students as evidence of a lack of motivation or academic competency.

For example, in her research on an all-black school in Washington, D.C., Signithia Fordham (1997, 1999) analyzes the way in which African American students respond to the expectations of their teachers and of the larger social context. Some of the students exhibit "avoidance" by resisting "acting white" in their high school. Others engage in what is viewed by the staff, many of whom are also African American, as "appropriate" in the classroom and in doing so, Fordham says they "lease" the particular white-dominant language and behavior acceptable in schools. Cross (1995) distinguishes the former as a form of "alienated opposition" and the latter as "defensive opposition." Both Cross and Fordham note that these forms of opposition produce very different consequences.

Fordham writes that while those students who resist what Lisa Delpit (1995) calls the "culture of power," an enactment of the white dominant culture in the classroom, their "avoidance" creates limitations to their educational future. On the other hand, those students who "lease" the behavior take on the cultural script while in the classroom but fully claim their black identity with their friends in school and in their homes and communities. Fordham notes that this strategy allows these students the social mobility

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they need to advance but also keeps them grounded in their community. She suggests that without this grounding, the potential that a black student might become the white dominant "other" has ramifications that reach back into history and merge with the conditions of the present. She notes:

> Black people who choose discourses that mimic those of Whites while in predominantly Black contexts may well be marginalized as power seekers and, furthermore, as people who might use power just as the larger society has historically done, to exploit and dehumanize other African Americans. (p. 278)

It is important in examining relations of power to consider the kind of "improvising" (Fordham, 1997), "leasing" (Fordham, 1999), or "decoding" (Stanton-Salazar, 1997) that is employed by people of color in dealing with public institutions, infused with dominant white interests and culture. Stanton-Salazar, in proposing the establishment of a "bicultural network orientation," emphasizes the necessity for students of color to navigate public institutions that will provide them with the necessary social mobility while staying rooted to their racial and ethnic identity. In doing so, he notes, that

> ...a bicultural network orientation not only implies general facility with simultaneous participation in multiple worlds that embody competing norms, expectations, and socialization agendas (Boykin, 1986; Boykin and Toms, 1985; Coser, 1975; Merton, 1949; Simmel, 1955), it also implies a certain meta-awareness of relational strategies for negotiating one's way within social and institutional settings tacitly organized on the basis of systems of exclusion and latent cultural conflict. (p. 27)

Cross's (1991, 1995) research on black identity also reveals the prevalence of a biracial group orientation among African Americans. He notes that a "bicultural strategy" allows for "protection and engagement" and serves as a "protective filter employed by blacks who are, or who seek to become, functional within the larger society" (Cross, 1995, p. 185). Cross notes that while this strategy is employed by many

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middle- and working-class African Americans, it is not useful for those African Americans segregated in high-poverty neighborhoods whose families encounter high unemployment and a sense of "economic redundancy" (p. 190). The young people living in these circumstances are far more likely to experience extreme alienation and as a result will exhibit an "alienated" oppositional identity. Cross also notes that because of segregation, black children from middle- or working class families who exhibit a "defensive" oppositional identity, that is a bicultural strategy in the school, like the "leasing" that Fordham describes, are vulnerable, particularly during adolescence, to the "pull" of students in the same segregated school who exhibit an "alienated" oppositional identity. This "push and pull" phenomenon has profound consequences for African American children of all socioeconomic backgrounds, particularly as the experience of "economic redundancy" remains a constant for poor families, as do segregated schools and housing patterns. While reminding his readers of the possibility that this construction of an underclass engaged in "alienated" oppositional identity is "too categoric," he nevertheless outlines just how this condition, established through segregative policies, is then framed in a dominant discourse as the justification for preserving segregation:

> The more negative identity crosses racial boundaries, but housing discrimination creates barriers that "separate and protect" white middle-class and wealthy children from the influences of oppositionalism...In short, housing segregation makes it more difficult for black middle-class and stable working-class parents to reproduce themselves through their children, because in some instances they "lose" their children to the underclass. Having failed to understand how the alienated oppositional identity has become influential across social classes, the media and spokespersons for the conservative right explain the spread in terms of social pathologies unique to all members of "the" black culture. Not surprisingly, whites often fear racial integration, period, because they think that all blacks are "infected" and capable of "spreading" the alienated oppositional identity. (Cross, 1995, pp. 201-202)

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Cross reveals the influence of a dominant discourse that groups or "marks" students, even as it seeks to degroup them. This discourse has been accompanied by a view that focuses on the individual and on the belief in social mobility: it acknowledges no barriers to equal opportunity, or the few that still exist are viewed as barriers that are better left alone. The emphasis on meritocracy, and the view everyone has choices, is reinforced by various scripts and stories of those who have "made it" under extremely difficult conditions. This discourse, while intended to inspire and offer hope, also has the more deleterious effect of stroking those are successful, while interpreting failure as an individual choice not to exert effort, to work hard, to achieve. Absent an analysis of power relations, people opt or succumb to these interpretations. Some embrace them with conviction (Herrnstein & Murray, 1994).

These are powerful narratives that structure the interactions of those in the dominant and in the subordinate groups. As expressed so disconcertingly to me and so freely by my daughter at age eleven, when discussing the predicament of the Jews during the Holocaust. She wondered why the Jews did not choose to leave Germany, Poland, Austria, France, or wherever they were experiencing persecution and genocide—asking me, "Well, couldn't they just move?" In this view, everyone has choices and suffering and oppression are a byproduct of an individual's lack of action. In this view, also, the dominant group is rarely given the same scrutiny as the subordinate group. Hence, the dominant discourse that is employed serves to protect dominant-subordinate relations through the daily scripting of meritocracy, and in doing so maintains relations of power. It furthermore justifies individual choice and serves to protect it, viewing intervention on

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any level—whether it be in a classroom discussion or a legislative decision—as "political" interference with the rights of individuals.

Similarly, this discourse is reflected in recent Court rulings lifting desegregation orders. These decisions reveal a sense of pessimism toward government-based efforts to thwart segregative patterns and an acquiescence to the notion that such patterns are "natural" and "inevitable" (Orfield and Eaton, 1996). As a result, those who will define our future, our children, are encountering a society shaped by the contours of a "colorblind" philosophy and a discourse on merit, their horizons narrowed by the cynicism of what cannot be and their solutions limited to individualistic choice.

Conclusion

In Apfelbaum's analysis of the late 20th century's problem of relations of power that have contributed to dislocation, uprootedness, ethnic genocide, and a general disconnectedness with history and collective memory (Apfelbaum, 1999), there are corollaries with the efforts to desegregate public education. The period of time in which the *Brown* decision was made was a critical time for "setting things right"—for removing a horrible scar in the history of the United States. In many ways the discourse dovetailed with reactions to the Holocaust, expressing the same assurance that social science could correct this problem and policies that engendered shame, guilt, and disbelief would become history, with the most horrific aspects (Painter, 1995) buried in the past. In terms of implementing desegregation plans, the way in which relations of power operated inside and outside the classroom was not examined extensively; instead, the goal of many efforts appeared to reduce the salience of racial group membership, assuming this would

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prevent conflict and that if racial categories were ignored, they would be rendered meaningless. But troubling the interactions among students, between students and teachers, and between teachers and parents there exists the unrecognized relations of power that infuses students' culture, history, and identity with positive or negative evaluations.

In conclusion, a review of the desegregation literature in the wake of the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision outlawing racial segregation reveals an increasing level of concern among educators and social scientists toward the "spontaneous and persistent influence of race" (Jones, 1998, p. 650) in desegregated schools and classrooms. Questions about relations of power, once skirted in *Brown*, now emerge in bold relief (Apfelbaum, 1979). These questions continue to perplex us, but there are initiatives underway that promise to provide invaluable learnings toward a better understanding and approach to interracial relations, particularly in public education, and to the achievement of full access to equal educational opportunities for students of color.

These initiatives confront and explore the enormous tensions of desegregated public institutions concerned about sustaining the traditional loyality of white interests while seeking to develop race-conscious efforts to transform classrooms into settings that do not replicate the broader relations of power ascribed to race in society. Educators and the institutions engaging in these transformative efforts operate in a frequent state of agitation as they seek to facilitate racial equality often alongside educational structures that impede equality. Two specific examples of these efforts, teacher training and heterogeneous classes are described below.

Teacher Training

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In their studies of teacher training and professional development, Powell (1997) and Tatum (1997) describe efforts underway to create opportunities for teachers, particularly white teachers, to "recognize the personal, cultural, and institutional manifestations of racism and to become more proactive in response to racism within school settings" (Tatum, 1997, p. 334). These courses incorporate theory, teachers' experiences in the classroom, history, and the autobiographies of the teachers themselves into class discussions, reflective journals, and culminating papers in order to change personal and professional attitudes and behavior. These efforts also address whites' reluctance toward discussing race-related matters, as discussed earlier in this paper, both in giving white teachers the opportunity to gain experience in talking about race-related matters and in making them cognizant of how their reluctance has ramifications in the classroom for students of color and for white students. Finally, these classes have offered those attending as students (most of whom are teachers) and their professors additional insights into the struggle of carrying out race-conscious practices.

Color-conscious and Detracked

There are efforts underway (Fine et al., 2000; 1997a; Oakes, 1985; Wheelock, 1992) to implement and study heterogeneously-grouped academic classrooms, particularly at the middle and high school level. These efforts indicate that traditional differentials in academic status and social power in the classroom can be reversed through detracking. They are also showing the need for teacher skill and knowledge in intervening in frequent and subtle classroom interactions and conditions that, if unnoticed, may present what Claude Steele (Steele, 1997; Aronson & Steele, 1995) calls

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a "stereotype threat" and may lead to the disidentification of students of color in high level academic courses.

For example, Michelle Fine, Bernadette Anand, Carlton Jordan, and Dana Sherman (2000) established a ninth grade high honors level literature class, heterogeneous by race, ethnicity, class, gender and academic background in the desegregated school system in Montclair, New Jersey. These classes were created with the expressed desire on the part of a group of multi-racial educators to develop among a diverse group of students a sense of intellectual community where traditional notions of intelligence were dispelled and where expectancies that tie race and academic performance could be explored and challenged. The course generated a lot of concern on the part of board of education, other educators and many parents, who worried about the degradation of academic standards in the class and the possibility of jeopardizing the future of "bright" students while misleading the "slow" students by suggesting they had academic potential.

Fine et al. note, however, that the powerful social discourse that categorizes and evaluates groups on intelligence and academic potential was reflected in the discussions of students and in their writings, their perceptions about each other and their views concerning the literature they studied. Through careful attention of the what Cohen (1975, 1984; Cohen and Roper, 1972) calls the "racial status ordering," the teachers worked to reverse historical and traditional power differentials between students in the classroom, to "create a space in which these distinct positions [of gender, race, ethnicity, and class] can be narrated and then analyzed together through a lens of power and domination" (Fine, Anand, Jordan, and Sherman, 2000). They note:

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Creating a safe space for all means breaking down the invisible walls that segregate those historically privileged from those historically silenced; that separate traditionally "smart" from traditionally "slow"; that challenge the categories and "right" answers which fit so well in the past. Forcing students to "come out" from behind their performances of nerd, athlete, scholar, quiet, clown, or dummy, we invite them to reveal their deeper, more complex selves. And we find ourselves wandering well beyond the borders of intellectual and political work, more than we have ever before in our lives. We model, chance, and push the very categories that they (and we) have taken for granted – categories that have celebrated some while suffocating others. (pp. 15-16)

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CHAPTER II: RESEARCH DESIGN

Design of the Inquiry

Context

The community under study is a suburb of approximately 30,000, developed in the early 1900's as an inner-ring suburb to a mid-western city. This community used restrictive covenants until they were struck down in the courts, and has since become increasingly diverse. Its public school system, recognized for its commitment to academic excellence and racial integration, now has as its key leadership the members of racial and religious groups once excluded from its neighborhoods, specifically African American and Jewish families.

As Wells and Crain (1997) note, the capital, resources, and social connections to key economic and educational institutions that exist in predominantly white suburban schools contribute significantly to the high level of status, financial stability, and academic rigor of these schools. This is clearly the case in this community. There is a great deal of wealth among whites in the city and a very sizable middle class African American community. The district has enjoyed community support, despite its high taxes, although the guarantee of taxpayer financing is not a given. This is occurring at a time when it is increasingly critical to pay for the kind of programs and capital investments necessary to maintain the quality and equity of its system.

In the late 1960's and early 1970's, as Supreme Court rulings systematically (though with increasingly less unanimity) removed obstacles to school desegregation, particularly obstacles found outside Southern districts, this school system initiated a study and several community-wide discussions on desegregation. Soon afterward, the district

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moved forward with a voluntary two-way busing plan at the elementary school level. The system at that time was 24 percent African American but at the elementary level the schools were racially imbalanced. Since then, the desegregation of the district has expanded gradually. In the mid 1980's, the district reconfigured itself into several racially balanced elementary schools, and an upper elementary school, middle school, and high school that serve the entire district. In the 2002-2003 school year, the district enrolled 5,529 students, with the following racial and ethnic composition: 50.7% percent African American, 3.2% Asian or Pacific Islander, 1.3% Hispanic, 4.2% Multi-racial, 40.6% white.[25]

The district enjoys a good reputation and a high academic profile. Recent data from the district office indicates that enrollment has increased, with some of the new students having come from "20 states and 20 countries" (Friddle, 1999). At the same time, as it is in many desegregated school systems, student achievement data disaggregated by race reveal a sizeable gap in standardized test scores and grade point averages between African American and European American students in the system. Throughout the 1990's and into the 2000's the school system has put in place a number of initiatives to reduce the gap by increasing the level of achievement among black students.

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[25] Numbers were obtained from page three of the *Shaker Heights City School District 2002-2003 School Year Report Card*, released by the Ohio Department of Education, August 19, 2003, and available on www.ode.state.oh.us/reportcard. According to the *2002-2003 School Report Card*, 14.5% of those students enrolled in the district are economically disadvantaged, 2.3% have limited proficiency in English, and 15.0% are students with disabilities. (*2003 School Report Card*. Shaker Heights High School. Columbus, OH: Department of Education. Page two.)

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Research Question

The purpose of the research was to collect oral histories of a diverse sample of students, parents, and educators regarding their experience of the desegregation of their school system from 1965, when the school system began its study and subsequent two-way voluntary desegregation plan, through the present. In doing so, I am interested in how parents, students, and educators within the school system have conceptualized racial equality and what their experience of racial equality has been in the school system, as a public institution embedded in the larger social context of the community. In particular, I am interested in the extent to which parents, students, and educators have experienced racial equality in the school system as transformative educational change. By transformative educational change, I mean that they have experienced their school system as having developed or being engaged in developing policies and practices that provide equal educational opportunities between students of color and white students, produce equal academic outcomes, and engender equal power relations. The major research question that this study has addressed is as follows:

> *In the context of school desegregation, how have parents, students, and educators conceptualized and experienced racial equality?*

This study theorizes that the distribution of public education is contested and subject to a tension between beliefs about individual social mobility and beliefs about social change. While public school systems commit their institutions to racial equality, structural factors (policies and practices) and social psychological factors (interpersonal

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and intergroup relations, and the perceptions and beliefs that guide those relations) influence the extent to which the commitment translates into racial equality in terms of equal educational opportunities, academic outcomes, and power relations. When school systems pay attention to these structural and social psychological factors, (Fine, 2000), they have the potential to transform education.

Methods of Gathering and Interpreting Data

Data Collection

The study used multiple data sources, methods, and theories. Described below are the three major methods of data collection for this study.

Oral Histories

The primary method of data collection was through the use of semi-structured interviews, which resulted in a collection of oral histories on the desegregation of this school system as experienced by students, parents, and educators. The interviews were structured to create room for divergent experiences, particular those experiences shaped by race and class, gender, constituency, generation, and years in the district. These interviews were tape recorded and transcribed for analysis.

In order to collect data pertinent to the research question, I used a semi-structured interview (see Appendix B for sample protocols). The first section focused on the participants' narration of their experience of going through the school system from the lower grades and into the high school. For students, it also included their identification and arrangement of different student groups in relation to each other, using an oval

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shaped piece of oaktag, representing the high school, and paper circles to represent student groups. The second section of the interview focused on participants' experience of particular aspects of the high school. The third section pertained to participants' conceptualizations and experience of racial equality through questions about their experience of racial equality in the school system. I asked participants to talk about what racial equality in public education meant to them, and to talk about a personal experience they had of racial equality in their school or an experience of racial inequality.

In this third section, I asked all participants a question concerning ways in which the school system engendered equal power relations.[26] For those participants who were educators or parents (and in some cases, parents had also been students of the system at one time), I then asked the participants to review some national and local student data from the school system that was disaggregated by race, and to talk about what they thought about the data, what concerned them, and what questions were raised in viewing these data. I did not use this question with students who were still in high school or were recently out of high school.[27]

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[26] I did this by asking whether the participant felt that people in the community and the school system, white and black, recognized the historical advantage whites have had in education, and whether the participant felt that the community and school system tried not to sustain this advantage within its schools. If a participant indicated that they felt this was the case, I asked in what way they saw this happening in the school system. I found, as I proceeded with the interviews, that much of the data collected in the first and second section of the protocol provided concrete experiences where the participants either explicitly or implicitly indicated ways in which equal power relations were facilitated or thwarted. This question, unfortunately, was often omitted due to lack of time.

[27] Like any issue reflecting unequal relations of power accorded to race and class, the issue of the gap in standardized test scores between white and black students serves to illuminate the inequality but also cultivates a discourse of potential for whites and a discourse of deficit for blacks (Powell, 1997). In my reading through archival materials and talking with parents and educators, I was aware of several intense periods of conflict when data on "the black-white achievement gap" were presented with little depth or with no emphasis that individuals in both racial groups defy group patterns. I felt conflicted about presenting these data to high school

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Archival Review

In addition to the oral histories, the design included a review of archival materials from 1965 through the present. Archival materials included newspaper clippings, district reports, board of education minutes, yearbooks, films, and studies of the district done externally. Giroux (1983) notes that an individual may not readily articulate the link between her or his behavior and notions of domination and resistance. He proposes that "such behavior may be illuminated against the backdrop of social practices and values from which the behavior emerges" (p. 291) with its interests located in "the historical and cultural mediations that shape it" (p. 291). The archival data were useful in providing this "backdrop." Furthermore, these data provided records of the public discourse on the school system's desegregation. They identified points of alliance and cooperation within and across racial groups and points of fracture and conflict. In addition, a review of archival materials was extremely helpful in identifying participants for the oral histories.

Student Data

In addition, the data collection included a review of student enrollment patterns from 1965 through the present. Very little student achievement data were available before the late 1990's, when the district hired a director of research and evaluation, and it

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students in the last section of a one or one and a half hour interview where I was intent on eliciting their responses. In such a situation, I knew I would not be able to assist the students in the necessary scrutinizing of stereotypes about achievement and motivation that often emerge in participants' encounter with these data. I never felt completely satisfied with this decision, but I was nonetheless unwilling to present the set of charts depicting the gap in a strictly one-dimensional manner in my interview with white and black high school students or recent graduates.

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was rarely disaggregated by race. I located some data in district archival material, such as district reports and proposals for federal funding. I also found that some data were available through local newspaper and student newspaper articles. More recently, the State of Ohio, as well as the Department of Education at the federal level, established the requirement that achievement data be disaggregated by race, as illustrated in the State's most recent reporting of Proficiency Test scores.

Sample

The sample for the original research design[28] was expanded from 36 individuals to 43, with 19 participants in the early phase (1965-1987) and 22 in the current phase (1988-2003). Nine educators were included in this sample, with experiences in one or both phases. The sample included a number of participants who were students in the system and later became parents. I interviewed the children of three of these participants. I was also able to interview two sets of grandparents among the set of three parent/children pairs, providing perspectives across three generations.

Using a sample matrix, the study sample of 43 participants was drawn from a pool of approximately 100 candidates. This pool of candidates was developed primarily through a review of archival materials. In addition, those participating in the semi-structured interviews and conversations often mentioned, either deliberately or inadvertently, the names of possible participants. Early on I employed "network sampling" (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999, asking for recommendations of individuals from participants. However, I became increasingly concerned that I would be unable to

[28] See Appendix A for Sample Matrix of Participants

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protect the confidentiality and anonymity of study participants. Archival materials became the primary source of possible participants: school reports, newsletters, and publications, as well as yearbooks. Sometimes an individual whose name I had located in the archives was mentioned during an interview, strengthening my understanding of the individual's background. Finally, my participant observation in the community and schools as a parent whose children have attended two different elementary schools, the district-wide upper elementary, middle, and more recently, high school contributed to my exposure to and contact with a number of possible participants, particularly in the current phase of the study.

The key criterion for sample selection was that the sample be racially balanced, recognizing that the "social significance of race" in the United States has produced very divergent experiences between blacks and whites (Jones, 1998), and that it represents a range of experiences and perspectives. The study sample reflected the student demographics of the school system. In the 2002-2003 school year, the high school enrollment of 1,717 reflected a student body of 51.1% African American, 1.5% Asian or Pacific Islander, 1.7% Hispanic, 3.1% Multi-racial, and 42.6% white.[29] The sample also was diverse in terms of constituencies, including individuals who were/are students, parents who were actively involved in the school system and those who were moderately involved or not at all involved, and educators. Attention in sampling was also given to gender and class diversity, as well as representation of parents, students, and educators from the different schools and neighborhoods in the school system. Standardization of

[29] *Shaker Heights High School 2002-2003 School Year Report Card.* Columbus, OH: Department of Education. Page three. Data also indicate that 11.1% of the high school students are economically disadvantaged, 0.9% are limited in their English proficiency, and 13.2% are students with disabilities.

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the protocol required that all or most of the parents and students had experience with the high school. I made every effort to include students and/or parents of students who took classes at the different course levels[30] available in the high school and who participated in various academic support and enrichment as well as extra-curricular programs.

In addition to the 43 semi-structured interviews for the oral histories, the study design required informal interviews with individuals who had or have been critically involved with the history of the desegregation of the school system. These informal sessions, or "conversations," included superintendents, members of the board of education, elected officials, community and religious leaders. Altogether I had conversations with 22 individuals. These conversations provided additional data, particularly in filling in gaps in the archival materials, clarifying educational policies and practices, accessing additional data, and identifying possible candidates for the pool of participants from which the sample was drawn for the semi-structured interviews.

Analysis Design

To guide this analysis, this study used an overall framework as provided by James Jones (1998) for developing psychological explanations for persistent racial inequalities.

[30] According to the *Shaker Heights High School Program Planning Guide, 2003-2004*, the course levels consist of four categories of instruction: general, college preparatory, honors, and advanced placement. In this district document and other district materials, the course levels are not referred to as what is more commonly known as "tracks" or "tracking," defined by Anne Wheelock as involving "the categorization of students according to particular measures of intelligence into distinct groups for purposes of teaching and learning. Once they have been sorted and classified, students are provided with curriculum and instruction deemed suited to their ability and matched to spoken or unspoken assessments of each student's future" (Wheelock, 1992, page 6). Educators in the district distinguish the levels system from a tracking system due to the district's open enrollment policy. The history of the course levels according to archival materials is discussed in the chapter on the district's desegregation. Student narratives concerning their experience of the levels system is covered in the chapter on student narratives on racial equality. In the writing of this study, I use the language of "levels" and pursue the notion of "open" in the history and narrative chapters.

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Using this framework, also known as the Psychological Critical Race Theory (PCRT), this study pays attention to the relationship in educational institutions between race and power. Jones notes that, at a fundamental level, work on cognitive and perceptual processes in intergroup situations points to the ease with which social categories are referenced and sustained and how these categories are infused with persistent cultural stereotypes, revealing the "spontaneous and persistent influence of race" (Jones, 1998, p. 650). Given these findings, this study is designed on the premise that "race matters at this basic psychological level" (p. 652) and psychological research requires an analytical approach that recognizes at a fundamental level the ongoing effect of race on social outcomes.

The data analysis involved "dialectical theory building" (Lather, 1986, p. 267) in that it engaged data and theory in a reciprocal relationship in the generation of major coding categories and the interpretation of the data. As such, the major coding categories included those structural and social-psychological variables described below as well as the major codes that emerged from the oral histories and archival data. I analyzed these theoretical and empirical coding categories and compared points of convergence and divergence between racial groups and time periods, primarily, and within these two categories, my purpose being to elicit "counterpatterns as well as convergence" (Lather, 1986, p. 270) in the data, increasing the validity of this study.

I used a qualitative research approach in conducting my analysis. By this I mean my analysis involved an iterative and ongoing process (Schofield, 1982), whereby themes that emerged early on in the data collection were given attention as the study progressed. In the analysis of the data, the variables of study were participants' conceptualizations

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and experience of racial equality in the school system, as a public institution embedded in the larger social context of the community. Within the analysis of "conceptualizations" and "experience" of racial equality were a composite of variables that were used in the analysis as theoretical codes. These codes, and their relation to the major variables, are described in detail below.

Theoretical Coding Categories

Conceptualizations of Racial Equality

A major variable in the study concerns participants' conceptualizations of racial equality. Conceptualizations of racial equality were studied at the *structural* level, that is in terms of school system policies and practices, and at a *social psychological* level, that is in terms of participants' views of themselves in relation to others and the interactions with others that are a consequence of those views. At a social-psychological level, people's perceptions and interactions generate a relational "map" in their thinking, where lines of affiliation and distance are established and reinforced and boundaries of inclusion and exclusion are drawn (Fine, 1990; Opotow, 1995). This relational construction influences conceptualizations of equality in that the lines of affiliation and distance "mark" those for whom equality is a consideration and those for whom it is not (Apfelbaum, 1979, 1999).

Constructing a Relational "Map": Relation of Self to Community and School System

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For the data provided by parents and students, I analyzed for those variables that helped define the social context of the school system and the community. In doing so, I used codes for the following: 1) the identification of participants' *ingroup(s)* and *outgroup(s)*; 2) the amount of *social affiliation* with various ingroups and of *social distance* to outgroups; 3) the *social power*, or influence, assigned by participants to ingroups and outgroups; 4) the racial makeup of ingroup(s) and outgroup(s); and 6) the extent of *intra- and inter-racial contact* and the *nature of these intra- and inter-racial relations*.

Strength of Connection to Racial Ingroup and Outgroup

I analyzed participants' "sense of connection" with the racial group with which they demographically identified themselves as a member. I did this through the use of Tropp's Inclusion of Ingroup in the Self (IIS) scale (Tropp, 2001).[31] The use of this scale was fascinating and produced very useful and unanticipated data. Many participants were actually very reluctant to complete the scale: they disliked having to make a choice and they were often dissatisfied with the choice they ultimately made. Two white parents of students in the 1960's and a white educator who has been in the school system for many years did not complete the scale. Two black parents of students in the middle to late 1980's also did not complete the scale. All of the students completed the scale, with the exception of two of the four participants with whom I conducted telephone interviews.[32]

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[31] The Inclusion of Ingroup in Self (IIS) scale can be found in Appendix B, following page seven of the sample student protocol.

[32] Four of the students I interviewed required telephone interviews. Additionally, two student interviews began in person but were completed by telephone. Telephone interviews covered the

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What was most useful, however, was the qualitative data that accompanied their selection in the scale. It often led the participant to talk about family history, which was more common among African American participants and Jewish participants. It also revealed the participant's thinking about race as a social construction and the extent to which racial identity had a place in the individual's overall identity, which between the early and current phase seemed to be constant among black participants and increase among white participants.

The scale was preceded by a question, "Could you tell me what racial group would you identify yourself as belonging to?" which then determined which scale was presented first as the individual's racial ingroup and then second as their racial outgroup. After the participants made their choices, an additional question was asked: "Under what conditions do you share these connections—social (after school/weekends), instructional (during school), work-related, spiritual/worship, political?" This was later revised in my interviews among students to the following: "At school, in what activity, class, or particular place in the high school were these connections strongest?" I revised the question after a current phase African American male student, in answering the original, broader question, told me his sense of connection to other African American students was strongest in his college preparatory classes, one of which was all black and the other of which had one white student and was otherwise all black. By rephrasing the question to where *in school* was the sense of connection strongest to participant's racial ingroup and outgroup, I was able to collect data on activities, classes and spaces in the high school

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same major questions as in-person interviews, except for constructing a visual map of the high school and completing the IIS scale. Of the 20 student participants I interviewed, two did not complete the IIS scale. One participant did not return the scale to me and the other participant I failed to send a copy of the scale.

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that brought African American and European American students together, those that kept them apart, and those that they viewed as spaces for ingroup gathering and cohesion.

The IIS scale proved to be invaluable not only in providing data directly related to participant's sense of connection to their racial ingroup and outgroup, but also in influencing the tone and direction of the interview. In some ways, it "cracked open" the conversation on what is meant by "race" in society and what it meant to the participant. The effect was often immediate, particularly when I asked the prerequisite question, "Could you tell me what racial group would you identify yourself as belonging to?" This was critical in that it often provided a point of reference for later talking about racial equality in terms of educational opportunities, academic outcomes, and power relations. While I cannot attribute the IIS with eliciting all these data, it clearly contributed to the data collection by locating the individual within a framework of a racial ingroup and outgroup. The IIS also elicited data on the participant's experience with their racial outgroup: the extent to which they felt they had contact and social affiliation, where that contact and social affiliation took place; and what it meant to them. In terms of the data collection, it also informed me as to how to ask the comparison of self to ingroup and self to outgroup question, which provided data for analysis on participants' sense of relative deprivation in terms of their experience in the high school compared to other white students and other black students.

Deservedness and Entitlement

I analyzed for participants' notions of deservedness and entitlement, in terms of themselves, their racial group, and those outside their racial group. By deservedness, I

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mean a condition of worthiness or merit, which can be assigned at varying levels to the participants themselves, their ingroup, and to outgroup. In a related way, I also analyzed for people's sense of entitlement, the condition under which individuals or groups understand they have "a right to demand or receive" (Webster's New Universal Unabridged Dictionary, 1983). Oftentimes students' narration of their experience beginning with elementary school through middle/junior high school and into the high school narrated a sense of deservedness and entitlement that was then nurtured or contested in their schooling.

Relative Deprivation

That students' positionality influenced their views on equality and discrimination is evidenced in the work of Faye Crosby (1984) on relative deprivation among women in the workforce. Crosby's model of relative deprivation outlines two preconditions for experiencing personal deprivation, stating that "people experience deprivation when they perceive: (1) a discrepancy between actual outcomes and desired outcomes and (2) a discrepancy between actual outcomes and the outcomes they deserve" (p. 68). I coded the data on deprivation using Crosby's constructs, which represent several levels of deprivation: personal deprivation and in-group deprivation; sympathy for an outgroup's deprivation, which Crosby calls "ideological deprivation" and antipathy for an outgroup that is seen as faring better than one's in-group, which she refers to as "backlash."

In measuring participants' views on personal, ingroup, and outgroup relative deprivation, I analyzed for participants' responses to the extent that the high school shared their parents' expectations for them, the extent to which they felt they benefited

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from educational opportunities, were provided with information and help in terms of taking advantage of these opportunities, and did well academically, as well as the degree of control participants felt their parents had in terms of interacting with the school if there was dissatisfaction or concern. I then analyzed data from the question "How similar or dissimilar would you say your experience as a student in the high school was to the experience of other _____ (indicate person's self-identified race here) students?" and the same question with regard to the those in the participant's racial outgroup. The data from the first four questions, which involve the level of satisfaction the participant felt with their experience in high school, then situated in the context of the comparison question, provided me with a sense of if the experience was one of isolation from the participants ingroup and outgroup, and if participants viewed themselves as having had a better or worse experience from those in their ingroup and outgroup. These data provided a reference point to which I could return when the participant and I talked about racial equality in the school system. For example when students viewed their experiences as different from their outgroup but the same as their ingroup, this allowed for an opportunity to talk about what contributed to that difference, which became one of several sources of the data on their views on racial equality in the high school and in education in general.

It should be noted that while the responses to closed-item questions were invaluable in the analysis, the qualitative data provided after each close-ended question were useful in clarifying participant responses. Often the explanation revealed distinctions between how the participant was interpreting the question and how I had

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intended it to be interpreted. As a result, I was able during the interview to probe inconsistencies and collect more accurate data.

Participants' Experience of Racial Equality in the School System

I also analyzed for participants' experience of racial equality in the school system. In particular, I analyzed their experience of the extent to which the school system provides equal educational opportunities, produces equal academic outcomes, and engenders equal relations of power, which are the three major measures of racial equality that I used in the analysis. In addition, I coded policies and practices identified by participants as paying attention to racial equality to be race-attentive and leading to transformative educational change. Those data identified by participants as not paying attention to racial equality I coded to be race-aversive and replicative in leading to persistent educational differentials by race. In the text below, I review the three measures I used in my analysis of racial equality in education and my operationalization of these codes as well as the race-attentive/transformative educational change codes and race-aversive/replicative codes.

Equal Educational Opportunities

The study looked at the extent to which European Americans and African Americans see themselves, those within their racial group, and those outside it, as realizing equal educational opportunities in the school system. Educational opportunities include those opportunities that engage students in learning, sustain their participation in academic instruction, and provide them with the necessary educational outcomes at each

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grade level. Educational opportunities ensure the curricular and extra-curricular opportunities as well as academic guidance necessary to produce the high level skills and knowledge that allow for students' admission to a competitive college and ultimately their securing the kind of social and economic capital achieved through success in the job market.

While realizing educational opportunities of the school system is important for all students, it is particularly critical for those students whose race, class, gender or ethnicity is underrepresented in the professional fields, and whose social mobility, in the aggregate, has been impeded. As a result, the study paid careful attention to the extent to which those educational opportunities, through which entry into professional fields and social mobility is achieved, were made available to students of color, were used by these students, and were beneficial to them in terms of achieving academic outcomes. In asking participants to identify experiences of racial equality in education, I coded those data as to whether they illustrate an explicit intent in increasing numbers of students of color accessing educational opportunities as facilitators of racial equality.

Realizing educational opportunities requires access to information about these opportunities, a sense that one is entitled to these opportunities, an expectation that the school system will concur with that sense of entitlement, and a degree of control in securing those opportunities. In addition, possessing a degree of control requires having an alternative strategy that serves as leverage (or a threat). For example, parents may threaten to leave the school system or to make a lot of noise—protest—if they are unable to secure an educational opportunity for their child. This can occur at the individual level—between the school system and an individual parent—or at a group level. Having

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an alternative strategy in and of itself enhances the control a parent has in terms of securing educational opportunities. In a desegregated school, the use of exit, particularly by white parents, often referred to as "white flight," is often a powerful lever in this group's ability to secure educational opportunities for its children. The "flight" of middle class and affluent black parents is increasingly a concern and it too provides this group of parents with additional leverage in securing opportunities for their children. Leverage could also be gained on behalf of black students across economic levels when parent activists publicly critique the system and make demands for equal access to educational opportunities for black students.

Equal Academic Outcomes

Achieving academic outcomes involves achieving academic success in elementary and middle school in order to advance successfully through a high level curriculum and high academic tracks in high school, with acceptance at a competitive college or university serving as the culminating academic goal. Achieving these outcomes equally in a desegregated school means minimal differentials exist between the educational outcomes of whites and students of color, when these outcomes are disaggregated by race. Achieving equal educational outcomes also means that white students and students of color produce similar rates of participation and good grades in honors and advanced placement courses in the middle and high schools.

While they may endeavor to provide access to equal educational opportunities for their students, desegregated school systems across the country have been unable to produce equal educational outcomes for students. This is viewed as a national

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phenomenon, and not specific to any particular school system. It is often addressed in the discussion of the "black-white achievement gap." Discrepancies persist between outcomes for blacks and whites in data disaggregated by race, with whites being more likely to take honors or advanced placement classes in high school and completing high school with a higher grade point average (particularly when "weighted" through participation in higher level courses). However, quantitative data have revealed gains made by African Americans, in particular, in undergraduate and graduate universities and in the job market, who entered these institutions with less competitive academic records than their white counterparts, yet who advanced on par with the white students in their cohort. This research points to race-attentive policies that guided university admission and retention practices as critical to the success of students of color (Bowen & Bok, 1998). In the study, I coded the data provided by participants about their experiences with racial equality as to whether the policies and practices they talk about were race-attentive or race-aversive.

Equal Power Relations Within and Across Race

Fundamentally, equal power relations within and across race means that the dominance of whites and the implicit notions of white superiority that have structured our legal and educational systems as well as our culture have been eliminated. Incrementally, it means that these implicit notions have been made explicit, undergone serious critique, and through this process, as well as subsequent change efforts, implicit notions of white superiority have been weakened. It also means that in the debate and policy decisions concerning equality, there has been a shift away from the emphasis on economic

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disadvantage and cultural deprivation among African Americans and more attention given to the economic advantage and cultural privilege among whites. The variable of relations of power is, by far, the hardest to measure and the least likely to be achieved. Nevertheless, it is a critical measure in considering how the racial integration of a school system has created the potential for transformative educational change.

In considering power relations shaped by race, I am guided by the theoretical framework of Erika Apfelbaum (1979, 1999) on the mechanisms that maintain and those that disrupt unequal power relations. Apfelbaum (1979, 1999) reminds us that Allport's *contact theory* is problematic in that even when a desegregated setting possesses all of the contact requirements (equal status contact, pursuit of common goals, institutional support, perception of common interests and common humanity between members of the two groups), the larger social setting does not. Historical consequences of the legal enforcement of racism through slavery and segregation persist in contemporary society—structurally in terms of differentials in wealth, education, and health care (Oliver & Shapiro, 1995) and social psychologically in terms of perceptions and behavior shaped by constructions of race as a marker of inclusion (entitlement and deservedness) or exclusion (deprivation) (Fine, 1990; Opotow, 1995). The current larger social context, as well as the more local context, is influenced by these power relations shaped by race, both within and between race. Between racial groups, people engage in strategies to maintain or reverse long-standing relations of power. Within racial groups, similar processes exist.

Race-Attentive Policies and Practices and Transformative Educational Change

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I analyzed as to whether participants identified race-attentive policies and practices when asked to talk about their experience of racial equality in the school system. I also analyzed for the extent to which they saw their experiences of the school system as having been one of transformative educational change. I analyzed as *race-attentive* those policies and practices identified by participants that counteract racial inequality by effectively reducing academic differentials by race (Bowen & Bok, 1999; Fine et al., 1999). Race-attentive policies and practices are likely to appear to whites as advantaging students of color, since they restrict long-held norms, policies and practice that advantage white students. Yet the consequence of such policies is their production of outcomes not identifiable by one race or the other. As such, these policies and practices do not replicate larger societal power relations shaped by race. Consequently, in my analysis of the data I coded these policies and practices as race-attentive and facilitators of *transformative educational change*.

I coded as *race-aversive*[33] those policies and practices identified by participants that did not include strategies or interventions to counteract racial inequality, and therefore act as impediments to the facilitation of racial equality. While these policies and practices are likely to appear as neutral, particularly to whites, in their approach to dealing with an inter-racial student body, these policies and practices are insensitive to race and to the body of evidence that identifies the negative consequences they have for students of color, thus sustaining an advantage for white students (Fine et al., 2000;

[33] This code is labeled to indicate the particular process of aversion and avoidance toward race. I choose not to use other labels, such as "color-blind," which I enclose in this text in quotes to point to the fallacy of claiming blindness to skin color, or race-inattentive and race-unconscious, which suggest a lack of awareness or innocence, to indicate a lack of what I see as needed attention to racial disparities in healthcare, education, income, and employment and the structural and social-psychological factors that contribute to these disparities.

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Schofield, 1982, 1986a, 1986b). Additional research indicates that a person's race affects the outcomes of social interactions (Dovidio, 2000) and that barriers persist for students of color in educational settings (Cohen & Roper, 1972; Cohen, 1975, 1979; Steele, 1997, Steele & Aronson, 1995). In my analysis, I coded as race-aversive those data that reflect a "color-blind" approach to educational policies and practices. A "color-blind" approach to educational policies and practices can be characterized in the following way: it is absent considerations of power and full historical disclosure, it presumes to be conflict-free and raceless, and it emphasizes merit and individualism. Data coded as race-aversive will also be coded as replicative, in that they reveal a willingness to allow for the replication of past and contemporary differentials by race in terms of educational opportunities, academic outcomes, and relations of power within and across race.

My coding scheme has the potential to raise an interesting dilemma in the data analysis. While I have operationalized "race-attentive" to mean, essentially, facilitators of racial equality in schools, and "race-aversive" to mean impediments of racial equality, participants may identify what they see as facilitators of racial equality that my coding scheme would defines as race-aversive (and therefore, in the coding scheme, an impediment of racial equality). Similarly my operationalization of "transformative educational change" as school policies and practices that do not replicate larger societal power relations shaped by race and that provide equal educational opportunities, produce equal academic outcomes and engender equal power relations between students of color and white students may also not concur with what the participants understand "transformative educational change" to mean. As a result, my coding scheme creates a kind of "glitch" in the analysis plan.

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This "glitch," however, is a deliberate and useful one. It provides an opportunity to study the variation in perspectives among participants regarding racial equality in education and how it is facilitated in their school system and, more generally, how it could be facilitated in public education. It also illustrates how this analysis uses "dialectical theory building" (Lather, 1986, p. 267) in that it will engage data and theory in a reciprocal relationship in the generation of major coding categories and the interpretation of the data. It complicates the notion of standpoint in that while the data may reveal a particular standpoint, the analysis may contest it. The following section describes the complementary piece to this analytical approach, that is the analysis generated from the data itself.

Empirical Coding Categories

While the construction of theoretical coding categories is critical to the research design, the study takes into consideration the possibility that data might contradict these constructions. Part of the analysis was to see where the theoretical coding categories work and where they do not. As a result, this research is designed to study both the theoretically driven coding categories and those empirically grounded coding categories that emerge as the research proceeds. In this sense, this study fully utilizes a qualitative research approach (Kidder & Fine, 1996). A qualitative research approach allows for the emergence of important variables and hypotheses that may not be anticipated in the writing of this research design, yet on which a critical part of the research may ultimately turn. In this sense, the data collection and analysis of this research design are constructed in such a way as to allow for a certain amount of tension between theoretically and

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empirically driven analytical codes; indeed, it is in the tension that perhaps the most useful findings may emerge. In the next section, I outline the findings of several closed-item questions that were included in the semi-structured interviews, which provided important data for preliminary analysis.

Analysis of Responses to Closed-Ended Questions

My analysis of the three closed-item questions included data on the extent to which students felt the following: the school system shared the same expectations for them that their parents did; they benefited from the opportunities available at the high school; and they were provided with the information and assistance necessary to benefit from these educational opportunities (see Figure A for sample questions).[34]

[34] Likert responses to these questions were as follows: "very much" ("a great deal" for opportunities; "a lot" for information and help), "a good amount," "some," "a little," and "none." The scale was from zero to four, with four being "very much" and its correlates, and zero being "none."

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Figure A:

Questions on Expectations, Opportunities,

And Information and Assistance

as a Student in the High School:

Think about your parents' expectations for you when you were a student in the high school. What goals did they expect you to have reached by the time you graduate?

How much do you think that the high school shared the same **expectations** as your parents did for you?

O very much O a good amount O some O a little O none

I want to ask you about educational opportunities for you in the high school.

> *Educational opportunities provide students with the kind of teaching, courses, and opportunities to study and discuss academic work with their peers that is necessary to prepare them, academically and socially, for college and a career. Educational opportunities include academic classes and extra-curricular activities.*

How much did you benefit from the **opportunities** available in school?

O a great deal O a good amount O some O a little O none

Students are more likely to take advantage of educational opportunities when they know about them and get help in choosing classes and participating in activities, such as:

> *learning about the kinds of classes needed to be accepted into a competitive college; getting extra help in a class; changing from a college prep class to an honors or advanced class or from an honors or advanced class to a college prep class.*

Given this, how much **information and help** do you feel you had *in* terms of learning about and taking advantage of the educational opportunities that were available?

O a lot O a good amount O some O a little O none

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Additionally, I asked participants how similarly they viewed their experience as a student in the school system with other students of their racial ingroup and with those in their racial outgroup.[35] (See Figure B for sample questions). The participants' responses to the comparison to ingroup and comparison to outgroup questions, as well as their explanation of why they made the selections that they did,[36] were an important component of my analysis, as discussed in more detail in the chapter on student narratives.[37]

---

[35] I asked parent participants the same question with regard to their experience: How similar or dissimilar would you say your experience *as a parent* of a student in the high school was to the experience of other _____ (indicate person's self-identified race here) parents? What about other _____ (indicate other major racial group (white or black) here] parents? How similar or dissimilar would you say your experience *as a parent* was to the experience of _____ [identify other group] parents?

[36] The responses among some students and parents to the comparison question was informative and provided additional data on how participants think about racial equality. A number of parent participants, African American and European American, did not respond. Their reasoning ranged from the feeling that individual differences defied any kind of categorization, a response that was more common among white and black parents who had children in the system in the late 1960's through the 1970's, with three parents (two white and one black) declining to make choices. A fourth parent, who was African American and from the early 1980's, who chose not to respond, pressed me to think further on the way in which constructions of "white" and "black" are social constructions, and she pointed to the "limited and constraining effect" of these constructions. At the same time she felt that there were discrepant experiences for white and black students in the school system, but she felt that focusing on "race" had detrimental consequences as well. Instead, she stressed a wider analysis of "structural domination arising from the constraints of the prevalent social, economic and political context."

[37] Additionally, I asked participants in which course level, or academic track, did they take their classes. Data from this question provided important data that ultimately shaped my analytical framework. There was another closed-item question, which asked the student, "How well did you do in terms of academic achievement?" This question provided insight into the students' view of their academic achievement, but I did not feel it was a reliable source of data to guide the analysis in any major way.

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Figure B:

Questions on Comparison of Experience

as a Student in the High School:

Self to Ingroup and Self to Outgroup

Comparison of Self to Ingroup

How *similar or dissimilar* would you say **your experience as a student in the high school** was to the experience of other _____ *(indicate person's self-identified race here)* students?

O very similar O somewhat similar O similar O somewhat dissimilar O very dissimilar

Comparison of Self to Outgroup

What about _____ *[indicate other major racial group (white or African American) here]* students? How *similar or dissimilar* would you say your experience was to the experience of _____ *[identify other group]* parents?

O very similar O somewhat similar O similar O somewhat dissimilar O very dissimilar

I organized my analysis by participants' race, constituency (student, parent)[38] and level of coursework, as well as by the time period during which they graduated from the high school: 1965-1987, before the district reorganized and 1988, its first year as a reorganized district through 2003. The following discussion of my preliminary analysis

[38] I also interviewed nine educators, asking related but not the same set of questions. Their circumstances varied considerably, making a comparison of their responses not useful. However, in terms of providing the additional perspective of an educator, the interview data from the teacher interviews were invaluable.

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illustrates how the themes of privilege and exclusion emerged in the closed-item data responses and the qualitative data elicited through these closed-item questions. This preliminary analysis shaped the development of analytical codes and ultimately led to my construction of an analytical framework.

Very Positive Responses among White Parents and Students

The uniformity of very positive responses to the questions on expectations, opportunities, and information and assistance among white students and parents in both phases of the study was striking. In the current phase in particular, among parents there was a 100% response at the high affirmative end for all three questions. For white students in the early phase, responses are mostly positive with a small amount of variation; however, in the current phase, they are nearly all positive, with 100% of the white students responding in the high affirmative to the questions on expectations and opportunities and nearly all responding on the high affirmative (75%) for information and assistance with 25% responding "some."

High Tracked African American Students: Included but Isolated

Among the six African American students participating in some or all high level classes, their responses to the question comparing their experience of self to their ingroup and outgroup revealed this group experienced the greatest sense of isolation. Three of the six students reported their experience was dissimilar from their ingroup and their outgroup. This group, participating in settings that were predominantly white, felt distance from the experience of other black students as well as white students, indicating

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that African American students' access to the high level classes did not guarantee encounters of inclusion. Two of these students were from the early phase and four were from the current phase.

Current Phase African American Students Express Discrepant Experiences from White Students

For the response to the question comparing the experience of self to racial outgroup, the responses of black students in the current phase reflected the most consistent pattern of responses. While white students' responses reflected variation in their comparisons of self to black students in the early and current phase, as did black students in the early phase, the responses of black students in the current phase indicate that this group saw a difference in the experience they had as compared to white students in the high school. Narrative data suggested that this "difference" had to do with white students being more likely to experience inclusion in the higher level classes.

Emerging Themes of Privilege and Exclusion through Question on Parental Control

Participants' responses to the closed-item question on parent control provided insight into the absence of an awareness of privilege that exists among those who narrate inclusion within the school system's structures and with educators. It also pointed to the tendency of whites to not view themselves as a racial group, and to express relative deprivation as an individual, not as a group, particularly a racial group.

Most European American participants narrated positive levels of experience in terms of expectations, opportunities, and information and assistance, and also to this question of control. However, the few European American participants, in particular

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parents, who responded "some," "a little," or "none" to the question on parental control were parents who also narrated their child's participation in high level courses or gifted programs and the benefits their child gained from certain classes, clubs, or other school-related activities.

This is where the surprise occurred for me in the analysis. Given that these white parent participants had narrated an experience of satisfaction in securing what their child needed through the school system, I expected that the parents would respond "a lot" to the control question. The parents themselves had talked about their access to school officials and even their success in getting what they requested, yet they did not see themselves as having "a lot" or even "a good amount" of control. They told me that they did not have any control over school decisions concerning curriculum and programming, even when they narrated experiences where they actually described changes in their favor. For example, a white participant whose children were in the system in the 1960's responded,

> Well, [long pause] some, I would say, for instance, we certainly found out he could take more than one AP course and we advised him to do it. Um, we certainly kept on top of what he was doing but we certainly didn't have any control over the courses offered or the activities offered...

As an example of how she did not have any control over curriculum, this parent then described how she had a concern about a program that was offered as a form of enrichment in the elementary schools that was not sustained within the academic program in subsequent years as this parent felt it should be. She noted,

> ...and when we became aware of it, I remember, several of us going to...the superintendent...I always, I would say, Shak, Shaker parents that I knew, it's just like the community, no one was ever intimidated, now I know there's a fine line between helpful suggestions and interference, um, but nobody I knew ever had a

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problem talking to a teacher, going to a principal, or a superintendent if he or she thought it was necessary.

In her statement, this parent did not consider "control" as related to her access to school officials, the ease with which she and other parents sought a meeting with the superintendent and were successful in actually having the meeting, nor the legitimacy with which her request, along with the other parents, would be viewed. In this sense, this parent experienced the kind of inclusion white students narrated in higher level classes, where interactions took place without much worry, unpredictability, stereotyping, or tension. There was no asymmetry in power here. In fact, if anything this group of parents, whose students were located within sites of educational privilege, represented the base of middle class and affluent whites that kept the system desegregated and who therefore wielded a substantial amount of influence in the school system.

Another white participant who responded "none," and whose children had attended the Special Projects program, the gifted program at the elementary level in the 1980's, did talk about instances of determining a problem, approaching a school official and getting satisfactory or dissatisfactory responses. This parent told me there was a curriculum concern with a high school class. This parent spoke to the teacher and principal "but no action was taken." At another juncture, this parent was concerned about the dispersal of the Ludlow Special Projects students upon leaving Ludlow and entering the next grade in a new school with many new students that they did not know, and being scheduled into classes, none of which had any students from the Ludlow Special Projects class. This was later changed after parents of children from the program met with the principal and requested a change.

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The black parents narrated experiences that were on a continuum between personal and in-group deprivation. Some parents were much more explicit in linking the problems they and/or their children had to institutional racism. Others narrated disappointment and dissatisfaction but did not introduce a theme of in-group deprivation unless I raised the question of the possibility that the system's failure to serve their child well was a result of racial inequality. Other African American parents described their dissatisfaction and linked it to racial discrimination. For example, a black parent from the current phase told me about her son being suspended from the high school, and her efforts to reverse the suspension. It was a case in which she felt her son had been singled out among a group of other students who were mostly white and were also involved in the incident, and they were not disciplined. This parent did not agree with the accusation nor with the punishment, and she had the disciplinary action revoked, indicating she would engage the legal system if the district did not rescind its decision.

This parent responded "a lot" to the question on control, and clearly her narrative reflected her control of the situation. At the same time she told me that while she felt *she* had control of her son's education, it was *with the system* that she expressed concerns about control. She also viewed the distinction between her ability to control her son's education ("a lot") and the school's failure to serve her son well as a result of racial discrimination. She first described the suspension incident without introducing race, although she had narrated other experiences in the context of a system that discriminated against black students. After explaining what had happened to her son leading up to and resulting in the principal's decision to suspend him, I asked her if she felt the decision

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was "racially motivated." She responded, "I think it was. I said it was," and that was why, she told, me "I even took an attorney with me."

In response to the question on parental control, there were fewer black parents responding "some," "a little," or "none." Of the two African American parents who responded "a little" or "none" to the question on control, both of these parents took their children out of the system before high school, as a result of their dissatisfaction with the system. One of them responded "a little," and told me "We had to fight for difficult course levels" and because this parent's child was aware of the struggle, it caused the child to "turn off" from the system. This parent told me that the system was "not responsive" and though this parent "pushed really hard," the parent and child experienced distance and exclusion.

The second African American parent, who responded "none," used the word "control" twice in narrating past experiences. This parent noted a Southern background, "well, under segregation...so don't be confused if I say that the white whale of my life was – segregation, and inequality, oppression, and thought control, and all those other things that systems do to people." Shortly after that, the word "control" came up in this parents' talking about the effective parent involvement and ownership of segregated black schools in the South: "that period when it was necessary to have parallel institutions, which may have been our finest hour, pardon the paradox in that, we were initiators, and we were in control of those institutions up to a certain point." This parent noted about parental control in the school system, telling me, "if I would get in there and fight, I felt I had some."

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Summary of Preliminary Analysis

In this preliminary analysis of these closed-item data and the qualitative data emerging from the closed-ended question, several key themes emerged: a racial gap in the consistency of positive responses to questions on expectations, opportunities, and information and assistance; the narration of racial isolation among African American students in the higher levels; and a discrepancy by race in understanding the privilege accorded to most whites and some blacks but not accorded to most blacks in the school system. I develop these themes in the subsequent chapters. In the first chapter on the history of the desegregation of the school system, I outline events and discourse over time that have yielded structural and social psychological boundaries that serve competing purposes in order to achieve racial desegregation in the school system. In the subsequent chapter on students' conceptualizations of racial equality across the forty years of district history, I discuss the narratives of students, particularly in terms of their understanding of self in relation to other and in relation to the educational structures in the school system.

Research Speedbumps[39]

An Uneasy Task: Negotiating Relations of Power Within and Beyond the Data

In carrying out this research, I encountered several speedbumps. The first speedbump entailed my concerns about the broader context within which the school system is situated, and the contemporary scrutiny placed upon educational institutions attending to racial balance and to the facilitation of racial equality in their policies and

[39] The term "speedbumps" applies to "methodological and ethical concerns" experienced in all forms of research, but often explored most explicitly in qualitative research (Weis & Fine, 2000).

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practices. I was mindful of the precarious position of a school district that continues to implement and further develop race-conscious policies, whether they be exemplary, a work in progress, or deeply flawed. As a result, I approached the task of data collection and analysis with a level of caution. In seeking to explore important issues about relations of power as shaped by race in a desegregated school district, I was conscious of the likelihood that the district and community have established a kind of protective filter to keep discussions about conflict and struggle "in-house" and away from the glare of the media and of potential opponents to race-attentive efforts who are eager to amplify any weaknesses, struggle, and critique of the intentional work of educators to reverse long-standing patterns of under-representation of African American students in advanced classes and increase the aggregated achievement level of black students in general. Even as I write up the results of this study I continue to worry about a dominant discourse eager to trivialize and undermine efforts to maintain race-conscious policies, since these policies threaten established notions of fairness and individual merit through which privilege and exclusion thrive.

At the same time, the phenomenon of power that swirls around this community also thrives as a turbulent force within the community. The relations of power ascribed to race that I have theorized as a primary force at work in a multi-cultural society were also narrated in the experience of participants in this desegregated school system, its schools and classrooms. Relations of power drove the persistence of mutually exclusive racial stereotypes that enabled white students to enroll in higher level classes with ease and to locate themselves in these classrooms without scrutiny. These stereotypes generated the anxiety about educational standards in a desegregated setting, and

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contributed to the district's efforts to assuage that anxiety by maintaining educational structures that had the consequence of reinforcing these same stereotypes. It was not possible, then, to approach the study of desegregation and racial equality without considering relations of power ascribed to race, as evident in the discrepant experiences of privilege and exclusion that emerged in the narratives of student participants.

In order to do this, the study examined privilege within the school district and community. It examined the extent to which in the conceptualization of racial equality the privilege of whites had not been narrated with the same frequency or intensity as was black "disadvantage." Hurtado and Stewart (1997) note the difficulty in studying that which seems unproblematic, such as the narratives of students who are centrally located in sites of educational privilege, or at a distance from the center, experiencing encounter:

> If whiteness is never articulated, then it is people of Color, as a group, who can be scrutinized and blamed to exalt the perfection of that which is "natural" and left unexamined. Precisely because of the "naturalness" of white identity and because of the cloaked secrecy of its manifestation, it is difficult to take the time and energy to listen to whiteness. It isn't viewed as problematic, given that it provides privilege (we are much more passionate about injustice; it makes us feel we are doing something worthwhile) and that it is "natural" and therefore difficult to describe. It also seems like useless "work," like pressing the already ironed dress or putting clean dishes in the dishwasher—since it isn't a problem and everybody knows what it is, why indulge in introspective angst that leads nowhere? There is the rub; privilege has the semblance of naturalness that in itself defends it from scrutiny. (Hurtado & Stewart, 1997, p. 5)

Complicating the Research:
The Researcher's Race and Role in Eliciting Responses from Participants

The second speedbump I encountered during my data collection phase of the research, while I was interviewing parents, students, and educators. During this period of time, and afterwards as I transcribed the tapes from the interviews, I frequently found myself as a white researcher aware of my own privilege and its influence in my

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interactions with participants during our interviews. In my analysis of the interview transcriptions, I found there were moments in which I interfered with the eliciting of responses from the participants. Particularly in my interviews with white participants, I found in listening to the interview tapes that I sometimes derailed the conversation with a white participant if it got too close to narrating racial or religious exclusion. These derailments tended to occur more in my early interviews than the later ones, as I was better able to pause in the interview and explore with the participant the privileged position of whites within a desegregated educational systems. In the example below, however, I actually feed the participant the lines about exclusion being "natural" and acceptable, when I say "people gravitated towards their own particular, um, religion." Additionally, my frequent response of "right" or "yes" as a listening device was problematic when I realized what I was affirming. This was an early interview with a white participant who was both a student in the school system and later a parent of a child in the school system. In this transcript, the participant was speaking about his memory as a student.

> Anne: now just a question on that, um, you made friends in different schools um, in the dan—in the dancing school. Were there, were there black students as well who attended that?
>
> Participant: no
>
> Anne: so that was more cross Shaker, cross schools,
>
> Participant: yes
>
> Anne: but still predominantly white
>
> Participant: right, it was all – white
>
> Anne: uh-huh

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Participant: and there was also a division between ah religions at that time, too,

Anne: right

Participant: so that the dancing school primarily, actually there was a full division, because there was a Jewish dancing school, there was Baxter's

Anne: uh-huh

Participant: which was pretty much WASP, and then there was also a Catholic dancing school

Anne: wow! That's fascinating

Participant: yep

[slight pause—Anne is writing down dance schools]

Participant: but there was no distinction, other than

Anne: yeah

Participant: I mean there was, but as far as I was concerned it didn't matter

Anne: yeah

Participant: you know it just
Anne: right,

Participant: I feel into that
Anne: people gravitated

Participant: exactly
Anne: towards their

Anne: particular,

Participant: right

Anne: um religion, or

Participant: and in none of the, those dancing schools were there black kids

Anne: ok

[slight pause]

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Anne: ok, um, and then the sports, but the sports

Participant: sports, obviously, were wide open

Anne: yeah,

In this conversation, I did not pause or ask for further clarification, and my expressions of affirmation were legion. My use of "yeah" or "right" was a listening device I tried, not always successfully, to change to "um-hmmm" and to reduce in frequency in my later interviews. This was an early interview. Nevertheless there is something about the timing of my responses that interferes with the full articulation of the participant's response, as if I am reluctant to "go there" and yet at the same time, my expressions of assent suggest I am already there with the participant.

In addition, this interaction between myself and the participant reflects our engagement in a cultural practice of avoiding referencing privilege—the privilege of whites to automatically be included in organizations such as these dance clubs. It is an interaction familiar among those who experience inclusion in most walks of life. Indeed, it was a process of viewing exclusion from the stance of the included and failing or choosing not to view from the perspective of those who are excluded.

Yet at the same time there is some edginess in the back and forth, as if both of us know that those excluded might not see it that way. In this sense, there is an unspoken smoothening of the wrinkles caused by our acknowledgement that blacks were not present among the groups of students participating in these dancing schools. While the period of time was very early in Shaker's desegregation, the pattern of interaction between myself and this participant is not uncommon today among whites in talking about students' selection of academic tracks for example.

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In this excerpt from one of my interviews, I find myself performing a script, or speaking a discourse, that I heard later in the interviews about the absence of African Americans in higher level classes or other educational opportunities as based on black students' preference and therefore as "natural." This occurs when I interject "people gravitated – towards their particular – um religion, or [dance school]." In this discourse, I suggest, and the participant agrees, that the dancing school's separateness is more an expression of religious identity than exclusion. While organizations for religious identity and other forms of ethnic or racial identity are often beneficial, when they are the only avenues available for a particular activity and it is not offered with the same degree of training elsewhere in the community, they are suspect.

The absence of any exploration with this white former student of the history of exclusion in the community or of anti-Semitism and racial discrimination reveals my reluctance to "go there" and the participant's willingness to stay in the safe zone of "there was not distinction, other than—" which I then interrupt with a "yeah" and then followed by the participant saying "I mean there was, but as far as I was concerned it didn't matter." In this segment of the interview there is evidence of a kind of verbal dance in which the participant and I allude to racial and religious exclusion but choose not to explore it. In actuality, the participant acknowledged racial discrimination existed and was likely cause for the exclusion, but its impact is lessened by the participant's saying "as far as I was concerned it didn't matter." Additionally, after a pause, where all of these possible critiques sit silently between us, I "save" the exchange from the potential of exploring these issues by noting that sports in the public schools were not exclusive by race, religion or any other distinction.

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Later in this interview, however, I made an effort to acknowledge that racial exclusion persists, even when it is expressed by individuals who support racial equality but who have not explored thoroughly the privilege among white parents in preferring and selecting majority white educational settings nor the implications of that preference on institutional policies and practices committed to racial equality. In this segment of the interview, I was attempting to explore the cultural unease of white parents about classrooms in which whites were in the minority. On my mind was my own recollection of my mother's concern about my children's social and academic experience in classrooms where they are not the racial majority. In the interview I brought up a rendition of that concern: my mother viewing my youngest child's class picture held by a magnet on our refrigerator door. In doing so, it appears that my attempt to explore the potential for white anxiety concerning minority status in the classroom created space for the participant to share other expressions of anxieties common among whites, such as affirmative action and other legal and institutional responses to correct racism.

In this case, I found myself deeply uncomfortable with the participant's expression of views, and yet at the same time I was aware that I had elicited the very information I wanted to collect in the study. In this instance, my race, my culture, and my referencing a white worry – minority status – had provided what I later analyze as a social-psychological "space" of centrality, for this interaction to take place. I felt extremely conflicted, during the interview and after in listening to the tapes, about my knowledge that I did not agree with the participant, even though I had led the participant to this point, and that I also used "right" and "yeah"! Perhaps if the interview had not been cut short by time, or I had been farther along in my interviews and a bit more

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comfortable at putting the data back on the table and exploring the dimensions of privilege and exclusion in a way that did not deny the participant's view or argue against it, but to flesh it out further, I would feel less troubled about the encounter. At the same time, it was a significant reminder to me that being white facilitated and complicated the research with which I was engaged.

> Anne: my mom comes and she looks at Clare's class picture and she's counting the heads, and you know, [he laughs] she's learning a lot, and we're learning a lot, it's been a great, great experience, sometimes we run into you know
>
> Participant: well, you know to answer your question though too, I see things going the other way, and that kind of upsets me
>
> Anne: um-hmm
>
> Participant: it really does, that, because of color, ah, people are getting away with things, that they shouldn't, and ah, I don't agree with that at all, I mean that does make me mad, if someone's using the fact that they are black and ah blaming the fact that they can't get a job or, this, that, or the other thing, I, that is not right, and that upsets me
>
> Anne: um-hmm
>
> Participant: so ah, playing it to the advantage, is not right,
>
> Anne: right
>
> Participant: and ah, I, I do feel strongly about that
>
> Anne: yeah
>
> Participant: that ah, today is today, and I think the barriers have gone away for the most part, it's shifted more the other way,
>
> Anne: umm
>
> Participant: and if you don't take advantage of the opportunities that are given you today, it's your fault
>
> Anne: umm, umm

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Participant: I don't know if that's right or wrong, but that's, that's definitely my feeling about that

Anne: that's your feeling in terms of equality

Participant: oh, absolutely

Anne: uh-huh

Participant: yeah

Anne: right

These were wonderful teaching moments for me, but they were uncomfortable. While I cringe listening to my narrating my mother's concerns when she has supported me throughout this research, it was moments like these in which I encountered my own and her culture, privilege, and complicity as white persons in an unequal world.

"The experiences of exclusion she narrated
...reflected the kind of behavior in which I myself had engaged"

In another "speedbump," my race and culture again play a role in shaping the interactions during an interview, again early in the study. In this interview, the participant, Deborah, told me her father was black and her mother was white. Deborah narrated critical incidents as a student in the early years of desegregation through the Shaker Schools Plan, and the ways in which she encountered exclusion and teachers' and students' acceptance of racial stereotypes about her. At the point in the interview protocol in which I ask participants to identify the racial group to which they identify themselves as belonging, I failed to ask the question.

My own assumptions about Deborah's race and her family background began as soon as I met her and learned that she grew up in Shaker Heights, attended Moreland School and participated in the Shaker Schools Plan. I understood her to be African

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American, and assumed that her family moved to Shaker for many reasons but certainly among those its schools. I was not entirely right, nor was I entirely wrong. But I clearly had prepared an interview protocol based on a preconceived script.

Fairly early into the interview, Deborah's narrative began to transgress from the stereotypes I had assigned her. I learned that the greatest influences in Deborah's life were her mother's friends. Her mother was white as were her friends, and they were partnered with African American men, as was Deborah's mother. She was not close to her white or her black relatives till later in life. Her "family" was this tight-knit circle of friends of her mother's, and it was this group with whom she "spent her holidays." What she was telling me, then, was that she grew up in a setting where distinctions between people's racial background were very blurred, and there were no boundaries. She noted later in the interview about her father:

> My dad is this very – tall, black man, but he doesn't see, he doesn't – I, I can't explain it, but he, he's black, he's *very* black, and he, he, he, he fits into the black culture very well, but he doesn't see this black/white thing, it doesn't pertain to him either, you know, so, I think that's where I—it didn't pertain, and so, you know he doesn't care that the political ground is that he should go with this black candidate, a candidate to him, is whomever, and so, you know, that's how I was raised.

Deborah was not only telling me that she was raised without an awareness of distinctions between race. She was also telling me that her cultural upbringing was more white than black, and certainly her level of comfort was high among whites. She told me her neighbors were friendly and supportive of her mom, and that she played with the kids in the neighborhood, so she was not separated from black families and black culture. It simply was not within her immediate family experience. Similarly, attending a

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predominantly white school through the Shaker Schools Plan provided her with another white setting in which she felt, for the most part, comfortable.

I heard all this and took it in, but what I did not fully comprehend was that while she might not have "seen" herself as white, she felt deeply connected to other whites and white culture. The problem was I still "saw" her as black. At one point during the interview I realized what was happening, and struggled with it, after I realized that in my giving her the Inclusion of Ingroup in Self scale to complete, I had first handed her the scale (as her *ingroup* scale) on the strength of her connections to African Americans. I had neglected to ask her to self identify her racial background and assumed she would self-identify black. Only later in the interview did I ask her to self identify before I asked her to compare her experience to her *ingroup* (other biracial students) and her *outgroup* (black and white students). At this point I paused and told her that I was struggling because I had not prepared the interview for the experience of a biracial student. What disturbed me most, however, was that the experiences of exclusion she narrated, which were rooted in people's perceptions that she was black and their racial stereotypes about black people, reflected the kind of behavior in which I myself had engaged.

> Anne: ok. Ok how similar or dissimilar would you say your experience as a student um, reflected the experience of um – you know ah, let's see, let's start first with African American students. How similar was your experience
>
> Deborah: um
>
> Anne: to other African American students
>
> Deborah: I probably, my perception as an adult would be probably be that it was probably easier
>
> Anne: right

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Deborah: um, I fit in a little bit easier, um, I, my perception is that the black kids may have had a little harder time

Anne: um-hmm

Deborah: because it was definitely a white – community

Anne: um-hmm

Deborah: the school itself

Anne: ok, all right – you know – eh, I have to stop here, um, you're being very good with me [Deborah laughs] eh, because I—one of the questions I wanted to ask you before when we did the, the, um, racial identity,

Deborah: um-hmm

Anne: um, was, I wanted to ask you to indicate how you would describe yourself

Deborah: as a stu—when I was a student?

Anne: now, I wanted to, you know,

Deborah: how would I—

Anne: in the interview, would you, you know, would it be multi-racial, you know what—

Deborah: I would definitely describe myself as multi-racial

Anne: ok

Deborah: I would definitely describe myself that, but most of my influence was Caucasian

Anne: ok

Deborah: growing up

Anne: right

Deborah: the people my mom surrounded us with, and my friends in high school, and my friends in college, and now my friends as an adult are mostly white.

Anne: ok

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Deborah: my husband's white too

Anne: the reason why I stopped is because I—my interviews have been largely up to this point—either you're white or you're black, and so, so, I'm, I have to honest, this is new

Deborah: this is a new field [laughs]

Anne: so, so for me to do this interview, I'm like ok, well—

Deborah: yeah, "how do I?"

Anne: and I apologize for that but it's—

Deborah: oh, no, it's—

Anne: it's also, it's also, it's a good point for me to stop and say, ok, well wait a minute,

Deborah: yeah

Anne: this is very im—you know, a significant and particular point of view that you're bringing to

Deborah: now

Anne: the research

Deborah: and part—and I talked about the 10 years ago

Anne: um-hmm

Deborah: [speaking very slowly, deliberately here] thing, where I, I've realized from where I work, um, how naïve – I've been in my past – in regards to racial –

Anne: um-hmm

Deborah: things

Anne: right

Deborah: and um, so this is actually um, pretty good growing time in my life where I'm,

Anne: right

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Deborah: I'm very sensitive to the black issues that I've never have been before

Anne: right

Deborah: I really didn't think they pertained to me

Anne: uh-huh

Deborah: if you can believe that or not [laughs a bit]

Anne: uh-huh

Deborah: because I didn't see myself that way

As a result of my realizing my error, I was experiencing a high level of dissonance as I was asking the interview questions and simultaneously contemplating my own complicity in behaviors Deborah had attributed to whites who excluded her. The experience was a powerful moment, again, of being surprised by my own ability to access stereotypes, without even realizing it. The moment underscored for me, too, the privilege of having "*no idea*" of one's complicity in acts of exclusion and the struggle that is absent without such an experience. As I sought to reconcile my sense of self as a white person as non-racist and just, I found the behaviors I have critiqued in others were there within myself.

My pausing during the interview provided what I later analyze as a social-psychological "space" of encounter. For me, this moment involved my "shock" of learning my sense of self as a white person and a just person was subject to greater scrutiny, since I had so easily accessed stereotypes about Deborah. In the study, the encounters narrated by white participants involved the dissonance of seeing oneself through the eyes of black students or parents. Similarly, the encounters resulted in an awareness of how white people in some way benefit from the exclusion of blacks. As a

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result some of these white participants narrated some encounter with an understanding of their involvement, however indirect or direct, in racial inequality. For example, several white students narrated the emergence of their understanding of the ease with which their predominantly white teachers interacted with them, facilitating better teaching and learning, and their observation that it was not the case for black students with teachers. This encounter with a view of their own privilege as a result of their skin color agitated their previous view of equal educational opportunity.

Additionally, the pause in my interview allowed Deborah to talk more deeply about the changes in her understanding of the experience of inequality of black students and families, and the experiences that caused her to begin to think about racial injustice. This is covered in more detail in the chapter on the student narratives on racial equality in public education. I note this only to point out that when I was able to explore with the participant the mechanisms of inequality that were at work even as we were interviewing, the research itself benefited as did my own understanding of the role of myself as a white researcher pursuing black and white participants' views and experience on racial equality in public education.

"I remember, I remember, now that we're talking about that..."

In my last example of the influence of my race and role in eliciting responses from participants, I worried deeply about my interjecting my point of view into the interview when an African American student from the current phase and I were talking about his "challenging" teachers as an underlying cause for his failure to graduate from the high school. During the interview I felt it was necessary to explore with this student,

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Anthony, what "challenging the teacher" meant, and to better understand how racial stereotypes may or may not have influenced how teachers perceived his "challenging" them. Our conversation is as follows:

> Anthony: ...I didn't get along with my teachers because I'm very ah *challenging* toward the teacher, and, and people with degrees and masters, are looking at this kid, like, "Well, *who's* <u>*he*</u> asking all these questions?" You know, and ah,
>
> Anne: even though
>
> Anthony: it could
> Anne: they get
>
> Anne: [laughing slightly] I'm sorry but, even though they get those kind of questions, from – white students as well, but maybe it's just—
>
> Anthony: oh, I wasn't even thinking
>
> Anne: it's just a different
>
> Anthony: it was racial
>
> Anne: no, I know, but I, it bothers me sometimes, when I hear, because kids challenge teachers no matter what racial group they're in
>
> Anthony: um-hmm
>
> Anne: but they do it differently, and so teachers will accept, they can be more, a white teacher might be more accepting of
>
> Anthony: I see what you're saying
>
> Anne: kind of um, cause I've seen it in my kids, you know my kids will come home and talk about you know, an uppity white student who will correct a teacher constantly, and that's acceptable, do you know what I'm saying?
>
> Anthony: uh-huh
>
> Anne: um, I didn't mean to interrupt you,
>
> Anthony: no, I see what you're saying
>
> Anne: I, I, do see sometimes that happens

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Anthony: um-hmm

Anne: where it's the *manner* and the *ways* that – young people question adults

Earlier in the interview, Anthony had narrated his discomfort and sense of racial isolation in the Ludlow Special Projects program, the elementary gifted program. He described, after the Ludlow experience, a withdrawal from sites of educational privilege. I was very puzzled about his increasing level of disengagement from school, given his high standardized test scores and his high achievement early in school, his narration of his parents' involvement in his schooling, the history of college education in his family and their middle class background. Additionally, the narratives of African American parents describing the ease with which educators stereotyped their sons led to my interest in understanding better what Anthony meant by "challenging" and what kind of teacher-student interactions went on in his classrooms. I pulled from my own dinner table conversations with my children, white students in honors classes, who attend the high school and who sometimes narrated their own observations of the ways in which high achieving white male students frequently challenged their teachers. During the interview, however, I recall being completely unprepared for what Anthony suddenly narrated immediately after I voiced my opinion.

> Anthony: [speaking more rapidly] I remember, I remember, now that we're talking about that, when I was at Ludlow, my mother, ah, told me that a teacher told her, I questioned her or told her something, but I corrected her from something, and my mother told me, the teacher told her like, were basically saying that your son is asking me questions and I'm the teacher, who is he to be asking these—
>
> Anne: yes
>
> Anthony: I remember my mother bringing me, that out, and, and they had told her, that they wanted me to take, or go see a psychiatrist, a school psychiatrist, or something

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Anne: reallllly?

Anthony: or whatever, see, at Ludlow, I remember this now, and ah

Anne: um-hmm

Anthony: but my mother told them, "No!"

Anne: right

Anthony: [she said,] "There's not anything wrong with my son,"

Anne: right

Anthony: you know

Anne: right

Anthony: I remember my mother telling that, that they wanted me to see a school psychiatrist

In re-listening to this interaction between Anthony and myself, I was uneasy that I had raised these points with him. I felt very troubled in listening to myself introduce an interpretation of Anthony's experience that he himself had not put forth. I wondered had they been inappropriate for an objective interview? My interjection had been a complicated mix of (1) outburst on my part, perhaps a consequence of the experiences of exclusion that Anthony had narrated, and (2) intentional provocation on my part, using a particular interpretation of his experience and wanting to see his reaction. However, I was conscious of an additional layer of discomfort. I felt a very subtle undertow of disquiet coming from a barely perceptible sense of disloyalty toward my racial ingroup—the white students I narrated as "uppity" and the white teachers I narrated as racially and culturally biased in a more favorable way toward white students.

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At the same time, I wondered, had my expression of that disloyalty created the space for Anthony to narrate his memory of something he appeared to have forgotten until that point? This, too, was a possibility. His narration of his teacher's suggestion that his "challenging" be addressed by a school psychiatrist provided important data. It contributed to my efforts to understand what I am calling enactments of exclusion in sites of educational privilege. African American students narrated these enactments more frequently than European American students, and black parents narrated similar observations, particularly about their sons' experiences. Nevertheless, it was, and still is, a speedbump with which I continue to struggle in my efforts to understand the influence of my race and my role as researcher in eliciting from participants their views and experience of the complex and unsettling topic of racial equality in public education.

Summary

This qualitative study of racial equality in public education is comprised of two major areas of focus. It includes the narratives of participants' experience of their school system's desegregation. Specifically it focuses on how parents, students, and educators have conceptualized equality and experienced racial equality in the school system, a public institution embedded in a local and national context. As such, the study is not an analysis of individuals but of their narratives. In order to situate the narratives in a historical and social context, the study also includes an analysis of the events and social processes over time as the district desegregated its schools. The study of the participant narratives and the district's desegregation involves an analysis at the structural level, in terms of school system policies and practices, and at the social psychological level, in

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terms of participants' view of themselves in relation to others and the interactions with others that are a consequence of that view.

It is my hope that this study of social psychological experiences within certain educational structures at various junctures in the history of the district's desegregation reveals, as Cole and Stewart (2000) indicate, "the lived experience" that is "outside of stereotypes and our awareness" and the "social processes" through which racial categories get defined (Cole & Stewart, 2000, p. 11, 16). In doing so, I hope to complicate the persistent assumptions behind the discourse about the black-white achievement gap and the stereotypes that explicitly and implicitly influence how race and education are conceptualized and debated.

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Chapter III:

A STUDY OF THE DESEGREGATION OF THE SHAKER HEIGHTS CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT

In this study of the desegregation of the Shaker Heights City School District, my analysis focuses on two periods of time during which the district desegregated and attended to racial equality in its schools. The early phase covers the first years of increasing racial diversity in the school system and subsequent planning for and implementation of a voluntary desegregation plan, from the 1965-1966 through 1986-1987 school years. The current phase, from the 1987-1988 through 2002-2003 school years, focuses on the reorganization of the district into more racially balanced schools and the district's efforts to increase achievement and access to educational opportunities among African American students.

It is important to emphasize that within this analysis categories by race are best understood as constructions that are formulated in a social context. While this analysis reflects the understanding that these formulations of groups by race are social constructions, it also recognizes that there are material and psychological consequences to the formulation of these social constructions. The consequences have differentially impacted the education, employment, and housing, among many other conditions, of blacks and whites. Additionally, these formulations and their consequences have a circular, interdependent relationship (Apfelbaum, 1979) whereby social constructions of race shape psychological and material consequences and the consequences, in turn, powerfully reinforce the social constructions (Opotow, 1995; Ryan, 1971).

The Early Phase: 1965-1966 - 1986-1987

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You know now we think of this as this liberal community, dealing with issues of diversity and has been successful? Well, compared to most communities, I think it is more successful than most. Um, that's not how Shaker Heights started under the Van Sweringen restrictions. You know about the housing and the Van Sweringen restriction—Jewish people couldn't buy in certain neighborhoods, certain houses...So that um, you know, that, there were some roots to, to dealing with diversity that had to be dealt with before we ever got to [slight pause] the African American question.

– European American parent who moved to Lomond area in 1950's

...and, and also all these families, what it seems like is all of us still came from the same places and migrated to Shaker within years, you know of each other, because – I guess at that time Shaker was – one of the places – that you could – was one of the only places you could really integrate to, so, when you left some of the nicer areas that were in Cleveland then that was like the, the next step...

– African American former student who moved to the Moreland area as a child in the 1960's

In the mid-1960's and before, the city and its school system were segregated. The geographical boundaries that existed were formulated to preserve homogeneity, and they were impermeable to outsiders and exclusive. Race and economic status were signifiers of inclusion or exclusion. Shaker Heights used restrictive racial and religious covenants in its sales of property in the city, until these practices were ruled unconstitutional in 1948 by the U.S. Supreme Court.[40] Realtors encouraged or pressured their clients to abide by these covenants through the 1960's.[41] Because these covenants made certain residential areas within the city inaccessible at one time to Jews and African Americans for a longer period of time, they shaped the student composition of the neighborhood schools. After the practice of these covenants ended, social-psychological factors

[40] *Shelly v. Kraemer*, 334 U.S. 1 [1948]. In 1968, following Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination, Congress enacted the Fair Housing Act. According to Keating (1994) there was little to no enforcement of the Fair Housing Act. In 1988 the Act was amended, giving Housing and Urban Development (HUD) "the power to initiate complaints" (Keating, 1994, p. 196).

[41] Weeks (1968). Interviews with study participants also indicated these practices continued for some time after the 1948 Supreme Court decision ruled it unconstitutional.

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producing a sense of exclusion and impermeable boundaries persisted, still nurturing homogeneous neighborhood schools within a district that was becoming increasingly racially diverse. In Shaker Heights, the eastern and northern neighborhoods, at the farthest distance from the Cleveland border, possessed the greatest prestige. Racial homogeneity defined all of Shaker until the mid to late 1950's when African Americans left the city of Cleveland for those suburbs open to racial integration.

Geographical Boundaries: Cleveland and Shaker Heights

Historically, movement out of the city of Cleveland and into Shaker Heights meant social mobility and inclusion into an arena of privilege, in terms of the wealth and educational background of its residents and the positions of power they held within the greater Cleveland area. It also meant entitlement to the public school system. In the second half of the century, the division between schooling in Cleveland and in Shaker Heights became increasingly wide, as were the distinctions of race and class. As the Cleveland Public Schools system expanded its segregation policies and practices, more and more African Americans left the city intent on providing their children with the excellent education for which Shaker Heights was well known (Keating, 1994). In this study, I define the Shaker Heights school system in the late 1950's and early 1960's as characterized entirely by "sites of educational privilege." By sites of educational privilege, I mean settings that provide students with rigorous and meaningful content, high teacher expectations that produce high outcomes, an opportunity to exchange ideas and knowledge with peers, and relationships with educators that result in productive

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connections inside and outside the classroom. Sites of educational privilege include but are not limited to academic classes.

With the arrival of African Americans into Shaker Heights, new boundaries emerged defining "self" and "other" within and outside neighborhoods. In Ludlow, recently arrived black professionals raised their children in an integrated neighborhood and school among whites who remained in the neighborhood. In Moreland, middle class and working class black families moved into a neighborhood that underwent rapid white flight over a short period of time – as one African American participant from Moreland told me, "we moved in and all the neighbors split" – and the racial composition of the neighborhood became predominantly black.[42] Nevertheless, within the city, the geographical boundary between the homogeneity of Shaker and the homogeneity of Cleveland became increasingly blurred as neighborhoods in the Shaker school system became desegregated or resegregated with African Americans.

Geographical Boundaries Within Shaker Heights

The blurring of geographical boundaries produced very different experiences of inclusion and exclusion. While some areas in the city and their neighborhood schools in the 1960's through the 1980's were pockets of exciting, sometimes precarious and destabilizing change, other areas maintained a way of life and culture for much longer periods of time. Phrases like "the other side of the tracks" were often used to describe areas undergoing racial and economic and therefore deeply social change, while "deep

[42] Although the Moreland neighborhood became predominantly African American by the late 1960's, the Moreland School was about 12 percent white. Some of the parents of the white students played an active role along with African American parents in petitioning the district to desegregate Moreland School.

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Shaker" suggested the distance and impenetrability of some areas where racial and economic, and at one time religious, homogeneity were preserved. These neighborhoods reflected the self-interests of those living there: the former were engaged in seeking social mobility while the latter possessed it and were intent on preserving it.

Deep Shaker

Dan, a white student who graduated in the mid 1960's, spoke about the reputation garnered by Malverne Elementary School as the "school of choice" in the city when he was a student there. Malverne, located in the northeast section of the city, had large homes on landscaped properties, bordered by affluent homes in Cleveland Heights to the north and a country club and golf course to the south. I asked Dan what it was about Malverne School that earned such a high reputation. He told me it was the school recommended to his parents, when they moved to Shaker Heights, by friends of theirs and by colleagues in his father's company.

Malverne's strength was its stability and its preservation of status. For instance, one principal held her position in the building for 35 years between the 1930's to the 1960's. An educator who was at Malverne School for some time told me that sometimes the principal and a teacher would be asked out for lunch by a parent, often to a nearby country club. This educator told me that the staff kept white gloves handy in the event they were taken out to lunch, "and the teacher would always tell the teacher next door to her, to watch her children if she didn't get back in time." Finally, the children who attended Malverne were the sons and daughters of families educated in ivy league colleges and universities and holding high positions in successful businesses, professional

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practice, and government.[43] Dan noted that several of those who lived in his neighborhood were involved in local government[44] or on the school board.[45]

While stability has persisted as an expressed attribute of the city, some of the participants in the study were members of religious and racial groups once excluded from the city, who introduced heterogeneity into the city's homogeneous landscape. Judith, a participant who is Jewish, spoke of her parents move to Shaker Heights to ensure social mobility for her and her siblings. Judith attended the high school in the 1960's, telling me about her parents' move from two areas in Cleveland Heights, then on to Shaker Heights. Her narrative points to the various experiences of migration for families coming to Shaker Heights, the crossing of geographical boundaries, and what they encountered when they first arrived in this city. Before her parents purchased their first home in Cleveland Heights, Judith told me they lived in an apartment building on Mayfield Road among many immigrants, "I remember these two little boys lived behind us, they were

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[43] The influence of privilege was evident in the narratives of some of the study participants. One resident from the Malverne area talked about the impact of the Vietnam War on his college years. He told me that the War "took out a lot of the meaning of college," that it consumed much of his attention, and that had he been drafted, "I would have served." He noted, however, that "everybody, just about everybody I knew was either getting out of it...for one reason or another, they, more medical type, and some of them, you know, eh, very questionable, but most of the people I knew were able to avoid the draft."

[44] In the 1970's and thereafter, there was a shift in leadership in the city council and later the position of mayor as individuals from the southern and western ends of the city were elected. There was also the involvement of a Citizen's Committee, which selected and supported candidates to run, a number of whom were African American or Jewish. The involvement of the Citizen's Committee has been described as contributing to the city's efforts to desegregate as well as excluding candidates who were not of the professional or class level the Committee was seeking, or who were seen by the Committee as mavericks.

[45] Robert Rawson, Sr., who was president of the board of education at the time that the board approved its first desegregation plan, was a resident of the Malverne area. His support for the plan, given the opposition among many residents from the northeastern end of the city illustrates the early breaks with tradition and privilege that occurred in the district's efforts to facilitate racial equality.

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very depressed, they were born in a DP [Displaced Persons] camp, and after the war, they came here with their mother...and my father spoke Yiddish, so I remember him teaching the children Yiddish...[and] a guy who lived next door who played the bagpipes. It was a real eclectic neighborhood."

Judith's family purchased their first home in another neighborhood in Cleveland Heights, and a number of years later moved into the Mercer area of Shaker Heights, sometime in the early 1960's. While Judith saw her years in Cleveland Heights as very comfortable for her academically and socially, a place where she really felt she "fit in," the economic background of the students she met at Bryon Junior High School made her very uncomfortable about her social status. She told me that in Cleveland Heights, "most of my friends were middle class, um, I felt wealthy—I was not. My father was a furniture salesman... you know, I knew I had more than them, I knew I had *three* skirts where they had maybe one, or two, you know." Moving to Shaker Heights repositioned her status on the scale of wealth, and she lost her comfort level with her peers, some of who lived in estates on the northeastern end of the city. She told me "All I thought about was, who, who am I? And where do I fit in? So, you know, forget studying [laughs], no, that was not my concern."

Judith noted that neighborhood, home, and memberships, such as synagogues, churches, or country clubs reflected social status in Shaker. Like Dan, who attended a social dancing school whose clients were white and Protestant, Judith also attended a dancing school. There were several schools, each reflecting a level of social status and serving either Catholics, Jews, or Protestants. Judith's description of the dancing schools

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in Shaker Heights gives a sense of the class boundaries that existed in the late 1950's and early 1960's:

> There were three dancing schools one was, *the*, *the* prime one...was called Florence Shapiro's...and I wasn't part of it...I wasn't invited to join either one, it was easier to get in if you were a boy, it was easier to get in if you were a legacy. Um, Friday night you were richer and you were more so—you were more social. Saturday night you were a little more hip [laughs heartily], so you could dance better...

It is significant that the impetus for Judith's family moving to Shaker Heights was to provide their children with an education from an institution that had a strong academic reputation. This desire among parents to ensure social mobility for their children is a general theme in the study. Many parents, sometimes living on the edge of their financial circumstances, moved to Shaker Heights to expose their children to the excellent teaching and learning for which Shaker was known. Judith notes that as difficult as it was for her to make the move to Shaker Heights in her junior high school years, behind the move was her parents' desire to see her younger sibling get the full benefit of the system, starting in the early grades: "and ah, and that was, you know, it was hard, it wasn't just getting the house and moving into Shaker—it was important [tap on table] for [tap] my [tap] parents to move into Shaker because...they wanted [sibling] to start in a Shaker school."

The Other Side of the Tracks

In the late 1950's and the early 1960's, at the western end of the city, bordering and in fact including part of the city of Cleveland, was the Ludlow area. To the extent that the Malverne area, and its neighborhood school, represented stability, homogeneity, and the preservation of status, the Ludlow area represented some level of uncertainty,

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racial diversity among middle class to affluent families, and a degree of instability characterized best as an odd coupling of choice and ultimatum for social change. The first African American couple to build a house in 1955 in the Cleveland area of Ludlow had the garage of their newly constructed house firebombed. Weeks (1968) reports:

> A bomb exploded in the garage, leveling the garage and tearing a gaping hole in the dining room. The assailant was never found; some have suggested that the bombing was the result of racial prejudice, while others thought it might have developed out of union trouble. Although the contract required the builder to hire union labor, some non-union labor had been used. The attorney had been called a month before and warned that there might be a bombing.[46]

Shortly after this incident, the earliest formation of the Ludlow Community Association emerged to assist the couple in cleanup and in organizing residents in the neighborhood to preclude further hostilities and to stem the flight of whites uneasy about desegregation.[47] At the same time, Wilson G. Stapleton, the mayor of Shaker Heights from 1955 through 1961, expressed resistance toward any efforts to desegregate, referring to the "infiltration" by African Americans when talking about desegregating neighborhoods.[48]

"Something There to Grapple With"

Sarah and her husband, who are white, moved into the Cleveland area of Ludlow in the early 1950's where they lived until the late 1960's, when they moved farther into

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[46] Blast Tears New Home of Negro; Jars Shaker Area. (1956, January 4). *The Cleveland Plain Dealer*, as cited in Weeks (1968), pp. 19-20, and p. 4 of footnotes, footnote #3.

[47] Much has been written about the Ludlow Community Association. Sources include: Keating (1994); Molyneaux & Sackman (1987); Weeks (1968); and a collection of archival materials at the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, Ohio.

[48] Letter to the editor. (1960, October 20). *Sun Press*.

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the city of Shaker Heights. While they did not move into the Ludlow area seeking a desegregated neighborhood, they found it soon became the first neighborhood within the Shaker school system to attract African American families. Sarah told me that when the bomb exploded on Corby, destroying the garage of a newly built house owned by an African American lawyer, she and some of her neighbors were unconvinced about the official explanation for the violence and became involved in the formation of the association. She noted, "so when I said we were aware, we were aware that there was something there to grapple with, and ah, we certainly felt very strongly about continuing the effort." Sarah described many years of supporting the association, the strong inter-racial connections established with her African American neighbors, and the accomplishments of the Association.[49] Her narrative described the process of supporting the desegregation, already underway, while simultaneously resisting resegregation. She

[49] According to Weeks (1968, p. 63), the Ludlow Community Association, formed in 1957, later established the Ludlow Company in May of 1961, "a profit-making Ohio corporation," to provide secondary financing of homes for white buyers in the Ludlow community with maximum loans at $5,000. The Ludlow Community Association also organized "house hunting parties" in which they hosted dinners for prospective white buyers, inviting the Ludlow School principal and sometimes a member of the Shaker Heights board of education to meet the guests. Additionally, the Association advocated for city ordinances, such as the rehabilitation ordinance in 1959, which authorized the city to fine homeowners for deterioration or disrepair of homes, the ordinance prohibiting blockbusting by realtors in 1961, and the banning of "for sale" signs in 1963. In general, the Association introduced legal and social strategies for attracting white buyers to neighborhoods in which black buyers were increasingly purchasing homes, some of which were replicated by the Moreland, Lomond, and Sussex Community Associations, and the City of Shaker Heights Housing Office. According to the Housing Office "Chronology," in 1969 there is the first reference I found to the provision of services for black buyers. The chronology states that the office "provides services to black prospects seeking homes in the predominantly white areas of Shaker Heights." See also Molyneaux (1987) pp. 81-85. Also: 24 White Families Move into Ludlow in 10 Months. (1962, February 22). *The Sun Press*, p. A1.

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told me, "and we did that out of desperation because we wanted this community to remain integrated."[50]

Social-Psychological Boundaries: Pioneers and Trespassers

The similar educational and economic background between the African American and European American families in the Ludlow area who were well educated and middle class or affluent, influenced the permeability of the social-psychological boundaries between whites and blacks. In this sense, the experience narrated by white participants is one of the permeable social psychological boundaries. By social psychological I mean the interpersonal and intergroup relations and the perceptions and beliefs about self and other that guide those relations. Noting the professional background of the African American families that moved into Ludlow, a white educator told me, "well that was one thing, because – the houses and the people who came into the Ludlow district were mostly um, prim—primarily, mostly people who had – lawyers, doctors, professional people, so the integration was just...no problem...all the rest of the families, were, were just marvelous." She told me the story of Ludlow was a story of success and national import.

Michelle, who is African American and graduated from Shaker high school in the early 1970's, narrated her experience growing up in the Moreland neighborhood. She talked about growing up in Cleveland in the St. Clair and Eddy Road area and living in a building that her father owned. She liked her elementary school, "it was a nice school, it

[50] It appears that in the late 1960's through the 1970's some of the original white and black members of the association moved to other areas in Shaker Heights or elsewhere.

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was one of the newer schools."[51] Michelle noted that when she was living in Cleveland, Shaker Heights was a place that seemed very far away, "Shaker to us was such a long, I mean that was like somewhere else, so that was real different." Michelle told me her family purchased a home in the mid 1960's in the Moreland area, which she described as one of two areas within the Shaker school district "that we were allowed to live at that time." Her father did not complete high school and worked for the steel industry. Her mother completed high school after she was married and a nursing degree after she and Michelle's father divorced, when she moved the family into a two family home in the same area. For Michelle's family and those living in the Moreland area, the prospect of racial integration vanished with the rapid exit of its white residents. A white educator familiar with the desegregation of the school system told me that the student racial composition at Moreland Elementary School changed rapidly from predominantly white to predominantly black "very suddenly, over, practically over a summer."[52] Archival data indicate that early efforts to duplicate strategies used by the Ludlow Community

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[51] In its desegregation ruling against the Cleveland Public Schools and the State Boards of Education (*Reed v. Rhodes*, 1976), the Federal District Court in Cleveland found the district and state's liability included "a massive construction program in the mid-1960's" (p. 8) at sites that were racially isolated. [*The Cleveland School Desegregation Decision, Reed v. Rhodes*. Prepared for the Study Group on Racial Isolation in the Public Schools and Its Member Organizations. No date, but appears to be around the time of the *Reed v. Rhodes* decision.]

[52] According to Kaeser & Freeman (1981, 1982), the percentage of African American students *across the district* was 10.5% in 1964-1965, the first year enrollment by race was documented. This rose to 14.5% in the 1965-1966 year, which records indicate was a 42.3% increase in the change in enrollment, from 814 to 1,158, an increase of 344. The period of change from 1965-1966 through 1966-1967 is cited by Kaeser and Freeman (1981) as showing the highest average of a gain of 293 Africa American students per year over those three school years. In terms of Moreland's enrollment in the 1968-1969 and 1969-1970 school years, 88% of the students were African American (*Shaker Heights School Review*, No. 98, February 1970).

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Association to stem white flight and to foster positive inter-racial relations were not successful at Moreland.[53]

Michelle spoke about the influence of whites reaching out to one socio-economic group of black families (Ludlow) while distancing themselves from the other group (Moreland). The distinction of class was very clear to her later as an adult, but as a student it was puzzling. In her map of the social landscape of the high school, Michelle told me that "the African American group was split between the upper echelon and, and then the working class, and then you have others, you know, um, Jewish families, white families." In general, Michelle felt that through the mid 1960's and into the 1970's, while she was in the Shaker system, the African American students from the Moreland area did not enjoy the status accorded to black students from the Ludlow area.

> ...so most of the kids that were at Moreland were um, I guess at that time, well now I know, but I didn't understand it then, is that the Ludlow area was [slight pause] the, the first area that, that African Americans moved into, so, you know when you went to Moreland, you were like the kids from the other side of the tracks, and not that the families were – *poor*, I mean but – I guess they weren't considered as affluent as those that lived in the Ludlow area.

According to Michelle, African Americans living in the Ludlow area also earned a higher level of social status because they were the first black families to move into the Ludlow area and establish themselves in what was then a predominantly white area. They began the desegregation to the Shaker Heights school system. Many of these early "pioneers," as some whites and blacks have used in reference to the early group of black families that moved to Ludlow, then went on and moved again into predominantly white

[53] "It appears that absent some kind of rehabilitation or suburban renewal, Moreland will not remain an integrated neighborhood for long" (Weeks, 1968, p. 116).

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neighborhoods farther east and within the city boundaries of Shaker Heights, integrating other neighborhoods and re-establishing themselves as pioneers.

> I couldn't figure out why they always thought they were better, and I, I guess, because I just felt, well, they're African American and we're African American—you know, what's the difference? But then I realized it was because I guess they felt they worked harder to get into the neighborhood, and especially into *that* neighborhood, and, so therefore they thought they had more status, I guess.

The extension of permeable social psychological boundaries by whites toward middle class and affluent African American students had the consequence of producing a differentiating experience among black students in terms of their interactions with whites, particularly educators but also students. Michelle's narrative revealed her view of a racial ingroup undergoing a split according to very stratified positioning of groups by race and class within the school system.

Early on in the desegregation process, then, the permeable *geographical* boundaries between those in the city of Cleveland, predominantly black, and those in Shaker Heights, predominantly white, resulted in a racially and economically inclusive school system. At the very same time, however, there was a *social-psychological* clarifying process for whites whereby African Americans, once "grouped" in a monolithic stereotyped manner, became viewed differentially by class. In this sense, the boundaries of social psychological inclusion within the school system were less open to the group of African Americans whose economic and educational background did not "fit" comfortably with that of the white majority nor the group of Ludlow parents who were black. As a result, enactments of exclusion that readily access racial stereotypes emerged very early on, particularly from the view of whites, and while the narrative of

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the pioneers emerged as an important story in the desegregation of the school system, there was a parallel story of the trespassers.[54]

In this very early formation of a racially and economically inclusive school system, there is evidence of the process of "grouping," as theorized by Apfelbaum (1979), or the devaluing of a group positioned with less power on the part of the group with more power. In the mutually exclusive dichotomy of pioneer/trespasser, the newly forming inclusive group of whites and blacks representing the district-wide student body and their families was simultaneously engaged in a splitting process into a majority of mostly whites and well educated, middle class or affluent blacks and a minority of middle and working class blacks, a number of whom were also college educated while many others were not. The splitting process resulted in the inclusion of some black students in sites of educational privilege and exclusion of others, according the former with experiences in predominantly white settings, and providing them with future strategies for further negotiating predominantly white settings in college and a career. It set the stage for the implementation of educational structures (programs and policies) that simultaneously privileged some students while excluding others.

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[54] These social psychological distinctions of "pioneer" and "trespasser" continue to have relevance in the distinctions made by whites and blacks in the current period of time, where those who fit well in the tenor of high level classes in terms of their families' economic background, educational level, and professional status are more easily included in sites of educational privilege, while those African American students who lack these accompaniments are less easily included. In the current enrollment patterns by race in the levels system, higher level classes are predominantly white and college preparatory and general classes are predominantly black. The black students whose demeanor and family background correspond most to those students in the high level classes, which were predominantly white, are more likely to encounter inclusion and be seen as the "pioneers" entering sites of educational privilege in which they are a minority. Black students whose cultural expressions of speech, clothing, and demeanor set them apart from the other students in the higher level classes are more likely to be seen as the contemporary "trespassers" in sites of educational privilege.

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"She's one of us"

Michael, an African American parent from the Moreland area who was active in supporting a two-way voluntary desegregation plan at the elementary school level, elected to have his child remain at the newly desegregated Moreland when the district began its voluntary busing plan. He felt his child benefited from the desegregation of the school and that it would give her an advantage in the later grades in facilitating her participation in predominantly white school activities and higher level classes. While his child was still in elementary school, his family moved from Moreland to an adjacent neighborhood with a predominantly white school that enrolled a number of African American children bused from the Moreland School. In making this move, his family encountered *permeable* geographical boundaries but *impermeable* social-psychological boundaries, as a white educator enacted scripts of inclusion and exclusion simultaneously, positioning his child within the boundaries of sites of educational privilege but contingently located on the edge of those boundaries.

Michael told me that his child's teacher announced to the class on the first day of school that his child actually lived in the neighborhood and was not one of the bused children:

> ...when you talk about stigmas I remember, when my daughter went to [predominantly white school]...[the] teacher made a very big point with the students that "[child's name] lives here, she doesn't come in on the bus... she's one of us"... [laughing a bit]

Michael's narrative described a teacher making a shift from thinking in terms of a racially homogeneous and historically white group into a racially heterogeneous and inclusive group. In so doing, however, the teacher established a newly grouped "other." In the teacher's new configuration of insiders and outsiders, Michael's child was

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encompassed within the boundaries of inclusion – those belonging, authentically, to the school and those trespassing. While this statement may have been the teacher's way of pointing out the progress that the district was making in its residential desegregation, the fact that the distinction was made at all reveals persistent impermeable *social psychological* boundaries in tandem with permeable *geographical* boundaries. Within the enactment of inclusion, then, is a parallel enactment of exclusion. The parallel existence of inclusion and exclusion for some students, as well as that of full inclusion or exclusion for others, emerged as a pattern in the district's desegregation. This had the effect of entangling the district's efforts to facilitate racial equality with efforts to respond to and hold onto its historical base of white and emerging upper class black parents. Thus the entanglement of the desegregation efforts had the consequence of preserving race and class privilege.

Structural Boundaries: Permeable Cleveland/Shaker Heights Geographical Boundaries and Impermeable Structural Boundaries

While the pioneer/trespasser dichotomy reveals the extent to which inclusion within social-psychological boundaries was conditional primarily in terms of race and class, parent educational level, and to some extent neighborhood, the narratives of African American participants from the Ludlow area poignantly reveal that *even for the "pioneer,"* having crossed geographic boundaries, they still faced social psychological and structural boundaries within the school system. My analysis of the archival materials and of the narratives of African American students and parents from the Ludlow area suggests that the structural boundaries, established through school policies and practices, excluded most black students, grouping them in a monolithic stereotypical manner that

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assumed low levels of achievement and/or motivation. By "structural" I am referring to educational policies and practices in the schools or school system, and "boundaries" refers to some monitoring of entry that impedes or facilitates the access of a group to sites of educational privilege.

Though the policies and practices narrated as excluding black students were considered sound educational approaches, they often acted in a gatekeeping function out of expressed concern for preserving Shaker Heights academic standards. Some of these practices included testing transferred students from the Cleveland Public Schools to see if they were at grade level, holding African American students back a year upon their transfer into the Shaker system, and generally excluding them from enrichment and advanced programs unless there was parent inquiry, pressure and vigilance. As a result, even though similar educational and economic background facilitated positive interracial relations between whites and blacks in the Ludlow area, it was less powerful of a lever in the classroom, where skin color became the signifier for exclusion.

"Prove Yourself!"

The experience of social psychological exclusion was described to me many times by African American parents and students, including students and parents who lived in the Ludlow neighborhood in the 1960's through the 1970's. It involved teachers' implicit or explicit acceptance of stereotypes regarding achievement and motivation. One black parent, after providing several examples of experiences with teachers who questioned the academic competence of his child, characterized encounters between his child and the teacher in the following way: "It's not a friendly world. It's an adverse environment

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where teachers are pushing you down." In such a setting, then, this parent noted, the black students encountered teacher skepticism about their competency as a student, based on teachers' acceptance of racial stereotypes. What this looked like to the student experiencing the encounter was a betrayal by the teacher toward the student. This parent summarized the message teachers communicate during these encounters: "I don't believe you read this book, I don't believe you're supposed to be in this class, *I don't believe you* – prove yourself!"

In this analysis, then, inclusion of African Americans in sites of educational privilege was still somewhat tenuous and subject to scrutiny or reversal. This conditional status is theorized by Apfelbaum (1979) as an integral part of the interdependent relations of power in that it includes members of the formerly excluded group in a way that is far more uncertain than the members of the privileged group. The conditional membership is subject to a revoking at any time the privileged group deems necessary, as in the case of needing to make room for more members of the privileged group, or reclaiming an opportunity the privileged group feels was its previous domain before making it available to the formerly excluded group.

A Pattern of Privilege and Exclusion: Educational Structures within a Desegregating School System

In the early to mid-1960's, as geographical boundaries between Cleveland and Shaker Heights became more permeable, and African American families moved into the school district in increased numbers, educational structures were established in an effort to preserve educational standards, and protect sites of educational privilege, which were thought to be at risk of erosion as a result of the increasing numbers of black students

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from the Cleveland Public Schools.[55] At the same time, educational structures were established to create equal educational opportunity for newly arriving African American students. These two major and often competing efforts have continued through the current period of time, with the former designed to maintain standards, thus keeping middle class and affluent white and black families anchored to the district, and the latter designed to provide leverage for those students, predominantly African American, in order to access these sites of educational privilege.

With guarantees no longer available that choosing a white middle class or affluent neighborhood assured a neighborhood school reflective of that racial and economic homogeneity, the exclusivity of sites of educational privilege was threatened. Additionally, archival and interview data point to low educator expectations for African American students and fears among white parents of lowered standards in the Shaker schools. These culminating factors along with an emphasis of the educational value of grouping students according to "ability," appear to have set in motion an increasingly expansive levels system.[56]

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[55] The unease among whites over the early racial and economic heterogeneity of the school system is evident in the title of a meeting held in February, 1970, the same month the superintendent proposed a one-way mandatory desegregation plan at the elementary level, held at Woodbury Junior High School. The meeting, titled, "How Have Blacks Changed Shaker Schools," was described in the February 1970 (number 98) *School Review* as a "lively two hour question and answer period centering on what was early seen to be a controversial title." The meeting "attracted a crowd which filled the auditorium, several classrooms, and the gym," and it involved a panel of presenters including the superintendent, high school principal and a number of representatives from the staff, community and a member of the student council.

[56] School district publications referred to early offerings of advanced classes as advanced and later as advanced placement. The use of the word "levels" appeared at the time the high school reorganized its entire curriculum according to a scale of one through five, with one at the lower end and five at the highest end. It was distinguished from academic tracks and tracking in the 1964-1965 school year as outlined in the *School Review* announcement of the levels system: "...the system is unique in Shaker Heights, though many schools have instructional tracks, a closely allied method of ability grouping. Students...are not frozen at any level in any subject,

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While accelerated and enrichment classes were offered as early as 1954 in the high school, they were limited in number and they did not appear to dilute the rigorous content, high teacher expectations and substantial learning experiences in the "average" level classes, in which the majority of the students were enrolled.[57] The early offering of advanced placement classes also appeared to have been limited in scope and the number of students enrolled in them small. It was not until the 1964-1965 school year that a fully designed levels system from level one (basic skills instruction), level two (remedial), level three (average/college preparatory), level four (enriched/honors), and level five (advanced placement/accelerated) was implemented.[58]

The school district's monthly publication, *School Review*, announced in the spring of the 1964-1965 school year that the "there have been a few changes this year in Shaker High" one of which is that "[t]he levels system went into operation in September." The publication noted that the "extent of its success is marked by the sharp reduction in semester failures" with "approximately 1/3 of the failures regularly experienced at this

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but may choose in time to move to another level" in the following: Levels of Instruction Inaugurated in Shaker. (1964, November). *School Review*, p. 3.

[57] The first advanced placement class was offered in the 1955-1956 school year in math, with AP classes in English beginning in the 1957-1958 school year (*School Review*, October 1957, p. 3; *School Review*, June 1958, p. 3), and the same for American History (*School Review*, October 1975, p. 3; *School Review*, December 1958, p. 3). The science department offered AP courses beginning in the 1957-1958 school year (*School Review*, June 1960, p. 3; *School Review*, April 1966, p. 2). While the implementation of these classes suggests an interest on the part of the district in being one of a few systems to offer its students advanced placement standing, these classes were not as widely publicized, broad in scope, or steeped in an argument of serving individual needs in a racially and economically diverse student body as was the levels system introduced in the 1964-1965 school year.

[58] Levels of Instruction Inaugurated in Shaker. (November, 1964). *School Review*,p. 3.

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check point in previous years." The article also noted that the high school was "rapidly moving toward offering all levels in all subjects where this seems desirable."[59]

Early signs of academic heterogeneity became evident in 1961 in the district, according to a front page article in the *School Review*, February 1970 issue. While this article stressed in bold text that "**[t]he number of highly able students at any grade level is as great as it has ever been, and their achievement has never been higher**," it indicates later in the article, though not in bold, that "some downward change is apparent" in achievement "in the lower quarter of the Shaker student population" (p. 2). In the same issue was the coverage of the superintendent's desegregation proposal on February 10, 1970. One of the arguments for the desegregation was to raise the academic achievement of black students, which as a group produced lower standardized test scores than the white students. The gap between standardized test scores of black students and white students was a concern among district officials in the late 1960's, particularly since the largest gap was seen in the scores of black students at the Moreland School, a predominantly black school in a middle and working class neighborhood in a system of nearly all white elementary schools and two desegregated schools (Ludlow and Lomond), all at a higher economic level.

In September 1965, Jack Lawson began as superintendent of the Shaker Heights City School District. He arrived at the same time that many African American families were moving into Shaker from Cleveland, purchasing or renting homes primarily in the

[59] High School Principal Reports to School Board: Portrait of the Present...Prophecy of Things to Come. (1965, March). *School Review*, p. 2.

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Ludlow or Moreland areas.[60] Racial imbalance in the schools and unequal access to facilities became Lawson's first concerns. At the close of that first school year, Lawson recommended to the board of education that changes in the existing feeder patterns of elementary schools to the junior high schools be made in order to address racial imbalance in the junior high schools. The elementary schools feeding into Woodbury Junior High School included those neighborhoods in the district on the southern and western borders of the city, areas into which African Americans had moved. The feeder schools for Byron Junior High School were at the eastern and central areas of the city, which continued to be predominantly white.

The district held open hearings on the superintendent's recommendations, which according to one educator "were fairly hostile, some of the people were angry." In June of 1966, the board of education unanimously approved Lawson's recommendations, which changed the feeder patterns of four of the nine elementary schools into the two junior high schools.[61] The *School Review* article announcing the redistricting does not

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[60] According to the housing office and neighborhood association archives at the Western Reserve Historical Society, other neighborhoods were desegregating but at a slower pace and some time after Ludlow and Moreland. The Lomond area began to desegregate in the middle to late 1960's. The Lomond Community Association was established in 1963 and benefited from the lessons learned by the Ludlow Community Association as well as actions taken by the city to discourage resegregation. As a result, the desegregation took place over a longer period of time. The Sussex area also desegregated at a later period and very slowly.

[61] The changes resulted in the predominantly white elementary school (Fernway) feeding into Woodbury and two (Lomond and Sussex) elementary schools, with increasing numbers of African American students, feeding into Byron. Another elementary school, Boulevard, previously had part of its zoned area (that which was at its farthest east end), which was all white, attending Byron. This policy was ended and the entire area that was zoned for Boulevard attended Woodbury.

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refer to racial imbalance but notes that the effort will "compensate for the imbalance in school enrollments at the present time." [62]

What followed, then, in terms of educational structures, reflected an emerging pattern of privilege and exclusion within the discourse of educational progress and academic excellence. The Woodbury Junior High School, to which a new group of white students would be transferred, implemented that same year a substantial overhaul of student scheduling to create homogeneous classes by grade point average, standardized test scores, and teacher recommendation.[63] At Byron, there were some additional levels of classes offered in English.[64] As reported in district publications, the increasing scope and number of courses offered through a levels system was a consequence of the need to tailor classes to "individual needs" of categories of students, which approximated the following: gifted, average, and low achieving. These "individual needs" had become more diverse as the district became racially and economically diverse. In these published updates, there was also consistently an assurance that "diversity" did not mean a threat to academic standards.

When the district changed the feeder patterns of elementary schools into Woodbury and Byron Junior High Schools to increase the racial balance in the junior highs, the Shaker Review described Woodbury's individualized scheduling approach as

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[62] Board Re-Districts Junior High Schools. (1966, June). *The School Review*, p. 1.

[63] Woodbury Inaugurates Individual Pupil Scheduling. (1966, October). *School Review*, p. 3. There were some enrichment courses established in the late 1950's in the junior highs in math and science, but it was not as extensive as the program Woodbury put in place in the 1966-1967 school year. (1956, March. *School Review;* 1957, May, *School Review*, p. 2).

[64] For more on Byron, see: Students in ninth grade English are divided into three different levels. Two groups in level three—the enriched or 'honors course' – are this year learning... (1966, September). *School Review*, p. 3.

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part of an "education tailored to the individual" and, as such, each student is placed "as nearly as possible in classes whose members had demonstrated a matching range of abilities...On the junior high level, it achieves much the same effects as the level-system in the high school." The program was seen as exemplary in its educational response[65] to "matching" individual needs" that were based on "the student's ability in the subject, achievement test scores, teacher recommendations, and parent conferences." It was also noted as taking place in the context of a desegregating school system:

> This latest aspect of change at Woodbury takes its place in the record of other changes at the school. Woodbury, as the community knows, has participated in a dominant change of current history: the opening of educational gates to Negroes. Privileged thus to participate in the present, Woodbury has quietly achieved a racially-integrated school population.
>
> Has this change affected educational standards at Woodbury? The answer of evidence is a clear no. [66]

In my interviews, particularly with African Americans, participants expressed concerns about the levels system at that time and subsequently. Patricia, an African American parent whose children attended schools in the late 1960's through the 1970's and participated in advanced classes, told me about her children's encounters with the mutually exclusive racial stereotypes that educators in the system held toward black students, and particularly toward black students from Cleveland:

> I think there was a learning experience...early on, it was a matter of expectations, that, you know, there was ah, this great disparity was because that, ah, there was a lack of expectations on the part of the teachers, and I know, um, a family that had

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[65] In a book celebrating the history or Woodbury Junior High School, the chapter, "Years of Pride – the '60's," notes, "There were changes at Woodbury during the '60's of course. The 'levels of instruction'...was a major one." See: Voss, Eli Engen (Ed.), (1985). *Woodbury Junior High School Reflections: 1918 – 1985*. Shaker Heights, OH. Publisher not listed -- may be Shaker Heights School District. Shaker Heights Public Library Local History Collection.

[66] Woodbury Inaugurates Individual Pupil-Scheduling. (1966, October). *School Review*, p. 3.

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> come in from Cleveland and then this ah, *stereotyping* of ah, of people by color, or – by the fact that they lived in Cleveland. I mean, and that was definitely um, brought out um, I remember [name] telling me when they moved, they moved before we did, and um, their daughter was in the Major Works [gifted and talented program] in Cleveland, and they were, they were going to put her back, they wanted to put her back...and here she was, she had been in Major Works in Cleveland, and they [Shaker school] wanted to put her back because she came from *Cleveland!* Well, they didn't do it...That was before our children started the schools. That was another reason I was kind of alert to it because of, I, you know, heard a couple of people remark about things like that, and um, and so, it was a, a kind of a double stereotyping, um, color and um, you know, where the person had lived...

Around the same time that the levels system was implemented in the high school, and two years later at Woodbury, enrollment of black students across the district was the highest on record for Shaker Heights. At that time, there was an average gain of 293 African American students a year, while the average enrollment of white students involved a loss of 122 a year. While archival data emphasized the educational value of the levels system, some participants, particularly African American parents and students, and some white and black educators, spoke about pressures from the community for an academically tracked system. They felt the support for the levels system was tied to white parents' discomfort with increasing racially and economically diverse classrooms and parents' sense of what they viewed as potentially negative academic and social repercussions from that diversity.

The levels system was frequently raised as evidence of the excellent education that the Shaker schools provided. In 1970, one month after school opened with its first desegregation effort, the Shaker Schools Plan, the school district publication responded to the question as to whether the level system at the high school would be phased out:

> Certainly not. Grouping of students by ability has long been a typical practice in American secondary education and we expect it to continue. We are, of course,

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> continuing to modify our level system on the basis of our own experiences and those of leading secondary schools elsewhere.[67]

These modifications included the following:

> ...experience and research have shown that poorly motivated students do not respond positively to special instructional groupings. We are making extensive efforts to bring students in lower levels into the mainstream of our instructional program. Hence, this year we eliminated Level One classes and, in some courses, students from two levels meet together for instruction, with different assignments and performance expectations for students at each level... [68]

The article further stated that the high school would be increasing the number of level four (honors or enrichment) and level five (advanced placement) classes. It concludes, "In short, we anticipate an expansion of the level system in the upper levels." [69]

The establishment of a levels system had multiple and contradictory consequences. It channeled the school system's most rigorous curriculum to a group of students whose past standardized test scores, course grades, and teachers' assessment of them indicated they would be best served by this high level of work. Similarly, it determined a remedial curriculum would be best suited for the group of students whose past standardized test scores and course grades were below grade level. And it placed those students who fell somewhere in the middle in a curriculum that was best defined as "average." For those parents who felt their child would be "challenged" in an

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[67] Lawson, J. (1970, October). Answers to questions on balance, ballots, and levels. *School Review*, p. 3.

[68] Ibid. Although level one classes, which an educator told me were "like the general classes today" in the district, were eliminated after the 1969-70 school year, according to this *School Review* article, other sources suggest that they may have continued. For example in Selected Initiatives to Improve Student Achievement in the Shaker Heights City Schools, 1/15/97, the following program is listed: "Basic Academic Skill/General Education Classes, Grades 7-12." It is noted in the description of this program that "The Shaker schools have always offered some form of basic skill instruction to meet the needs of students" (p. 22).

[69] Lawson, J. (1970, October). Answers to questions on balance, ballots, and levels. *School Review*, p. 3.

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academically homogeneous setting, this arrangement was satisfying. Particularly for those parents who felt that the increasing academic heterogeneity might result in the lowering of academic standards in the school system, the levels system was an assurance that standards, at least at some levels, would continue to be held high. In this sense, the levels system had the consequence of assuring people the standards remained high and retaining the parents whose children produced the test scores and grades to document that assurance. Annual publication of the number of students awarded as National Merit Semifinalists, an award program that began in the 1955-1956 school year, and the National Achievement Semifinalists, begun in the 1964-1965 school year for the highest achieving African American students in the nation,[70] provided testimony to the level of rigor and success in the advanced classes. The formation of the level system was justified as an excellent educational approach and a "just" system. It was presented by the district as an exemplary system, part of what produced academic excellence among Shaker students. The higher level courses were viewed as open to those of a certain achievement and motivation level.

A teacher at the high school in the mid-1960's noted that the level one (lowest level) classes at that time were comprised of white students and that "any of the African American kids that went to Shaker in the early 1960's were all in the college prep classes or the advanced classes." It is difficult to be accurate about enrollment of black students at the different levels, since there was no formal record keeping in the archival materials until the late 1990's when an office of research was established. There have been

[70] Awards also include a Commended category for both National Merit and National Achievement. The National Hispanic Scholars award was established in the 1983-1984 school year, and in the 1990-1991 school year and thereafter, several students were named from Shaker Heights as receiving this award. See Appendix E-5.

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contentious moments in the history of the district, however, when enrollment figures were made public, revealing disparities by race and the under representation of black students at the high levels and white students at the low levels.

Among the participants I interviewed for the study, there were more white students who reported taking level three classes in the 1960's through the 1980's than among white students in the current time period (1988-2003).[71] White participants told me that in the 1960's, the classes were not racially identifiable. There were African American and white students represented at each level. Judith, a white student who attended the high school in the early to mid 1960's, talked about many groups as being racially mixed, yet she also said that there was only a "handful" of black students. It appears that a number of these black students were active in clubs, and there was some degree of their representation at all the levels. She also noted that, "there weren't that many, you know, black kids in the school, um [pause] ah, I think the level of classes were mixed you know, I don't think they were all one way or the other..." At the same time, Lynne, who is African American, and who graduated in the late 1960's, told me that once she was tracked into high level classes, "from that point on...I had very few -- blacks in any of my classes."

Judith told me that she was enrolled in a class at the lowest level, which she tells me was called "terminal" as in "terminal French." She noted the class "was not helpful" and she received a D in the class, later on getting the help she needed from a tutor:

> I mean you talk about what it does for your self esteem, I mean it was pretty bad, I was aware of who was in them, I don't [she laughs], I don't remember what I

[71] Among the participants I interviewed who were white students in college preparatory (level three) classes in the early phase, there were three students. Among those I interview who were white students in the college preparatory (level three) classes in the current phase, there was one student.

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> learned, I was just aware, I was looking around me and thinking, "I can't believe." The kids in my class, were not—they were like—they were just, you know, fine, I mean they were, um, just kids [who] weren't studying...it doesn't help one to know that you're sitting in a class called "terminal anything," you would say, "ok, forget it, why bother anyway, if I'm terminal, I'm terminal, you know, then why study?"

Desegregating Buildings, Resegregating Levels

As the high school became more desegregated, the levels system established *structural* boundaries within the school, substituting the former *geographical* boundaries that separated students by race, economic background, and neighborhood. There were no directives to achieve this goal, but it was nevertheless one of the consequences of the levels program. Limited quantitative and more extensive qualitative data point to the disproportionate number of white students at the high levels and black students at the low levels. These data are not particular to Shaker Heights; they reflect the experiences of students of color in other desegregated suburban high schools like Shaker Heights. Like other desegregated suburban settings, as the district was engaged in desegregating its buildings and creating opportunities for African American students, structures at the building level were developed which had as a consequence the preservation of segregation within classes.

Several African American participants raised concern about the questionable relationship between the district experiencing increasing numbers of African American students and the expansion in scope and complexity of the levels system. Robert, originally from the Ludlow area and moving later to a predominantly white neighborhood, whose children participated in high level classes in the 1970's, spoke about the necessity of "parental vigilance" in ensuring that his children were not

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excluded from these classes. He talked about what he saw as the origins of the level system:

> And at some point, and I don't recall when, they instituted a level system...the level system came in after the schools started to change, and the change was primarily the [slight pause] the influx of, of children from Cleveland, mostly, mostly black, yes, but the society was changing also, in other ways that affected the school. But again, the levels system came in at some point where the school system, and/or the parents felt that this would be a better system for – let me say the apologists said this is a better system – for everybody. Those kids that were doing well, would be together doing well, those kids that were not doing so well or didn't want to, etcetera, um, they would be, together, and so this would be better for everyone...

Robert's children were enrolled in advanced placement classes in the junior high school and high school. He spoke positively as to how the levels system contributed to his children's academic outcomes and to their admission into competitive colleges and graduate schools. At the same time, he spoke frequently about "parental vigilance" as a necessity in ensuring his children were recommended for the high levels, which did not consistently happen. He was troubled by the low teacher expectations for black students, which he felt had an influence on the small numbers of African American students who got into high level of classes and stayed in them. Robert told me of his first encounter with these expectations in the early 1970's at Woodbury during a parent meeting. He became very frustrated when he heard an educator speak several times about African American students from Cleveland, saying that "we don't expect much from them." He told me he later asked her why she felt this way.

> ...her explanation was that they were getting a number of students ah, from Cleveland, who were coming into the Shaker system, and they were not as well prepared as youngsters who had been in Shaker from the beginning, and so they didn't expect so much from them. [slight pause] But what she was saying was that they were structuring the, the classes such that they were—let's say, I'm gonna put [it in] my word now, they're bringing it down to their level rather than trying to get the youngsters to come up to what had been the Shaker standard...so

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to answer your question about our children's experiences in high school, it was with that kind of that kind of backdrop where they were not expecting the black children to do too well...

Precursors to Elementary School Desegregation

In the early desegregation effort, achieved through the change in feeder patterns of elementary schools into the junior high schools, African American students gained access to more predominantly white settings at the junior high school level. At the same time, whites found that patterns of enrollment were altered in ways that made their junior high schools more racially diverse. In addition to school construction to equalize building capacities,[72] the superintendent and his staff were studying ways to address racial balance between the elementary buildings. In the late 1960's two of the elementary schools were already racially diverse (Ludlow and Lomond), one was predominantly African American (Moreland), and six were all or nearly all white (Boulevard, Fernway, Malverne, Mercer, Onaway, and Sussex). In 1967, district archives indicate that Superintendent Lawson met with the community association for the predominantly black school, Moreland Elementary School.[73] During this meeting those attending discussed several desegregation plans used elsewhere in the country. District archives also indicate that shortly after meeting with the Moreland Community Association, the board of

[72] The school construction resulted from a concern about increasing parity between the junior high school buildings. In the late 1960's, the superintendent sought and gained approval from the board of education for funding to build a pool in Woodbury Junior High School and expand the gym; Byron Junior High School, which had been built 38 years after Woodbury and was predominantly white, already had a pool and ample gym space.

[73] Lawson, J. H. (no date). *The Shaker School's Plan: Suburban School Desegregation*, p. 1. District archives.

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education requested that "a staff study be conducted to find a way to eliminate the racial imbalance in the Shaker schools."[74]

Impinging Pressures: Supreme Court Rulings

In the late 1960's through the early 1970's, the Supreme Court was progressively outlining conditions under which districts would be liable and providing guidelines for remedies the Court would find acceptable (Armor, 1995; Bell, 1979; Irons, 2002; Orfield, 1978; Patterson, 2002).[75] At the federal level, there had been legislative reversals toward desegregation along with the clear anti-busing stance of the Nixon administration. Locally, educational arguments by some Shaker educators that all students experience an "integrated education," compounded by the possibility of federal scrutiny as well as the pressure from those parents in the district, black and some white, that the district take action, led to the final decision to desegregate the elementary schools.

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[74] Lawson, J. H. (no date). *The Shaker School's Plan: Suburban School Desegregation*, p. 1. District archives.

[75] Additionally, the passing of the 1964 Civil Rights Act gave the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare the means to enforce the mandate of the *Brown v. BOE*. Orfield (1978) notes that the statement "No person in the United States shall on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving federal financial assistance" (78 Stat. 241, Title VI, 42 U.S.C. 2000 (d)) allowed HEW to deny federal funds to schools with segregationist policies. In addition to providing justification for enforcement efforts by HEW from 1965 to 1968, the language of Title VI supported desegregation judicial decisions, thus widening the scope of liability and remedy (Armor, 1978) from 1968 to 1973. Nonetheless, this same language would be employed much later when, in the late '70's into the 90's, white applicants to universities filed discrimination suits against affirmative action policies, resulting in rulings in their favor (*University of California Regents v. Bakke*, 1978; *Hopwood v. University of Texas Law School*). Similar discrimination suits by whites were evident among some of the public school desegregation reversal rulings, such as the reversal of *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools* (1971) decision in 1999.

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In Ohio, even though most of the legal proceedings occurred in the mid to late 1970's, including Cleveland's desegregation ruling, the turbulence due to new construction, scheduling, and personnel practices, all with segregative purposes, in the Cleveland Public Schools impinged upon border communities such as Shaker Heights. Indeed, movement of middle class and affluent African Americans out of the city of Cleveland, backed by passing of the Fair Housing Act in 1948, was further hastened by Cleveland's segregative tactics. In 1964, the NAACP lost its suit against these practices in the *Cragget v. Cleveland BOE* ruling, but it continued to prepare evidence that was used in the *Reed v. Rhodes* decision, which ruled in its favor in 1976. The remedy sought by the NAACP for this case was that of a metropolitan plan.[76] The *Bradley v. Milliken* decision in 1973 in Detroit, which rejected a metropolitan plan for Detroit's court-ordered desegregation, largely precluded any thinking that metropolitan plans would be accepted by the court elsewhere. Nevertheless, there persisted a level of uncertainty concerning the possible use of such a plan for Cleveland's court-ordered desegregation remedy. This ambiguity surrounding the Cleveland Public School System, and the proximity of Shaker Heights to Cleveland, likely influenced the thinking and planning of district officials in Shaker Heights who were cognizant that racial isolation, unintentional or deliberate, was subject to federal scrutiny and redress.[77]

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[76] A metropolitan plan combined predominantly black urban school systems with nearby predominantly white suburban districts in order to decrease racial isolation of all the systems involved and increase educational opportunities for African American students.

[77] See letter to William H. Cossler, President, Cuyahoga Heights Board of Education, from Cuyahoga Heights Board of Education, 12/9/76, regarding "Robert Anthony Reed, et al. vs. James A. Rhodes, et al. (Case No. C 73-1300), with copies to presidents of boards of education and superintendents in Cuyahoga County Suburban Districts," which states "We hereby request that we and other school boards which might be affected be given the opportunity to participate in any planning, or portion thereof, and have the opportunity to be heard regarding same before it is

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That the district was influenced by these larger national and more local events was mentioned by a number of participants whom I interviewed. One educator spoke about the general judicial climate at the time, "any kind of action that was taken on the part of municipalities to try ah, desegregate and work with this phenomenon, social phenomenon, was, was in my opinion encouraged by the courts" and noting that Cleveland was a court-order, he said about Shaker, "Shaker did it voluntarily and avoided a court case because what we were afraid then was that the courts would come at us because we weren't doing anything to achieve to racial balance." During another interview, Loretta, a former educator in the district told me, "it was more of a national, um, the one in, in Michigan, and um, I've forgotten where else, but [the superintendent] just felt very strongly...that um, we should do it before we were forced to do it, that we should be act—proactive instead of waiting and the government saying, 'You have to do it,' so, that was our thrust." There was also a level of excitement among educators about the challenge and potential educational developments in pursuing desegregation. Built into the *original* proposal were substantial opportunities for professional development, research, and enrichment.[78]

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finally approved by the State Board, whether in conjunction with this case or independently." See also "The Cleveland School Desegregation Decision: Reed v. Rhodes," September 3, 1976, which was disseminated to a number of administrators in the district; and also "School Desegregation Cases in the United States Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit" which was "Prepared for the Study Group on Racial Isolation in the Public Schools and its Member Organizations from the Greater Cleveland area," 9/17/76. Each of these is located in the Shaker Heights Public Library Local History Collection.

[78] In a letter from Gardner Dunnan, assistant to the superintendent, to Dr. Joshua L. Smith at The Ford Foundation, on March 19, 1968, Dunnan states "I am convinced that we have an approach to the resolution of racial imbalance which is somewhat unique in American education. Implementation of this proposal is not only essential for Shaker Heights students, but it is important to the entire Cleveland area and perhaps, as a model, to the nation." District archives.

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Conditionality, Choice, and Ultimatums

In the fall of 1969 and the spring of 1970, there were several meetings and much correspondence between the superintendent and the Concerned Citizens for an Integrated Moreland School. In November of 1969, the Concerned Citizens for an Integrated Moreland School presented Jack Lawson with a petition of 600 signatures to integrate Moreland by fall of 1970.[79] The petition also sought a direct line of communication between the board of education and the Moreland community in the planning of for the desegregation.[80]

At some point in late December 1969 or January 1970, the board made the decision to pursue desegregation plans for the district. The criteria for the plan proposed by the district staff and superintendent were that the plan must accomplish the following: improve racial balance; have clear educational advantages for every child; cause a minimum of disruption to the school system; provide a lasting solution to racial imbalance; do all of this at a minimal cost.[81] The proposal that had been drafted over the course of 1969 was for the closing of the Moreland School for grades fourth through sixth, and the one-way mandatory busing of students from these grades, who were predominantly black, to predominantly white schools in the district. The vacated space would be used for a district wide enrichment center, a place where all elementary

[79] Memorandum to Board of Education Members, from John H. Lawson, Superintendent, November 20, 1969, Subject: "Meeting with the 'Concerned Citizens for an Integrated Moreland School.'" District archives

[80] Letter dated October 1969, "Dear Moreland Resident," outlining the petition to be presented to the board of education "to integrate the Moreland School by the school year 1970," and signed by "Concerned Citizens for an Integrated Moreland School," with the co-chairmen names Bill Boyd and Thomas Stallworth. District archives.

[81] The Staff's Proposal to End Racial Imbalance at Moreland. (1970, February). *School Review*, p. 2.

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students would spend several weeks each year, participating in enrichment and remedial and diagnostic activities. The center would also be the site where plans for the evaluation of the desegregation efforts would be developed, as well as a place for teacher training and curriculum development. This is the proposal that John Lawson planned to present to the public at the February 1970 board of education meeting.

"In a Spirit of Equality"

> ...any meaningful and reasonable permanent solution must involve a coming together of the entire city in a spirit of equality.
> - Moreland Parent Committee, 2/8/70 [82]

Just before the February board of education meeting in the spring of 1970, the Moreland Parent Committee[83] wrote a letter to superintendent John Lawson in which six criteria were listed for the integration of Moreland School. The letter indicated that since the board of education and the administration were going to "take a positive stand" on integration, the Moreland Parent Committee wanted the superintendent and the board of education to know the Committee's criteria. Their criteria differed from the district's in their emphasis that Moreland not bear any more of the blame for racial isolation nor the burden of remedy than the equally segregated all-white elementary schools in the district. The last two criteria that neighborhood identity should be retained and that the plan

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[82] Position paper on the desegregation of Moreland Elementary School. Sent to the board of education by the Moreland Parent Committee, 2/8/70. District archives.

[83] Letter from Moreland Parent Committee to Superintendent John Lawson, 2/8/70. District archives. There were a few different organization names used in the various proposals sent to John Lawson concerning possible alternatives to the district's mandatory one-way busing plan, and the leadership who signed the correspondence attached to these proposals also changed names. For the most part, however, the various groups opposed one-way mandatory busing, though they were very supportive of desegregation in the district.

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should treat white and black equally departed from the district's one way mandatory proposal in that the district's proposal involved busing only black students and the closing of the upper grades at Moreland School.

The superintendent and district staff continued to develop a one-way mandatory busing plan for the desegregation of the elementary schools. On February 10, 1970, the superintendent presented the plan to an unusually large and tense audience attending the monthly board meeting. In the February *School Review* issue, the proposal, "The Staff's Proposal to End Racial Imbalance at Moreland" was outlined, as presented to the board of education by Superintendent John Lawson on February 10, 1970. The proposal noted that while the enrollment of African American children was at 88% in 1968 and 1969, "enrollment in several of the other elementary schools is almost totally white."[84] The superintendent's presentation also included justification for desegregation:

> ...the guiding philosophy of the Shaker Heights schools demands the best possible education for every pupil, while educational experts agree that segregated education is a social deprivation to white and black alike...and finally, that the spirit and the law of America decry racial isolation of pupils today, whether that isolation arises because of housing patterns (de facto) or racist laws (de jure). [85]

At the close of this publication of the superintendent's presentation to the board, the editor concludes, "The hope is that what evolves as formal Board action will truly reflect community desires and be a fruitful answer, based on justice and enlarged by generous

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[84] The Staff's Proposal to End Racial Imbalance at Moreland. (1970, February). *School Review*, p. 2.

[85] The Staff's Proposal to End Racial Imbalance at Moreland. (1970, February). *School Review*, p. 2.

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vision, to the present problem of segregation in the elementary schools of Shaker Heights."[86]

Among white parents, there was some level of support, although there is no documentation of numbers.[87] There is documentation of opposition among whites, such as resistance from Western Reserve Women's Club and the Taxpayers League of Ohio and the emergence of a petition with approximately 4,000 signatures, which demanded that the school board allow residents the right to vote on the integration plan."[88] While there was clearly a great deal of opposition to implementing any desegregation, there was also conflict among those who sought desegregation but held decidedly different views as to how to accomplish it. The Moreland Parent Committee had clearly expressed their opposition to one-way mandatory busing and proposed an alternative of two-way voluntary busing.

Ultimately, the mandatory one-way desegregation plan was abandoned for a voluntary cross-enrollment plan. A group of predominantly white parents, many of who were not Moreland parents, persuaded the district that there was support among white

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[86] The Staff's Proposal to End Racial Imbalance at Moreland. (1970, February). *School Review*, p. 3.

[87] A poll conducted by the local *Sun Press* indicated an increase in those favoring the original one-way desegregation plan from an earlier *Sun Press* poll but still a majority of those opposing it, with 259 in opposition and 92 in favor of the original one-way desegregation plan. See: Robinson, V. (1970, April 30). Proponents of Moreland Bus Plan Show Gain in Sun Poll. *Sun Press*. District archives.

[88] Kay, L. (1970, March 8). Shaker Hts. Busing Poses Knotty Issue. *Plain Dealer*. See also: Board Considers Polling Shakerites on Busing Plan. (1970, March 12). *Sun Press*, p. A-1, A-4. See also: S.H. Educators Are in No Hurry to Decide Bus Plan. (1970, March 19). *Sun Press*, p. A-1, A-15. See also: S.H. Taxpayers' Group Holds Own Busing Poll. (1970, April 30). *Sun Press*, p. A-1, A-4. See also: Board President's Statement. (1970, May). *School Review*, *101*, p. 4. The board of education ruled out any use of a poll, indicating it was within the prerogative of the board to make such decisions.

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parents in the district to implement a voluntary busing plan for whites and blacks, preserving Moreland as a neighborhood school and as the desegregated site for whites to bus their children. Like the groups of activist parents and community members from Moreland,[89] this group of white parents raised the issue of the inequality of the mandatory plan for Moreland parents. This group produced a list of white parents (which included some members of the group) who had agreed to bus their children to Moreland as part of the district's desegregation plan. This was a condition the superintendent had set for reversing his recommendation of a one-way mandatory plan. The assurance of a number of white parents to desegregate Moreland, plus the interest already exhibited by black parents from Moreland towards busing their children to predominantly white schools convinced the superintendent to change the proposal to a voluntary two-way, or cross-enrollment, desegregation plan.

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[89] In addition to the 2/8/70 document proposing an alternative to the district plan, there was a 3/16/70 proposal to the superintendent from the Committee for Voluntary Cross-Enrollment, a group of black and white parents from Moreland. This was the first time I saw this new committee name, but the Committee for Voluntary Cross-Enrollment appeared supportive of the Moreland Parent Committee in terms of its plan for integration and in terms of its membership—many of the same people were on this committee as the Moreland Parent Committee. This plan supported the same set of goals outlined in the letter of 2/3/70 and a document sent on 2/8/70 to Superintendent Lawson, from the Moreland Parent Committee, particularly that neighborhood identity be retained and that blacks and whites should be treated equally in the plan. The only difference between the two lists of goals was the omission of the criterion that the plan be a permanent solution.

In this 3/16/70 proposal, the Committee for Voluntary Cross-Enrollment is more specific in terms of how a voluntary cross-enrollment plan could be accomplished. Their plan suggests several important considerations: it suggests that a number of Moreland students would choose not to leave Moreland; it protects the interests of black parents who were opposed to being told where their child would go to school, a protection white parents already had in the district's one-way busing proposal because white children would remain in their neighborhood schools; it focuses on the problem of predominantly white schools, and the need to integrate these schools, as opposed to focusing on Moreland School as the problem, which the proposal suggests is the consequence of having defacto segregation. As a result, this proposal, like the others sent to the superintendent, was extremely useful in communicating to the district that while integration was desirable, it had to be accomplished in a way that was equal for both blacks and whites.

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Louise, a white participant, spoke about this group of predominantly white parents that became increasingly active in the spring of 1970 in proposing the alternative voluntary two-way busing plan. She noted, "I guess the first proposal had been to close Moreland altogether, and of course that was just [slight pause] um, viewed as – a rather discriminatory way of doing this, you know, you're going to close the black school and bus those kids and everybody else goes to a neighborhood school, I mean, that's, that's grossly unfair." Similarly, Marie, a white parent who volunteered her children to participate in the plan, noted that she felt there were problems with the plan when it was first proposed. She told me,

> The board of education came up with the de—with the desegregation plan, and the first plan was – that only African American children would be transferred from the, from Moreland School to other schools...one-way busing, and – we were part of a group of citizens, that went to the board of education and said, "Now, you know, this is not the way it should be. White people should also be involved in transferring their children to aid desegregation."

Another white parent told me she ran into a friend at church who asked her if she and her husband had decided to send their children to Moreland. She explained to me:

> Well, our kids at that point were extremely happy over at [predominantly white school], and into everything, and ah I said, "Well, I'm not sure yet, ah, ah, we'll talk to the kids about it," and he looked at me straight in the eye [laughs] and he said – he said [slowly, deliberately], "This – is an issue that is too important to let kids decide."

On Being Voluntary

For African Americans moving into the school district, residency accorded them with enrollment for their child in one of the nine neighborhood elementary schools in the system. Residential segregation, at one time mandated by Van Sweringen racial covenants and later enforced by deeply felt social-psychological boundaries, limited their

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"choice." Nevertheless, having a neighborhood school was a privilege of living in the city. Therefore, the requirement that Moreland parents would lose half of their neighborhood school unless white parents were recruited to desegregate the building placed black parents in a position of uncertainty, on the perimeter of a critical decision that most directly influenced the lives of their children, and within reach of a privilege accorded to other, predominantly white residents. While a large number of black parents wanted the district to desegregate its elementary schools, archival materials and interview data suggest they did not necessarily want it to happen as outlined in the mandatory plan.

In this sense, Apfelbaum's theoretical work on unequal relations of power (Apfelbaum, 1979) is useful in analyzing the slow acceptance by the district of a plan proposed by black parents at Moreland initially and later formalized by white parents who were able to make the necessary connections with other white parents and convince the superintendent the voluntary plan was fairest and doable. Apfelbaum notes that in a relationship characterized by unequal power, the subordinate group is subject to the conditions determined by the dominant group. A voluntary plan allowed white and black parents to choose to enroll their child in their neighborhood school or to bus the child to another school in the district (Moreland for whites; six of the predominantly white schools for blacks). But the district's approval of such a plan *was dependent on* a mandatory requirement: locating enough white parents to ensure the desegregation would make an impact. In this sense "choice" and "voluntary" have different meanings for whites and blacks. For black parents at Moreland, the use of "voluntary" was a contradiction. The district's proposed plan, though it was not court ordered, was mandatory for Moreland students (predominantly black) unless sufficient numbers of

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whites would participate in an alternate plan proposed by black and white parents. Additionally, as archival materials and interview data suggest, the argument that a desegregation plan, Shaker Heights or anywhere else, was entirely voluntary is questionable, largely because of the federal and regional judicial decisions at that time and the potential for legal scrutiny toward racial isolation in individual schools. Michael, an African American parent from Moreland, supportive of the voluntary cross-enrollment plan noted,

> Michael: that – the parents in Moreland were given an ultimatum that you take what we've offered you and that's it! At a later date, we came up with the quote percentage of, you know, ah, whites in this school, and that school and everything, ok, so, and the vol—unteer thing did involve black parents, also, all black parents didn't have to volunteer to go because, I didn't and, um, so, there was some resistance to that, you know, kind of like ha, ha, ha, go ahead and do it if you can – to us – go ahead and find enough [white] volunteers
>
> Anne: ok...I've been curious about those pressures that um, were on Shaker Heights and that contributed to it going into a voluntary direction, because sometimes a—
>
> Michael: not, not a voluntary. Originally, it was a mandatory
>
> Anne: a mandatory
>
> Michael: program

Given the national context, the pressure of deflecting federal scrutiny or intervention that would have resulted in mandatory desegregation on the part of *all* the neighborhood schools may have superseded the district's concern about imposing an undue burden on parents in the predominantly black school. In this sense, the threat of federal intervention may have both pushed the district forward but also may have led to its skepticism over the effectiveness of institutional changes under a voluntary plan. According to interviews with educators involved at the time, there were concerns that a

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voluntary plan might not be sufficient to withstand federal scrutiny as well as local opposition to any form of desegregation on the part of a majority white constituency.

In a draft of a letter to the Ford Foundation, dated February 13, 1969, the superintendent outlined elements of the original proposal for desegregation. The letter focused on the proposed enrichment center, the Shaker Special Service School, where students from all the elementary schools would rotate instructional time away from their neighborhood school to attend the proposed Special Service School. This was described as an academic environment guided by Gordon Allport's criteria for a desegregated setting, as outlined in the proposal: "two groups meet with the sanction of authority, on an equal status basis, with common goals and mutual interdependence."[90] The letter noted, "there is an unusually strong attachment to the neighborhood school concept in Shaker Heights."[91] However, the sentence immediately following begins a paragraph on how the district will find space for the Special Service School. At the heart of the proposal is the closing of the upper grades of the neighborhood school with the highest percentage of African Americans in the district.

The degree of attachment Moreland parents had for their neighborhood school appears not to have been a consideration—or if it were, the pressures to desegregate in the least disruptive manner and in a permanent manner reflective in the closing of part of a school building appeared to be more compelling in the district's decision. The mandatory nature of the proposal is indicative of unequal power relations ascribed to race

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[90] Draft letter from John H. Lawson, Superintendent, to Dr. Joshua L. Smith, Project Specialist, The Ford Foundation, 2/13/69, "A Proposal to Provide Quality Integrated Education," with carbon copy to Board of Education; Mr. Frederick A. David; Mr. Gardner P. Dunnan. District archives. Page 3.

[91] Ibid., p. 2.

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in the broader social context: it sought to pre-empt an opposition, particularly from whites, whose tax base was such that their opposition could pose a formidable threat to the district's financial security. Furthermore, their exit from the school system could result in a resegregated district, thwarting any hope for desegregation. The mandatory plan revealed the contradictory nature of the district's efforts to desegregate its schools. Desegregation efforts were designed to facilitate racial equality. At the same time, they were designed in a way so as to also minimally disrupt the existing educational structures (programs and policies) at that time. In other cities across the country, school districts were engaged in similar efforts to simultaneously desegregate schools while retaining a critical mass of white families.

In May of 1970, the board unanimously voted to approve the implementation of the voluntary plan. An evaluation was planned for each of the first three years of the program, and funding for the busing plan was provided through a grant from the Ford Foundation.[92] The district carried out the program for over 15 years, expanding it to include all of the elementary schools and the two junior high schools. It later introduced magnet themes, particularly at the predominantly black schools, intended to draw whites to these schools, including a gifted program at the Ludlow School in the late 1970's and other magnet programs at Moreland and Lomond Schools in the early 1980's. The

[92] During the period of discussion and decision making, the public was aware that a grant from the Ford Foundation would cover much of the costs of the plan. Conversations with those who were closely involved in the district's desegregation efforts at that time indicate a strong conviction that the board would have approved the plan with or without the funding. Additional funding came from a grant from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare under Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act "for an inservice program to study all human relationships between pupils and elementary schools," which included a series of Saturday meetings for staff. See: The First Month: Planning Paved Its Ways. *School Review*, p. 1.

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Shaker Schools Plan was eliminated the year that the system reorganized, at which time enrollment in racially balanced schools was mandated for all students.

Hence, in the planning for desegregation was the formulation of a plan guided by the unequal power relations ascribed to race and class in the broader society. In the original mandatory plan there was the enactment of exclusion along with a parallel enactment of inclusion: while African Americans were included in the plan—indeed, the plan was viewed as according their child the right to attend a desegregated school—they were also excluded from privilege accorded most whites in the district, since they would have lost their neighborhood school,[93] in a city where, as the superintendent noted, there was an "unusually strong attachment to the neighborhood school concept." In order to prevent the mandatory plan, a voluntary plan, with a list of names of white parents who agreed to bus their children to Moreland as part of the plan, was required by the district. African American parents had two "choices": agree to the first plan, which was mandatory, or agree to replace the first plan *if* an adequate solution was found that guaranteed white participation. On the other hand, while white parents encountered desegregated classrooms in their predominantly white neighborhood schools for the first time, they could otherwise distance themselves from additional involvement in the desegregation plan.[94]

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[93] The original one-way desegregation plan called for the transfer of all Moreland students in grades four through six to predominantly white schools in other parts of the city. Although it was not articulated in the original plan, there may have also been a concern that the closure of the upper grades at Moreland would be eventually extended to include the lower grades.

[94] It should be noted here and elsewhere that class plays a role in the complex mix of factors that influenced desegregation efforts throughout the district's history. Moreland Elementary School, which experienced the greatest white flight and about which the district expressed the greatest concern in terms of resegregation, was also the neighborhood comprised of families having the least financial and educational resources in the district. The other desegregated school in the

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Summary of Mid through Late 1960's

As a result, between the 1965-1966 and 1969-1970 school years, issues related to racial equality were raised and solutions were implemented. Archival materials and interview data point to efforts beginning with John Lawson's redrawing of the feeder patterns of elementary schools into the junior high schools to increase the racial balance of the two schools; the construction of additional facilities at Woodbury to create equal access in the junior high schools; and then the Shaker Schools Plan to desegregate the elementary schools. The Plan provided black and white students and their families, particularly those at Moreland, with what I am referring to as sites of educational privilege. In this study I define sites of educational privilege as settings characterized by high teacher expectations that lead to high outcomes, rigorous and meaningful curriculum; opportunities to study and discuss academic work with peers; and relationships between students and teachers that are strong and lead to productive connections outside the classroom. The means of achieving access to these sites, both at Moreland and at the predominantly white schools, was through the Shaker Schools Plan.

In this study, I analyze the Shaker Schools Plan as a *transformative educational structure*. The Shaker Schools Plan directly affected the educational structures of the school system. It facilitated the provision of equal educational outcomes, the production of equal academic outcomes, and the engendering of equal social powers, which I define in this study as facilitating racial equality. It was transformative change, therefore, and it

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district, Ludlow Elementary School, was a middle class and affluent racially mixed neighborhood, whose residents, as narrated by several student and parent participants, encountered racial discrimination in the school system but not class discrimination.

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directly impacted the classroom and changed the nature of relations of power ascribed to race in the institution of the school.

The white and black parents and students I interviewed described Moreland as a vibrant academic and social setting – creating permeable geographical, structural, and social-psychological boundaries. In this analysis of education as a "property of power," and of facilitating racial equality, Moreland as it was studied in the archival and interview data of white and black participants, illustrates an educational structure undergoing transformation. It was a place where racial stereotypes could be scrutinized and contradicted and where students encountered enactments of inclusion in interracial classrooms. It was on some levels the microcosm of the pleasures and pains inherent in a desegregated educational setting. In this analysis, Moreland was a site of academic privilege that was desegregated.[95]

Additionally, Moreland was noteworthy because of the Plan's policy of transporting white students to this predominantly black school. Black students could remain in their neighborhood school, while white students were expected to travel by bus to Moreland. Once both groups of students arrived at the school, they participated in heterogeneous academic classes together.[96] This was a unique event in the national

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[95] My analysis of Moreland as a *desegregated* site of educational privilege is based on the availability of archival and interview data on Moreland. There was not the same ample material to study concerning the predominantly white schools to which many black students were bused.

[96] My understanding that Moreland provided heterogeneous classes for black and white students is based on my review of the archival data and also the interview data I collected. Most white students narrated intact heterogeneous classes at Moreland. One white student narrated his experience taking a subject area with a higher grade class. A black student also reported taking a subject area with an upper grade class. The heterogeneity of classes appears to have changed with the establishment of the magnet program at Moreland as part of the district's efforts to attract more white parents, whose transfer of their children would improve the racial balance of these schools. My understanding from student and educator narratives is that after the magnet program was introduced in the early 1980's, Moreland's program appears to have carved out a

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busing trends at that time (Armor, 1995; Orfield, 1996). As such, it was a reversal of traditional relations of power ascribed to race and class. In this scenario, African American students could experience inclusion in the comfort of their neighborhood school. Black parents narrated the close proximity of the school, a welcoming principal, and their involvement at Moreland. These parents monitored the newly desegregated school to ensure equal opportunities for their children. Some white students narrated discomfort and dissonance in their first year at Moreland, yet they indicated the "encounter" (Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990) was a source of intellectual and social growth for them. At the same time, the potential for social and intellectual growth was equally high, due to the educators' apparent preparedness for the conflict, their skill in teaching heterogeneous groups of students, and their support by the district and by parents of neighborhood and bused children. In such a setting, there was the potential for what I am calling educational transformation – the change in the structure (policies and practice) of sites of educational privilege in order to achieve the following: the provision of equal educational outcomes, production of equal academic outcomes, and the engendering of social power.

Social Psychological Boundaries: Enactments of Inclusion and Exclusion in the Implementation of Shaker Schools Plan

"This is my school now, I'm not a visitor..."

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homogeneously grouped class for an academic period during the school day. As a math magnet, it provided a math enrichment "pull-out" program. A black student at Moreland during the 1980's narrated his experience taking reading with an older grade and participating in the "Math Projects class" which this student told me was the advanced math class. An educator told me that the magnet focus on math influenced the teaching of math throughout the school.

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Parent experience of the Shaker Schools Plan narrated in interviews and in archives reveal differentiating experiences of inclusion at the elementary schools. Parental vigilance, cited by African American parents as key to addressing racial discrimination in the classroom, was weakened by distance—geographic and social-psychological—for black parents participating in the busing of their children to predominantly white schools. At the same time, the white parents who bused their children to Moreland found the boundaries more permeable in terms of their visiting the school, getting information about the classroom, and feeling as though they were entitled to be there. While economic background clearly determined the time parents spent in their children's elementary schools, social-psychological boundaries determined the extent to which parents encountered enactments of inclusion or exclusion in their children's elementary school.

For example, in the first year of the Shaker Schools Plan, archival materials indicated the high level of inclusion that white parents experienced at Moreland School:

> As to the instructional program at Moreland School, observations and comments from parents indicate that the level of instruction is quite good. The parents are delighted with the nongraded aspect of the program and the concern that the teachers have shown for the individual. The white parents have been more active in the program than many of the black parents have been and so there has been more visitation at Moreland, more conversation with the principal, more conferences concerning the children's adjustment and perhaps more concern shown, even to the point of some of the parents being overly concerned about the adjustment of their children...The observations of the white children who are being transported to Moreland indicate that all is going quite well with them.[97]

[97] Memo from M. McFarland, "A Progress Report of the Shaker Schools Plan," 10/26/70. District archives.

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Archival data on the experience of African American parents at the predominantly white schools documented a family link program and a lunch buddy program[98] to reduce any discomfort black parents or their children might experience in their newly transferred school. Interview data reveals that black parents experienced social psychological boundaries that were impermeable as a result of an experience of exclusion on the part of parents at the predominantly white school. My interview with a black parent whose child participated in the plan illustrated her experience with exclusion at the predominantly white school to which her child was bused. Virginia talked about her reluctance to attend the open house at the school:

> ...the first year I think um, was kind of hard for me as a parent um, because I didn't feel as welcome...and they had their little cliques, you know, the parents did. I remember I had to go to a, [child's] class was having ah open house, like "spend the morning with your child" and my husband told me, "You go ahead." I said, "Ok, I guess I'll go [very ambivalent kind of voice]," I said, "but I have to go back to work." He said [she laughs], "No, you don't. You have off." And so I said, "I'll go up there. And I'll sit in on her social studies class, and then, I'll come back."

Virginia told me that after observing a class, she was getting ready to leave. She told me, "not too many blacks had come—cause they all worked." On her way she met a teacher who knew her because the teacher worked in several buildings in the district, including Moreland and this elementary school. This teacher encouraged the parent to stay for coffee and meet some of the parents who lived in the neighborhood.

> And she asked me, "Aren't you staying?" and I said, "I guess I will," and then I thought, "That's right. This is my school now, I'm not a visitor," you know? Well...I had the worst experience of being welcome. Where people were, you know, they were—in their little groups, you know, and I said, "Don't leave, Virginia, just stay." And finally I said, "Where is the coffee?" And I had to—

[98] Family link programs brought together white families whose children attended the predominantly white school and who lived in the area nearby with black families whose children were bused to the predominantly white school. Lunch buddy programs involved the hosting of African American children for lunch in the homes of white children who lived near to the school.

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> "excuse me" to get to the table—I'll never forget that...And so finally, I got the coffee, and I saw [teacher's name], that's what it was, [and I said,] "What's wrong with these people?"

The teacher who encouraged Virginia to join the other parents for coffee, hearing this parent's critique, located the principal who spoke to Virginia. She told me,

> ...and she first went and got the principal, and it was [name]...was so nice, yeah, and then they got the PTA president. Well, they couldn't find her, I don't think, so I told [principal], I said, "You know, this doesn't make sense," I said, "You want this busing to work," I said, "and here, I've been in this system [active]"...I said, "and if I feel"—I said, "You should be glad that someone else didn't come and make a scene" [she chuckles] because you know how people can get angry. And somehow, it got back to the PTA president, and she called me up and she said, um, no, I shouldn't have felt that way, that they treated her that way when she first moved into the [name of school] area, you know [coughs a little]. And I said, "Well [coughs], there's a lot of difference, I'm from *a different area*." Somehow it got all the way to the superintendent [laughs] it just stirred up a whole—opened up a can of worms, but it was fine, and they, ah, it helped, you know...

In these two scenarios, the first at Moreland regarding the experience of white parents and the second at a predominantly white school from the experience of a black parent, the relations of power ascribed to race and class delineated the discrepant experiences between "self" and "other" when the former is of one racial group and the latter another racial group. They reflected a pattern narrated to me by white and black parents. The white parent's experience was an enactment of inclusion. The black parent's ultimately was an act of inclusion but it did not take place without the black parent voicing her dissatisfaction with the arrangement of unequal relations of power at work in the setting.

In the implementation and the evaluation of the Shaker Schools Plan, then, the broader societal relations of power ascribed to race and class influenced parent and students' experience of inclusion or exclusion. In the district's intense efforts and

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infusion of resources to change the perceptions among whites of a predominantly black school, and to create a desegregated educational setting with high expectations for its students, an enriched curriculum, and a level of comfort for the minority white students, Moreland appeared to thrive from the district wide desegregation plan. While there was evidence that the district expected that every school created a similar setting for its minority black students,[99] there appeared to be less scrutiny on these settings by the district and by black parents, many of whom could not be at the schools in the same way the white parents at Moreland could be. Finally, in the district's evaluation of the Shaker Schools Plan, the results were very supportive of the benefits of desegregation, a necessary ingredient for the district's effort to continue its desegregation plan. It is no surprise then that in the first three years of the Shaker Schools Plan, the white enrollment increased each year, while the black enrollment decreased.[100]

The evaluation of the Shaker School Program during its first three years included measures of standardized test scores, teacher responses to a staff survey, and a review of the costs of the plan.[101] Over the three year period, results indicated that black students

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[99] Memo from E. McMillan to elementary principals, 1/22/71, regarding "Evaluation of the Shaker Schools Plan," says in accordance with the Elementary Curricular Council meeting the district would like from the principals an anecdotal summary of "your view of how the Shaker Schools Plan is operating in your school to date for the evaluation committee." A cursory review of some of these anecdotal reports indicate mostly positive assessments but also reveal anxieties about the potential degradation of the social and academic experiences of the children in the predominantly white school. District archives.

[100] See Appendix D-6: Table 2 (Svec, 1978, p. 159), for enrollment figures. These figures correspond with those from the 1970-71 school year through 1973-74 school year provided in the Interim Evaluation of Shaker Schools Plan, 1972-73. Later figures correspond with Shaker Schools Plan enrollment figures provided in the *Shaker Heights Schools City District Proposal: Emergency School Aid Act, Title VII, Public Law 92-318, December 1978*, p.4. District archives.

[101] *An Interim Evaluation of the Shaker Schools Plan 1970-71* (February 1972). *The Second Interim Evaluation of the Shaker Schools Plan 1971-1972* (November 1972). *The Third Evaluation Report of the Shaker Schools Plan* (no dates listed but would have been 1972-1973).

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who remained at Moreland performed at or slightly above expected yearly gains in the Stanford Achievement Test; black students who were bused to predominantly white schools performed at or slightly below expected yearly gains in the SAT; and white students at two grade levels performed at or nearly at *double* the expected gain, while white students in the other grade performed slightly below expected gains. The greatest gains, then, were seen among the white students at Moreland, who outperformed students elsewhere in the district.[102] Also evident but not given extra coverage was the strong performance of the resident Moreland students, who stayed in their neighborhood school with a critical mass of black students, no longer racially isolated, and in a setting infused with district resources in terms of staff, materials, and parent participation.

Staff responses to desegregation, presented in the evaluation report suggest that teacher expectations remained high for all the students in the classroom. Staff responded that the manner of teaching and learning in the classroom remained the same as if it were a racially and economically homogeneous classroom. The report indicates that teachers "made no adjustment in academic expectations and goals for their classes because of the influx of new pupils" and that they did not change the subject content, but at the same time that they did not "alter their teaching techniques." Teachers reported "student disciplinary problems had increased as a result of reassignments in these grades." Finally, the report indicated that "more than a majority" of the teachers said that teachers

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Shaker Heights City School District, Shaker Heights, Ohio. The first year also included responses from sociograms by students on selection of playmates and parent responses to a survey. Shaker Heights Public Library Local History Collection.

[102] Public discussions of the results included some level of caution due to the small number of participants involved in the program (216 in year one, 204 in year two, and 197 in year three – numbers that were then disaggregated by race and grade).

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accepted the bused children, and 78 percent of the teachers said that the students in the predominantly white school accepted the black students. Anecdotal reports by building principals were submitted to the superintendent, indicating the progress of the desegregation plan. These were not published in the study results. A cursory review of some of these reports show they are mostly positive, but also reveal what's "in the air" (Steele, 1997; Steele & Aronson, 1995) in terms of persistent racial stereotypes related to race and schooling:

> Classroom teachers made no differentiation in their acceptance of any child and effected their instructional program to meet the needs of each child. Those children coming from the Moreland area have not put a "blight" on learning. If you examine school standardized test records prior to 1970, you will find that [name] school has always had non-achievers and under-achievers at all levels. Hence children bused to [name] have made no change in the test performance. Teachers have been able to provide for all children through grouping strategies or individualized instruction. The number of referrals to the school psychologist and/or social worker would indicate fewer black children being recommended for further evaluation or specialist help.

Parent reactions to the Shaker Schools Plan as reported in the evaluation results were positive. Among those parents whose children were bused either to Moreland or to a predominantly white school, the report indicates that "most felt their children had benefited educationally." However, the evaluation results did not report that of the 63 questionnaires mailed to white parents, 46 were returned (73%) while of the 131 questionnaires mailed to black parents, 28 were returned (21%). There was concern about this,[103] as indicated in correspondence between the district and the individual responsible for the analysis.[104]

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[103] The individual responsible for the analysis felt that the returns from black parents were "not sufficient to allow valid conclusions to be drawn" and recommended following up with telephone calls to parents of bused black students "if we wish to be able to draw valid conclusions about the reactions of those parents." There is no indication that this was done. In this instance, the pressures on the district to demonstrate its efforts to effectively desegregate while at the same

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Ongoing Implementation of Desegregation

The Shaker Schools Plan continued for seventeen years before the district reorganized at the opening of the 1987-1988 school year. During that time, the program expanded in number of participating students and in number of schools involved. In its early years, general enrollment decreased, particularly the enrollment of black students.[105] This was reversed in the 1975-76 school year, when the district was awarded the first of a number of federal grants from the office of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) through the Emergency School Aid Act, Title VII.[106] The district received

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time to emphasize its continued high academic standards are evident. The feedback of white parents was positive and the SAT scores for most white students were above average. The feedback of black parents was limited and the SAT scores for most black students appeared to vary. Those who remained at the newly desegregated Moreland appeared to have produced slightly higher scores than those who transferred to predominantly white schools. This pattern continued for the subsequent two years, with the exception of the third year reassigned sixth graders, whose scores were equal to Moreland resident students. After year one, parent surveys and the sociograms were not used in the yearly evaluation.

[104] Memo from E. McMillan to John Lawson, 8/31/71, regarding "Responses to Parent Questionnaires about Shaker Schools Plan" and memo to John Lawson from E. McMillan, 9/20/71, regarding "Parent Questionnaires in Evaluation of Shaker Schools Plan." District archives.

[105] See Table D-6 for Shaker School Plan enrollment figures.

[106] The district received an increasingly substantial amount of funding from the federal government through the Emergency School Aid Act, Title VII, Public Law 92-318: 1975-1976: $135,000, Title VII funding to improve and expand the SSP; 1976-1977: Title VII funding at $283,000: "to strengthen SSP and to finance new programs to reduce racial isolation, especially at the secondary school level"; 1977-1978: $412,500; 1978-1979: $341,383: "to support expanded Plan and to finance programs that help children adjust to desegregated schools" p. 6, *Proposal: Emergency School Aid Act, Title VII, Public Law 92-318, December 1978.* District archives.

These grants supported the office coordinating the Shaker Schools Plan; resource room and other support programs, including alternative to suspension (ATS) programs; staff development and human relations programming (*ESAA Proposal, February 1978*, p. 10). Orfield points to the "substantial research evidence of benefits to schools and widespread popularity in districts" as a result of federal funding from the Emergency School Aid Act, which could not be used for busing but could be used for "educational and human relations programs related to successful

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$135,000 that first year, and with these funds, it opened up an office to coordinate of the Shaker Schools Plan, recruited new participants, marketed the plan among Shaker residents, and responded to concerns that arose as the plan was implemented. The district hired a director who was African American, Beverly Mason, who lived in the Ludlow area and had children in the district. Mason appeared to build the program into a larger and more established educational structure within the system. Under her leadership, the program expanded to all the elementary schools and the junior high schools, which attracted a substantial number of black students whose parents sent them to the predominantly white junior high school at Byron. The federal funding provided the financial support and also a set of guidelines that shaped power relations across race within the district administration. For example, ESAA regulations required an advisory council of which "at least 50 percent of the members of the board are members of a minority group" and "the advisory board has at least 10 members" and "at least 5 civic or community organizations" which are "broadly representative of the minority and nonminority communities to be served," with the additional requirement that "at least 50% of the members of the board are parents of children directly affected by a plan or project" with at least 2 secondary school students, "half of whom are members of a minority group."[107]

District archives suggest the advisory council was a safer place to critique the desegregation plan than the broader community, with the intent of making it a more effective means of facilitating racial equality. Perhaps the record keeping required by

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desegregation" (Orfield, 1996, p. 25). The program was repealed in 1981 in the first year of the Reagan administration.

[107] *Proposal, Emergency School Aid Act, Title VII, Public Law 92-318, February 1978*, p. C18a.

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HEW in the district's yearly proposal for the grant and the influence of looking at the institution critically, particularly in terms of student-teacher interactions, created space for the public critique. It was also a space where the critique was contained.

The Mid 1970's through Early 1980's: Emerging Public Critique of the School System by Black Parents

In the mid-1970's, despite its increase in the number of participants in the Shaker Schools Plan, the district was still contending with an imbalance in the number of whites and blacks in most of its elementary school buildings, as well as its two junior highs. While the issue of racial imbalance persisted, there was increasing attention among some educators and many African American parents toward inequality of educational opportunities, particularly in terms of the absence of black students participating in the higher level courses in the high school and junior high school and their large presence in the lower level courses, as well as concern about unequal academic outcomes, as evident in the wide academic gap in grade point averages between black and white students. This was expressed in administrative council meetings and in the informal and formal gatherings of black parents, such as the advisory committee of the Shaker Schools Plan.

> Comments on the proposal were made by members of the Advisory Committee, as well as citizens attending the public hearing. One person thought that the proposal was similar to those in past years. Another questioned the high school tracking system, suggesting that it leads to resegregation of students who had been integrated in elementary school. A citizen questioned the representation of black students on the senior high newspaper, and questioned whether black students feel fully accepted in secondary school.[108]

[108] Title VII advisory committee meeting, held some time between October 30, 1978, when members were given a copy of the ESAA proposal to review, and December 4, 1978, when the proposal was due. Included in *Proposal: Emergency School Aid Act, Title VII, Public Law 92-318, December 1978*, p. 18c. District archives.

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This local focus on the achievement gap and on disproportionate enrollment by race in the levels system occurred at the same time as changes in focus took place on the federal level – although for fundamentally different reasons. At the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, there was a shift away from its desegregation enforcement role on the part of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, influenced by Richard Nixon's opposition to busing and an erosion of support among Northern members of Congress after the Supreme Court indicated in its *Keyes* (1973)[109] decision that Northern states would also be subject to court-ordered rulings.[110] As a result, HEW became increasingly involved in discrimination cases and "investigating patterns of discipline and expulsion in schools and demanding data on sensitive questions of testing and procedures for channeling children into remedial courses" (Orfield, 1976, p. 297).

This confluence of factors emerged to press upon the district. Patterns of racial exclusion, particularly at the junior high school and high school level, became too consistent a theme in the experience of black students. In the period between the mid 1970's and the early 1980's there was evident a strong and persistent public critique towards the school system by African American parents. Archival documents indicate a succession of events leading up to a public critique on the part of an African American parent group, Concerned Parents, of the district's levels system and its failure to create an

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[109] *Keyes v. School District No. 1, Denver, Colorado*, 413 U.S. 189 (1973).

[110] Orfield writes that with the *Keyes* decision, the Supreme Court held that "The logic of the Keyes case suggested that, when school authorities made a series of decisions that had the easily foreseeable effect of intensifying segregation and rejected alternatives that would foster integration, this was sufficient proof of violation" (Orfield, 1978, p. 16). Orfield also notes that *Keyes* was the first ruling by the Supreme Court after the 1954 *Brown* ruling that was not unanimous, with Justice William Rehnquist dissenting.

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educational setting in which black students thrive as well as white students do. During the 1976-1977 school year, the U.S. Department of Education Office of Civil Rights (OCR) requested data from the school system on enrollment by race in the higher level courses in the high school.[111] *The Cleveland Press* reported the enrollment figures provided by the school system:

> ...of the 802 children participating in those programs [honors and advanced placement and enrichment programs] only 68 were minority and 734 were white.
>
> Those figures were disparate from the system's minority enrollment of 35%...
>
> The survey also revealed that, of the 245 children suspended or expelled from school last year, 181 were black and 135 were black males...[112]

According to these figures, the percentage of African American students participating in higher level instruction would be 8.5%. While it is not clear if this is only the high school, or also junior high and any other enrichment programs, the percentage is extremely low. African American parents whose children were attending in the 1970's expressed grave concern over the lack of representativeness of black students in the higher level classes in the high school, and in whatever junior high prerequisite courses that existed that prepared students for the higher level math and science classes in the high school. A white educator told me about conversations with black and white

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[111] In my study of archival materials there are three periods of time during which the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) investigated the district's policies and practices: 1976-1977, 1986-1987, and 1996-1997. The 1996-1997 "proactive compliance" investigation was more documented than the others. It is not clear what prompted the OCR to investigate the district. There was some mention among black parents of efforts to involve the OCR, only after a level of frustration persisted with the lack of change in the schools. In the two early investigations, several black parents I spoke with expressed disappointment that the OCR was unable to identify policies and practices that had the consequence of discriminating against black students in the school system. At the same time, there appeared to be a continued willingness to work within the institution as well as outside of it, in terms of effecting change in the representation of black students at the higher levels and their increase of student achievement.

[112] Teachers told to increase enrichment of minorities. (1977, March 28). *Cleveland Press*.

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parents at an awards ceremony at the close of 9th grade in one of the junior high schools in the early 1970's:

> I talked with the [black] parents during the reception and said now, "It's wonderful. Are your students going to take the advanced placement courses in the high school?" Every one—every single one said, "No." And I said—why not? They said, "Well the guidance counselor said—told—said, when they talk about [their] children, they said, 'Are you—do you think he could *handle* the advanced placement course?' And 'Because it's going to be very, very difficult.'" And so I then talked with some of the white parents, and they all said, "Yes," [their children would be taking advanced placement courses in the high school], and I said, "Well, what did the guidance counselors say, to, to the children, your children," and they said [the guidance counselors told them,] "Of course you're going to take advanced placement courses."

Hence, during the early to middle 1970's black students encountered enactments of exclusion guided by racial stereotypes about black students not having the achievement level or the motivation to enroll in high level courses. Narratives such as the one above, provided by a white educator who had the authority to intervene with the counseling department and with teachers in order to make clear the practice would not be tolerated, reveal social-psychological boundaries to be completely permeable to white students but impermeable to black students. As a result, the enrollment patterns for the educational structures reinforced these mutually exclusive racial stereotypes, reserving sites of educational privilege for white students and excluding black students from the "property of power" located within those sites.

Concerned Parents, Inc.

The Concerned Parents, a group that was founded in 1977, was very much at the heart of identifying institutional racism as a problem that needed to be addressed within the system. In its informational brochure, it notes a membership of two hundred families,

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and among its goals "to advocate before the Shaker Heights Board of Education and the administration for the concerns of children and parents."[113] It supported district-wide professional development efforts such as the speaking engagements of prominent black scholars and their consultations with the district.[114] The organization worked directly with black parents, holding meetings that provided information and assistance to black parents on the sites of educational privilege and the kinds of impediments black parents could expect to encounter in the Shaker system that result in exclusion of black students. Their activism led other African American parents to question institutional arrangements and to approach teachers and confront them about their interactions with their child that they viewed as disrespectful, distancing, or exclusionary. One white educator noted the impact on her and on other white teachers of black parents identifying expressions of institutional racism within their classroom teaching:

> ...ok, it's done innocently. Well, how do you, how do you point these things out? I—ah, the Concerned Parents—the white people would have liked Concerned Parents to point it out – that they had done it a little more nicely, that's right, um, but, but I think again, the Concerned Parents felt that ah nobody's gonna listen, unless you bring their attention to this...

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[113] *Concerned Parents of Shaker Heights, Inc.* Informational brochure. No date. A later brochure, printed after April, 2001, attributed the extensive tutoring program in the district with its early efforts to provide tutoring to students, predominantly African American, in the homes of some of its members. It also noted the district hired more black teachers and administrators as a result of the organization's activism and dialogue with the superintendent, Jack Taylor, from 1976-77 through 1982-83. Finally, it noted its advocacy for increasing numbers of black students in the higher level courses. The brochure noted similar organizations were established in nearby Cleveland Heights and Orange Village, with the assistance of this group. The names of its founders were listed in the original brochure: Verdell Cannon, Alma Culberson, Leona P. Edwards, Constance Farmer, Nammie D. Hampton, Lois Huff, Wilma Lorrits, Delores Malone, Gail Rose, Elizabeth Walker, June White, Clemmie Wright.

[114] Along with the Concerned Parents group, the district sponsored a number of seminars on institutional racism and brought in African Americans such as Kenneth Clark, a social psychologist, to speak on institutional racism, and James Comer, a child psychiatrist, to speak on parent-school partnerships. Intra-staff communication memos by Superintendent Jack Taylor also focused on looking within for institutional racial biases.

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In addition, Concerned Parents influenced the formation of educational structures to increase black students' access to sites of educational privilege. In this analysis, I refer to these structures as *counteracting mechanisms of inclusion*. These structures supported black students who were entering these sites, such as providing tutoring to compensate for a students' hesitancy to ask questions of a teacher in a higher level course or a teacher's inability to effectively answer the question, or lack of willingness to do so. Finally, Concerned Parents actively questioned educational structures that they felt impeded racial equality, one of these being the levels system.

Push Excel

During the 1978-79 school year, Push Excel, an affiliate of Operation Push, established an office in the high school and a director to organize black parents and students.[115] Push Excel collected achievement data on sophomores and analyzed the data, disaggregated by race. In the 1979-80 school year, it issued a report on the gap in student achievement by race, which was presented to secondary level school administrators, the high school faculty, several elementary school faculties, a community advisory committee, the Concerned Parents organization, and individual parents and

[115] Push Excel was initially not a part of the school system but affiliated with Operation Push in Chicago and a Push chapter in Cleveland, led by Rev. Otis Moss, an active black minister in the Cleveland community. Push Excel had an office in the high school and an African American director, John Addison. The purpose of Push Excel appeared to be to provide motivation for African American students and information for their parents with the goal of improving school achievement. Although early archival materials [Shaker Life Video: *Project Excel*. Shaker Heights Moreland Room collection] appeared to affiliate Push Excel with the national movement generated by Operation Push, later materials seem to characterize it is a program in the high school and not clearly identified with the larger organization. This may have created some tension in terms of how the program was publicized and how it was carried out in Shaker Heights.

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students. The report "revealed a startling disparity between the academic achievement of black and white students with black students lagging far behind white students."[116] The report revealed, among African American males, "More than 60% had less than a 2.0 accumulative average and 50.5% took at least 1 of the lowest level classes."[117] After the report was shared, there was a surge in parent involvement among black parents. I was told,

> ...there was a lot of parent involvement, and this, ah, this sort of supported parent groups who were doing things because they had real information to say, you know, there is a need—we aren't just—we don't feel this, we're not just saying this from the gut...study groups were formed, many of the African American families formed support groups...for their children who were taking advanced courses, honors courses, or who they thought maybe had the potential to, and they wanted to encourage them to do that, and to ah – try to get them around positive peer pressure, so it was—there was a lot of activity.

The report also noted that 100 students across grades tenth through twelfth grade (the high school had three grades until 1986-1987, the year before the district reorganized) discussed the data analysis and "were very disturbed when they saw what the study revealed." As a result, the students requested two additional meetings. In the last meeting they made recommendations for the following year.

In this analysis, this period of time in the district's history, from the middle 1970's through the early 1980's, when questions about racial equality in public education were raised, is viewed as a form of disruption in patterns of inclusion and exclusion expressed in the district's two competing interests: increasing educational opportunity, particularly for African American students, and preserving academic standards seen

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[116] *Push for Excellence. A summary of activities.* Included as Appendix B in *The Shaker Schools: A Commitment to Excellence. Position Paper Response to Urban League.* September 1980.

[117] Ibid, p. 2. Student enrollment by race in the 1979-80 school year was 39.2% African American.

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particularly by white parents to be at risk of erosion due to the racial and economic diversity of the district. This period of time is also characterized by efforts of the African American parent leadership to increase educational opportunities and academic outcomes for black students. These efforts sought to focus on the sites of educational privilege where black students were decidedly absent. They pointed to numerical data to give credence to black parents' unease about a pattern of enrollment among black students that their parents attributed to exclusion at the higher levels and inclusion in the lower levels.

In this sense, these groups were involved in activities that reflected a regrouping capacity, using Apfelbaum's theory of asymmetric power relations. Apfelbaum (1979) notes that power is established and maintained through the use of two specific mechanisms: *grouping*, the differentiation of the group with less power by the group that is more dominant, where the norms of the dominant group are viewed as natural and normal and those of the subordinate group are seen as deviant, inferior or abnormal; and a parallel process, that of *degrouping*, where the dominant group denies the differentiation process even as it maintains it, through tokenism and the discourse of social mobility, as well as through the side effects of domination.[118]

Regrouping, as demonstrated in this period of time, interfered with the patterns of inclusion and exclusion that operated alongside each other. Within classrooms, social-psychological influences affected classroom experiences of inclusion or exclusion. During the mid 1970's through the early 1980's, black parents, historically the group

[118] Apfelbaum (1979) notes that these side effects include internal conflict within the group with less power, and the expression of the dominant discourse by members of the subordinate group in viewing members from their own group. In this way there is a splitting of the group with less power, particularly through class distinctions, as well as other forms of distancing and exclusion, where some African Americans use the same forms of marginalizing other blacks as used by whites.

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with less power, interrupted the routines of the institution, questioned the legitimacy of educational structures that effectively included white students but excluded black students and reinforced mutually exclusive racial stereotypes where whites were automatically viewed as more competent and motivated and blacks, with exceptions, were viewed as less so. While there may have been many vehicles for regrouping, clearly one avenue was through critique of the structures that contributed to a sustained gap in relations of power between blacks and whites. In the case of this study, the structure most in question was the levels system. At this juncture in the district's history, critique, and the conflict that was a consequence of raising questions, was *functional* in that it interrupted the routine implementation of educational structures and questioned their legitimacy in serving black and white students equally. At the same time critique was unsettling to those educators and parents, predominantly white, who understood the educational structures to be inclusive and "just."

"Vigilance" Among Black Parents

African American parents with children in the school system in the 1970's through the early 1980's narrated experiences in which they approached educators to discuss with them an enactment of exclusion their child had as a result of something the educator had said, done, or not done. As the Concerned Parents group pressed the district for greater accountability, they also met with black parents to provide information and assistance about school programs. Some of the narratives concerned the experience of individual black parents approaching educators with concern about inequalities in the classroom. Patricia, an African American parent, described an experience she had in

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pointing out to a white educator the ways in which the educator was engaging in what in this analysis I refer to as enactments of exclusion toward her son:

> With our son, who really was very, ah, really had, I think, a very gentle kind of, ah, approach, and, and um, the teacher just didn't, she just was very strict and all, and if he was second late, you know, just close the door on his face virtually and ah, you know that, that was, ah for some kids that would be fighting words, but with him it was just a, was a, a crushing experience, and so, we had a long talk one time, just she and I. And I just explained some things to her. And ah, she remarked at the end of it that she felt like she had really been counseled. [she laughs] Well, I thought, well if that helps, you know [laughs again], it's, it's—but ah seriously I, you know, I felt that she, eh—I had to make her aware of – about some things.

While the district was emphasizing equal educational opportunity, members of Concerned Parents, and likely other black parents, especially those who had the educational background and/or professional status to engage a white educator on a fairly equal plane, were interacting with district officials, building administrators, and teachers on issues related to equal educational opportunity and equal academic outcomes. Interview data suggest that sometimes the focus of the conversation was the individual's child. Other times, the focus was broader, encompassing all of the black students enrolled in the school system. Patricia described the way in which she understood her role as a black parent in the district:

> I lent support, not because I felt there were problems that we could not address, for our own children, but because I was certainly aware there were parents who didn't have the skills to do it on their own and who, but still were concerned, but not really knowledgeable about how to go about it and that was one reason that I lent support. And I remember a friend calling, and we were talking, [and the friend said,] "now, why would you be bothered? you know, when [she laughs a little] you—you really shouldn't be involved and bothered with this" [she laughs] and ah, and so as I say it wasn't because—we didn't really need an organization to ah because we were able to do it for ourselves but, I felt that, ah, that we needed to, to support it because the issues being raised were honest issues...that was my feeling—my – our kids were doing well, but that wasn't enough for me because there were too many, ah, students of color who were not doing well...and so, you know, I, I, just could not accept that, that all these black kids had to be

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down in level two but, ah, you know, but there were—they certainly had a lot of levels but they were, you know, which is below the *average!*

Educator's Encounters with Feedback from African American Parents Concerning Exclusion

At the same time, the conflict was very destabilizing for white educators and parents, since it questioned whites' view of themselves as legitimately located at sites of educational privilege, and it critiqued the view that those included in sites of educational privilege deserved to be there because they have demonstrated achievement and motivation, while others have not. Concerned Parents identified what I refer to in this study as enactments of exclusion, such as low expectations of black students, a social discomfort with black students and parents and the consequential distance, and the tendency to question black students' academic preparedness and ability more readily than white students. In pointing to these social psychological boundaries that existed for black students in the classroom, that did not exist for white students in general, the questions set the stage for a debate over the validity of educational structures that reinforced these social psychological boundaries. As indicated in the student narratives chapter, questions about inequality in the school system as a result educational structures (practices and policies) appeared to have the effect of jeopardizing white students' and parents' view of the system as a "just" system and their participation in the system as legitimate. Those white students who narrated an engagement with an experience of "encounter" (Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990), where their understanding of racial inequality emerged, also narrated intellectual and social growth. Other white students did not narrate "encounter," and although they spoke in high support of racial diversity, they were less likely to view sites of educational privilege and unequally available to white and black students.

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Similarly, teachers also narrated "encounter," which produced a changed view of themselves as "white" and subject to accepting racial stereotypes and enacting exclusion in the classroom. As a black parent told me,

> I think there was just so many – ah – perceptions that people held deeply, that—they were not racist, they were just, um, attitudes that they often turned out to, to have that effect, so, ah, because I know even – I mean, you *know* that people are not um, [slight pause] um, deliberately mean or vicious, but they have just for so long held these opi—opinions, and it's so prevalent in the – um – society that it colors the way they respond. And that was difficult for people to admit to.

While this black parent spoke about enactments of exclusion toward black students, there were narratives among white educators who also "grappled" with their own accessing racial stereotypes—and rejecting them. During one interview there was a moment when a participant encountered a deeply held perception through which exclusion was enacted—not in the classroom but in the manner of thinking about European American children and African American children. In my conversation with this white educator who was narrating perspectives from the period of the late 1960's and early 1970's, this individual paused in the middle of an explanation for the achievement gap between white and black students, and questioned the underlying assumptions:

> ...there was a discrepancy, there was, there was not a question about it, um, um, two or three reasons I think why: the black students' parents, many of them were working, um – [slight pause] – well – now, that's not gonna work out – ah, and they – ah – didn't have the background that our, our white children had – but you turn that right around, and the white, some of the white children, their parents went off to Australia for the winter, and left the children alone, ah, with the maids, so, um, it was, it was, more or less a cultural thing...

This is a fascinating example of the creation and dismissal of a mutually exclusive racial stereotype concerning achievement and motivation. The educator notes, "there was a discrepancy" between the achievement of black students and that of white students, and then provides a reasoning why the gap exists—absent African American parents who are

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not in the home to support their children's learning because they are working. No sooner is this stated than this individual says, "well – now, that's not gonna work out," and proceeds to critique the scripted reasoning with equivalent conditions in an affluent home, which are not always visible nor are they scrutinized in the same way as in the home of a black family. In this process, the participant traces one of the stereotypes that points to children in African American families as performing lower academically as a result of lack of parent supervision or involvement. In this educator's examination of the racial stereotype, this individual points out that wealthy white parents were not necessarily more present or more directly involved with their children's learning than middle class or working class black parents, in the way the stereotypes assumes they were. Within the critique, however, the social psychological boundaries were still evident, as revealed in the educator's pattern of speaking: black students were referred to as "they" and "the black students" but white students were referred to as "our white children."

TESA

Among some of the district's educators there was an interest in looking intently at how teacher-student interactions facilitated or impeded racial equality. As a result, in the late 1970's the district nurtured a professional development program, Equal Opportunity in the Classroom, also called TESA or Teacher Expectations Lead to Student Achievement focused on teacher interactions with students.[119] The program was

[119] The Equal Opportunity in the Classroom program was developed by the Los Angeles Public Schools, according to Jack Taylor's memo to staff in Shaker Heights Public Schools *INFO Intra-Staff Communication*, October 1979, p. 1. Several staff were sent to Los Angeles and trained in the program. The program was voluntary, although at some point later there may have been some

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voluntary and it involved teachers observing other teachers in the classroom, focusing on particular responses to students. A white educator who participated in TESA told me,

> TESA became a very powerful thing...one major TESA thing was that ah, where you stood in the classroom had—*predicted* who was going to participate in the classroom...so if a teacher changed her position, when she was talking, she would actually get different people to talk...And there were many other things but what this did was it an *awareness* program. What it did—you know how many of us thought that we called upon equally – everybody? And there was a strand there that's called "equal calling," and that's what your friend was in there um, ah you know marking you on... and you get to see ah, your, yourself...[120]

In this study, I analyze TESA, as described in the archives and narrated by several participants, as a *transformative educational structure*. It facilitated the provision of equal educational opportunities, production of equal academic outcomes, and the engendering of equal relations of power, which I define as facilitating racial equality. It directly affected the educational structure (policies and practice) of the school system. It was transformative change and it impacted the classroom, changing the nature of relations of power ascribed to race and class. TESA was also most likely to make social psychological boundaries more permeable to black students because it made teachers conscious of behaviors that enacted exclusion in the classroom.

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conflict between the administration and the teachers union over the administration's interest in making the program mandatory. The program was part of the Achieving Academic Excellence project, led by an African American educator in the district, Delores Groves. It was "a plan of action to eliminate institutional racism and promote the achievement of academic excellence for all students in the Shaker Heights City School District." Another initiative of the project was a tutoring program established at the high school in November of 1979, with substantial usage by black students (224 students from November through June—48% of all the students) and white students (239 students—51% of all students), of whom 60% came for math help, 33% for English, 27% for science, and 8% for history and foreign languages. See *The Shaker Schools: A Commitment to Excellence: A Position Paper Response to The Urban League*. September 1980. Shaker Heights, OH: Shaker Heights City School District.].

[120] TESA appears to have been absent from the district's professional development efforts some time after the early to mid 1980's, according to a March 20, 1985, Superintendent's professional advisory council meeting, during which the possibility of "reviving" TESA was raised. District archives.

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"It was an affront..."

Lois, a white teacher, talked about a period of time in the district, sometime in the late 1970's and into the 1980's, when she encountered a black parents' critique over actions Lois had taken in the classroom. In this analysis, I refer to "enactments of exclusion" as conscious or unconscious behavior by educators that has as its consequence a student experience of distance, lack of legitimacy, or exclusion. Lois described this period of time as one of "growing pains" when teachers began to reflect on their interactions with students in a racially and economically diverse classroom, and engage with parents about teachers' cultural insensitivity. She told me,

> I think that there were certain growing pains, for instance, um, I think that there was, I don't want to call it a hypersensitivity—there was a sensitivity on the part of the black parents to advocate for their young people because *they* were putting them into a situation where they were worried about what kinds of attitudes were going [to] come their way, so they were very vigilant, about – attitude, and especially ah, ah, what do we call it, um, um, I want to say, ah, institutional racism, they were very, very careful about institutional racism...

Lois noted that white teachers were sometimes unaware that their interactions with a black student had created distance or exclusion. She talked about how she had "messed up" an African American child's name and the child's parents came to speak with her, very angry about her insensitivity. Lois noted that part of the insensitivity was a teacher's lack of awareness – or lack of interest – in the history of interracial relations in the United States: a mindfulness of the impact of slavery and segregation on generations of black families and how unequal relations of power continued to be present in the classroom. Often times a teacher accepted or referenced a stereotype of which he or she was unaware.

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Lois' narration of events such as these, occurring between black parents and white teachers, could be described as an "encounter" (Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990) of divergent subjectivities – that of the teacher and that of the student or the student's parent. Lois talked about experiences where white teachers did not intend to exclude but did so, and then encountered the "shock" of being told their actions negatively impacted a black student. In this sense, some white teachers encountered for the first time a view of themselves not only as an educator but as a *white* educator, interacting with students in a racially diverse classroom. While they assumed their actions in the classroom to be neutral, they were told otherwise. Lois told me about an occasion where she was made aware by a black parent how an action she took lacked sensitivity toward racial stereotyping and had a detrimental effect on a black student. She told me she was extremely upset about her mistake and the accusation of racism:

> ...and um [pause] I, I was—it was an affront ah, to me, it was an affront. Today, I understand it. But then I was, "Oh, my God," you know, "I just can't imagine, of all things"...and I would, I'll never forget that weekend because it was just, you know, it was – consuming, consuming...

Lois narrated the gap between intentions and consequences from the perspective of the white teachers, but she also reflected on the standpoint of a black parent:

> So we white teachers, you know [laughs a little] we were sitting there really – um – did many things institutionally racist but – had *no idea* and therefore backs went up because you know, there was no intent here but nonetheless, there were things to be learned... the major thing, that, that white teachers, and that white folks would say, is that none of this was malicious or intentional. A black parent didn't really care whether it was malicious or intentional. It was that it was there, ok? And ah, and so therefore, the, the white back went up...

"the white back went up..."

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At the same time, some white teachers were unwilling or did not feel the need to reflect on the influence of stereotypes on their teaching or the potential for their interactions with African American students to be viewed as exclusionary, and thus having an impact on black students' learning in the classroom. There are few references of these concerns in the archives, but black students and parents narrated experiences with exclusion in the classroom, suggesting some educators' dislike for the changing complexion in their classroom and the heterogeneity of language, dress, perspectives, levels of physical energy, and academic skill. While desegregation produced opportunities to reflect on and revise enactments of exclusion, this opportunity was often missed or avoided. These narratives as well as those of some educators suggest that changing exclusionary practices occurred only when there was some level of acknowledgement on the part of the teacher of her or his role in the exclusion and the relationship of the exclusive act to the institution's perpetuation of inequality. An educator narrated her observation of a discussion that took place during a staff meeting in an elementary school in a white and affluent area of the city. The district was preparing the schools for the implementation of the Shaker Schools Plan. This discussion, then, took place before the 1970-1971 school year, a number of years before activism on the part of black parents emerged as a force in the district. In this instance, for example, the view of the particular teacher being described was static and one way. This educator recalled the discussion, telling me,

> I remember one—eh, I never will forget it, one time we were – first talking about this...to discuss the fact of black students coming into the district, cause they were beginning to come in, and I remember one teacher saying, "Well, I don't

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think we'll have any problem here...because all of our children have had butlers and maids.[121]

In this example was the view of an uncomplicated relationship between whites and blacks with little space for self-reflection concerning individual and institutional maintenance of relations that are unequal. The statement itself was an enactment of exclusion on the part of the educator, suggesting that the nature of interpersonal relations between a white student and a black student would be the same as that of a white child and his or her family's domestic help. Here, in the North, was a scripted version of white comfort level with blacks and the view that whites "know" their housekeepers and domestic help. In this script, this "knowledge" and comfort level are transposed into the classroom resulting in a view of self in relation to "other" that is not complicated by the history of white's exclusion of blacks – to the advantage of whites. A more recent corollary is the suggestion that an individual's support for racial diversity and diverse settings suggests a waiver from self reflection of individual racial bias and ways in which one participates in institutional bias.

While teacher narratives reflected a range of teacher receptivity to examining their interactions with students in the classroom, the system itself reflected a reluctance to engage in public conflict and to fully examine these structural and social-psychological boundaries. As with other desegregated districts, the Shaker Heights school system

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[121] The prevalence of domestic help in homes in Shaker Heights, provided by African Americans, is documented in archives reviewed by Weeks (1966): "Negroes had lived in Shaker Heights for many years, ever since the village of Shaker Heights was established. Most of the Negro residents had been domestic help; this was probably true even in 1960, when of a total 357 Negroes, 292 were women. A few Negro families had lived in a small enclave in the southwestern corner of the Cleveland part of the Ludlow elementary school district for many years, and a few of their children had attended the school. However, this enclave was not considered a part of the Ludlow community" (Weeks, 1966.)

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worked to sustain an image of the stable and harmonious desegregation of its schools.[122] Evidence of conflict was destabilizing and therefore it appeared the district made every effort to respond to public critique. As a white educator told me about conflict in the system, "What it does to some people is it makes them wonder whether they should send their kids here."

The Focus of Change: Counteracting Mechanisms of Inclusion and Alternative Sites of Educational Exclusion

The concerns of the black parents, coupled with the activism of a number of black and white educators, resulted in the implementation of new programs. For example, the tutoring center for junior high and high school students was established at the high school in 1979.[123] In this study, the tutoring center is analyzed as a *counteracting mechanism of inclusion*. Counteracting mechanisms of inclusion thwart enactments of exclusion, and make sites of educational privilege accessible to a more racially and economically diverse group of students, increasing the permeability of structural and social psychological boundaries. These programs were designed to improve the achievement of African

[122] John Ogbu's recent ethnography, *Black American Students in an Affluent Suburb: A Study of Academic Disengagement*, underscores the emphasis in the Shaker Heights school system and the community on racial harmony. Ogbu's study suggests this emphasis is dependent on a "code of silence" whereby there is an expectation that the critique regarding strained racial relations not be publicly acknowledged in order to preserve a "public image or self-image of the community" (Ogbu, 2003, p. 60). Ogbu notes this critique was reported more frequently by black students than white students. He writes, "Many Blacks...believed that the self-image of harmonious race relations had persisted because there existed a sort of a code of silence: People were not expected to publicly discuss, and usually did not discuss racial problems in the community. A different image emerged when the code of silence was broken" (p. 60).

[123] According to the *Selected Initiatives to Improve Student Achievement in the Shaker Heights City Schools* (1/15/97, page 11), a tutoring center in the high school library opened in 1979, providing free tutoring by certified teachers after school in the afternoon and the evening four days a week. A tutoring center for elementary students was established in 1980.

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American students. They also were established to increase representation of black students in the higher levels. They did not, however, require change in the educational structure of the levels system. Black parents cited this reluctance to change structures as contributing to unequal opportunities and outcomes.

In addition to the use of counteracting mechanisms of inclusion, and the transformative educational structures such as the tutoring center and the Shaker School Plan busing plan, the district established programs for students whom educators felt would benefit from an alternative educational setting. According to district documents, the establishment of alterative educational structures, or what I analyze in this study to be *sites of educational exclusion*, was a response to resegregation in the elementary classes and more extensively at the secondary level in the junior high schools and high school. Resegregation was mostly described as a phenomenon exhibited by black students. In the February 1978 proposal for federal funding through the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA), the concern about resegregation at the elementary and secondary level was raised:

> Since the Shaker Schools Plan has been in existence, one phenomenon that occurs is that some minority youngsters, when volunteered away from their predominantly minority neighborhood schools to schools with a majority of white students, resegregate themselves in their new schools...they tend to have problems both socially and academically.[124]

The ESAA proposal noted that white students in Moreland who are bused to the school exhibited this behavior "to some degree," but the focus of the concern was

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[124] *Proposal: Shaker Heights City School District: Emergency School Aid Act, Title VII, Public Law 92-318. The Shakers School Plan, February 1978.* Pp. 12-13. District archives.

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primarily with African American students.[125] For the older children in junior high school, the problem that the district reported needing to improve was the high number of suspensions of African American students, which was noted in the proposal as "common to schools undergoing desegregation."[126] The proposal pointed out that in the district this problem was seen as institutional, and was therefore the theme of staff development programs, many of which focused on institutional racism and approaches in the classroom that teachers could use to engage and include all the students. At the same time, there were concerns that the presence of "disaffected" students would lead to white flight:

> In the case of Shaker Heights High School, the majority of these disaffected students are black. Therefore, generalizations and prejudices of the majority population tend to be reinforced, and parental fears, both imagined and real, resound in the perceptions of an integrated secondary school...[127]

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[125] Students narrated a geography in the high school building that was defined by desegregated and segregated spaces. White students graduating from the middle to late 1970's narrated a space they called the "egress" or "hippy hallway" where students gathered to hang out and smoke cigarettes within the school building. This space was located near the large auditorium. Students described this space as predominantly white, and this area in more recent times is referred to as the "white door." More recently, students have explained this phenomenon of the white door as related to the fact that the north end of the city is predominantly white and therefore white students exited out that door. African American students narrated the emergence of a space to gather and hang out, which became evident in my interviews with black students graduating in the late 1980's and early 1990's. This area is located on the south side of the building. More recently, the location of this space has sometimes been attributed to the southwest end of the city being predominantly black and students being more likely therefore to exit from that door. In the late 1990's the district constructed a large front entrance, which appears to be used by both white and black students.

[126] *Proposal: Shaker Heights City School District: Emergency School Aid Act, Title VII, Public Law 92-318. The Shakers School Plan, February 1978.* P. 15. District archives.

[127] *Proposal: Shaker Heights City School District: Emergency School Aid Act, Title VII, Public Law 92-318. The Shakers School Plan, February 1978.* P. 18. District archives. Also found in *The Shaker Schools: A Commitment to Excellence. Position Paper Response to Urban League.* (September 1980). P. 17. Shaker Heights Public Library Local History Collection.

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As a result, beginning in the 1976-77 school year, the district used the ESAA funding to establish a "school-within-a-school" program, for which it hired an African American director, for a group of approximately 48 students, selected from a larger group who were required to apply for the program. The first year of the program the enrollment by race was 26 white and 22 black. Those attending were described by the director of the program as "low-motivated students running the gamut of intelligence" whose "major problem had been failure to attend school."[128]

A white educator at the high school noted that "alternative placement" was viewed as the appropriate solution for these students and that "on the one hand, the idea was to keep them academically together to improve skills and curriculum, etc., but on the other hand it pleased an awful lot of teachers cause they were out of their hair, ah, being in the basement of the school, so, um, it was both an academic issue and a social isolation issue." An African American educator told me that the program was a good program, and that it sustained student engagement in schooling, resulting in a high school diploma for many students who might have dropped out, and for some students it led to college admission. The goal was to mainstream the students back into the regular program as soon as possible. I did not come across any documentation that provided an assessment of the program, nor could I locate later enrollment figures by race.

While the School-Within-a-School program was established to deal with "resegregation" according to some district documents and "disruptive" students according to others, it appeared to reinforce resegregation. The argument that academic engagement and connection with educators in a school building would reduce the number

[128] Minutes of Advisory Committee Meeting, September 23, 1976, p. 2. District archives.

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of suspensions was key to this program. Data on a decrease in suspensions were used to illustrate the effectiveness of the program.[129] Archival data suggest that educators at these sites were often uniquely skilled at fostering connections between themselves and students. At the same time, these sites are not analyzed as providing equal educational opportunities, equal academic outcomes, or engendering equal social power, and are therefore *not* viewed in this study as transforming the institution. In the School-Within-a-School Program, the seeds of a later institutional phenomenon occur, the existence of classrooms in which educators effectively connect with students and engage them in the subject area, but are located *outside* most other educational structures in the school and therefore are viewed in this analysis as *sites of educational exclusion.*

As a result, in the mid-1970's, there was a concern about resegregation, but it was seen as a problem of African American students, not European American students. In this is exemplified the parallel tracks of attending to racial equality in a way that did not disrupt existing sites of educational privilege. While the system was very active in providing professional development seminars on institutional racism and other topics related to a critical study of student-teacher interactions, and it was supporting desegregation at the elementary school level, it was also intent on preserving the "property of power" inherent in an education at Shaker Heights high school by providing those students with the greatest potential for disruption with an alternative setting. In

[129] There were initiatives at the junior high schools with similar goals for reducing resegregation, also linked to social maladjustment and viewed as best treated by alternative or pull-out programs. The district established a "tutorial/counseling center" at each junior high school for "disaffected students" (Mason & Adamson, 1983, p. 11). It is not clear what the enrollment by race was for these programs.

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doing so, it reduced the number of suspensions, particularly among black students,[130] and likely provided a means for a number of the students in the program to stay connected with educators in the school and secure a high school diploma.

Nevertheless, for those students participating in the program and for those in the educational mainstream, the School-Within-a-School had the likely effect of reinforcing mutually exclusive racial stereotypes related to achievement and motivation.[131] Whether or not there were white students in the program, what became most visible, as narrated by students whom I interviewed, particularly in the 1980's, is that those enrolled in the program were African American. As one white student who graduated in the mid 1960's, before any of these programs were developed, told me, in talking about his black peers, "there were a couple of kids that were – low achievers, I guess, that's the nice way to put it, ah, and – they were – you know, nobody really cared. I mean there were – *white* kids that were low achievers too, except they [black kids] just kind of stuck out more it seemed." An African American student attending the high school in the late 1980's told me,

> We would say those are the dumb kids or the stupid kids, and it was in the basement. And you could tell, they would wait until the bell would ring, the late

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[130] The district reported the following figures for suspensions: 1976-77: 351; 1977-78: 363; 1978-79: 290, 1979-80: 270 in *The Shaker Schools: A Commitment to Excellence. Position Paper Response to Urban League.* (1980, September). P. 16. I am not sure if this if only for the high school or high school *and* junior high schools. Enrollment was decreasing also during this time, with 6,727 students district-wide in 1976-77 and 6,049 students in 1979-80.

[131] In his study on Desegregation and social integration in the Shaker Heights School District: A descriptive case study emphasizing a junior high school, Lawrence Svec (1978), an educator in the district, listed as an implication in the conclusion of his study at Woodbury Junior High School the following: "The resource rooms in the secondary schools may serve more as crises rooms where students who face school suspensions are helped with school work and counseled than as places where racial socialization is encouraged. Students in the secondary schools seemed to receive no real help or encouragement with racial socialization through school programs" (Svec, 1978, pp. 110-111).

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bell, and then they would go down. They didn't want people to see them going down.

As a result, the educational structures put in place, such as the School-Within-a-School in the high school, and the Alternative to Suspension programs in the junior high schools, intended to produce academic improvement in a supportive setting and reconnect students with educators. Yet they operated through exclusion. Furthermore, they put in place programs that began as inter-racial programs but had the potential for becoming majority African American.

Hence, while black parents worried about their children's exclusion from sites of educational privilege, the district established these "alternative" sites of educational exclusion. "Alternative" settings may have provided students with a connection with educators and possibly engagement with a subject area, but they were outside the life of the student body, both geographically (the program was located in the basement) and social-psychologically, in terms of reduced interactions with other students and other educators.[132] At the same time these alternative sites were established, there was also an expansion of the scope of the levels system, with the higher level courses increasingly a part of the junior high schools and the introduction of basic-level courses, such as Survey of High School Mathematics and vocational education classes.

Some of the efforts analyzed in this study that were taken by the district to facilitate racial equality were programs such as the tutoring center, which participants

[132] In a summary of several changes to the district beginning with the 1985-1986 school year, including the closing of Woodbury Junior High School (all seventh and eighth grade students would attend Byron), there is also the announcement with regard to Woodbury facilities, "Woodbury Junior High will be closed next year, although its athletic facilities will continue to be used by high school students, and the School-Within-a-School will meet there for two years." I do not know if this plan actually was implemented. See: The Story Behind THE STORY of the Year(s). (1984, October). *The School Review*, *44*, p. 1.

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through the current phase narrated as providing a very important service, and are analyzed in this study as counteracting mechanisms of inclusion. Other efforts directly impact on the classroom and change the nature of relations of power ascribed to race and class in schools, and these are analyzed in this study as facilitating transformative change. In this study, I analyze the expansion of the Shaker Schools Plan as a transformative educational structure. The Shaker Schools Plan directly affected the educational structures of the school system. It facilitated the provision of educational outcomes, the production of academic outcomes, and the engendering of equal social powers, which I define in this study as facilitating racial equality.

Counteracting mechanisms of inclusion were also put in place by the district in order to reverse enactments of exclusion, and to make sites of educational privilege accessible to those students who had previously encountered impermeable structural and social-psychological boundaries. These mechanisms, however, which increased over time, focused on students and not educational structures. Moreover, when a transformative educational structure was introduced by the district, there was often another educational structure introduced around the same time, which was not transformative but tended to reproduce unequal relations of power in schools.

Parallel Initiatives at the Junior High Level: Desegregation and the Establishment of a Gifted Program

In the 1978-79 school year, two parallel initiatives were established at the junior high schools: one to desegregate the racially imbalanced junior high schools and the other to establish a gifted program in these two schools. The school system expanded its Shaker Schools Plan to include all of the elementary schools and the two junior high

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schools. Students could elect to attend another school, if it improved the racial balance in that school. This was particularly significant at the junior high level, where the imbalance was rather acute.[133]

The district introduced the gifted program at the junior high level as an educational necessity. Selection for the program was based on teacher-administrator recommendations; Stanford Achievement test scores; and I.Q. test scores. A *School Review* report noted:

> The new program will close the gap in courses offered the gifted. Special Projects classes for talented elementary pupils, held at Ludlow, now accommodate fourth, fifth, and sixth grade pupils. Advanced Placement classes at the high school are elected by highly motivated students. Thus, with the Advanced Course Program (as it will be called at the junior high level), the curriculum will include offerings for gifted students from grades four through 12.[134]

The parallel initiatives of the expanded Shaker Schools Plan at the junior high school level and the introduction of the gifted program at the junior high level illustrate this competing and interdependent pattern of implementation of educational structures in the school system. In this sense, action taken by the district to expand desegregation to the junior high schools had the potential to change educational structures. However, these efforts, analyzed in this study as facilitating racial equality and therefore transformative, were accompanied by new and competing educational structures, the gifted program, that had the potential to exclude black students.

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[133] Without the Shaker Schools Plan, in the 1977-78 school year, Woodbury would have been 48% African American (the high school was 40% African American) and Byron would have been 26% African American; with the plan Woodbury was 44% and Byron 33%. See "Exhibit #3" in Racial/Ethnic Report, 1964-1978, With Supporting Data, Shaker Heights City School District in Appendix D-3.

[134] For the Gifted at Byron and Woodbury. (1979, January). *Shaker Review*, p. 3.

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There is no evidence of an intent to impede racial equality through the establishment of structures such as the gifted program in the junior high schools. The discourse supporting the program was one of educational opportunity and further enhancing the educational excellence of the school system. Yet the consequence of the gifted program was its ability to nullify increased racial balance. While the schools became racially diverse as a result of the expansion of the Shaker Schools Plan at the junior high level, the establishment of an advanced track, already problematic at the high school level in terms of contributing to patterns of enrollment by race, had the consequence of segregating students in classes by race in the increasingly desegregated buildings. The levels system, as an educational structure (policies and practice) in the school system, did not facilitate an equal provision of educational opportunities, production of academic outcomes or engendering of social power. In this study I analyze the levels system as a structural boundary that emerged alongside the increasing permeability of geographic boundaries that once excluded black students from the sites of educational privilege in the school system before the district desegregated. As geographic boundaries weakened, structural boundaries increased in strength and scope. In its impermeability to African American students, the levels system replicates the inequalities of the broader society within the school system. It does not allow for the contradiction of mutually exclusive racial stereotypes regarding achievement and motivation that cast white students as more competent and deserving than black students. These stereotypes are reinforced through the educational structure of the levels system.

Shift in Scrutiny: Toward the Levels System and Transformation of Educational Structures

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It was not until early 1980 that public critique was raised in a substantial way concerning the levels system. In the spring of 1980, Concerned Parents, which had posed questions over several years about the underrepresentation of black students in the higher levels and the overrepresentation of them in the lower levels, merged interests with an outside and national organization, the Urban League, and requested that the district provide enrollment data by race and questioned the utility of the levels system itself. Nearly ten years after a group of black and white parents whose children attended Moreland School demanded that the system provide their children with a desegregated education, another group of black parents was insisting that the racially isolated levels be desegregated.

The public critique appeared to have struck a raw nerve in the district leadership, which was committed to its level system but troubled by its effectively racially imbalanced classrooms. Frequent communications from the superintendent to teachers and administrators in the district encouraged staff to examine their practice, their expectations for African American students, and the extent to which they encouraged black students to enroll in higher level classes.[135] The criticism from Concerned Parents was not new. This organization frequently interacted with the superintendent and the district office and with educators in the district. The Concerned Parents group was very

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[135] See: On institutional racism. (1977, March 11). *Shaker Heights Public Schools, INFO: Intra-Staff Communication*. See: The future of racial justice. (1977, August 31). *Shaker Heights Public Schools, INFO: Intra-Staff Communication.* See: Comments from a Shaker staff member on racism. (1978, February 2). *Shaker Heights Public Schools, INFO: Intra-Staff Communication,* which includes the following text: "We have come a long way in Shaker in dealing with racism and have much to be proud of in eliminating its more overt manifestations. But institutional racism is a very insidious and pervasive phenomenon which can be totally eradicated only if we are 'eternally vigilant' as individuals, as building staffs, and as a total school district."

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clear in its critique. However, this time the critique was raised in the public forum of a board of education meeting, in association with an outside, broad-based, national black organization, the Urban League. The Office of Civil Rights had contacted the district in 1976 and 1978, seeking information on enrollment at each level, disaggregated by race. And the numbers were consistent with the criticism of black parents. They were dismally low.

The public critique of the levels system and the accumulation of several years of critique on the part of black parents in general, some black and white educators, and the Concerned Parents in particular, set off a series or papers, studies, committees, and debates over the future of the levels system. The district responded to the Urban League later in the year through a position paper, *The Shaker Schools: A Commitment to Excellence*. The paper was explicit in the district's commitment to a levels system, which it saw as fundamentally tied to its excellence as a school system. It noted "One approach to meeting the diversity of student needs and talents is course leveling by academic ability."[136] This was and remains a critical thread in the district's argument[137] that is passed down through the superintendencies.

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[136] *The Shaker Schools: A Commitment to Excellence. Position Paper Response to Urban League.* (1980, September 1980). P. 1.

[137] See also: Levels of Instruction Inaugurated in Shaker. (1964, November). *School Review*, p. 3, which states the following: "How can the schools design course content and instructional levels so that less able students have successful study and class-room experiences? To this questions, as old as education itself, the Levels provide a ready answer. A student with less strength in a subject may choose a less demanding level, where with a class nearer his ability he can be more successful in a realistically planned course. The phychological [sic] byproducts of a successful class experience seem unquestionably good for a student." Levels are viewed as an appropriate educational practice in a setting where there is a "diversity of learning styles exemplified by students," as indicated in the following: Secondary Curriculum Shows Contemporary Changes. (1973, August). *School Review*, p. 2).

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The levels system became the means for preserving the academic standards perceived to be at risk of dilution due to racial and economic diversity within the school system. By the late 1970's, the blatant racism evident in a *School Review* announcement more than ten years earlier of the establishment of levels at Woodbury[138] was absent from district arguments in support of the levels system in the late 1970's. However, the view that students were differentially "apportioned" academic strengths and weaknesses and that the system should accommodate that differential "apportionment" remained a key argument in favor of the levels system, always followed by the conviction that in an "open" system low achieving students can "catch up" and advance to higher levels:

> Shaker has an open leveling system. Any secondary student can choose his own levels of study...Levels are a recognition of a fact of life – that the ability to learn is not uniformly apportioned among human beings...We believe that those students who come to us with exceptional abilities in some subjects should be challenged through stringently demanding courses to perform to their best abilities. This accords with the democratic principle that people should be permitted to succeed, uninhibited by institutional barriers. Leveling facilitates this process.[139]

Another argument in favor of the levels system is that placing students of similar "ability" in a classroom is psychologically good for them. In an ironic permutation of the "inferiority" argument that effectively persuaded the Supreme Court's ruling in favor of desegregation in Brown v. Board of Education (Cross, 1991), the district literature argued

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[138] In this announcement of the levels system at Woodbury, there were assurances to (white) parents that "educational standards at Woodbury" were not affected by "opening of educational gates to Negroes." See: Woodbury inaugurates individual pupil-scheduling. (1966, October). *Shaker Review*, p. 3. See section within this chapter, "The Counteracting Boundaries of Exclusion and Inclusion: Educational Structures within a Desegregating School System."

[139] Taylor, Jack P. (1980, May). The leveling system: A commitment to excellence. *The School Review*, *5*, p. 1.

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that separation of students by academic levels prevents their experiencing a sense of inferiority in a more advanced class:

> Students of similar ability and intent are grouped together in the levels system, and are encouraged to progress at their best momentum. Their chances of feeling inferior are thereby diminished; they enjoy education more; and, through the experience of success, develop greater self-confidence.[140]

The final argument that the district made in its justification of the levels system is perhaps the most critical and sustaining argument, compelling then and even more so in the current period. The district argued that the levels system was valued by colleges and universities, who see the system as successfully producing highly qualified applicants for some of the most competitive colleges.[141] This argument revealed the fundamental phenomenon of education as a "property of power" (Ng, 1979). In this argument, schools are a setting for academic competition. Parents who have the access to school officials, and the understanding of how the system works, are successful in ensuring their children's possession of this "property" and their use of it to secure admission to a competitive college. The argument was compelling, particularly in a desegregated school, where some African American students accessed sites of educational privilege,

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[140] Taylor, Jack P. (1980, May). The leveling system: A commitment to excellence. *The School Review*, 5, p. 1.

[141] Reflective of the competition for the prestige accorded to schools with high numbers of students taking advanced placement exams, *Newsweek* publishes annually "The 100 Best High Schools in America," which ranks public schools according to the number of Advanced Placement or International Baccalaureate tests taken by all students at a school each year, divided by the number of graduating seniors. According to the *Newsweek.com* website, Shaker Heights appeared as 255 on the list [http://stacks.msnbc.com/news/912995.asp]. The 2003 report noted that the number of students taking the advanced placement exam is 10% more than last year, and "twice the number of these college-level tests taken in 1996" (p. 50). *Newsweek* also notes that "From 1998-2002, AP participation by underrepresented minority students increased 77 percent and participation by low-income students increased by 101 percent, while overall participation rose only 48 percent" (p. 50). See: The 100 Best High Schools in America. (2003, June 2). *Newsweek*, pp. 48-54.

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allowing for their social mobility and providing evidence of the district's commitment to excellence for all its students.[142] At the same time, African American parents narrated the impermeability of boundaries at the advanced levels for black students, suggesting that inherent in maintaining sites of educational privilege is some operation of exclusion.

The emphasis on the educational value of the levels system, however, masked the influence of the levels system in reinforcing structural and social psychological boundaries and thus impeding the facilitation of racial equality. In addition to meeting "individual needs," the levels system also appeared to reduce anxiety among middle class and affluent black and white parents about lowered academic standards due to an increasing number of black students from the Cleveland Public Schools, some of whom were from poor or working class families. At the same time, the field of education, was also shaped by federal funding streams that favored compensatory education in separate but equal systems (Orfield and Eaton, 1996). This endorsement of educational structures such as educational levels or tracks as well as gifted and remedial programs favored homogenous grouping of students by grades and standardized test scores. Educators viewed such structures as preferable, or tolerable. At the very least they did not warrant scrutiny in terms of their potential to thwart racial equality. The Concerned Parents

[142] This is likely why in a district with majority black enrollment there is little noticeable movement among most black parents, and few white parents, to abolish the levels system for a heterogeneously grouped system of classes. The desire among parents for the "property of power" gained in a Shaker Heights diploma cuts across racial and economic lines. There is little interest in weakening the status and reputation of the school system, particularly in how it is viewed by post-secondary institutions. However, while parents' desire for their children's social mobility crossed racial lines, parents' experiences with the school system varied greatly by race. In the interviews conducted for this study, white parents narrated in a fairly consistent manner enactments of inclusion on the part of the system toward them and their children. The narratives of black parents were much less consistent. They were characterized by a strong sense of inclusion achieved through parental vigilance, or the experience of exclusion with or without the investment of parent effort. The subsequent chapter on student's conceptualizations and experience of racial equality documents these experiences of inclusion and exclusion.

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group was the most vocal and persistent source of critique about how the enrollment patterns in the levels system and the social-psychological interactions at the different levels contributed to the exclusion of African American students from sites of educational privilege while contributing to the inclusion of European American students. Additionally, outside the critique of the Concerned Parents, there was little public concern evident in the archives regarding the influence of the levels system on reinforcing mutually exclusive racial stereotypes.

A district position paper[143] was presented at the September 16, 1980, board of education meeting, and the district defended the levels system and its policy of weighting grades according to the level of the courses.[144] At that meeting "the Board voted unanimously for continuing an open levels system in the secondary schools." [145] The district's position paper stated the Urban League was incorrect in saying that there were no African American students in the level five classes. It stated:

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[143] *The Shaker Schools: A Commitment to Excellence. A Position Paper Response to The Urban League.* (1980, September). OH: Shaker Heights City School District.

[144] Included in its defense are the responses to a survey the district conducted. It surveyed a number of teachers on the fairness of the weighted grade system. It also surveyed 930 students of whom 65% responded. No description of the sample or indication of the race of respondents was provided. The survey appeared to focus on whether or not students understood the weighting policy (90% said yes); and whether or not the policy was fair (72% said yes). Twenty percent said weighting grades should be eliminated. The report concluded on this matter, "What has been determined, via teachers and students at the high school who work directly with this system, is that the way in which, as well as the reasons why, grades are weighted at Shaker Heights High School is fair" (*The Shaker Schools: A Commitment to Excellence. A Position Paper Response to The Urban League.* (1980, September). P. 16.

[145] The levels of study: Many accept invitation to participate in evaluation. (1980, October). *The School Review*,8, p. 1. According to this article, approximately 80 in-person interviews were conducted. It is not clear how representative this group of 80 was of the school district's enrollment by race and economic status.

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After reviewing a sample of 1979-80 enrollment data at the senior high school, the following information was found:

- A total of 26 black students participated in Level 5 English courses
- A total of 13 black students participated in Level 5 Science courses
- A total of 8 black students participated in Level 5 Social Studies course
- A total of 12 black students participated in Level 5 Math courses[146]

The paper also stated "the sample demonstrated that black male students were enrolled in Level 4 and 5 courses including Math, Social Studies, Science, and English."[147] However, it did not indicate what that number was. It noted that support programs designed to improve the absence of black students in the higher level classes included the Push Excel program and the Equal Opportunities in the Classroom program. In terms of these interventions, the latter is significant in that it was designed to directly impact the teacher's awareness of her or his interactions with students in the classroom, and the ways in which those interactions facilitated or impeded racial equality. However, it is not at all clear whether this program was widely embraced by teachers at the high school level. Although the paper indicated that 60 professional staff had completed the training, there is the possibility that this program was utilized primarily by teachers in the elementary buildings. An interview with an educator who participated in the program suggested this. This educator told me,

> I think we did it for two or three years on a voluntary basis, and it was so wonderful that the district wanted to do it on a mandatory basis. I don't believe the mandatory

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[146] *The Shaker Schools: A Commitment to Excellence. A Position Paper Response to The Urban League.* (1980, September). P. 5. In the 1979-80 school year there were 2,370 African American students district wide, 39% of the district's enrollment. It is not clear to me what the authors mean when they refer to their figures as a "sample" but then also use the word "total."

[147] Ibid., page 5.

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basis ever worked, when you order people "Thou shalt" and, and ah, especially in the high school—the high school was *extremely* resistant...the teachers union, most of the leaders of the teachers union were males who were ah ensconced in the high school, ah, so the high school never bought into that...

In terms of disciplinary policies, the Position Paper indicated that there had been a decrease from 351 suspensions in 1976-77 to 270 in 1979-80. It elaborated on the phenomenon of the "disaffected" student and noted "many of these disaffected students are black."[148] It repeated earlier concerns raised in a ESAA proposal in 1978 for the influence of "disaffected students" in reinforcing "parental fears, real and imagined" which they note are particularly sensitive in a desegregated school.

Also subsequent to the board's meeting with the Urban League, the district hired a consultant team from the Western Michigan Evaluation Center to conduct a study of the levels system. As part of its investigation, the study presented data indicating the district had "disproportional enrollments of black secondary students in high level courses, where enrollment is an open choice for parents and students."[149] Among the data presented, the study indicated that while 38% black students were enrolled in an English course, 36% in a math course, 39% in a social studies course, 78% of the students enrolled in a vocational course were black. At level two (remedial), 80% of those enrolled in English were black, 76% of those enrolled in math were black, and 68% of those in social studies

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[148] Ibid., p. 17. The text used in this section is nearly verbatim to the text used in the February 1978 *Proposal for the Emergency School Aid Act, Title VII, Public Law 92-318, The Shaker Schools Plan*, suggesting a static approach to these students and their experience of schooling in the high school.

[149] Freeman, M. & Sanders, J. R. with Baraka, J. & Sherman, N. (1981, September). *Research on Selection Methods and Programming for Advanced Black Students at the Secondary Level of Education: Final Report, NIE Programs of Research Grants on Desegregation*, p. 3.

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were black.[150] The Center also reported in 1977, with 37% of the students being black, 8% participated in level five courses; in 1978, with 39.3% of the students being black, 15% participated in level five; in 1979, with 39.2% being black, 13% participated in level five; and in 1980, with 41.4% of the students being black, 14% participated in level five.

The Western Michigan Evaluation Center's report was then followed by the establishment of a large committee of educators, parents, and community leaders, the Committee for the Improvement of Student Achievement, which took a very broad look at many facets of improving student achievement in the school district.[151] From 1980 through 1983, the district was engaged in two tasks: defending and preserving the levels system and establishing structures within the school system to improve student achievement of African American students. The conclusions drawn from the study conducted by the Western Michigan Center were reported to the public as the following:

> 1. The Levels System is acceptable to the vast majority of the teachers, students, parents, and community members that we heard from.
>
> 2. The system enables the district to offer an expanded set of courses as electives that would not ordinarily be part of a lock-step program.
>
> 3. By allowing students to freely select the level of a course that fits their requirements, the district Administration hopes to avoid the disadvantages of tracking students. The district does not intend to place students; it wants to allow

[150] Ibid., pp. 3-5. It is not clear if these data are for the 1977-78 or 1978-79 school year, or an average of the two.

[151] One of the most direct outcomes of the Western Michigan report as it relates to the levels was the recommendation that level two courses be offered strictly as remedial classes. There was concern about the large numbers of students, predominantly black, who were enrolled at this level but who were able to take level three classes. In the 1986-1987 school year, the high school departed from previous policy for level two classes. The new policy required that students in level two classes be there for remedial purpose only. At the same time, a new program was established in level three, the Humanities program, which served students described as testing "below grade level on standardized reading tests" ("Humanities Program – Grades 9-11," *Selected Initiatives to Improve Student Achievement in the Shaker Heights City Schools*, January 15, 1997, pages 24-25).

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them to place themselves, and course registrations do require parents' signatures.[152]

In my interviews with black parents with children in the system in the 1980's, these parents narrated their struggle to insist their children remain in the higher level courses, even when their children were experiencing racial isolation in the classroom. An African American parent, living in the Moreland area, talked about her daughter's experience. She told me that when her daughter was in the third grade, she was reading at the 7th grade level. When her daughter went to Woodbury, she was in the advanced classes, but she was very unhappy because her friends were in the college preparatory or "regular" classes. This parent told me her daughter told her that "people won't like you" and "they'll talk about you" if you are "too smart." She told me,

> I said, "Do you have a problem with that? Don't you think that's an honor?" [and] she said, "Ok, fair, fair, but when I go to high school," she said, "I don't want to be in nothing but regular classes" – [I said,] "All right with me if that's what you wanted to do." So she struggled through that and ah she went to Cleveland State for one full semester...

When I asked this parent more about her daughter's experience at Woodbury in the advanced classes, we reached an impasse where she expressed disbelief that I would not immediately know why her daughter was unhappy in these classes. These were moments in my interviews where I became intensely aware that white parents as a group experienced the school system in vastly different ways, as did their children, from black parents and their children. While white parents often do not know this, or do not want to know this, black parents are aware of the differential experience and the lack of knowledge whites have of this differential.

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[152] The levels system – last year, evaluation; this year, proposals for change. (1981, August). *The School Review*, p. 2.

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Anne: did she have a bad experience in those advanced classes when she was in Woodbury?

Parent: you know what it was?

Anne: no

Parent: you *don't?*

Anne: well, I can speculate but I—

Parent: the speculation was there were very few black people in there

Anne: ok, did she tell you that?

Parent: yeah, she told me that

Anne: was she uncomfortable?

Parent: no. She just didn't want to be bothered with a whole lot of that – she'd rather be with her friends

This parent persisted with her demands that her daughter stay in the advanced level courses through Woodbury. When her daughter reached high school, the mother kept her promise to let her daughter pursue the level three (college preparatory) classes. I asked her if she thought her daughter's counselor encouraged her daughter to take the advanced placement classes in the high school. She told me she was not aware of any guidance counselor encouraging her daughter to stay in the high level classes. This parent's use of language reveals the contradictory experience of African American students, who do not want to be racially isolated and therefore understand the "open" higher levels to be closed to them. She told me her daughter "emphatically probably" notified her counselor of her intent to exit the advanced track in high school and enroll in level three (college preparatory) classes, noting, "well, I guess, you know, she emphatically probably told them she was not going to do that, so you know you just don't

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bother any more." Again, my experience as a white parent expecting schools to interact a certain way with parents revealed the gap in parent experience by race in interacting with educators. As a white parent, I expected this black parent to tell me she had been contacted by a counselor or teacher who felt her daughter was making a mistake and to discuss ways in which to persuade her otherwise. This did not happen. Her daughter, "my brightest," enrolled in college preparatory classes during high school. After graduating, she attended one semester at Cleveland State University and has not pursued further post-secondary education. This parent noted, "Well, so you know, how that battle is – so you just, ok, go on do whatever it is that you think – well, now she would *love* to do that – but that comes with growth."

Maintaining Racial Balance, Preserving Academic Standards: The Special Projects Program

At the elementary schools, even with the Shaker Schools Plan, racial imbalance continued to be a problem. Beginning in the late 1970's and into the early 1980's the district planned and implemented several magnet school programs in the predominantly black elementary schools. These programs were designed to attract more white students by establishing a magnet theme: at Moreland, the magnet was math and computers, at Lomond it was French, and at Ludlow it was a strong literacy focus within a gifted and talented program. The Ludlow program was established several years before the Moreland and Lomond program.

The Special Projects program at Ludlow had eligibility requirements, and was intended for children who showed a high creative capacity, based on a particular test used

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to measure this capacity and on teacher recommendation.[153] The Special Projects program began in the 1977-1978 school year, and continued until the district reorganized in the 1987-1988 school year.[154] Students attended the program in the upper grades of the elementary school, beginning with fourth and fifth, and later expanding to the third and sixth grades. The classes were self-contained and traveled together through each grade. Ludlow School was small, and most grades had two classes, the Special Projects class and the regular class. In a proposal for federal funding to support many of the desegregation programs, the special projects program at Ludlow is described as serving "academically and creatively the talented 4th, 5th, and 6th grade students...[t]hrough special projects classes, which include challenging units of instruction."[155] The response to the program was encouraging to the district:

> It was believed that a program should be instituted at Ludlow School to attract children to attend that school on a voluntary basis. Therefore, three Special Projects Classes were implemented at Ludlow School in grades 4,5, & 6. This attracted 53 non-minority and 14 minority children to that school. Thus greatly improving the racial balance – 68% minority students as opposed to the projected 86% minority students without the Program for the 1977-78 school year.[156]

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[153] Summary of administrative council meeting 5/12/82. District archives.

[154] The Moreland program evolved over time, expanding on the early theme of math and later computers, and then officially offered for the 1981-82 school year, along with Lomond's science and French enrichment program, as part of the district-wide "Choices for Children," which avoided using the word "magnets," for the programs at Lomond, Moreland, and Ludlow (the schools with the largest number of African American students) and mini-magnets at the predominantly white schools.

[155] *Proposal: Emergency School Aid Act, Title VII, Public Law 92-318, December 1978*, pp. 17-18.

[156] Ibid, p. 10. There are two ESAA proposals that I reviewed: February 1978 and December 1978, which reflect similar scope and goals. Numbers in the Shaker Schools Plan and of African American students at Ludlow were reported in the October 1978 issue of the *School Review*, p. 3.

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In my analysis, the program at Ludlow exemplified a site of educational privilege in that it was a setting that provides rigorous and meaningful content, high teacher expectations that produce high outcomes, an opportunity to exchange ideas and knowledge with peers, and relationships with educators that result in strong connections inside and outside the classroom. Additionally, the Special Projects Program contributed to educational privilege in that students' participation in the program tended to propel them into the highest levels of classes throughout their schooling in Shaker Heights. The students who began with the Ludlow program in the early grades stayed in the advanced track of classes throughout their schooling, ending up in the advanced placement classes in high school. In this sense, then, access to a "property of power" generated further access to power and educational privilege.

The basic intent of the program, to draw whites into an elementary school building that was predominantly black and establish racial balance, reflected the continued tension between the district's implementation of competing and interdependent educational structures producing contradictory outcomes: to preserve academic standards viewed by some parents and educators to be at risk of weakening in a racially and economically diverse school district through educational structures that resulted in segregation of students; to create equal opportunity for black students, in order to increase their access to sites of educational privilege situated within predominantly white educational structures. As suggested below in the comments of a white educator about the Ludlow program, the seeds of the more recent interdependent structural and social psychological boundaries were evident in the Ludlow program:

> ...that's when you started—it's [sigh] – there was the beginning of the balancing act because you would have in one 6th grade a predominantly black, and then you

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> would have in the gifted, or in the ah, Ludlow other class would be predominantly white, although you would have some black, but then those black students had a real *problem* because here they're all in with all these whites and then the blacks are over there, so that was the beginning of the pressure on *them*...

Another white educator told me that the program was rich in educational opportunities for those children who participated, which sometimes involved the bringing together of the Special Projects class and the regularly-tracked class. This educator narrated how some parents whose children participated in the Special Projects program felt that the "gifted and talented program definitely influenced" their children, telling this educator how it had "saved my child during elementary school." At the same time, this educator reflected on the inequality in the program's basic structure:

> [T]here was an inequity inherent in this program. First of all who do we think we are coming over here to a neighborhood school with by and large African American children—there were a few African American children in the gifted and talented, but not, not many – course, it was based often on percentages...but I think...that [the regular] kids often felt beneath [the gifted] children.

Archival data indicate that there were concerns about the Special Projects program among African American parents at Ludlow, many of whom had children who did not participate, and white parents elsewhere in the district, who preferred a gifted program within their own neighborhood school. In addition to a critique about eligibility requirements and the low numbers of African American students in the program,[157] there was also concern that the curriculum provided in the regular classes in Ludlow did not approach the curriculum in the Special Projects class in terms of rigor and attention to problem solving, conceptual thinking, and creative opportunities in the classroom. The

[157] From a summary of the superintendent's professional advisory committee, it states "In regard to the selection of students for the Special Projects Class Dr. Taylor stated that these classes will be and must be racially balanced. Dr. Sconzo responded by saying that he can and will defend the selection process if necessary." Summary of Superintendent's Professional Advisory Council, 6/4/80 Meeting, p. 1. District archives.

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minutes of an administrative council meeting in September 1981 stated, "[Name] commented on parental perceptions in regard to Special Projects Classes. It was brought out that there is a need to demonstrate to parents that youngsters in regular classes receive curriculum to meet their needs and requirements for higher education. Dr. Taylor said it should be stressed through letters and conferences that our regular classes are above the average classes in any other school district in this area."[158]

Although the Special Projects program began with a number of African American participants that was representative of the district proportion of black students, it appears that in the later years of implementation the numbers of African Americans decreased. Narrative data from the study suggests that black parents, and some white parents, found the setting to be ineffective in facilitating racial equality. Its segregative structure as a predominantly white class in a predominantly black school was an impediment. Additionally, Ludlow's racially integrated neighborhood diminished over time as many of the original European American and African American residents moved into bigger homes located in predominantly white neighborhoods farther into Shaker Heights, and the area became increasingly predominantly African American and economically less affluent. This appears to have resulted in an emphasis at the district level in bringing in as many white students as possible through the gifted program, in order to come into "compliance" as a racially balanced elementary school.[159]

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[158] Summary of Administrative Council Meeting, 9/10/81, p. 1. District archives.

[159] "Concern was expressed relative to the decreasing white student population at Ludlow. Meetings are being held with the Ludlow Association and families in the Ludlow area to work with this concern." Administrative council meeting, 8/26/80, page 2. District archives.

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In speaking with a white educator, about the special projects program at Ludlow, he noted that the program was flawed in the way it failed to desegregated classrooms, although it did desegregate the building:

> ...every approach you take has positive and negatives. That's a clear illustration of a poor situation, that on paper, the class—ah, the school is racially integrated, but in practice, you go into the different classrooms, and you see that there's really a polarization issue there, ah, ah, so that, that was a problem with ah the voluntary approach there. But you know, I think our community took real pride in taking a voluntary approach to desegregation, and certainly the forced busing, kind of, issue, if you kind of lay the two of them side by side, you had a supportive community kind of working through some of these issues as compared to some ah individual who felt that, you know, this happened to them, sort of thing, so there was, there was a sense of being able to control your own destiny, and you could opt in to have your kid go in Special Projects or if you didn't like the way that was working, you could keep your kid in the neighborhood elementary school, with a good teacher, and the feeling would be that, that, that would get good results. But there's always been different perspectives on all of these issues and it does vary by probably race, economic level, and so on because some parents really loved the gifted program over at Ludlow, and certainly others who might see the kind of polarization we talked about, would say this doesn't make any sense at all. So there's no perfect solution I guess is what I'm trying to say.

"Control Your Own Destiny"

The extent to which black parents whose children lived in the Ludlow area felt they had the ability to control their own destiny is questionable. One African American parent who felt the Special Projects program reinforced racial stereotypes of whites as "gifted" and blacks as "average" sent his child to a predominantly white school with heterogeneous classes elsewhere in the district through the Shaker Schools Plan. While the desegregation plan provided this parent with a form of exit through the Shaker Schools Plan, he found his neighborhood school, a site of educational privilege, was a site of exclusion for most African American children at Ludlow. This same parent, whose child was eligible for advanced classes in the junior high, removed his child from

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the system as a result of the isolation experienced in the advanced classes. For this parent, and for others, "choice" and "voluntary" and "control your own destiny" were not realized in the educational opportunities available in the school system. "Choice" and "control" were compromised due to the pressures on the district to maintain racial balance by preserving sites of educational privilege within educational structures that had the consequence of excluding African American children. In this sense, the Ludlow Special Projects program was not transformative in interrupting a history of unequal education and opening up sites of educational privilege to those historically excluded from them. Instead, it exemplified the simultaneous implementation of privilege and exclusion within one educational structure. In this sense, like the levels system, it is analyzed as a replicative educational structure. Its structural boundaries are impermeable to African American students, and the setting itself reinforces mutually exclusive racial stereotypes of black students not as competent or as deserving as white students.

A white parent whose child attended the Special Projects program told me that the program had the effect of making her kids more prejudiced because it was predominantly white while the other non-gifted classes were majority black. Her child enjoyed the program, as did this parent, and she felt the "magnet program tried very hard." However, as a result of the self-contained nature of the classrooms, where children were separated by assessments of "gifted" and "average," which correlated by race, this parent felt that efforts to foster equality failed. She told me, "The program was terminated probably because it wasn't amazingly successful."

An African American educator noted that the termination of the Special Projects program was due to its ineffectiveness in facilitating racial equality. This educator cited

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the district's reorganization in the 1987-88 school year as an effort to attain racial balance. At the same time, this educator pointed to the replication of the Special Projects program in the elaborate levels system that continued to flourish in the district. This educator suggested that what remained a constant were the pressures on the district to show evidence of maintaining high standards that involved separating students by categories of gifted, average, and remedial, even when this separating process reinforced mutually exclusive racial stereotypes:

> Educator: the magnet program was eventually dropped, and certainly that was part of an effort to have more of an honest and to – reach—bring about a greater potential for integration among the student body. Whether or not it's been successful [he laughs a little], I think, I think the intention was correct
>
> Anne: I, I'm not sure, how—because it was dropped?
>
> Educator: um-hmm. The magnet program was dropped when the schools were combined...part of that was um, an effort to ah, promote integration and, and diversity, and, and make it work
>
> Anne: by reorganizing the district?
>
> Educator: I think that was one goal of it

As geographical boundaries became permeable to African American families, and they enrolled their children in the school system, educational structures designed to preserve academic standards increased in scope and number. Within the school system, then, the enrollment patterns by race in the Special Projects program at Ludlow and the honors (level four) and particularly the advanced placement levels (level five) suggest a white flight out of the college preparatory (level three) or the "average" elementary classes and into the enriched and advanced classes. The existence of segregated sites of educational privilege illustrates the emphasis in the district in providing structures that persuaded anxious parents that higher academic standards were available to a more

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academically, racially and economically homogeneous group of students. The Special Projects program is analyzed in this study as a replicative educational structure in that it reinforced mutually exclusive racial stereotypes about achievement and motivation. It did not facilitate the contradictions of these stereotypes nor did it provide equal educational opportunities, produce equal academic outcomes, or engender equal relations of power.

A Space for Contradictions

In June of 1983 a racially mixed group of high school juniors and seniors wrote to Superintendent Peter Horoschak, outlining their argument for the need for "a program instituted at the sixth grade level to develop an awareness" of "the problems which exist in the area of racism and segregation in our schools." These students noted the following:

> Our personal experiences have led us to believe that the major split between the races occurs during the transition from elementary school to junior high. We have lost friends, experienced alienation, and seen two separate worlds develop. During our years in elementary school, there was no split; a feeling of unity pervaded. Upon our arrival at Byron, we encountered our first instances of (voluntary?) segregation. We are still unable to understand why the problem exists.[160]

[160] Memo to Dr. Horoschak, Dr. Kurtz, Mr. Zimmerman, Dr. Peterjohn, Dr. Paces, from "A Group of Concerned Students," concerning "Follow-up to the Human Relations Program with Mr. Paynther and Mr. Morton. June 14, 1983. Page one. Memo signed by the following students: Brad Albert, Ken Danford, Ruth Diener, Herman Graham, James Hexter, Emily Hooper, Tia Melton, Darleen Pope, Marleen Pope, BerRonica Steele, Michele Thomas, Darrin Thornton, Robert Ware, Alan Weiss, Robert Weissman. Following students' names is "under the leadership of Mr. Zachary Green," page three. District archives.

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In a related document, the same group of fifteen students proposed that the following action be taken "in order to combat racism and polarization of students in the school system:"

a) Use older students as facilitators
b) Develop groups with elementary students to discuss racial problems
c) Build self-esteem in young black students through specific self-concept activities
d) Initiate a program in which teachers and students work together to further de-polarize the school system[161]

Additionally, the students proposed a teacher seminar "for teachers to discuss their own racial attitudes and how to improve race relations in the classroom." They also proposed that "[a] black identity program be established. Here young black students would gain a positive identity."

Over the summer, Zachary Green, an African American educator, and Marcia Jaffe, a white educator, worked with these students in developing what came to be known as the Student Group on Race Relations (SGORR). Zachary Green left the district at the end of that summer, and Marcia Jaffe has directed the program since. These two educators have remained in contact about the development and expansion of the program (McGuire, 2003). In the 1983-1984 school year the program was implemented in all of the sixth grade classrooms throughout the district. The first year reactions by teachers were supportive in some buildings. In other buildings, teachers reported concern that the program would stir up racism – "that to talk about racism where they may not have ever

[161] Preliminary Report of Survey Information from the Human Relations Workshop. This document notes that the impetus for the proposal was the students' participation in "the John Grey human relations assembly" at the high school, a controversial presentation intended to trouble the audience sufficiently about racial stereotypes and prejudice to generate small group discussions and personal reflection afterwards. District archives.

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even thought of it, is to – put ideas in their head, that – they wouldn't get to by themselves."

Nevertheless, the program was approved for another year of implementation and has been a key part of the district's continued efforts to effectively desegregate its schools. It expanded to the fourth grade level some time after the district reorganized and fourth grade students prepared to attend a district-wide upper elementary school for fifth and sixth grade students. The sixth grade program remained in place, preparing students before they moved on to the district-wide seventh and eighth grade middle school.

In this study, I have analyzed SGORR as a *desegregated site of educational privilege* and a setting that provided students with the sometimes uncomfortable, but usually productive, experience of gaining an understanding of self in relation to other and to the educational structures in the school system. SGORR offered students an opportunity to enjoy the richness of racial diversity within a context that is deliberately race conscious about membership and representation of all points of view. It was a setting where mutually exclusive racial stereotypes are rejected. With a strong emphasis on establishing and maintaining trust among the members of SGORR, there appeared to be an opportunity for students to "encounter" self in relation to other in a way that produced growth but did not result in exclusion. Additionally, the organization operated through student leadership that was racially diverse and representative of different student backgrounds, with an educator's facilitation. It was an effort to effect the discourse among young people, to give them a "vocabulary" (McGuire, 2003, p. 35) for talking about racial exclusion and stereotyping, and to provide an alternative to the view that racial separation is inevitable or natural.

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The Mid 1980's: Precursors to Reorganization

The district reorganized in the 1987-1988 school year. The decision to do so emerged after a long period of discussion and several precursors. When Jack Taylor arrived in the fall of the 1976-77 school year, his early communications with other educators in the district focused their attention on the racial imbalance of the elementary schools. The *Reed v. Rhodes* decision had ruled that the Cleveland Public School system, along with the State Board of Education and other state officials, liable in having established practices that had "the purpose and effect of perpetuating racial and economic segregation."[162] Early in his administration there was reflected in the communications a language about "compliance" in terms of avoiding any potential lawsuits as a result of continued racial imbalance, even with the Shaker Schools Plan, and making the district vulnerable to lawsuits and federal intervention. While HEW was not actively pursuing desegregation cases, the district courts, reflecting Supreme Court rulings, had ruled a number of cases in Ohio and Michigan in which racial isolation resulted in desegregation rulings. Taylor held a community meeting that was widely attended in November of 1976. His particular concern at that time was to avoid having the system included in a metropolitan desegregation plan as a result of the Cleveland desegregation ruling.[163]

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[162] *Reed v. Rhodes*, as quoted in *The Cleveland Desegregation Decision: Reed v. Rhodes. Prepared for the Study Group on Racial Isolation in the Public Schools and its Member Organizations*. Shaker Heights Public Library Local History Collection.

[163] See: Shaker Heights Public Schools *INFO: Intra-Staff Communication*, September 1976. See also: A Further Statement on the Battisti Case. (1976, September 30). Shaker Heights Public Schools Intra-Staff Communication. Shaker Heights Public Library Local History Collection.

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While reorganization of the school system was always a possibility and several plans were suggested as early as the fall of 1976,[164] it was not seriously considered until 1983. In addition to expanding the Shaker Schools Plan in the 1977-78 school year to include all of the elementary schools and the junior high schools, the district established a committee in November 1979 to study the use of magnet schools to attract more whites to the predominantly black schools.[165] The Ludlow Special Projects program began in the 1977-78 school year and continued for nine years, until the district reorganized. In the 1981-82 school year, a magnet was established at Moreland School, with a math and computer theme, and at Lomond School, with science and French as its theme. Mini-magnets were established at the predominantly white schools. In reviewing archival materials, the focus of staff energy and resources was invested in the predominantly black buildings, where the greatest concern about imbalance existed.

In the 1982-83 school year, Peter Horoschak began as superintendent of the school system, taking responsibility for a system that had shrunk in size but still maintained all nine of its elementary buildings, and as a result was very costly to run. Concerns about racial balance continued. In addition, there emerged at that time an increasing sense of relative deprivation among whites, who questioned the utility and fairness of desegregation plans and began to speak in terms of inequity for their children.

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[164] In her November 2, 1976 memo to Jack Taylor (Subject: Information for November 18th Meeting), Beverly Mason proposed several plans for a systemic response to the racial imbalance, and some elements of this proposal actually were implemented over the next 10 years. See also two related documents: Blue, R. C. (1981, March 3). A Special Report on the Princeton Plan or Grade Level Organization: A Desegregation Strategy for the Shaker Heights City School Schools. See also: *Alternative Plans for Achieving Racial Balance in Schools*, a document written under the direction of Dr. Guy M. Sconzo by a committee, and issued around March or April of 1981. Shaker Heights Public Library Local History Collection.

[165] Administrative council meeting summary, 11/20/79, page 1. District archives.

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This was reflective of the direction of the country. Concerns were expressed about the gifted program being in one building (Ludlow). Parents whose children were eligible, but who wanted their child to attend their neighborhood school, were dissatisfied with this arrangement. In several superintendent professional advisory council meetings, during discussions about reducing expenses, a number of suggestions regarding the ending the magnet program were raised, such as "magnet program is not really working" and "unequal and extravagant expenditures at magnet schools,"[166] and at another meeting, during brainstorming about "Possible Future Budgetary Reductions," there were twelve comments to end magnets.[167]

In a 1985 summary of situational factors confronting the district, analyzed by a research firm hired to help the district generate more white interest in the Shaker Schools Plan, factors identified as problems included the following:

> Drifting away from the ideal racial balance;
> many whites no longer perceive an urgent civil rights issue;
> some white parents may fear having elementary schools closed;
> black parents concerned about possible collusion by white community/political forces to prevent targeted goal of Shaker integration...Shaker Plan old news.[168]

An example of the waning support for the Shaker Schools Plan, and an emerging reconstruction of whites' views on racial equality was reflected in the summary notes from a meeting of the superintendent's professional advisory council meeting. A parent from Malverne spoke during the meeting. Malverne was one of the predominantly white

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[166] Superintendent's professional advisory council meeting, 3/9/83. District archives.

[167] Superintendent's professional advisory council meeting, 4/8/83. District archives.

[168] *Proposal: For Effective Communication of the Value and Goals of the Shaker Schools Plan and of the Magnet Programs.* Prepared by Robert Carter & Associates, Inc. February 19, 1985. Pp. 2-3. Shaker Heights Public Library Local History Collection.

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schools with small enrollment. The parent reported her concerns about unequal class size, the professional isolation for teachers, and few opportunities for teachers at each grade level to share ideas or materials with colleagues. In addition, she noted that "magnet schools have created a curriculum inequality" and "There is a need to address the issue of integration [in] some new creative way to best meet the needs of all [sic] students in Shaker."[169] Her concerns appeared to be with the location of educational opportunities only in a few schools, none of which were her child's school. What was not said was that the provision of resources and programs were located in predominantly black schools for the purpose of drawing white parents to those schools.

Two elements of this parent's concerns reflect an emerging national discourse in the 1980's. First, the educational structures designed to facilitate racial equality for blacks such as the magnet programs, were viewed by a number of white parents in the district as creating inequality for whites. These magnet programs did receive additional resources in the form of staff, materials, and a high level of attention to their success.[170] Second, in the Malverne parent's concern is her emphasis on "all" children. In the early years of the Shaker Schools Plan, "all" children implied a broadening of a scope of justice (Opotow, 1995) to include those historically excluded – African American students. The newer meaning behind the Malverne parent's use of "all" suggested a restructuring of social psychological boundaries to include those students whose parents had deemed them "excluded." In this reclaiming of educational privilege, there appears to be a desire on the part of white parents to return traditions of educational privilege to

[169] Superintendent's professional advisory council meeting, 3/19/86. District archives.

[170] Much of the funding for the magnet programs came from the Emergency School Aid Act, from 1975 until some time in the early 1980's.

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white students, whose parents felt they were excluded from them due to the redistribution of sites of educational privilege in the predominantly black elementary schools.

In this parent's presentation, muted in its critique, then, is what Faye Crosby (1984) refers to as relative deprivation, which can be experienced on a personal and a group level. Crosby notes that personal deprivation involves two preconditions: "people experience deprivation when they perceive: (1) a discrepancy between actual outcomes and desired outcomes and (2) a discrepancy between actual outcomes and the outcomes they deserve" (p. 68). There is also the possibility that the Malverne parent was implicitly expressing a form of what Crosby calls "backlash," which involves a concern by a group with access to social mobility threatened by another group that it perceives as having too much access to social mobility.

At the national level, this backlash was evident, beginning in 1978 with the *University of California Regents v. Bakke*, which involved the challenge by a white student of the constitutionality of affirmative action admissions policies at the medical school in the University of California at Davis. The Supreme Court's ruling on the *Bakke* case applied the language of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act to support its decision: "No person in the United States shall, on grounds of race, color, or national origin...be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance." While Justice Lewis Powell wrote an opinion against the practice of setting aside a number of spaces for the inclusion of underrepresented racial and ethnic groups, he also indicated that universities' efforts to "take race into account" for the educational value of diversity was allowable. In this ruling, the argument of remedying past discrimination through present affirmative action practices failed to result in a ruling that

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not only took race into account for the purpose of racial diversity but also for racial justice. From the standpoint of universities, however, it allowed some leeway in increasing the diversity of their campuses (Bowen & Bok, 1998).[171]

As a result, the local context of Shaker Heights moving toward the mid to late 1980's reflected contested views of racial equality and a muted sense of relative deprivation among some white parents, who felt excluded from sites of educational privilege, such as gifted education and adequately sized and resourced schools. There is the possibility that what emerged was a sense among these white parents of having been "disadvantaged" and excluded from "choice" in terms of programming, varied instructional approaches, as well as after-school and recess activities, all of which appeared to be lodged most heavily in the predominantly black elementary schools in the district's efforts to attract white parents and improve racial imbalance in the district.

The Reorganization of the School District

In order to respond to financial concerns, racial imbalance, and enhancing the educational programs of the school system, the board of education established a committee to determine the optimal use of the school building to accomplish these three goals. The School Facilities Utilization Committee was established in late 1983 to study such matters as enrollment, class size, school size, building capacity, enrollment by race, and possible alternative uses of buildings.[172] In June of 1984 it submitted its recommendations that the district restructure the high school to include ninth grade,

[171] For more on the history of desegregation on a national level, see the literature review.

[172] School Facilities Utilization Committee seeks community response. (1984, February-March). *The School Review, 40*, p. 1.

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closing one junior high school and establishing a middle school for the seventh and eighth grade in the remaining building, close Moreland and Malverne Elementary Schools, and to use the remaining elementary buildings as cluster schools housing either kindergarten through third grade or fourth through sixth grade.[173] The first two recommendations were approved by the board of education in September 1984. In the 1985-1986 school year, the district closed Woodbury. All seventh and eighth grade students attended Byron. All ninth grade students attended the high school. The decision to close elementary schools, a very contentious issue, was delayed.

The two schools identified for closing in the summer of 1984 were Malverne, on the northeastern end of the city and Moreland, on the southwestern end of the city, bordering Cleveland. These schools were perhaps the most distinctly opposite in terms of housing, proximity to Cleveland, and the income level, and education and racial background of families attending the school. The opposition to the 1984 reorganization plan was extensive, particularly in terms of the closing of schools and the cluster plan, which did not convince parents of its educational utility. The board of education determined it would be unwise to approve these two most volatile parts of the plan.

However, in 1986 financial strains and continued racial imbalance, as well as parent dissatisfaction with resources shrinking alongside enrollment, compelled the board of education to reconsider a reorganization of the school system, closing some schools and reconfiguring the grade levels in the buildings. The school system once again was in the throes of a dramatic conflict among its constituents, particularly in terms of the school closings. The opposition was strong in each of the nine elementary school communities.

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[173] Committee submits recommendations to Board of Education. (1984, June). *The School Review, 42*, p. 1.

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At Moreland and Ludlow, the opposition was deepened by suspicions that the district would exclude either or both schools from the final plan for a reconfigured school system. The geographical metaphor "other side of the tracks" re-emerged in my interview data, as several parents from the Moreland and Ludlow areas spoke of how the script of exclusion was enacted in the way they expected it to be. At Moreland, parents had experienced this uncertainty in the district's formulation of the Shaker Schools Plan in the spring of 1970, and then again in 1984. In several narratives with parents living in the Moreland area, there was narrated the experience with uncertainty characteristic to those experiencing exclusion, or who are positioned on the edge—included within sites of educational privilege but at their perimeter. One black parent talked about the experience of having been told one thing by administrators and then later another thing, and still later something else: "They would promise you one thing, and next time you see that that had changed. The fact that they did that, that's why I say you don't trust—Adults don't like to be talked to like that."

From this parent's perspective, and likely others, there was the experience of being in a precarious position, with no guarantees of security. While the loss of a neighborhood school was a real blow for all the residents in neighborhoods where elementary school buildings were closed, it was not situated in a history of other disappointments and anxieties about inclusion. These concerns reflect the third measure of racial equality that I have used in this study: relations of power. In the reorganization there was an element of equal relations of power as all or most neighborhoods ran the risk of being closed. However, the proximity to the city of Cleveland clearly had a detrimental effect on the future of those buildings on the Cleveland-Shaker border, and

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these buildings had also been the predominantly black buildings that required a great deal of energy and resources year after to year to draw whites into them for increased racial balance. Again, the broader social context of unequal power relations ascribed to race and class impinged upon the privilege of retaining a neighborhood school, of being able to have your child walk to school, and being able to walk to school as a parent, if there was no means of transportation available to get you there.

What is significant about the reorganization is that, to some extent, loss of privilege was suffered by all residents, as schools were closed and those left open had children from other neighborhoods bused to their building. Although the plan promised reduced costs and a consolidation of resources, programs, and staff at each building, it presented uncertainties to parents sending their children off to new buildings or familiar buildings with new faces among staff and students. In this sense, there is evidence of a disruption of existing educational structures in order to reduce costs—a critical and compelling issue across race, as well as to establish new structures for the sake of improving racial balance and increasing educational opportunities. The disruption of the final reorganization plan, then, was spread more evenly among the neighborhoods (with the closing of two predominantly white schools and two predominantly black schools), and therefore the sense of loss was not the experience of only one racial group.

Because the district's reorganization directly affected the educational structures of the school system, it is analyzed in this study as *transformative educational change*. It facilitated the provision of equal educational opportunities, the production of equal academic outcomes, and the engendering of equal relations of power, which I define in this study as facilitating racial equality. It directly impacted the classroom, and in doing

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so, created the potential for relations of power, traditionally according whites more privileged status than blacks, to be equalized.

Nevertheless, the reorganization required that Moreland students attend the predominantly white Mercer Elementary School, the school located the farthest east and north of all the buildings, involving the greatest distance among the closed school communities who were to be bused elsewhere. A Moreland parent told me, "When you don't have your school; it takes away a lot of your community. Cause you don't get to see the parents. See the kids bring the parents, then we get to meet each other, get to know each other...I know what it is to lose a school." In the end all three majority black buildings had been closed: Woodbury was closed in the 1985-1986 school year and Ludlow and Moreland closed after the 1986-1987 school year. Two other predominantly white buildings were closed, Malverne and Sussex, along with much opposition and resentment on the part of these neighborhoods. Woodbury was reopened in the 1987-1988 school year, as a newly organized district-wide fifth/sixth grade building.

Additionally, the competing and interdependent goals of the district persisted in the reorganization. The district continued its efforts to maintain the enrollment of white students by establishing programs designed to preserve academic standards, viewed but not articulated as threatened by racial and economic diversity. As a white educator noted,

> ...there is a tension between for example, um, um, homogeneous grouping and heterogeneous grouping, and you know, if you have a leveling system and it does engage ah students in a way that um, for example, ah, families with high achieving youngsters, um, if they feel validated that they can get that kind of education, they're going to remain there...

At the same time, the district continued to focus on facilitating equal educational opportunities and academic outcomes between white and black students, while

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demonstrating an effectiveness in increasing the achievement of black students. Racial equality was facilitated in achieving racial balance in all of the schools. Preserving academic standards and maintaining a base of white students was facilitated through the district expansion of advanced classes in the fifth and sixth grades at the new Woodbury Elementary School, creating an advanced track that mimicked the racial composition and goals of the Ludlow Special Projects classes, which had been eliminated with the reorganization, and the advanced placement classes in the high school.[174] The existence of segregated sites of educational privilege illustrates the emphasis in the district in providing structures that persuaded anxious parents that accessibility to higher academic standards was available to a more academically, racially and economically homogeneous group of students. The advanced classes in the upper elementary grades of Woodbury are analyzed in this study as a *replicative educational structure* in that they reinforce mutually exclusive racial stereotypes about achievement and motivation. They did not facilitate the opportunity for students to contradict these stereotypes nor did they provide equal educational opportunities, produce equal academic outcomes, or engender equal relations of power. While they are analyzed as sites of educational privilege, they are segregated sites of educational privilege and as such they possess structural boundaries that limit the extent to which African American students participate in them.

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[174] Gifted and Talented Children. *Ohio Rule for School Foundation Unites for Gifted Children. "The United States Office of Education, Public Law 95-560* states "The term 'gifted and talented children' means children and, whenever applicable, youth, who are identified at the preschool, elementary, or secondary level as possessing demonstrated or potential abilities that give evidence of high performance capability in such areas as intellectual, creative, specific academic, or leadership ability, or in the performing and visual arts, and who by reason thereof, require services or act' not ordinarily provided by the school." Effective July 1, 1984.

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In the December 1986 issue of *The School Review*, there was an indication that the district understood parents' dissatisfaction with the location of a gifted program only at Ludlow School, and was planning to respond to that dissatisfaction. The article noted under "issues" that there would be "Consistent and equitable educational programming available to all children" in the reorganization, and it outlined the district's response: "The magnet programs have had a positive impact on the children who take part in them. But the committee feels we must expand magnet opportunities to the rest of the children and faculty in our district."[175] In a description of the February 1987 board of education decision to reorganize the district, there is a subsection on "Gifted and Talented." It states "The gifted and talented program will extend to every grade level" and it describes at great length the various emphases at the different grade levels. A white educator explained to me the district's philosophy in its emphasis on providing such programs since the reorganization. This educator also noted the implications for districts that did not provide homogeneously grouped classes, seen as tied to powerful parental interests.

> The important thing would be to meet the needs of students differently in the different levels, and that if we truly do attend to the um educational needs appropriately, for students, we can begin to ah, move all students forward, but the notion of putting students who have skill deficits in classes where they might not be successful, that, that didn't make a tremendous amount of sense...but not to have classes where students get relegated to, you know, low level experiences, I mean, certainly we all want to have the highest possible performance levels, and I think that's why, um, we worked at getting rid some of the substandard coursework, and worked at, at least, at college preparatory and orientation for all students. But this is a very controversial ah, issue, ability grouping, our neighboring school district, Cleveland Heights, worked at a more heterogeneous approach, by putting all students in the same experience, and I think that it met with um, um, a variety of responses in their community...I do think that when they collapsed some of the levels, it did alienate some of the families, and predominantly white families...

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[175] Update on elementary organization. (1986, December). *The School Review*, pp. 2-3.

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Competition with the private schools intensified during this period of uncertainty among parents about the reorganization of the school district. Within Shaker Heights are located several private schools well known for their academic programs and their impressive facilities. A white educator told me that during this period of time in the mid to late 1980's, there was an effort to focus on educational programs that surpassed offerings at the private schools, which this educator described as a kind of "battle with the private schools...to keep our quality students from leaving Shaker." For example, the district invested in its band program in the late 1980's and expanded its educational structures to allow for the availability of private instrument instruction for students during the school day at the middle school. Small group instruction was provided at Woodbury for all students.[176] A white educator noted the level of competition between the district and nearby private schools:

> We do have continuing tension here in Shaker Heights over public private, but it's been amazing to me over the last 20 years, and we keep very good statistics, but we found roughly 14 to 16 percent of our families ah choose to go to a private school situation and we have some wonderful private schools in fact that we're competing against in the school district, so I do think that there are a lot of forms of competition that exist in Shaker Heights for students, but over time, I think we, we have really been able to attract a large proportion, and, and, we haven't seen an escalation of students electing to go to private school...

As a result, in both the establishment of advanced classes for maintaining standards at the point in which all the students across the district first came together for instruction in the fifth and sixth grade at Woodbury, and in the emergence of a very strong, somewhat privatized, band program at the middle school level, there is continued indication of the use of educational structures to retain a solid base of white and middle

[176] Although private instruction is available at lower rates for some eligible students in the middle school, this appears to be limited and it is not available during the school day.

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class and affluent black students by demonstrating efforts to maintain educational standards. Such efforts reduced competition with the private schools in the area[177] for middle class and affluent white and black students, preserving educational privilege.

The Current Phase: 1987-1988 – 2002-2003

> ...Because they don't have this *background*. They didn't come out of the '60's and the '50's. They didn't *see* the, the discrimination, they didn't—they didn't have a *sense* of the cities burning. You know, my [children] don't have that sense, and I don't think I—I don't think we told that story well enough, there's so much stuff on the news, but you know... but the general sense of it is, whenever we tell the story of Shaker Heights here, the story that is forgotten now...
>
> - white educator

"Open" Enrollment to Unchanged Systems of Levels; Expansive Set of Counteracting Mechanisms of Inclusion

School opened in the 1987-1988 school year with five newly configured elementary schools for grades kindergarten through fourth, and district-wide buildings for fifth/sixth, seventh/eighth, and ninth through twelfth grades. The following year Mark

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[177] While there has always been concern over loss of students to private schools, the middle to late 1980's were particularly vulnerable years for the district due to parents' concerns about the reorganization of the district and their uncertainties about school closings and newly reorganized schools. District records indicate that in the 1983-84 school year the percentage of students in the city attending private schools was at its highest at 18.5% [Shaker Heights City School District: Public, Private and Total School Enrollment by School Year, Fiscal Years 1979 to 1998. See Appendix D-4]. There are several private schools in the area, and Ohio law requires that school districts transport students within a certain number of miles to the private schools to which they are enrolled. Historically, the locating of private schools within the city limits was part of the design for an exclusive suburb. Guda, Giles & Sullivan (1976) note "During the early period of Shaker Village's development, many of the wealthy families of the Euclid Avenue area in Cleveland were beginning to migrate to other parts of northeastern Ohio. In order to attract these people to Shaker Village, the Van Sweringens persuaded the private schools of the University Circle area to relocate in Shaker, and these three schools, Hathaway Brown, Laurel, and University School were given major vistas to increase their visual importance." (Guda, Giles, & Sullivan, 1976). During the 1990's the percentage of students in the city attending private schools stabilized between 14.8, at its lowest to 16.2 at its highest (between 1990 and 1998). See Appendix D for enrollment figures.

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Freeman, an educator with the district since 1967, became superintendent.[178] Geographically, the boundaries were very permeable for students. A white educator told me, "it used to be really neat at Woodbury when we would have um, the schools would be open, you know during that one half day or one day in the fall, and when African American parents would come in to visit my class, I always thought it was really neat because I had no idea what school community they were from, no idea at all, so they could live in Moreland and be part of the Fernway community, [or] they could live in the Fernway community." This educator's point illustrates the permeability of geographical boundaries and desegregated schools through the reorganization. It also revealed the limits of the permeability in the current phase. While an African American family could live in Fernway, the proportion of black families actually living there is small. Black families that move into such areas often encounter early in the school year the assumption their child takes a bus to school. The compartmentalization by educators and neighborhood parents of skin color to geographical areas persisted even in the reconfigured and racially balanced school system of the current phase.

Structural boundaries continued to be contested, as black and some white students and parents continued to question the underrepresentation of African American students in the higher levels, and the small numbers of whites in the general and college prep courses. In an edition of the *Shakerite* in April of 1988, the student newspaper reported that in the level two classes, 86.4% of the students were African American.[179]

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[178] Mark Freeman held teaching and administrative positions, including a role in developing proposals and securing federal funding for desegregation from HEW. He has held the position of superintendent through the current period.

[179] According to the recommendations of the Western Michigan University Evaluation Center report, June 15, 1982, all level two classes were to be strictly remedial, with the goal "to revise

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At level five, 16.8% were African American.[180] Other articles in this April 14, 1988 issue, focused on interracial relations in the high school and gaps in achievement and in participation in higher level courses.[181] Additionally, the coverage noted that there were "no black National Merit Semifinalists or Merit Commended Scholars this year"[182] and "counselors still encourage black students to take easier courses instead of challenging themselves with the tougher, AP or level 4 classes."[183] The issue generated a lot of opposition to the presentation of information and opinions and also garnered support for its direct handling of the issues. Many, however, linked the lack of legitimacy of the *Shakerite*'s stance as due to its nearly all white staff. In the contentious relationship between the predominantly white *Shakerite* staff and African American students, their parents, and some black and white educators, there was a tension about intentions and consequences in the publication of data disaggregated by race in a student newspaper. Additionally, the conflict committed the district to a public assertion of its efforts to reduce the differentials in accessing opportunities and producing outcomes between white

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Level 2 offerings to assure proper enrollment at that level and continuing encouragement of students to advance to higher levels." See: Levels system report. (1982, July/August). *The School Review*, p. 3. Also, the Improving Student Achievement Committee Report, formed early in the 1981-1982 school year, worked on similar questions about the levels system and produced a report also in June of 1982 with similar recommendations.

[180] Imbalance reaches high level. Data compiled by Phillip Turner. (1988, April 14). *Shakerite*, p. 2.

[181] Alfred, J. (1988, April 14). Racial imbalance linked to leveling. *Shakerite*, p. 1. The *Shakerite* also noted that 192 black students "take at least one level four class, as compared to 499 whites" and "273 blacks take at least one level two class but only 41 whites have the same status."

[182] Racism reflects school policies. (1988, April 14). *Shakerite*, p. 4.

[183] Ibid.

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and black students. A similar event occurred nearly ten years later, as I detail later in this chapter.

Focus on Underachievement of African American Students

With the introduction of the state mandated Proficiency Tests, the academic outcomes of students in the district received even more scrutiny. These tests, designed to ensure competency in a state-determined set of academic outcomes, were very contested and still are, with the scores amplified by the press, which reports the results of schools in the area and compares them. After the results were reported in early 1991 for the first year of the tests in November 1990, there was the expression of "shock" among educators, parents, and students about the poor performance of students, particularly African American students. Soon after the release of the scores for the first Proficiency Tests there is documentation of an ongoing effort to prepare students more thoroughly for the tests. At the high school level students were provided with additional preparation for the tests through the PROBE program, begun in 1991.[184]

Efforts to address low achievement, particularly among black students, increased through the 1990's. Some concerns were raised as relating to the levels system. In the early 1990's the grade weighting for level two classes, which was a half-point lower than

[184] PROBE, or Proficiency Review of Basic Essentials, began in 1991 "in an effort to augment the performance of Shaker students on the Ohio Ninth Grade Proficiency Test, particularly in the field of mathematics" (see: *Selected Initiatives to Improve Student Achievement in the Shaker Heights City Schools*, 1/15/97, p. 34.) In the 1996-1997 school year, 142 students participated in the program, from grades nine through twelve. The largest group of students participated in the mathematics component of the program (116 students), and "the scale scores of most students have improved between one and 30 points on the subtests" (p. 34). The program was awarded a grant of $10,000 during the 1992-1993 school year by the National Science Foundation.

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the level three classes was changed to be at a 3.0 weight for an A.[185] A white educator in a leadership position with whom I spoke noted the imperative the district placed on narrowing the achievement gap. This individual told me as our interview began:

> a lot of the lens that many of us have been focusing on would be the lens of um, achievement, ah, and racial equality in the sense of, when you look at a group of students being recognized for their scholarship, if there's an underrepresentation of one group, that would be a troubling sort of a thing, so it's interesting the way that many of us would look at ah, equality, would be ah, equal results, and where there's an indication that's not occurring, that would kind of flip a red flag up

In the current phase there was a coming together of teachers to respond to their concerns about the differentials in accessing educational opportunities and producing academic outcomes between white and black students. The faculty achievement committee was formed around 1983 with approximately 15 members, which more recently numbers 35. This group discussed and pursued projects and policies in order to improve achievement in the high school, particularly achievement of African American students. In 1990, this committee looked at the grade point averages of the high school students by race and gender and found the achievement of African American male students' to be the most seriously depressed. The committee included a number of high achieving black males in the discussion of their findings. These students then became involved in the early formation of the Minority Achievement (MAC) Scholars, beginning in 1991, with the facilitation and support of Mary Lynne McGovern, a white educator, and Hubert McIntyre, a black educator.

In this study, I have analyzed the MAC Scholars as a *counteracting mechanism of inclusion* through which African American students could access sites of educational

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[185] Blanton, L. (1990, February 8). Achievement committee proposes to equate level two GPA weighting with level three. *Shakerite*, p.1.

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privilege. This program was designed to improve the achievement of African American students. In my analysis, I view the MAC Scholars program as increasing the permeability of structural and social psychological boundaries at sites of educational privilege. It is inclusive in that it expands privilege to a broader, more expansive group of students. At the same time, the program itself continues to focus on the students and not the educational structures, and is therefore not transforming the institution. This has the compounding effect of underscoring individual merit and failing to acknowledge the boundaries black students narrated in the study that white students did not. Nevertheless, the involvement of black male students in the formation of the organization and its ongoing implementation suggests that MAC Scholars played a powerful role in the district's efforts to facilitate racial equality. It did not directly impact the classroom and change the relations of power accorded to race. While it may have been transformative of students, it was not transformative of the educational structures in which these students participated in the high school.

Structural Boundaries and the Imperative for Structural Change

According to archival materials and interviews with educators, the late 1980's and perhaps even more intensively the middle to late 1990's can be characterized as a period of teacher engagement among a number of highly active teachers in improving student achievement. Their particular focus was on reducing the gap in achievement between African American and European American students in the district. Subject area committees, charged by the district to create a more consistent path of success for students, and to reduce the gap in achievement between black and white students in their

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content area, were established. These subject area committees involved the content area teachers across the grade levels in a concerted effort to develop instructional practice and policies based on research in their field and with a focus on increasing the achievement of African American students in the subject area.

For example, in Lomond Elementary School, from 1990 through the present, the principal and teachers developed, implemented, and assessed math instruction, building upon the leads of a report issued by the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (1989), calling for "expanded mathematical content, expanding elementary teachers' content knowledge, and a change in mathematics instruction" (Pourdavood et al., 1999, p. 8). A white educator at Lomond talked about the constructivist approach:

> See, a lot of people, some people don't want to talk constructivism. Because that's where, that's the learning theory, because you have to really do something. The basic thing is you have to touch it, you have to talk about it, you have to design it, you have to be allowed to be wrong and you have to negotiate meaning...See we have 4th graders doing that. Now you show me and write it out. Don't just say, this is, it is more, or is not more, or it's, is equal. We have to have it talked out, demonstrated, ok, even if they don't understand, we want to talk, so we allow kids to talk even if they're wrong and we allow a lot of different strategies but we come to the agreement that this is the standard.

Their efforts, using a constructivist approach that envisioned "a need for students to know basic skills in addition to a need to understand and apply key mathematical ideas" influenced teaching and learning, scheduling of instruction, and the introduction of additional support for "extended time" learning for students struggling with math through after-school, weekend, and summer sessions characterized with high teacher support and strong student-teacher connections.[186] In a report documenting Lomond's approach and

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[186] Comparison of 1999-2000 Proficiency Test Performance for Each Elementary School by Race/Ethnicity to Overall 1998-99 Performance, from *SHCSD Fact Book, 1999-2000*:

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its influence on teachers and their instruction, there was also a focus on the presence of conflict in instigating institutional change:

> Conflict was both beneficial and disruptive. It moved the reform forward by helping to create a critical mass of teachers who supported instructional change...Teachers asked different types of questions, valued student experiences and supported student risk-taking...their changing beliefs and practices were significantly aided by their interactions with students, reflections on classroom practice, and dialogue with peers and principals. (Pourdavood et al., 1999, p. 20)

This text was followed by a teacher's comments, underscoring the uncertainty in implementing change in educational structures:

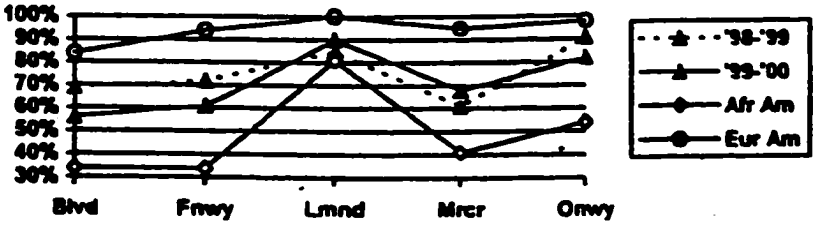
> It is hard to change. I was in tears a lot. I would go home not knowing if what I was doing was right. I was afraid that at the end of the year the kids would not understand... (Pourdavood et al., 1999, p. 20)

The focus on curriculum and instruction within schools and classrooms reflected national pressures emerging that emphasized increased achievement by students of color and poor students. For a number of educators in the district, the failure of schools to provide an equal education was linked to flawed pedagogical assumptions underlying the curriculum and student-teacher interactions in the classroom as they related to the subject area. In reflecting on the accomplishments of *Brown v. Board of Education*, a white educator from Lomond told me,

> but I think as an educator the thing that we missed is the same thing we miss in, in, in schools anyway – the reason why schools need to be reformed – we thought that we could do all of this um with the conventional system, the traditional system [slight pause] sometimes...we just accept the fact that some kids are not

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Table 34. Math Test



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> going to achieve, so half of our kids are going to be below average...I'm a big believer that rather—that education needs to be a totally restructuring and reculturing, and we did some of that with the math. And it stuck with people, because we now have 4 years of 91 percent, with, with 94 percent of the African American males passing in last year's fourth grade class...that's taken some time, some people still don't believe...

This educator noted that some of the work he was involved in threatened existing policies about classroom instructional time, scheduling, and the contemporary expectation that parents must play a role for their child to succeed. Concerning the latter, this educator did not appear to be discrediting the value of parent participation in children's learning and their schools. Instead, this educator was intent on providing an education that did not replicate parent educational status in their child's failure or success in schooling. Since Coleman's study in 1966, educators have continued to be frustrated at the way in which schools sustain gaps in achievement, often related to family income or education, throughout the students' years in the system. This educator noted that revising teaching methods, increasing instructional time, expecting high outcomes, and supporting such educational work with professional recognition and compensation were all ingredients in *decreasing the dependency for student success on family economic and educational status*, often a critical factor in who succeeds in the classroom and who does not. Although the language below is harsh in describing parents who may or may not be able to support their children's learning, this educator's basic premise was that "motivation" or "deservedness" was not for the system to decide; it was the role of the schools to educate equally. This educator told me that in their reconstruction of math education in the school, "You really have not re-educated the parents," noting:

> ...you have shown that these kids can do it, even though their parents are educated, or even though their parents may be dysfunctional, you have shown that they [students] can still pass the test. So you didn't have to turn the parents

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> around before you talk to kids. See, a lot of people think that you have to do that, or, that's the problem. But most people would never spend this much time on it, so some people will say we're crazy, and then people are saying they're gonna burn out, and I, and I have to be careful about that...

In this study, I analyze this math reform effort as narrated by educators and described in the archives as a *transformative educational structure*, facilitating racial equality and leading to the educational transformation of the school system. It directly affected the educational structure (programs and policies) of the school system. It focused relentlessly on the teaching inside and outside the classroom, and it produced equal academic outcomes between white and black students in the subject of math. In so doing, it paved the way for black and white students to equally pursue educational opportunities, such as higher level classes in the middle school and high school. It was transformative in that it facilitated racial equality, and it directly impacted the classroom in its reflecting upon and revising approaches to teaching math. It did not replicate relations of power according to race in the broader society, and it created sites of educational privilege where black students could contradict racial stereotypes about achievement and motivation.

Some educators narrated their involvement in committees with other educators in order to examine and improve instructional practice. Often times these committees provided a space to gather and plan for teachers frustrated with the system's inability to reverse unequal outcomes between black and white students, or increase the numbers of black students in the higher level classes. In this study, I am not able to analyze whether these committees were engaged in transformative educational change or counteracting mechanisms of inclusion. Both endeavors are a part of this study's analysis of facilitating racial equality, and both are analyzed as contributing to racial equality in the school

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system. By transformative educational structures I mean the structures changed the work of educators in the classroom in order to provide equal educational opportunities, produce equal academic outcomes, and engender equal relations of power. To the extent that the committee work continued to support the levels system, which I have analyzed as a replicative educational structure, without scrutiny toward the structural and social psychological boundaries reinforced by the levels, these efforts were focused on changing the student and not the structures themselves. In that case, they would be analyzed as *counteracting mechanisms of inclusion.*

At the same time, as the educator and I discussed below, these committees were also important spaces for white and black educators to talk with each other about race, institutional racism, and race-attentive strategies for improving black achievement and increasing the numbers of African American students in the higher level classes. Educators who participated in these committees often fomented change in their subject areas and among their peers. At the same time, there is the also the possibility that members of these groups reflected the energies and consciousness of smaller groups of educators, not necessarily the faculty as a whole. A white educator and I spoke about the committees:

> Educator: it's not perfect, it isn't perfect but I'm telling you we work so hard on it and people talk about it, you know, we can to each other, you know...I can say, I can say to my tea—my cohorts that I teach with...I can talk to people that are, you know, that are minority people and I can say what [I'm] thinking and not feel like somebody's gonna make a judgment about me, so we can have honest discussions and we can, we can deal with this issue and we can talk about it...I've become so much more sensitive to the kinds of things that I wasn't sensitive to, I mean it's really quite exciting for me as a person, which is the same for the kids, you know, um, so yeah, and it's not perfect but yes, it has to be a conscious effort; it doesn't just happen by itself...

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Anne: right, um, sensitivity, that, eh, is, so there's a space in the Shaker faculty um for this stuff to be talked about...

Educator: but a lot of it is because of the committees I was on, it doesn't just happen because – I mean we don't talk that way in staff meetings, for instance...

These committees may have fostered a level of trust and opportunity to connect deeply with other educators. Another white educator told me that there could be space for greater understanding on the part of teachers if there was a level of trust among them or between them and parents. This educator noted, "once you have a bonding, you can tell anybody anything, because the trust level is so high, but when there is no trust level, you can't have the first kind of connection being 'This is what I think you did wrong'...and there are, there are guidelines for how, how to communicate, so that the trust level ah, is, becomes sacrosanct. If you don't have that trust level, then all you're going to have is raised – backs."

Social Psychological Boundaries: "gosh if you just *knew* me you'd know that's not what I meant"

Not all educators narrated an interest in discussing impediments to equality and "encountering" (Cross, 1991; Helm, 1990) ways in which they enacted exclusion in order to change their practice. The defensive feeling narrated in the expression "raised backs" is reflected in the narrative of a white educator at the middle school who spoke about the strain on teachers when the question of racial equality in the classroom became paramount. This educator told me, "I just remember over the years, you would always as a teacher over the years just run into *all* so much stuff that would distract you from what you were actually trying to do, and um you get accused of doing things, when you—'gosh if you just *knew* me you'd know that's not what I meant.'" Similarly, this educator

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felt the faculty was too worried about "watchdog" groups feeling that the school was making little progress in terms of addressing issues of equality. This educator noted, "but then I've heard it brought up, 'if we don't watch out, this looks bad, this is—we're gonna—that watchdog group is gonna be back,' and you know what? It's just, [laughs] you just can't make quick fixes, you have to look at the whole picture..." While this educator talked about the progress the district had made, there appeared to be an impatience with parent inquiries about persistent inequalities. This educator, deeply involved in the work of the subject area, and proud of the district's accomplishments in desegregation, suggested that, in the early 2000's, at this point in the district's history, these inquiries were petty:

> ...you have to try and to take the opportunity, cause I'm not gonna do it all for you, and that's all there is to it, and if you want to buy into it, then there you go, but it's your choice. And ah that's again, that's why again, we're happy where we're at, I think we practice what we preach, but you could still look at any aspect of our program, and say, you know what look at this, this doesn't look good

This educator talked about the importance of equality in the classroom. At the same time, this educator narrated a view that questioning department policies or teachers' interactions with students was a hindrance to the work that needed to get done and was more an indication of the individual student's failure to take advantage of the opportunities that was there but required initiative. This is expressed in this teacher's response to my question, "Could you tell me what racial equality in public education means to you?"

> No matter what you do, it's not gonna satisfy some, um there's always people who will look at, no matter what anybody's doing and say you're not being fair, I mean that's just life in general, but um, what does it mean—is that—hopefully that you have an equal chance to succeed but only – the door is open for you to try. I think most of it's really up to you as an individual ah, I, I don't know if everybody's [got] the same thought. I think it would be a little easier to help

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> everybody, but I think so many people are so worried about right now today in education about "hey, you're cheating, me," or "you're not fair" and then "let's change the way you're doing things," and I say, "wait a minute," I think it's more or less you as an individual. You look at the opportunity and do the most of the opportunity you're presented with, you'll probably go a lot further, and I think so many people are not willing to do that. They'd rather bring down the system, and yes you're unfair, versus, well um, maybe, maybe ah, just little changes, subtle changes, or maybe it's you, you try a little bit harder...

In this educator's response, racial inequality in specific situations is in itself contested and up to interpretation. This educator narrated a view that if a teacher engages in behavior that is perceived to be racially discriminating, but the intent was not that it be so, then this should be understood by the individual perceiving the injustice. Additionally, the consequences of racial inequality were also contested in this teacher's argument, who saw the absence of educational opportunity as a result of students not taking advantage of it. This teacher viewed opportunities as available to all students. Critique then, from this teacher's perspective, was more a result of parents wanting to "bring down the system." This educator acknowledged imperfect educational structures and social psychological interactions, but nevertheless saw the school system as functioning.

At the same time, a white educator in the middle school told me, "You know the day I yelled at an African American kid and after I had yelled it was over, whatever was the problem was addressed and we went about our business, with nothing more said, that was the day there was a big transition." This educator noted that this "transition" did not necessarily occur as a moment in time but it developed over time with a mutual level of trust and satisfaction between this educator, the students, and likely their parents. This educator also narrated extensive involvement in the content area in terms of increasing the numbers of black students in the higher level classes.

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Parents narrated their experience with social psychological boundaries evident in the exclusion their children experienced from educators. They narrated approaching teachers whom they felt excluded their children from equal educational opportunities or academic outcomes. Active black parents, then, were a source of "encounter" for white educators,[187] when these parents engaged educators in a discussion about racial inequality in the classroom. For example, an African American parent spoke about the influence of racial stereotypes on an educator's views of the academic performance of this parent's son. This parent of a child at Woodbury in the middle 1990's talked about frequently showing up at the school to volunteer or to respond to a concern in the classroom. The lowered expectations on the part of an educator toward this parent's son became so apparent that the parent chose to work extremely closely on one of the child's project, ensuring every criterion for a good grade was met. Despite the parents' concession "I did the project myself," reflecting how parent involvement in their children's education is often more of an indicator of the child's success in the classroom than the child's academic skills, the teacher graded the project with a C. This parent told me,

> I would – go to the school – in a heartbeat, like, for instance, there was one project, and see this is [sound of two taps on the desk], just to, just to make a point, we did a project, this is a teacher, which would rou—routinely give my son grades that I didn't think ah were up to the work that he was doing, and this teacher gave my son – a – C on this project, and I knew it was a *fine* project, I knew that the, the directions had been followed, [in a lower voice] cause I did the project *myself.* I followed the directions to the letter...I went to [meet with the teacher, who said,] "Well I'll just give it an A"—I said, "No [slow and deliberate], give him what he deserves. I don't want you to *just* give him an A because I'm in front of you and I'm putting pressure on you—I want you to give

[187] When African American parents and students narrated unequal treatment, it was usually on the part of white educators. However, in several narratives, parents or students noted the unequal treatment of black students by a black educator. According to the *Shaker Heights High School 2002-2003 School Report Card* (p. 3), the percentage of African American teachers at the high school was 11.8%. According to the *Shaker Heights City School District 2002-2003 School Report Card* (p. 3), the percentage of African American teachers in the district was 19.5%.

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> him [three taps on the desk] what he deserves." But, see, the point was, there were, there were preconceived notions, there were assumptions being made, "Well, this child can only do C [loud tap] work, so whenever the—whatever he turns in, I'm gonna give him a C." And I wasn't *having* that, I was *absolutely* not having that...

When this parent's son entered the high school in the late 1990's, the parent continued to be vigilant. This parent narrated a strong level of satisfaction with the guidance counselors, the MAC Scholars program, and the new principal, the first African American principal at the high school level. This parent told me about the principal:

> He's concerned about meeting the needs of all the students. Whenever he presented a report, he would celebrate those students who are at the top, celebrate the fact that as we always do in Shaker, that we've got the largest number of students who are achieving at this level of any school system in, in Northeast Ohio...kids on the honor roll, kids who are achieving high on the standardized tests, but then [the principal] would also point out a large number of students who had come from being below a 2.0 when they entered the...high school and who had moved above a 2.0.

The Byproducts of Racial Diversity: Privilege and Exclusion: "the students who count and the kids down in the bottom"

Historically and through the present, the preservation of academic standards has been emphasized in district publications and its public discourse, along with an emphasis on its uniqueness as a racially diverse educational setting. The number of Merit Scholars and National Achievement awards have been critical to the reputation of the school system. One African American educator told me that the students awarded "count" in the school system. The number of student awards was viewed by many parents and educators as an indication of the preservation of academic excellence within a racially and economically diverse school system. It was also cited as a measure colleges and universities monitored. An African American educator narrated the emphasis on academic excellence juxtaposed with academic failure. This narrative reveals this

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educator's view of the various institutional and family influences that impact how centrally located students can or cannot be within sites of educational privilege:

> Shaker wins more National Merit—we have more National Merit finalists that almost any school in the state of Ohio, private and public that's how good we are, we have so many great students at the top but we have [tap] so many abysmal failures at the bottom and because of that whenever there is something in the paper about test scores and so forth we always come out in the middle, but in actuality ahhhh, they always, ah, they always tell the parents, "The students who count are doing great. Those others, we don't know what we can do about them." But then in ah defense for Shaker, we have a Section 8 community, we have a transient community...we have so many kids who are our low achievers who are being raised and monitored by grandparents and they don't have the strength, they're tired, they've raised one set of children, now they're called upon to raise another set, it is, and it is a tremendous amount of work for the child—ah, for the schools, because we're called upon to be so much more than we were called upon, today, and it's—after a while, it's just overwhelming...

A white parent talked about the extent to which she felt that the community in Shaker Heights was sufficiently troubled about unequal academic outcomes as documented in the gap in grade point averages and standardized test scores. She noted that she felt the support was there, and that it was this support that made Shaker Heights unique. At the same time she expressed the competing interests evident in the district between maintaining the enrollment of whites, while demonstrating effectiveness in raising achievement of black students. This parent worried that efforts to facilitate equality in the classroom would weaken academic standards. Additionally, she hinged efforts to increase the academic achievement of African American students on evidence of their deservedness. Also in this interaction I enact with great ease white parent angst about preserving academic standards:

> Parent: what I think is unique about Shaker is I think most people in Shaker would want it to be equal, you know I don't think that – on the other hand [laughs a little here] equal as long as the kids are up to academic stuff, you know, they wouldn't—They don't want them in the classes, because you know you do teach to the middle of the class, they wouldn't want them there, just to put them there

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> because they're African American, you know, just to say we are equal now, because that would be...that would be very detrimental to the class...
>
> Anne: yes, I know exactly what you're saying so to maintain the standards but keep a focus on racial equality
>
> Parent: and who really deserves it...

Some participants who emphasized the value of racial diversity suggested that the phenomenon of the "gap" in test scores and grades between white and black students was an inevitable byproduct of diversity. These participants, often ardent supporters of the school system and of desegregation, tended to be parents whose children were successful academically and were predominantly white. A white parent whose children had benefited from many educational opportunities and produced high academic outcomes at the advanced placement level told me,

> Interestingly enough, they say that the school systems that look best when the *Plain Dealer* prints out the school systems that have you know the highest this, that and all these kind of proficiency tests and all this stuff, the schools that look the best tend to be, you know, ah, school systems way out there somewhere where there's not much diversity—there isn't—there aren't any Merit [Scholar] kids, but then there aren't any kids down in the bottom, either. They come from kind of nice middle class families that everybody's kind of the same—so you don't get the stretch of the brilliant physicist kid and some of the kids we have in this community, but you don't have that either. They're the commu—the schools where these proficiency tests look the best. And Shaker's diversity—um—sometimes doesn't put us up as high, even though we may have more National Merit Scholars and all those good things, um and more opportunities, and our theater and our music are just great...

In this view, a racially and economically heterogeneous school system will predictably graduate a high and a low achieving population. Archival materials do indicate academic heterogeneity as measured on standardized tests, increased as the school system became more diverse. Few school systems have effectively closed the gap and as a consequence the gap in academic performance is sustained, evident in the early

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grades, throughout the school years.[188] Additionally, the gap often widens in the junior high school and high school years. Efforts such as the Lomond mathematics program show evidence of closing the gap through changes in curriculum, teaching, number of instructional hours, relationships between teacher and student and other components of schooling. But these efforts run counter to teachers' understanding of their roles and responsibilities, union contracts, and parents' view of hours and level of engagement in schooling. Without transforming classrooms, however, the construct for understanding diversity continues to be that of the "brilliant physicist kid" and the "kids down in the bottom."

This construction reaches into the classroom, affecting the interaction between students and teachers. An African American educator noted the impact racial stereotypes have on black students, particularly in their interactions with white teachers. According to this educator, African American students believed that their white teachers access racial stereotypes about black students as less competent and deserving as soon as a black student made an error – forgot the homework, failed a test, could not answer a question in class. Once the stereotype was fulfilled, students felt it was very difficult to reverse that teacher's view of them as a student. The educator attributed the students' experience to the accessibility of racial stereotypes that inform a teacher's thinking and interactions with black students (Steele, 1997; Steele and Aronson, 1995). We talked about this:

> Educator: in Shaker and in different schools—students will tell me that at least when they come into my class—this is what the African American students—they're not afraid of not doing well, because they know if they put forth the effort, and if they come to me and get help, that – they, they, they will improve if they *sincerely* put forth the effort, but they have told me that sometimes white teachers

[188] For more on the gap in test scores between students of color and white students, see Christopher Jencks and Meredith Phillips (Eds.). (1998). *The Black-White Test Score Gap*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

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> do not feel they can do it, so since they don't feel they can do it, they never really help them in the same manner...and so that is a complaint...
>
> Anne: but ah, there's something I'm trying to—not afraid – of – not – doing – well
>
> Educator: um, you see they feel if they failed one test in a white teacher's class, that is forever—that is forever, that is forever inscribed in that teacher's brain

These labels and the acceptance by students of being defined by the labels and defining others reflect the experience of many students, as narrated in the next chapter. A white educator spoke of the experience of the students in advanced classes, when they elect to take a heterogeneously grouped class, mostly white students, accustomed to homogeneously grouped instruction throughout their high school years. This educator noted that in such a case, they often encounter contradictions to racial stereotypes that have been reinforced by the enrollment patterns by race of the levels system. This educator commented on the impact of labels and on the levels system that reinforces them:

> [Sometimes] it's the first time in their entire career at the high school from grade 9 through grade 12 that they're ever in a class with black students, one of the things they realize is that the kids who are taking CP who are white or black are just as talented and given the opportunity have just as many things to say, ah, are just as insightful, but because they never experienced that and they live in their AP/honors world, believing that the CP part of the school are stupid kids...

Additionally, a black educator noted that in the higher level classes in particular, teachers sometimes exhibited an ambivalence toward those students who may require an additional or varied approach in the learning of a content area. This educator felt the ambivalence was rooted in a reluctance on the part of some teachers to stretch themselves sufficiently to reach all of the students in their classroom. In a levels system, the solution to poor performance is to enroll in a less rigorous course level. While this approach gave

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the appearance of assuring that the standards of the class were not compromised, it reflected an extremely static pedagogy, absent of such considerations as the teacher's interactions with the students, the instructional strategies for teaching core concepts, and the extent to which students are engaged in learning in the classroom. This educator told me,

> Honestly ah, teachers do the best job they can do, that's our job. Now expectations—some of that you can't change; if a child doesn't perform, they're [teachers] not always going to strategize and see what he can do. They're—because a lot of teachers want to make sure—they don't want to compromise their integrity, or the class's integrity, ah, to help students who don't even belong in the class. They don't have that commitment... you know what, it's again that whole *ambivalent* feeling, if they [students] need all this help, they don't belong in the first place...

Some educator participants expressed extreme dissatisfaction with inequalities in the school system. A white educator, teaching students who performed below grade level in standardized tests, told me the students were so accustomed to worksheets that this educator's efforts to expose students to "a lot of talking and conferring back and forth and raising questions" through plays, poetry, and books were interpreted by the students as *lacking* academic rigor. This educator told me,

> [The students] weren't particularly used to asking questions, the boys and girls, mostly boys...They were used to having worksheets. They were accustomed to all this dumbing down. *This was work.*

The concern about the lack of academic rigor at the general and, to some extent, college preparatory classes emerged in several interviews with educators. While educators spoke about the richness of academic, racial and economic heterogeneity in some college preparatory classes and the skillfulness of those particular educators whose college preparatory classes were academically strong and engaging, there were also concerns expressed about classrooms where little was expected of the students other than

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behaving quietly and accomplishing the assigned task. In an interview, a white educator described an observation of one such classroom:

> Educator: ever been in a room where there's silence all the time?
>
> Anne: [slight pause] a classroom?
>
> Educator: um-hmm. I have. Nothing ever happened.
>
> Anne: you mean the teacher was talking?
>
> Educator: the teacher was hovering over the kids, the kids were doing work in class, all the time
>
> Anne: so they're engaged with like – tasks
>
> Educator: dipshit stuff
>
> Anne: uh-huh
>
> Educator: all the time

My interview with this educator revealed deep troubledness over the role of the levels system in the distribution of widely discrepant levels of academic rigor. The educator felt that the levels system replicated inequality, and though educators "meant well," it was, like many systems in the nation, not transformative of the relations of power ascribed to race and class in the broader society. This educator's narrative reflects the impact of the dissonance experienced by educators as a result of teaching in a system with structures they did not support. This educator and I talked about this,

> Educator: and the only analogy I could get is that we recreated the plantation system – whereby the lower level kids in the general classes, predominantly black, they're being trained, to be the servers and peasants of society, and the CP kids are being trained to be the household slaves, and the AP kids are in the white house having the doors and opportunity open to them. So on the one hand, we're saying that we're servicing kids, which we are and we mean well, by servicing the kids, but on the other hand, the opportunities that kids are facing are dramatically different in the AP versus the general classes, and then you go by many of the general classrooms where kids work in little study groups, and they work in

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watching movies, and they work with their worksheets, while doing their homework in class and what you're then doing then [tapping on the table emphatically] is denying them any [final tap] chance for an opportunity, and that's called education, not just [here, but] across the United States of America

Anne: uh-huh. That's pretty – dismal though

Educator: well, yeah

Anne: it—it, ah—

Educator: but you see I'm like other staff, I close my door,

Anne: um-hmm

Educator: I teach my classes, my kids are terrific, ah, they're learning, and I go home, and I say to myself, I, I tried, I can't do anymore—I'm done

A white educator at the middle school talked about students in the middle 1990's who "moved in one track—in the lowest track in general, sometimes not, but in general they go on the same school buses. So they came from the same neighborhood, you see. This was really incestuous." Another white educator at the high school noted a weariness in improving academic achievement, particularly among those African American students who did not perform at grade level. This educator and I talked after reviewing a chart of student data disaggregated by race that revealed a gap in the Stanford Achievement Test scores from 1991-1992:

Educator: well, you know...it isn't that I feel hopeless but I feel less hopeful than I did you know a decade ago. Um, you remember the book title, *I'm Dancing as Fast as I Can*... but that's how I feel sometimes, I'm dancing as fast as I can [laughs a little] and the music is going faster and I'm getting slower and older, and um, I keep trying to do what I'm good at, I keep trying to be open to new ways, I keep trying to be sensitive to the insidiousness, but where there was a time in my life when I would have thought I had answers, what I know today is I have none [laughs]. I don't have the answer. I don't know what to do. I know that 99% of us are working as hard as I can and so it leads me to conclude that either I/we are failing systemically here, or, or what the problem is are things that I can't fix

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Anne: right, right, or a little bit of both

Educator: um-hmm, so in some respects it's um, it's a position acquired by what's easier for me to live with at this point in my career, and so I do what I can in that small world

At the same time, the educators above were described in student narratives as exceptional teachers, injecting energy into their classroom and effectively engaging students. Additionally, these and other educators narrated an intensive involvement with curriculum work or other committees and a conviction that access to sites of educational privilege was a critical component to facilitating racial equality. These educators narrated the impediments to achieving equality, whether they be social psychological or structural boundaries African American students experienced in the school system factors in the students' family situation that contributed to their underperformance. A white educator told me "all these kids, I mean they can, they can do it, somebody just has to believe in them, and give them the skills to get there, so we all need to keep working that way." This educator talked about the impediment of student mobility in ensuring students produce equal academic outcomes. At the same time, in this educator's narrative was the belief that ultimately regardless of family or community circumstances, the responsibility rested on educators and the institution itself:

> ...so you could say, "Well that's a waste of our money, because look it, 40 percent of those kids are gone by second grade," *or* you could say, which is what I say, "We're getting these kids ready for life and I don't care where they're going, or whatever, that's our job as citizens" and that's fortunately what the district does...so this curriculum hopefully is going to push those kids, it's going to make them think, it's gonna make them love [subject area] I mean you don't know, I have very high hopes for it...

"a matter of self defense"

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Throughout the late 1980's and 1990's African American parents and educators continued to express frustration with teachers' exclusion of students, their acceptance of racial stereotypes that distanced them from black students and viewed them as less competent and deserving than white students, and the ways in which the levels system reinforced these stereotypes. Some black parents felt very conflicted about their children participating in educational structures that isolated their children from other black students and implied that large groups of black children were "average" while many white children were "exceptional." One African American parent noted that after repeated encounters with enactments of exclusion characterized by the teachers' acceptance of racial stereotypes about achievement and motivation, it became increasingly difficult for the parent to support the authority of the school system. When this parent's child came home early in junior high school and asked why there were no other black children in the advanced class this child was enrolled in, the parent felt that the authority of the system was once again seriously eroded. The parent chose to enroll the child in a private school.

> ...but I couldn't trust, ah – well, I believe the teachers should be respected and trusted, and once you say that teachers are going to be making decisions that you believe are unjust then um, it's hard to trust, so I had to come out, I had to come out, because I didn't want to leave my kid in a system which was built on a lie. I believe it's a lie, ah, and yes, parents are caught, I mean, you don't have much of a choice, if ah, if the school system is elevating some, some bunch of kids because of one variable or another, then it's very hard for a parent to avoid buying into the same system, ok, because, you're gonna be suggesting to your kids that somehow they're not as bright, or they're not as fast, or they're not as – you know, so it's a, it's a matter of self defense...

A black educator at the elementary level, Ruth, responded immediately to my question about an example of racial equality or inequality by telling me that inequality to her was a black male student in the lower grades getting removed from class a little over

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one-third of the school year. She saw this as egregious. She felt the teacher was responsible for not finding a way to approach this child, to work with him, and to ensure his academic success. She blamed the parent for reinforcing in her son a view that all white teachers exclude black students, and for not engaging with the teacher and attempting to advocate for her son. Finally, she viewed this situation as reinforcing a stereotype for the children in the classroom about black students, particularly black male students, being less academically competent and less deserving than white students.

> ...and I was very puzzled about it, ok? That tells me that this teacher does not know what she's doing...and I felt like as an adult – *we know better!* We *know* what we doing, we're *destroying* some kids, and therefore you have African American parents always complaining and saying, all white people do this, just take African American males, and they just *destroy* them, because if you do it at a young age, it's gonna be with him the rest of his life...

In Ruth's story, I am taken back to a narrative in the early phase when Patricia, an African American parent of students in the high levels during the 1970's told me,

> When you see all these little children and they're so—they're curious, and, and inquisitive, and well, you know, that, that they are ah, *shapeable*, and *malleable*, and then, but we used to think, [I] remember that man that used to say, "They're killing our students!"...He said, "Murder in the classroom! Murder in the classroom!" And I thought, "Gee, this man is crazy!" That was before our kids went to school...And he was just, he was—you know, um, he had had some experiences that, ah, were very um, [deep sigh] they were, they were—um, it was trauma for him. I mean, and so, people just sort of looked at him, like he was not with it. Until you *really* found out that there were some of these attitudes...

More recently, Laura, who is African American and a parent of a student who graduated in the late 1990's, told me that in the early grades her child would come home and say, "Those kind of kids are always bad—they always have to sit in the corner." Laura visited the classroom to understand better what was going on. Laura described the children as "very kinetic black boys" who her child had indicated were the children always in trouble. Laura also told me that in her observations of the classroom she saw

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white boys getting into trouble too, "but they were smart enough, shrewd enough" to do it in a way the prevented them from getting the attention of the teacher. When Laura asked the teacher, "Why? Why are these boys [always in trouble]?" the teacher responded that the boys were "out of control." Laura told me she found the teacher's response to be very depressing. In following the class through the grade levels, Laura noted in high school this group of boys became the "same group" of boys "in the basement" of the high school,[189] in the "CP classes, the 'colored people' classes." Laura felt these students had lost interest over the years, and did not want to learn.

Teachers talked about what I am calling social-psychological boundaries within the classroom that resulted in students encountering enactments of inclusion or exclusion. African American and a number of European American teachers narrated an awareness of the power of social psychological boundaries at sites of educational privilege, and the differential in the permeability of those boundaries for white students compared to black students. A white educator at the elementary level told me,

> As a staff person you can see the um, the assumptions the teachers may make that – do lead to racially um, identifiable programming, um, and it may be conscious, it may not be—unconscious but you can hear statements, you can hear awareness because there is such a gigantic racial, not racial, but you can ah—eh diversity...You're talking about the wealthiest whites mixed in with the most economically ad—disadvantaged section of this district...and, so when somebody makes statements or something, you know, you can hear, "They do this," the, the, and, and youuuuu, you can realize that, also that, that advantages or affirmation of, of academic – success, you know, can, you can see certain teachers who affirm, and you can see certain persons, certain teachers who don't, so you know, it is there...

[189] In the high school, the basement level has housed several programs, such as the School-Within-a-School and the more recent Humanities program. While district literature described these programs as providing students with opportunities to re-engage in academic work and reconnect with educators, many of the participants I interviewed understood these programs to be isolating for the students and more remedial in their approach.

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A white educator talked about a fundamental gap in experience between whites and blacks whereby blacks "encountered" racial exclusion in schools but whites do not. This educator spoke about the role of teachers in understanding and counteracting the exclusion:

> I would say it's fair to say that ah, white folks never really understood what was meant by institutional racism, they really never did, and I guess that's understandable—if you're not black, you don't know, but sometimes you, but as a white person, you're just not gonna encounter it, if you encounter it in somebody else, you're not encountering it, your, your not—it's not your child. You sit there and you think they're a little paranoid, you know, they're so focused in on race, look at me, I'm not focused in on race—well, why do you have to be? You're white.
>
> Ok, so it was, it was, yes it was a disconnect, um, um – I think it still is. I think it still is. I don't, I don't think that I know what it's like to raise a child who I feel has a lot of academic strengths and who may not be getting the same education – not on purpose. But just because my son is in the minority and he's ah, a little intimidated by opening his mouth in a class of 35, ok, this is the way it is.
>
> The, the institutional racism comes when a teacher in the front of that class is saying I'm treating everybody equally. I don't understand what their problem is. Well, it isn't equal. He or she, my son, needs a little bit more, so that he can feel comfortable in this room. And so it isn't equal. You have to go out of your way a little bit. And you don't have to publicly go out of your way. You have to privately go out of your way, [if you go publicly,] you're sending a message to everybody that I don't think that this person is worthy enough to make it on their own, but I definitely think that teachers have to go privately out of their way to make a – a contact.

African American educators narrated additional pressures in working with their African American students and parents. Having encountered racial exclusion themselves, and the force of mutually exclusive racial stereotypes on their competency as students at one time and educators later, they were acutely aware of the structural and social psychological boundaries their students had to pass through in order to experience the same level of academic success as a white student in the system. The educator's narrative below reflects passion and exhaustion:

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> See, that's what I feel when you're an African American teacher, you, you feel like you have to explore every single avenue, to make sur—to see if that child *can* perform, because I don't want that teacher to write—I wouldn't want that teacher to write my child off, so I can't write their children off, until I have explored every – single – avenue. You know what? [slight pause] sometimes it becomes frustrating, um, but that's what I have to do.
>
> I think that's my charge as an African American teacher, I, I think that's my charge, you know I have to really, ah, I can't let them down, only when I see there's no effort on the child's part do I say "I have to step back." You're always searching and because—but, it becomes really, um, exhausting because you have so many kids whose parents ah who put this pressure on, and it, and you feel this pressure, then you feel the pressure from the counselors too...

At the same time, the black educators I interviewed were also likely to stress their frustration with some black families, whom they felt for a number of reasons were not assertively guiding their children in school. They worried too that the reputation of Shaker's academic excellence provided parents with a false assurance that their child would automatically succeed in school. This same black educator told me that some African American parents were "complacent" in that "they drop them off in Shaker, and they *truly* believe we will do it. Now in Cleveland, they don't, because it has a poor rec—ah reputation, and some of the other systems have poor reputations, but in Shaker, *they really believe* that they have reached the mecca, and this is the panecea, and it's going—and we're going do it all for them, and we don't. But no institution can."

The influence of peers was sometimes narrated by parents, and it was presented differently by race. White parents narrated peer influence as a factor that was a negative influence on black students achievement. While they felt their own children were subject to the influence of peers, they did not feel it happened around school work. In this arena, they viewed their children's peers, predominantly white, as on the same page. In

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speaking about the gap in standardized test scores between black and white students in the school system, a white parent told me,

> ...and, I still say, part of it is your peers, if your best friend is a good student [slight pause] you're going to be a good student, and if your best friend says, "Ah, what're you bothering to do homework for?"— especially if the children get into the teens because they rely more on their peers than on what their parents say...

What was absent from most white parents' narration was that the enrollment patterns by race in the different course levels influenced a student's exposure to peers. Many white students enrolled in the honors and advanced placement level, and the high enrollment of whites in these classes meant their friends would also be in these classes. Friendships emerged through frequent association in classes and sometimes working together on homework or class projects. Hence, the peer pressure among white students to do well in school was influenced to some extent by the rigor of the higher level classes in which white students and their friends were the majority. Black students enrolled in the higher level courses were in the minority and often narrated an experience of isolation socially and academically. When this isolation was overcome, either through associations with white students emerging with or without adult intervention, or through associations with other black students facilitated in the Study Circles program or MAC Scholars and MAC Sisters, the peer pressure among these students was also to do well in school.

Similarly, because of the enrollment patterns in the levels system by race, there were more black students in the college preparatory and general classes in the high school. The rigor in some, though not all, of these classes was not at the same level as in the honors and advanced placement classes. Homework tended to require less time and less intensive academic reading, writing, problem-solving, or studying skills. Students in

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these classes formed friendships through the students they associate with in class, or they choose to take the class because they knew their friends were electing for the same. As a result, not unlike the white students in the predominantly white classes, the expectations for students presented by the teacher and in the curriculum itself set the standard from which students base their understanding of "doing well."

In this sense, the pressure to "do well" is likely to be qualitatively different if the level of academic rigor and teacher expectations are lower in the college preparatory class. In both the higher level and average level classes, the additional factor of homogeneously grouping students reduced students' exposure to a much wider range of academic skills, thinking processes, articulation of viewpoints, and interest in the subject area, along with race and class heterogeneity. Reducing heterogeneity, then, was more likely to split the energy and status into expressions of peer pressure that were more reflective of the enrollment patterns in the levels system and the divergent levels of academic rigor and teacher expectations.[190] Among black parents in particular, there was an awareness of the influence of the levels system on peer pressure and a narration of efforts to help their children cope with those pressures.

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[190] Research conducted by Ronald F. Ferguson (2001) analyzed the results of 1,699 surveys of all seventh and eighth grade students in the school system, which were fielded in the spring of 1999. For the study's measure of "holding back," in the survey, students could respond that they agreed or not with the statement "I didn't try as hard as I could in school because I worried about what my friends might think." Ferguson notes, "By this measure of holding back, 21 percent of black males, 10 percent of black females, 7 percent of white males, and 3 percent of white females report that at least once a week they hold back. These racial differences are associated mostly with whether students take honors and AP courses. By course level, blacks and whites differ hardly at all in their reported propensity to hold back." Additionally, Ferguson notes, "Because the nonhonors and non-AP courses are where black students are concentrated, and also where most of the holding back occurs for both blacks and whites who experience peer pressure, the black-white difference in honors and AP course taking predicts much (though not all) of the black-white difference in reports of holding back" (Ferguson, 2001, p. 5).

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Black parents with children at the advanced placement level narrated their persistent vigilance with the system and a combination of support, narration of inequality, and insistence that their children stay in classes in which they felt racially isolated. This isolation was a common theme among black parents and students, and it pointed to the vacuum in the higher level classes of enough peers *to facilitate* the same kind of "peer pressure" narrated by white parents about their children's white friends. Some African American parents felt the message the isolation conveyed to black youth was that they were the "exception" in a sea of other underachieving and unmotivated black peers, a message that was deceptively harmful to one racial group and beneficial to the other.

In their narratives, African American parents also described conveying a kind of counter-story to their children that counteracted the "exception" myth, which they viewed as reinforcing a stereotype that had the potential to impede the achievement of black students while bolstering the achievement of white students.[191] The counter-story, however, was a tricky narrative for parents to pass on to their children: it had to be balanced with the view that institutional and societal barriers were not insurmountable and their child had no option but to succeed. Often times, this counter-story was not passed on to their children until they experienced racial exclusion. Sometimes it was not passed on at all but was likely underscored in a parent's vigilance and refusal to accept

[191] Janie Victoria Ward (1996) interviewed 60 African American participants, including parents and adolescents of diverse economic, educational, and family structure backgrounds from four different regions in the country, focusing on "the intergenerational transmission of race-related resistance strategies passed down from black parent to adolescent child," and exploring the themes of racial identity, race relations, and racial discrimination. Ward studies the "political socialization inherent in racial socialization" that she notes "requires development of the ability to identify and analyze issues of power and authority embedded in relations between Blacks and non-Blacks (Ward, 1990)," and she examines several forms of "truth telling" that African American parents and adolescents narrated.

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for their children anything less than the opportunities that white students, in general, were accessing. A black parent whose son graduated in the early 1990's told me,

> I never told my son that he was not equal to anyone to anybody. I told him you're just as good as anybody else, and you can do anything you want, you just have to [slight thud] study. And I never said, cause his – his friends were both because by being in sports, you, you know, it's racially – mixed and ah, he – he didn't understand, when he was younger somebody called him a name, I told him, "Well, they're ignorant, they don't know any better" but I never explained anything about this, I said, when he got old enough, he could—he would – be taught that [laughs a little] the hard part, but I could never...

These parents narrated the *loss* of black peers at the higher levels. They attributed some of this loss to the lack of encouragement black students had from the system in terms of taking higher level classes, and the experience of racial isolation and exclusion they encountered once they enrolled in high level classes. An African American mother whose daughter attended the high school in the late 1990's noted that the isolation was difficult all along, and as her daughter went through the high school, the mother was additionally aware of the absence of black males. She noted that a friendship her daughter developed with an older black male student was especially helpful to her daughter and "That's when you [she] came into [her] blackness." Parents narrated removing their sons from the system because although they wanted them to continue in high-level courses, and they were academically skilled to do so, they felt the racial isolation in the advanced classes was detrimental to their learning.

A white educator talked about the pressures on students in the middle school when they are just getting into honors or advanced classes and the work is much harder than what they're used to and, sometimes, harder than the work their friends are getting in the college preparatory classes. This educator stressed to parents that they insist their child stays in the high level classes, even if it is a struggle.

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> ...they [students] choose to go into honors, or they choose to go into advanced math, and they have to work really, really hard, and maybe they're getting a C, and they have other friends that are CP that aren't working at all and they're getting A's, and so they're going, "Well, why should I do this, when my friends getting an A? And I'm getting a C"...and, and, and, um so they're going, "Why, why should I do this, why," and so you, and they'll go home and say to their parents, "I don't want to—I want to, and I have to say to the—you know I have a parent who'll say, "Well, she wants out," and I say [voice in mix of threat and plea], "Don't let her go out, you know, it'll come, it'll come."

This educator spoke about an African American student who went on to advanced in the subject area but did very poorly for the first half of the year, earning a D. This educator pressed the parents to encourage their child to persevere. The student completed high school and earned a scholarship to engineering school.

African American parents whose economic background positioned them within but still on the edge of middle class status narrated the impact of structural boundaries that were impermeable to their children. One black parent, living in the Moreland area, whose son graduated in the early 1990's, told me she felt it was important that her son have exposure to black and white peers outside his neighborhood. This parent opted to have her son bused to a predominantly white school through the Shaker Schools Plan. She told me, "We lived in a neighborhood where kids like to play a lot, and I wanted my kid to go to school to learn, and I figured if I could get him out of the neighborhood, where the kids were that played all the time, he might actually do—learn something." However, when her son reached high school in the late 1980's, she found the college preparatory and general levels in which her son was being encouraged to enroll to be classes in which the expectations for young people were too low. Although he would not have been isolated from other black students, it was in an academic environment that was not rigorous and did not instill in the students a view of themselves as academically

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competent. This parent narrated extreme frustration with a system that was "just lumping at everybody, and [saying] 'You're black, you belong over here.' You can't lump kids, kids are different, they're people." She and I talked about this in the interview,

> Parent: they tried to keep my son out of the AP classes and I refused. He said, "Well, momma, I won't have to study as hard," I said, "That's not the point. You have just as much right as any person." He said, "but my grades—" [and I said] "Your grades are better than that kid's [over] there and he's in AP, so you're going in." So he took advanced placement courses.
>
> Anne: you were discouraged from having him—
>
> Parent: oh, they told him he should take just plain college level course
>
> Anne: they did
>
> Parent: that he wasn't—
>
> Anne: the guidance counselor?
>
> Parent: oh, yes the guidance counselor
>
> Anne: in junior high school going into the high school?
>
> Parent: in junior high school and the high school. I had words with guidance counselors at the junior high and at the high school...Telling me that they should be at the lower level because they're not able to *handle* these—I said, "You don't know what they can handle." They do that with the black parents. They tell them, "Oh, take the level 2 classes." As a matter of fact, one of my friends...didn't understand...that his son was in a level 2 course. I said, "Why are you letting him take this course?" He said, "Well, what's wrong with it?" I said, "It's not college level, it's a level 2, that means the lowest level you can go." He said, "Well, I didn't know *that*."

This parent noted that her son did well in the system, and she was pleased with his education in the advanced classes, though she told me, "well [sigh] – I just wished it hadn't been so hard to get in the classes that he wanted to get into, I mean you had to practically fight the school system to get what the kids want." This parent encountered the structural boundaries of the levels system as impermeable, as well as social-

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psychological boundaries in the ways in which educators stereotyped black students. However, this parent narrated her experience with an educational structure that made the boundaries more permeable for her son while he was in the high school. Her son took advantage of the support of MAC Scholars and some form of study teams, two programs I have analyzed as *counteracting mechanisms of inclusion*:

> Well, I think by him taking some of the advanced placement courses that he took he met – a lot of kids that um that he still has friendships with and ah I think they worked together as a study team has helped him, he had one friends who has a photographic memory, he doesn't forget a thing he's learned and then he has another friend who's a whiz kid in math, and they studied together...

An African American educator talked about black students encountering exclusion in the classroom as a result of gap in subjectivities – the teacher interpreting student behavior differently from how the student viewed the behavior. Although this educator taught at the elementary level and narrated experiences from that perspective, the enactments of inclusion and exclusion in the high school were not entirely dissimilar. This educator narrated the pattern of inclusion that white students experienced from teachers and exclusion that black students experience. This educator emphasized the importance of teachers being open to continually learn in their profession, not just about the content of what they teach but the relationships they have with students and parents, particularly those who are not from their own racial and economic background.

This educator narrated an expectation that teachers be open to a certain level of discomfort necessary in withholding existing perceptions to create space for new understandings. This process of an experience of "encounter," when it is followed by an opportunity to re-examine self in relation to other and to educational structures, is reflected in the narratives of a number of students in the next chapter:

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> You know, but I'm gonna tell you, you get a lot of these young teachers that come in here, and make their life hell. "I went to Harvard, I went to Yale," and *what does that mean*? Tell me, what does that mean, if you're, if you can't sit here and you [tap with finger on desk] can't [tap] teach [tap] kids [tap] out [tap] of your [tap] culture? *What does that mean?* ...You know, you have to know that you have to broaden your mind...

This educator's frustration appeared to be linked to a sense of academic consequences for children when teachers were unable to connect with their students. Relatedly, this educator spoke about "reading" student behavior in a classroom in a way that does not immediately assign a racial stereotype to the behavior. For instance, restlessness in the classroom was often interpreted to be a sign of rebelliousness or a lack of cooperation when it may be an indication of a student's discomfort with weak skills:

> You can tell, a educator, you can tell your weakest student right off, you really can, you know, you can tell if they're not paying attention, wiggly, or you ask em a question they a looking all around, ah, they don't know, so they have to find something else to do, because they're, they're, they're put on the spot...but you have to make them feel comfortable...

A number of educators whom I interviewed narrated the ways in which they reflected about inequality in the classroom and the schools and the strategies they used to facilitate equality. When I asked a white educator if there was a particular experience that captured what this educator thought was racial equality, or inequality, this educator recalled a recent workshop:

> You know, I, in recent times, the one thing that talks to me, more and more is, is actually an inservice that I went to um, and I thought—it was a five day workshop—and I thought it was a bunch of bullshit the first two days, um, and it turns out to be probably the most significant thing in the [number of years] that I've heard...and basically he [workshop facilitator] was saying, is that, we need to believe in our kids, and for five days, and I paid significant dollar out of my own pocket, to hear someone say, "You need to believe in the kids" it was like, bullshit, um, but the more he twisted and the more he twist—turned on it, his bottom line is that *is* the bottom line – is that you as an educator, or as an parent, or whatever, but as an educator, I think we need truly believe – not rhetoric to say – but we truly need to believe that all our children can achieve, um, and if we can

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> say that, if we can believe that, and if we can – if we can – actualize that belief system in, in, in what we do in our lesson plans, if we can actualize that in, in, ah – who we, who we push to join the academic challenge group, the science Olympiad groups, the, the chess club, you know versus the traditional stereotypes...

Among some educators, there was a fighting spirit, a kind of doggedness, about what needed to be done and how they viewed themselves as a kind of linchpin on which the success of African American students turned. A white teacher told me, when talking about the persistent gap in academic outcomes by race:[192]

> We could go and blame it on all sorts of things, [like] "Well, we have a big influx of kids coming in from Cleveland" and we do because of the foster care that's taking place in Shaker Heights, so we have a huge number of kids that are in foster care now, and you know the system takes them in, and we could do that but you know what, those kids are there, we gotta educate them and we've got to figure out what makes it work and we've got to do whatever it needs, whatever can happen. I'm not one for putting it on anybody but us, we're the educators, and that, that's the only hope the kids have, we're the constant, we need to make, we *need* to figure out what it is..."

> "See we always knew" – Contested Beliefs about Race, Achievement and Motivation

In early 1996 Project Achieve was established, a district-wide effort "to improve the performance of students in grades kindergarten through twelve...While aimed at all students, Project Achieve had particularly focused on the disproportionately low achievement of African American students" (Paces & Stokes, 1997, p. 2). Data was collected by the district for the purpose of a study on improving student achievement, particularly that of African American students, in the district. The recommendations of

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[192] Data collected by Ron Ferguson (2001) in the spring of 1999 through surveys completed by all 7th and 8th grade students in the school system provides useful data on race and family background. Ferguson indicates that in terms of parent education background, "Mothers and fathers together average at least four years of college in roughly 90 perent of white households, compated with about 45 percent of black households." (Ferguson, 2001, p. 10.)

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the project, reported in March of 1997, included professional development of teachers at the elementary level in math; the introduction of Kumon Mathematics at Lomond Elementary School, a school with an increasing enrollment of African American students and with a principal who was a math educator; establishing tutoring at the middle school level and preparation for the Proficiency Tests; teacher participation in curriculum development; establishment of a Bridges program in 9th grade at the high school for "students in the middle" who would benefit from a team teaching, cross-curricular approach; and an early childhood intervention.

In November of 1996, the Office of Civil Rights informed the district of OCR's intent to investigate "equal access to higher level courses for African American students in the Shaker Heights City School District."[193] The letter from the OCR to Superintendent Mark Freeman noted that this was a "proactive compliance activity" and it would involve "data collection, identification of compliance issues and concerns, and efforts to reach resolution of these issues."[194] In a later letter by the district's legal counsel, the counsel noted that the "schools do not see the necessity of the time consuming and expensive gathering of data, but is interested in any recommendations or information OCR can provide to assist in improving and eliminating the statistical imbalance that exists as quickly as practicable."[195] At the same time, although the letter noted the disproportionate number of white students in the higher levels, it pointed to the

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[193] Letter to Mark Freeman, Superintendent, from Harry A. Orvis, Acting Director, Cleveland Office, Midwestern Division, Office of Civil Rights, November 8, 1996. Shaker Heights Public Library Local History Collection.

[194] Ibid.

[195] Letter to Mary Pritchett, U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, from David J. Millstone, Squire, Sanders & Dempsey, L.L.P., Counsellors at Law, January 7, 1997, pages 1-2. Shaker Heights Public Library Local History Collection.

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"open" enrollment policy as its provision of access: "During the meeting, while denying the schools have engaged in any unlawful conduct, the Superintendent acknowledged African American students were disproportionately represented in advanced placement and other upper level courses, all of which were subject to voluntary enrollment in the middle and high school."[196]

OCR responded that the proactive compliance activities required collecting of data and the interviewing of staff. In January the superintendent notified staff that the "U.S. Department of Education is conducting a compliance review of the Shaker Heights City School District."[197] The OCR visited the schools some time in the late winter and then requested a meeting with parents and community members. In March, the OCR met with parents and community members "to discuss the representation of minorities in higher level classes in the Shaker Heights District."[198] The *Shakerite* reported, "According to OCR, the ratio of minority students to white students in the higher level tracks is 1 to 10." The *Shakerite* noted that the goal of the OCR's work was to review the data it collected and provide solutions.[199] According to the Shakerite, the meeting was "packed to absolute capacity." An OCR staff member told those attending that there were three reasons the OCR investigates a district (a complaint from several people; for

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[196] Ibid., page one.

[197] Memo to Instructional and Administrative Council, from Mark Freeman, Superintendent, 1/22/97, regarding "U.S. Department of Education Information." Shaker Heights Public Library Local History Collection.

[198] Informational flyer. "The *U.S. Dept. of Education* [sic] Wants Your Input about the Shaker Heights School District." Identifies meeting date (3/13/97, from 6:30 to 8:30 p.m.) and location (Shaker Heights Main Library). Shaker Heights Public Library Local History Collection.

[199] Sutcliffe, N. & Farley, N. (1997, March 26). Civil Rights Commission reviews barriers in student achievement. *Shakerite*, p. 2.

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technical assistance, and for "proactive compliance"). Shaker was being investigated for the third reason. I could not find further information in the archives on the OCR compliance investigation.

During the time that the OCR was conducting its compliance activities, the district encountered a contentious debate on the low performance of African American students in the high school and their underrepresentation in the higher level classes. Some of the achievement data collected through Project Achieve was made public in February 1997 in an issue of the *Shakerite*, causing significant conflict among educators, students, and parents.[200] Many African American parents and students were angered by the one-side portrayal of all black students as underperforming.[201] The article was published during Black History Month, and many resented that as well. The lack of representation of black students on the *Shakerite* staff also contributed to black students' and parents' suspicions about the intentions underlying the article. A similar *Shakerite* article, and a similar reaction, took place nearly ten years earlier.

An African American educator talked about the reaction to the February 1997 *Shakerite* article that presented student data comparing the academic outcomes of black students to white students. The educator felt that the article focused solely on those black students who had produced low grades and test scores and had not focused on high performing black students or low performing white students. In this respect, this

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[200] Altan, N. (1997, February 2). Black & White or shades of gray? Study in achievement between the races reveals disparity, prompts frustration and solutions. *Shakerite*, p. 1.

[201] Much of this event was captured on a film, *Struggle for Integration*. Produced and Directed by Stuart Math. Stuart Math Films, Incorporated. Cleveland, Ohio. Shaker Heights Public Library Local History Collection.

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educator felt the article presented an uncomplicated portrait of a complex problem, thus reinforcing mutually exclusive stereotypes of white students as more academically competent and deserving that black students. These stereotypes were frequently accessible, though unspoken, but in situations such as this, they were activated and a part of the discourse:

> Educator: but the *pain* was so, the pain was so egregious, and then unfortunately you had white students going around saying—because people read, they don't look between the lines and they looked at statistics, and, and statistics never tell the whole story, ah, most people don't understand, we have a very transient population, we have kids who are foster children, who go out, in Beachwood, and in some of these other communities, you don't have that, you really don't and um—but then I'll tell you something—
>
> Anne: but you said white students were going around saying—
>
> Educator: Oh, "See we always knew—"
>
> Anne: we always knew
> Educator: "they were dumb"

A white educator characterized the period of time following the *Shakerite* article, as "such a hard time." This educator felt that some good came out of the exchange, but that it was so painful for African American students and their parents. This educator noted that it was difficult for faculty as well and it polarized the teachers as much as it did the students.

> ...I don't know that it that it did *good*, but I don't think it did the harm. Um, I think there were certain things that we knew that we didn't say out loud. That needed to be said out loud. I think there are things that we know as, as teachers and educators that are peripheral for our students or our parents. And so until the light is on them, the fact that they [the data] exist isn't new, but now I can really see them. And so I think in some respects it put us on a much more focused course...well, it was such a hard time, it was such a hard time, and so it's easy to just get stuck in how hard it was, instead of what good did come of it...

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An African American educator talked with me about the experience following the *Shakerite* article. This educator felt that providing information could be helpful but it needed to be presented in a much broader context, cautioning that an awareness was necessary of how the information might be used to reinforce racial stereotypes about achievement and motivation and thus perpetuate the very problem intended to be addressed.

> Educator: so, you know, information in a, in a vacuum I'm not sure is, is that useful, ah, you know...it's not necessarily useful because you have information. Now, then there's the second issue. With both people having that information, ah, whites and blacks, or groups of other cultures, ah, it can be when a, when a lot of bad information is put out there, or unhappy, or um – uncomplimentary, or, or, or information that's not positive, bad news, ah, there's some embarrassment to that...[I] sat among many of my peers, white peers mostly, and talked about these. That's not fun. It's not fun for me to talk about that, it's not, it's not fun for me to talk about ah, how great the disparity is between black students and white students. So, ah, I, I think that, that whites also need to be a little sensitive, ah, um, sensitive enough to understand. That when they're discussing that information with African Americans that that's not something that – you know – we're that happy and proud of, to be discussing with you
>
> Anne: right, and also, to have some sense that it's not an issue that's just the burden of the individual
>
> Educator: um-hmm
>
> Anne: because the, the causes behind the disparity are much bigger than just individual students
>
> Educator: right, and that's not always fun to discuss either!

At a board of education meeting on February 11, 1997, the board passed a resolution "resolving to provide intervention to prevent academic failure in the schools."[202] Archival and interview data indicate a strong focus in the district subsequent to the 1997-1998 school year. In March of 1997, some time after the *Shakerite* published

[202] Atwan, N. (1997, February 28). Black & White or shades of gray?" *Shakerite*, p. 1.

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the Project Achieve data, and the Office of Civil Rights had been collecting data and had met with teachers, parents, and community members, Mark Freeman, the superintendent wrote a letter that was sent to students, parents, and residents in the city. In it the superintendent warned about "the media's overreliance on generalizations"[203] and he provided charts on student achievement in the district, which were not disaggregated by race. He noted,

> Recent media coverage, combined with the decision of the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights to review the patterns of enrollment of our African American students in advanced placement and honors classes, should not be interpreted as an indication that we have lost sight of our goal. We have not. We will continue to be relentless in our efforts to ensure high achievement for all students.

Caring Communities Organized for Education

During this period of controversy concerning the persistence of the gap in achievement between black and white students, a group of black parents emerged as a strong advocate for African American students and for programs that increased black students' access to educational opportunities, such as participation in the higher level classes. In the "Letters to the Editor" section of the subsequent *Shakerite* issue, the newly formed Caring Communities membership emphasized the "inescapable moral interdependence of parents, the school system and children" in the education of students in the school system.[204] They also critiqued the manner in which the gap in achievement

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[203] Letter from Mark Freeman, Superintendent, to "Students, Parents, and Residents of Shaker Heights." March 18, 1997. Shaker Heights Public Library Local History Collection.

[204] Parents, children, school system equally responsible for academic success. In "Letters to the Editor." *Shakerite*. March 26, 1997. Page 4. The letter is signed by Emanuella Groves, Ruben Harris [sic], and Kim Sadler. In the letter, they note they were also members of Project Achieve. According to Tuthill, L, (Nov./Dec. 2000), Black achievement: More than a dream, *Shaker*

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between white and black students in the school system was presented in the *Shakerite* and the Project Achieve study. Noting that the district "must admit to the need of systemic changes in the manner it provides for the education of all its students," they wrote,

> When approaches such as the Shakerite article, "Black & White" and the administration's Project Achieve study narrowly define this matter as being the black students' problem of educational performance, a major injustice occurs. Black students are directly indicted. The school system is spared an investigation and evaluation as to its degree of responsibility, i.e. whether its value system, its policies, its procedures, its implementation are a contributing cause and in what measure.
>
> This injustice allows white students – due to their misinformation and miseducation – to speak in terms of their supposed intellectual superiority, and black students and their families to be labeled, as a general rule inferior and morally responsible.[205]

Caring Communities Organized for Education continued to be involved within and outside the school system. This organization worked with the district in its study and directives concerning equal access to educational opportunities, particularly the higher level classes. It also brought together black parents to inform them of the policies and practices in the school system and the optimal ways to ensure that their children fully benefit from the educational opportunities in the schools. In addition to providing meetings and workshops for African American parents, Caring Communities also established programs, such as a summer camp that provided academic enrichment and an Afrocentric cultural emphasis. Additionally, as indicated later in this chapter, Caring Communities involved black researchers, substantially engaged in similar work at a

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Magazine, pages 29-33, the co-founders are as follows: Emanuella and Greg Groves, Reuben Harris, Jr., and Marsha Grove.

[205] (1997, March 26). Parents, children, school system equally responsible for academic success. In "Letters to the Editor." *Shakerite*, p. 4.

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national level, in the study of the school system and the community in order to reduce the gap in achievement between white and black students.

The Late 1990's and Early 2000's

The late 1990's and early 2000's saw a continued trend in the district's efforts to achieve two competing and interdependent goals, the first, to keep a stable a base of mostly white and some middle class and affluent African American parents to ensure racial balance district wide, and the second, to increase the access to educational opportunities and production of academic outcomes for black students in the district. MAC Scholars and MAC Sisters were put in place in the Middle School and at Woodbury Elementary School (fifth/sixth grade building) in the 2000-2001 school year. The high school, under the direction of Terrance Pollack, a white educator, established the Study Circles program in the 2000-2001 school year in the high school. This program was based on research conducted on engaging students of color in math and science education by Urie Triesman at the University of Texas at Austin. This program, funded by local foundations,[206] was expanded to the middle and upper elementary school in the 2002-2003 school year. The district hired a director of research and evaluation, Dale Whittington, a white researcher. One of the roles of her office was to provide the district with achievement data disaggregated by race, as a means of monitoring district progress. Additionally, along with fourteen other urban and suburban school districts, the school

[206] The Cleveland Foundation funded this program. Throughout the history of the district and city's desegregation, the provision of foundation support has been critical. Early in the implementation of the Shaker Schools Plan, the Ford Foundation provided funding. The Cleveland Foundation and the George Gund Foundation have been identified in archival material as critical to the development and assessment of educational structures in the school system designed to facilitate racial equality.

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system formed a consortium "to improve the academic achievement of students of color," called the Minority Achievement Network,[207] whose membership is described in the following manner:

> The school districts that comprise the Network all have strikingly similar and disturbing disaggregated achievement data. Racial disparities on an array of achievement outcomes demonstrate a wide gap in performance between white students and students of color. Network districts also have a history of high achievement, connections to major research universities, and resources that generally exceed their neighboring cities. They are school districts willing to acknowledge explicitly the nature of the achievement gap and are willing to discover and propose strategies to change school structure and practice. Through the Network, the districts will collaborate to conduct and publish research, analyze policies, and examine practices that affect the academic performance of African American and Latino students.[208]

According to a recent district publication, the achievement of African American students has increased, noting "Data for the Stanford Achievement Test, a nationally normed assessment, confirm that the black-white achievement gap in reading is narrowing between grades 5 and 8."[209] This publication also noted that "The number of African-American students taking Honors and Advanced classes at the High School has increased by nearly 50 percent in the past three years, with the largest increase coming in mathematics."[210] It is not clear what the percentage is enrolling in advanced placement classes alone.

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[207] Minority Student Achievement Network. "About MSAN: Overview." Network website. Http://www.msanetwork.org/aboutus.asp.

[208] Ibid.

[209] (Spring 2003). Analyses Show Growth in Minority Achievement. *The Shaker School Review*, p. 4. Located in Appendix E-1.

[210] Ibid.

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Additionally, this report and other sources of data point to an improvement in the results from state Proficiency Tests for black students and continuing high scores for white students. These Proficiency Tests, in existence since 1990, consist of a test in math, reading, writing, citizenship and science. Overall passing rates for in that first year was 51% of the 373 ninth grade students, with the percentage of whites passing in the first year at 81% and for blacks, 22%.[211] A study and preparation program for the proficiency tests, PROBE, was instituted in 1991 for students failing the test. The percentage of students passing the ninth grade Proficiency Test in the 2002-2003 school year (not including results for students who took the test as 8th, 9th, and 10th graders) by race is as follows: in citizenship, 78.5% of black students passed, 99.0% of white students passed; in mathematics, 60.2% of black students passed, 99.0% of white students passed; in reading 91.2% of black students passed, 99.5% of the white students passed; in writing, 90.2% of black students passed, 98.5 of white students passed; in science, 69.7 of black students passed, 99.0% of white students passed. Multi-racial students varied in their passing rates, sometimes slightly higher or lower than black students but not approaching the passing rates of white students. The passing rates were considerably higher in the results that were presented as "results for students who took the test as 8th, 9th and 10th graders."[212]

A significant amount of research was generated by outside scholars in the late 1990's and early 2000's. The stimulus for the research was increasing concern about the differentials between black students' accessing educational opportunities and producing

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[211] See: Sims, B. (1991, February 7). Proficiency test results disappointing. *Shakerite*, p. 3.

[212] *Shaker Heights High School 2003 School Report Card.* Columbus, Ohio: Department of Education. P. 3.

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high academic outcomes and white students. The African American parent advocacy and activist organization, Caring Communities, founded in 1997, played a role in urging the district to engage outside researchers in efforts to study this gap in achievement. Ronald Ferguson, of Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government conducted extensive surveys with students. His findings generated discussion and debate and opportunities for educators and parents to reflect on areas in the schools, the community, and among families that needed to be strengthened. Ferguson has since served as a consultant to the district, applying findings from his research to staff development efforts through the Tripod Project. This project is designed to "improve student achievement by helping teachers refine their classroom techniques, boost their knowledge of content, and build trusting relationships with students."[213] John U. Ogbu conducted ethnographic research in 1997, initially at the request of active black parents in the district with subsequent agreement and funding from the school system. Ogbu (2003) studied the underachievement of black students in the school system as influenced by their "disengagement with academic work" (page xiii). Ogbu's research notes the influence of societal and school factors as well as community forces on the academic disengagement of black students. However, the focus of study is the influence of "community forces."[214]

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[213] (2003, Spring) Analyses Show Growth in Minority Achievement. *The Shaker School Review*, p. 4.

[214] Ogbu (2003) defines community forces to be the "interpretations of and responses to schooling" (p. 250) among black students and their families in the community of Shaker Heights. He writes that his focus on community forces is due to the study team's decision early in the research that "community forces were not recognized as a possible source of the academic disengagement and low achievement...We believed that knowledge of the community forces and their inclusion in the discourse, policies, and practice regarding the achievement gap would contribute to the closing of the gap" (page xv). Additionally, Ogbu explains that "we concluded that many societal and school factors contributing to the academic achievement gap were already known, and to some extent, were being used in policy decisions and change" (page xv).

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Ogbu's research was published in the spring of 2003. At the time of my writing, it was too early to determine how the district or Caring Communities might use Ogbu's findings toward institutional change, staff development, or efforts outside the school within the black community.

Throughout the late 1990's and into the early 2000's many of the programs I have analyzed as *counteracting mechanisms of inclusion* increased, such as the MAC Scholars, the Study Circles program, and the continuation of an after-school tutoring program. Through these programs, the school system focused intense skill building and confidence strengthening for its students, particularly its African American students. However, the *educational structure* basic to the delivery of instruction in the school, the levels system, remained unchanged. Although teachers no longer recommended students for enrollment in particular levels, leaving no other policy in place that might deter student enrollment to higher levels, parents and students continued to narrate structural and social psychological boundaries to sites of educational privilege. In order to understand the "open" enrollment policy, it is useful to consider the evolution of system policies for enrollment of students in the various levels over the period of the district's desegregation.

The History and Meaning of "Open"

In analyzing the concept of "open," I studied archival and interview data on the history of the selection methods for advanced level classes. I review the evolution of the selection processes of the different levels at the junior high school and the high school in the sections below.

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Junior High Schools

In the junior high schools, the levels system began in the 1964-65 school year for ninth grade students, following the same eligibility requirements as the high school. In the 1966-67 school year, seventh and eighth grade students at Woodbury were scheduled into classes based on previous grades, test scores, and teacher recommendation, the same year the zoning for the junior high schools was changed to increase racial balance. The district introduced a gifted program in the 1978-79 school year at the junior high level, the first year that black students whose elementary school fed into Woodbury could elect to attend Byron. The requirements for the gifted program were very specifically based on standardized test scores, teacher recommendation, and I.Q. test scores.

However, the eligibility requirements appear to have been debated at the district and school level, based on parent dissatisfaction with the stringent requirements. Interviews with educators at the junior high school level indicated that pressures emerged, particularly by white parents, to do away with the strict requirements. I was told,

> The parents were terribly upset, especially the white parents...because we had so many parents who said, "My child just doesn't test well, but he deserves to be in honors—to be in the gifted program," and then at the high school, you could *opt* to be in gif—to be in honors...you could always could opt in high school, but you couldn't opt in the middle school, so parents complained and complained because they said their children weren't *prepared* for honors in high school if they didn't take gifted but mainly at that time, the – white parents were the ones who were complaining, the black parents were still sitting in the background saying, "We're gonna trust the school to do what it wants to do well with our children."

In a summary of an administrative council meeting, September 1980, it is noted, "Dr. Taylor said it is important to communicate to counselors and staff that changes are to be made in levels, that there be continual efforts to make it know that our level system

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is open and that we will do all we can to assist people. [Name] suggested that principals meet and work with parents to set the tone and that perhaps elementary to junior high orientation plans could be examined to improve communications."[215] In the 1982-83 school year, district documents indicate that a "re-evaluation of selection criteria for advanced courses in the junior highs" needed to take place, as raised by an educator at Byron. The meeting minutes indicated that "Dr. Stellar mentioned the criteria used last year for placement and it was stated that teachers were to make a professional suggestion – not a recommendation to parents."[216] A year later, there is a note, "The issue of the difficulties sixth grade teachers have with recommendations for advanced courses at the junior highs was discussed. An alternative suggestion was to move to heterogeneous grouping of students." [217]

Some time after the establishment of the advanced courses in the junior high schools, the testing requirements for admission into these classes were eliminated. A white educator at the junior high school level talked about the academic program before the levels system was established. This educator noted that most students took a college preparatory level class, which was very heterogeneous in terms of students' grades and test scores, and a much smaller group took a skills level class along with another small group that took an advanced level class. After the advanced level was expanded, this educator noted that the heterogeneity of the college preparatory class diminished. Narrating the impact of the removal of selection criteria, this educator felt that parent

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[215] Summary of administrative council meeting, 9/17/80, page 1. District archives.

[216] Superintendent's advisory council meeting, 12/1/82. District archives

[217] Superintendent's professional advisory council meeting, 11/9/83 summary, p. 1. District archives.

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assertiveness and racial bias became the primary factors influencing enrollment in the higher levels. What further complicated the situation, this educator felt, was the lack of trust that had developed over the years between active black parents and the school system. According to this educator, the African American parents pushed for the elimination of the skills level classes, which the district then eliminated. However, this educator felt that these skill level classes provided the necessary support for some students, noting that this intensive academic work was not available to them at the college preparatory level.

High School

In the middle to late 1950's, when the advanced program was limited to one or two classes in each subject, eligibility was determined by previous grades in that subject area, standardized test scores, and "measured ability or aptitude in the area of study."[218] In the early 1960's, the criteria were previous grades in the subject area, standardized test scores, and teacher and counselor recommendation.[219] The high school established an expanded levels program in the 1964-65 school year, with levels ranging from one (most basic) to five (advanced placement), along with the weighting of grades to reflect increased workload in the higher levels, the same eligibility requirements are listed along with inclusion of parental guidance and "further educational or vocational plans."[220] The same eligibility requirements also varied by level, with level five the most stringent.

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[218] (1957, October). Senior High Forms Additional Classes in Accelerated Work. *School Review*, p. 3.

[219] (1960, June) High School Offers 4 Advanced Coures. *School Review*, p. 3.

[220] (1964, November). Levels of Instruction Inaugurated in Shaker. *School Review*, p. 3.

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In a 1968-69 school year, the district's documentation of selection methods was very elaborate. Level five enrollment was accomplished through "staff selection...from those who apply for admission."[221] Enrollment at level four was by "student election, except for ninth grade algebra, for which the mathematics department does the selecting."[222] Level three was selected by students, and level two and one were selected by students through teacher or counselor recommendation.[223]

As a result, according to this documentation, in the 1968-69 school year, "open" enrollment was the norm, although the term was not used, for all levels, except for ninth grade algebra at level four and all of the level five classes.

> It should be clearly understood that, with the exception of Level 5 advanced placement courses and level four ninth grade algebra, the **final responsibility** for selection of the level of instruction for each student in every course **rests with the student and his parents**...Teachers and counselors will advise and recommend to students the level which seems appropriate in each course, based primarily on the student's past achievement record and measured ability...Careful considerations should be given to these recommendations...The educational and vocational plans of the student will also determine to some extent the advisability of the levels choices that are made. In the end, if a student and his parent choose a level not recommended by the high school, the student will be placed in that level which he and his parents have selected.[224]

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[221] (1969, February). Levels System Offers Student Individualized Challenge and Chance. *School Review*, pp. 2-3.

[222] Ibid. Enrollment in higher level math was only possible with prerequisite courses, so it was dependent on a teacher initiating a conversation with the student or parent before the completion of sixth grade, since sixth grade teachers made recommendations based on test scores and grades in class. Enrollment in science was also constrained to some extent to prerequisite courses.

[223] Level one was phased out in the 1970-1971 school year because it was seen as ineffective. Lawson, J. (1970, October). Answers to questions on balance, ballots, and levels." *School Review*, p. 3.

[224] (1969, February). Levels System Offers Student Individualized Challenge and Chance. *School Review*, pp. 2-3. Bold text is as it appears in the article, p. 2.

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In the 1973-74 school year, the district emphasized that the advanced placement classes were "more open." District publications encouraged students to apply to advanced placement classes, but they were not guaranteed a place in the class, and each department appeared to have varying rates of acceptance.[225] At the same time, the district reported that it instituted a vocational education program.[226] Additionally, new courses were introduced, such as "Survey of High School Mathematics" at the high school and "Basic Mathematics" at Woodbury Junior High School[227] that are described as "recognizing the diversity of learning styles exemplified by students" and for "some students who...would benefit from additional work in mathematics."[228]

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[225] According to "AP: A Review of Advanced Placement" in *Shaker Review*, January 1974, page two, the average enrollment in AP math was 39-45 and 62 in AP history. English did not provide a number. It was reported that the science courses "do not carry the AP label," but some students taking all the science courses have taken and done well on the AP exam in science.

[226] The announcement indicates that state legislation in 1969 "requires every school district in the state to provide for an adequate vocational education program...for a minimum of 12 different vocational education offerings." In "Vocational Education for Shaker Students." *School Review*. January 1973. Page one. This was accomplished through the district contracting with the Cleveland Heights/University Heights City School District and Warrensville City School District. This vocational education program and some form of the contracted agreement continues through the present time.

[227] Woodbury Junior High School was 44% African American in the 1979-1980 school year, with the Shaker Schools Plan in place. Without it, the percentage of students who were black would have been 53%. Byron was 38% African American with the Plan and 25% without it. As indicated elsewhere in this study, Woodbury appeared to be the focus of extensive leveling, beginning in the 1966-1967 school year and continuing through its closure in the 1984-1985 school year. In a May 1975 Shaker Review update on course plans for the 1975-1976 school year, the *School Review* notes "...changes at Woodbury next year include: **Occupational Work Adjustment** [sic] – a guided work-study experience to benefit youth having school-related problems, with reimbursement through Federal Education funds distributed by the State." In (1975, May). ...Seniors, Science in Kindergarten. *Shaker Review*, p. 3.

[228] As reflective of the intensifying focus on reducing the gap in achievement between African American and European American students in the late 1990's, a white educator in the current phase told me, "that we've really gotten rid of a lot of substandard courses. I'll use the math department as an illustration. We had consumer math, and we had pre-algebra, rather than algebra available to our high school students, and I think we came to the conclusion that every student, and the research is pretty profound on this issue, needs to have algebra and geometry

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According to a *School Review* article in 1980, the "open" enrollment of the levels system was not in place until 1976. Before that time, "admission to levels [was] determined by educators, usually on the basis of test scores, academic records, and teacher-counselor choice."[229] This is somewhat contradictory to earlier documents, except at the advanced placement level, which appears to follow, even with encouragement to students to participate in this level, the testing, grades, and teacher/counselor recommendation criteria. The "open" enrollment policy was the primary argument used by the school system in its response to the Urban League in 1980. According to the same *School Review* article, on September 16, 1980, the district presented position papers to the board of education regarding "charges by the Urban League and Concerned Parents of Shaker Heights that the Levels System discriminates against minority students," and the board of education "**voted unanimously for continuing an open levels system in the secondary schools** [sic]."[230]

More Recent Developments with Advanced Classes

The archives indicate the next period of scrutiny of the levels system and its potential to exclude African American students from higher level classes occurred in the

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under the belt to be successful. And so we now have what we call the algebra lab at the high school, and it's a two year algebra program. And um, that's an option for some students, who, really, we had a high failure rate, for some of our students in algebra because of all the new material that you become exposed to in algebra, and for some other reasons I'm sure, but ah, we thought it would be helpful to offer a two year program where students would truly master algebra and then have two years to move into geometry at the high school as a minimum in math, rather than taking pre-algebra, consumer math, all these kind of substandard experiences."

[229] (1980, October). The levels of study: Many accept invitation to participate in evaluation. *The School Review*, *8*, p. 1.

[230] Ibid.

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1996-1997 school year. At this time, the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) conducted an investigation concerning the extent to which the levels system was "open" to all students. In an apparent response to the investigation, the district eliminated all forms of teacher or counselor recommendation from students' enrollment at the various levels. Educators narrated a more race-attentive approach toward enrollment of African American students at the higher levels. At Woodbury, for example, there appeared to be a focus on paying attention to those African American students who would be appropriately placed in the advanced classes:

> But after that, that's when the advanced math and advanced language arts [educators] would come to you and say, 'well, do you think, do you have any African American females or African American males, cause we're looking for *males* who could ah, who could get into this classroom and be able to ah to ah, maintain, you know, what we're doing here,' but they were asking that, but before that they weren't.

While the high school and middle school levels system is "open," recent changes at the State Department of Education have impacted enrichment and advanced programs for children at the elementary levels. The State requires districts provide gifted education for children performing at or above a specified score on standardized achievement tests.[231] This, in particular, has influenced the enrollment of students in the advanced language arts and advanced math classes at Woodbury Elementary School. In the early

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[231] Code 3324.03: "The board of education of each school district shall identify gifted students grades kindergarten through twelve...[where students] performed at or above the ninety-fifth percentile on an approved individual or group standardized basic or composite battery of a nationally normed achievement test." 3324.04: "The board of education of each school district shall adopt a plan by January 1, 2000, for identifying gifted students." 3324.05: "Each school district shall submit an annual report to the Department of Education specifying the number of students in each of grades kindergarten through twelfth screened, the number assessed, and the number identified in each category." 3324.07: "The board of education of each school district shall develop a plan of service of gifted students enrolled in the district..." *Ohio Revised Code 3324.01-07, June 30, 1999.* Ohio Department of Education. http://www.ode.state.oh.us/exceptional_children/gifted_children/TheLawORC3324-01-07.

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2000's, the district implemented a stricter enrollment policy at Woodbury for the advanced language arts program and, more so, for the advanced math program.[232] As a result of the mandates and the large numbers of children whose parents wanted them to participate in the advanced classes, the district used strict criteria for enrollment in the classes. Educators narrated their experience with the first year of implementation, as in the comment below:

> For example, now they're saying the state requires that for the advanced math program you have to score a 98 or higher [to get into it on the SAT's] but I know there are white students who, who have not scored a 98 but being that their parents push it, they're in there, whereas with African American students, they may have scored the same amount as the white students, but their parents don't push it. And I think if they're going to go by state, then they need to go by state, and if the parents, if they're pushing it, I don't think that's fair. Although they—the parents will push it, an African American parent yeah they have the right to push it, but they don't. I don't see that.

At Woodbury, educators narrated an awareness of the gap between many white parents and a very active but smaller group of black parents and the wider body of black parents. The gap had to do with parents' understanding of school policies and the extent to which their children benefited from educational opportunities. In this sense, the school appeared to be seeking a balance between servicing the children of parents with the means to leverage access with those without the means. As the district sustained privilege, then, it also appeared to exercise race-attentive strategies. This is a continuation of the district's complex set of prerogatives, which are inherent in racially and economically diverse school systems.

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[232] According to this policy, students must score a 95 or higher in reading on the Stanford Achievement Test or a comparable standardized test for admission to advanced language arts, and a 98 or higher in math for admission to advanced math. Students scoring close to these levels are also placed in a homogeneously grouped enrichment class, as are those scoring in the average range, and those in the low performance range. As a result, in the fifth and sixth grades at Woodbury, language arts and math are homogeneously grouped and science and social studies are heterogeneously grouped.

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Enrollment in the advanced classes is important to parents because it propels students forward into the advanced track through middle school and the high school. White parents and some black parents, some of whom contributed extensive hours volunteering and strengthening the programs of the school system, utilized frequent parent-teacher contact and close relationships with educators, as well as their extensive social networks of other very informed parents, and in so doing they were able to ensure that their child benefited from the educational opportunities in the schools. Black parents, in general, utilized parent-teacher contact less frequently, were less likely to be in an economic position to volunteer or nurture parent-teacher relationships, and did not always have access to a social network privy to the array of educational opportunities. In a system rich with parent resources and support, it appeared that the district continued to cultivate that high level of involvement and satisfaction while also developing a means through which children of less involved and savvy parents benefited from opportunities in the schools that often critically influence the future economic and social mobility of students.

A white educator, distinguished Shaker Height's district's policy on "open" enrollment at the secondary level with the "closed" systems that other schools had in which students were selected by test scores, grade point averages and teachers' recommendations. This educator emphasized the value of the levels system for "challenging" students. Additionally, this educator felt that there had been progress in increasing the representation of black students in the higher levels, largely due to an increasing number of programs in the district that were being implemented in

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Woodbury's fifth and sixth grade program and the middle school's seventh and eighth grade program to prepare students for higher level academic work:

> I think, um, we feel that our hope would be to equip all students to be successful in college preparatory ah, experiences, but challenge students who are capable to take on even greater challenges, and that's, that's a tall order, but I think that um, we're seeing that, we're seeing some progress, um, ah, we know that our honors classes currently about 32 percent of the enrollment in our honor classes in the high school is African American. We think we certainly can do better than that. We're not at all complacent but um, that is an improvement...

An African American educator from the current period of time expressed preference for some degree of teacher recommendation of students for their participation in a class. This educator told me that at one time enrollment in the high school in the various levels was dependent on recommendations from the teacher and counselor, but that a parent could nevertheless press the high school to place their child at a level not recommended by the teacher or counselor. This educator noted that "they told us they didn't want us to recommend anymore. It wasn't any of our business. A parent could always override our recommendation, but parents listened to our recommendation, and our recommendations were based on past performances, they were based on test scores, they were based on just a very, ah – various things."

At the same time, however, this educator noted that a black student who enrolled in one of this educator's classes and performed very poorly, had convinced this educator that the honors level was not the right placement for this student. But the student's mother disagreed and insisted that it was the right level. This educator told me, "I had one mother...we really, hit loggerheads, because I just felt her child was not ready, but – as a parent, you have to trust yourself and your instincts." This educator noted that the student's "written work was so horrible." The educator noted that another student at that

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time required the use of a computer as part of an Individual Education Plan (IEP). Using this as a possible strategy, this educator had the student who was doing so poorly complete tests on the computer. The educator told me, "it was so good, and – I just told [the parent], I said, 'It's like a different child—student writing'... it was another student altogether...went from an F to a C, *but* ah it was her insistence that [her child] stay in the program."

This educator felt there were problems with the "open" enrollment levels system, particular it being influenced by parent pressure and the status of the levels system and the potential for students to be in the high level classes who were not prepared to work at such a level. At the same time, this educator also felt the current policy on "open" enrollment emerged as a result of a history of increasing distrust between African American parents toward the racial bias among educators in the selection of students for the higher level classes. This mistrust, merging with what educators narrated as the resistance of European American parents toward a policy that required a certain testing for students to be eligible to participate in the advanced classes, culminated in the "open" levels system as it exists at the secondary level in 2003.

A white educator narrated a similar sense of frustration about not being able to recommend for parents and students what this educator thought was best for the student:

> Sometimes we've lost our edge as the educator, like I really do know something here. I've got some experience here that might be beneficial for your kid. We also have um, you know, and everything is interwoven, so let's say students with learning disabilities don't want to be labeled, ok, because that would be, that would be a bad label, well then, those labels help you get money, those labels help you get help. I mean I had—a couple of years ago, I was apoplectic about trying to get this parent—to say [hand slams down] "Label your kid" because if we can get him labeled now [softer slam] we can get him help in college. But for cer—for extremely valid and understandable reasons [the parent said], "I don't want my kid labeled." I understand that. But the frustration that brings the kid is

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> sometimes paramount, so sometimes in a, in a, in a system effort to make access – the resultant of that has been that we end up not being about to do for kids, we can't—we've lost our ability. Culturally, politically, socially to say – no, I [tap, tap] really do know what's best for your kid here, because of those years of lack of trust, and because of those years of institutional racism, and because of those years of entitlement for white people. I mean it's not to say that we haven't earned the bad rap, we have earned it, but it's still frustrating.

My interview with an African American parent whose child attended elementary and junior high school in the 1980's underscored the lack of trust black parents had toward the school system and its educational structures. This parent did not see the levels system as "open." This parent's child was the only black student in an advanced class. This parent viewed the levels system as an educational structure that separated students particularly by race but also by class. This parent saw the levels system explicitly as a structural boundary that was *permeable* to white students and *impermeable* to black students, and viewed as its purpose the preservation of sites of educational privilege, which were all or nearly all white in order to satisfy white parents concerns about academic standards in a high school student body that was increasingly African American.

> The Shaker system is structured in such a way – as to retain if not advance the advantage of whites, and I sound like a racist when I say that – but all things said and done, the structure of the school itself and the parameters selected, are selected [tap] in, in a biased way so as to *protect* whites [tap] from blacks, and I have a [soft thud] legitimate quote from [tap] one of the assistant principals, told a white parent that, [said loosely, almost coarsely] "You don't have to worry about any black kids getting in your kid's class." I mean this is *thick*. Ah, see, they may not object to, to me – and when I say "they" I don't know who I'm talking about, who – who, who knows the moves as it were [laughs] – ok, but when it comes to the collectivity, I don't think there is the, the willingness to engage in random exposure of kids...I just don't think it's there...

While interviews with black parents from the early phase points to experiences of "trust," or "mistrust," and of vigilance, it also pointed to an absence of collective activism

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before the mid to late 1970's. Black educators and parents noted that in the late 1990's the emergence of Caring Communities, an activist black parent group, has increased the awareness among African American parents of the need to encourage their children to take classes at the higher levels and to utilize the services the district has established to support students' learning, particularly black students, such as the tutoring center and the study circles program. The work of Caring Communities, coupled with an increase in district programs to encourage and prepare black students for advanced academic work, suggests that black parents have increasingly utilized the "open" levels system and enrolled their children in the higher levels. It also underscores an increased sense of entitlement and assertion on behalf of one's child among African American parents. In this sense, the "open" system has allowed for the enrollment of students who might not be viewed as having the potential for advanced classes, but who have an adult in their lives—a parent, counselor, or teacher, encouraging them to enroll in an honors or advanced placement class.

At the same time, the limited enrollment data with which the district provided me and the similar disproportionate patterns of African American students in the advanced classes provided in the interviews with student participants and educators, tempers the argument that significant change has occurred in the numbers of black students electing to take advanced classes, or white students electing to take college prep classes.[233] Given the low numbers of African American students in high level classes and white students in

[233] I did not study numbers of white students at the college preparatory level, which is known to be small. I would be interested in learning more about these data, and in what classes black and white students are more inclined to cross racial boundaries. The SGORR program (Student Group on Race Relations) is intentional in its selection of half white and half black membership. It would be useful to learn if there are other activities or classes that are similarly intentional in their efforts to achieve racial diversity as a requirement for the success of the delivery of instruction or activities.

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college prep or general education classes, and the limited figures presented in this study, the scope of that individual entitlement among black parents appears to be sharply limited compared to that of white parents.

When there was little or no parental involvement to advocate for a particular level of classes, students who were not performing at grade level appeared to be scheduled into a level of classes that may be educationally supportive but not educationally rigorous. When parents failed to get involved in their child's scheduling upon entering high school, or were involved but not savvy about the consequences of students' participation in the various levels and programs, their children might be scheduled into programs and classes that provide strong teacher connections and engagement in the subject area but did not provide the equal educational opportunities, equal academic outcomes, and equal relations of power that were available in the more rigorous classes. Narratives from African American students in the current phase in the subsequent chapter suggest that without a parent taking control of the process, and sometimes even when that was the case, black students were less likely to be encouraged to take higher level courses.

Additionally, the large number of whites enrolled in high level classes increased the likelihood that these students would elect to take these courses. While the participation of some African American students in honors and advanced placement classes suggests that some parents and students view the levels as "open," the predictability of the racial composition of the levels suggests that for many African American students and parents, the levels system as they perceive it is "closed." Similarly, concerns about the enrollment patterns of the levels system by race, appeared

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to discourage white and black students from enrolling in a class in which they will experience racial isolation.

More recently a white educator in the high school told me, "We're not going to get rid of the levels system. Educationally, we believe in it." This educator told me that if there were testing criteria for admission to higher level courses, this educator would oppose the levels system. But this was not the case, I was told, since it's an "open" system. This educator also told me that the high school would "never *not* admit a student to a higher level course because it was closed" but that a new class would be established, and they would split a big class and get a new teacher. There were deadlines, however, this educator noted, after which changes were not possible.

Educators often presented the concept of "open" in a more nuanced manner. In an interview with a white educator, we talked about the way in which the "open" enrollment policy facilitated or impeded access for African American students. Noting that the "open" policy was important in making the levels system accessible, this educator also acknowledged that the policy did not *guarantee* participation, largely because there were prerequisites for many higher level courses and also because student "motivation" and "interest" varied:

> And you might notice on the, on the first page, and I don't know if you'll find it significant or not, but it says, "Open Enrollment," the very first page, [reading:] "The Shaker Heights City School District has an open enrollment policy for all students interested in participating in any given course. Students are encouraged to pursue the highest level of instruction, matching their motivation, interest, and previous learning." ...it's not perfect, because you'll notice the qualifier here at the end—ah, in, you know, "matching their motivation, interest and previous learning." Well, if you don't have you know a high level of previous learning, it makes it a more difficult thing to access the higher level courses. But there really was an interest in, in not placing barriers in front of students who were interested in challenging themselves...

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As a result, in the current phase of the district's history of desegregation the language of "open," "choice," and choosing "your destiny" is integral to the narration by educators of the levels system, particularly in their support of the system and the view that it provided opportunities, not boundaries. However, the gap in how students and their parents experienced the levels system, like the gap in the term "voluntary" used for the original proposed desegregation plan that was mandatory for the predominantly black student body at Moreland, was evident in the narratives of participants in this study. The language of "open" was and continues to be effective, nevertheless, in obscuring the intangibles that facilitate choice and control and in failing to address the stereotypes about race, achievement and motivation that view white students as more competent and deserving than black students. An "open" levels system feeds the notion of equal opportunity, as was expressed by students in the middle and current phase, mostly white, some of whom narrated differences in the kind of *experience* black and white students had in the high school but did not narrate the differences in the availability of educational *opportunities* for white and black students.

"...nobody talks about race now"

> they didn't see the, the discrimination, they didn't—they didn't have a sense of the cities burning...
> - white educator

Through the 1990's and into the 2000's at the national level, there were more reversals in desegregation rulings and increased scrutiny on race-attentive policies implemented in public education.[234] These national trends have influenced the conceptualization of racial equality among educators and parents in the district as well. In

[234] Specific Supreme Court rulings discussed in the literature review.

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the spring of 2003, considerations for a redistricting of two school boundaries to reduce the overflow of Fernway Elementary School and fill available space in Lomond Elementary School was designed in such a way that the area zoned for transfer, which was predominantly white, would improve the racial balance at the receiving school. The decision was complicated because the area to be redistricted had been redistricted once before and then returned to its original districted (and neighborhood) area. The first redistricting occurred at the time of the reorganization in the 1987-1988 school year when it was originally transferred to Lomond, and it was returned to its original districted smaller neighborhood school of Fernway in 1994. As enrollment increased at Fernway, the district office determined that the proximity of Lomond to this neighborhood and Lomond's need for more white students, made it the best candidate, once again, as a receiving school. When the district informed the residents in this area of the plan to change the school boundaries again, there was intense opposition.

There were a number of meetings held after the announcement of the change, and many efforts on the part of parents and educators from Lomond to reach out to the parents in the redistricted area and to introduce them to Lomond and its programs. Families with children already in Fernway were grandfathered into that school, but families whose children were just starting in the district were to be bused to Lomond. The farthest distance to be traveled involved one mile. A white educator spoke about the opposition to the program and the view of the district office toward the opposition:

> ...and, I think their feeling was, some parents would want to do this, but if I elect to [move to the Fernway area] because of my proximity to the neighborhood school, I want to be a part of this neighborhood, I still want to have that opportunity. So it was clear there were people who were, um, you know, really concerned about this, and, to get in a big battle with your own citizens, I think, and I want to be real candid with you, that was developing, and I think there was a

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> feeling that, let's not go there, to get into a big, you know, bruhaha, when I think we can accomplish the, eh, the, the same tactic in a, in a, in a voluntary way. So the objective remains the same, to encourage families...to that effect...

Parents and educators at Lomond felt that the opposition to transfer was not only out of desire to stay within the neighborhood and attend the neighborhood school. The distances between both schools were not that great. It did, however, involve leaving the geographical and social-psychological inclusivity of the neighborhood. Separating the Fernway area from the Lomond area is Van Aken Boulevard, along which the Rapid Transit Line runs, long a social-psychological divider of the community. There would be a "stretch" required among these families in terms of geographical proximity and social-psychological understandings of self in relation to other in another neighborhood school.

Such changes have been requested of or required by white and black parents and their children in the past. In the 1970's, the Shaker Schools Plan, students were voluntarily transferred by their parents in order to experience an integrated education, support student achievement, and improve racial balance in the schools. In the reorganization of the district in the 1987-1988 school year, the district mandated transfer of black and white children, and closed schools, with the goal of reducing costs of underutilized buildings, consolidating and improving the quality of education, and improving racial balance.

The consequences of the reorganization are evident in the bus routes and enrollment patterns in this area of Shaker in which Lomond and Ferway are located. Since the 1987-1988 school year, children from one part of the Lomond neighborhood drive nearly past their "neighborhood" school to attend Fernway School. It might be more logical and more conducive to their sense of neighborhood inclusivity to enroll

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them in Lomond. And they could walk to school. These children are predominantly African American and their presence at Fernway, a predominantly white neighborhood, creates the racial balance the reorganization intended to establish in the elementary schools. At Fernway, the bused children and the white children from the neighborhood attend a desegregated school, as a result of the reorganization and the busing of children from the Lomond area. Families from neighborhoods near to Lomond also bus their children. Children in the Moreland neighborhood, which is predominantly black, travel four miles to attend the Mercer Elementary School, also in a predominantly white neighborhood. This improves the racial balance at Mercer and provides children in both neighborhoods with a desegregated education. Children in the Malverne area, a predominantly white neighborhood not close to Lomond, travel two and a half miles to attend Onaway, a desegregated school.

The history of the school system suggests that the transfer of students, when needed for racial balance and when also alleviating other district dilemmas, such as cost considerations or space requirements, is a useful strategy with benefits toward facilitating racial equality. However, an analysis of the district's desegregation of its schools indicates that while facilitating racial equality has been a goal of the school system, it has been intertwined with efforts, not unrelated to desegregation, to preserve a solid base of white parents in the school system. Keeping white families in the district has been most frequently achieved through the establishment of sites of educational privilege that are accessible to their children. In this sense, then, in the recent redistricting plan for an area of Fernway to attend Lomond, the school system and community are engaging in patterns of interactions similar to those of the past. In this contemporary dilemma, the need to

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sustain racial diversity through an anchoring of white families to the district has the effect of compromising racial equality.

A white educator noted the shift in trends, reflected across the nation today in the courts and the school systems, which focus on restoring privileges among whites. These privileges were at one time lessened in order to create some balance by extending to African Americans privileges previously not accorded them. However, these recent restorations of privilege limit the extent to which structural change can be envisioned and carried out. A white educator admitted to finding the current Fernway/Lomond issue "unexpected." Noting the history of the district, this educator pointed out the absence in the redistricting debate of reference to improving racial balance to maintain desegregated schools and toward the facilitation of racial equality. This educator noted,

> Nobody talks about race now if you notice that, they talk about it on the side...what might be different now [from the past], one element that—one variable that we might have now, is that they're afraid to talk about it as being a racial balance decision because they—because cities have now lost cases...I don't know all the case law on this...it's a reversal...

At the same time, this educator reflected on this generation which included this educator's own children, and their distance and inability to grasp the full weight of racial exclusion, the seriousness of the consequences of racial injustice, and the urgency in addressing racial inequality. This educator questioned if the story passed on to this educator's children and others in their generation sufficiently impressed upon them their role in relinquishing privilege for responsibility (Burns, 2003) in order to raise their children in a society where relations of power are not accorded to race:

> Because they don't have this *background*. They didn't come out of the '60's and the '50's. They didn't *see* the, the discrimination, they didn't—they didn't have a *sense* of the cities burning...I don't think we told that story well enough.

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The views were different among other educators, who felt that the loss of support among white families as a result of enforcing a transfer that they opposed would be too costly for the district. The board of education had a levy before the voters in May of 2003, and there were deep reservations of risking a defeat. Another white educator told me,

> And that's why I thought your question about whether you think people have changed, and, you know, I don't want to be hard on our public, I think, that the, the—I want it to be clear that people come to Shaker Heights for a diverse experience. Now I think that um, we have to acknowledge that that's why they do come, but there's also that pull of a neighborhood school. That's a very important thing, and there's great pride around your neighborhood school. When it became pretty clear that this was going to be a, you know, a divisive political issue, I think rather than, you know, forgetting about the objective of having kids ah, you know, go to the um, school that has more room, I think there was an interest in doing it in a way that it didn't really create ah, great animosity...

Minimizing animosity and reducing the possibility of white flight in a district that already had a "skittish" white community, as a white educator described to me, was achieved in the Fernway/Lomond controversy through the reversal from "mandatory" to "voluntary." In 1970, the same reversal was made by the district. At that time, however, the reversal involved a very race-conscious determination of where privilege and exclusion lay. White families already had the privilege of purchasing a home in any neighborhood they wanted in the city, setting aside economic constraints. Black families did not have this privilege. Mandating busing only for black families and closing half of the neighborhood school in the black neighborhood instead of busing white children to the school, would have only further excluded black families from privilege. In the reversal, black families gained the privilege accorded already to white families, that of "choice." Similarly, in 1987, in the reorganization, white and black families both lost the privilege of "choice" in order to achieve racially balanced and educationally vibrant

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schools. In the more recent Fernway/Lomond redistricting decision, as in national decisions in the courts, the privilege of "choice" as a race-aversive, presumably "color-blind" policy, was reaffirmed for families in the district, specifically the white families living in that part of the district.

At the same time, those at the district level were clearly studying the bigger picture, weighing the costs of pushing a mandated policy that was unpopular among those whom it would most closely impact, in its withdrawal of the privilege of their "choice" of a neighborhood school. The proximity of private schools and the potential for a defeated levy appear to have been very influential in the district's decision. A letter was sent to all residents in the Fernway and Lomond area, informing residents "Upon further review, discussions with staff members, and feedback from parents and other residents, we have decided to leave the attendance boundaries as they were in the 2001-2002 school year and concentrate on voluntary transfers to alleviate overcrowding in Fernway."[235]

Conclusion

> ...but the general sense of it is, whenever we tell the story of Shaker Heights here, the story that is forgotten now...I'm still talking about the story...
>
> - white educator

In the early to mid-1960's, as geographical boundaries between Cleveland and Shaker Heights became more permeable, and African American families moved into the school district in increased numbers, educational structures were established by the school system in response to a more racially and economically diverse student body.

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[235] Letter from George Cannon, Principal, Fernway School, Lawrence Svec, Principal, Lomond School, and Bernice Stokes, Executive Director of Elementary Education, June 2002. Anne Galletta's parent archives.

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While the high school introduced a small number of advanced placement classes in the middle to late 1950's, there was no substantive change to the high school curriculum until the middle 1960's, at the height of the migration of black families to Shaker Heights. In the 1964-1965 school year, the high school established a tiered curriculum of five levels, from most basic to most advanced. Archival and interview data reveal a concern among white residents that academic standards were at risk of erosion as a result of the increasing numbers of black students from the Cleveland Public Schools enrolling in the district.[236] District publications assured white residents that academic standards remained high, and the district referenced high standardized test scores and rigorous academic offerings as evidence of preserved academic standards. The levels system introduced structural boundaries that not only reduced academic heterogeneity but also racial and economic heterogeneity.

At the same time, the school system began to establish educational structures to ensure equal educational opportunity for African American students in the school system. For the 1966-1967 school year and thereafter, the board of education approved a redistricting plan for elementary schools feeding into the junior highs in order to create more racial balance between the all white Byron Junior High School and the increasingly desegregated Woodbury Junior High School. Early concerns about the equalization of

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[236] The unease among whites over the early racial and economic heterogeneity of the school system is evident in the title of a meeting held in February, 1970, the same month the superintendent proposed a one-way mandatory desegregation plan at the elementary level, held at Woodbury Junior High School. The meeting, titled, "How Have Blacks Changed Shaker Schools," was described in the February 1970 (number 98) *School Review* as a "lively two hour question and answer period centering on what was early seen to be a controversial title." The meeting "attracted a crowd which filled the auditorium, several classrooms, and the gym," and it involved a panel of presenters including the superintendent, high school principal and a number of representatives from the staff, community and a member of the student council.

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building facilities also at the junior high level resulted in construction of a pool and additional gym space at Woodbury. Planning was underway by the late 1960's for the desegregation of the elementary schools.

In the district's efforts to attend to worries that racial and economic heterogeneity would threaten academic standards while simultaneously working to make these standards more accessible to black students in the district, the school system embarked on a balancing act throughout its history of desegregation. These two major and often competing efforts have continued through the current period of time. The former was designed to secure families to the district who keep the system racially and economically balanced. The latter was designed to demonstrate effectiveness in raising the achievement of black students.

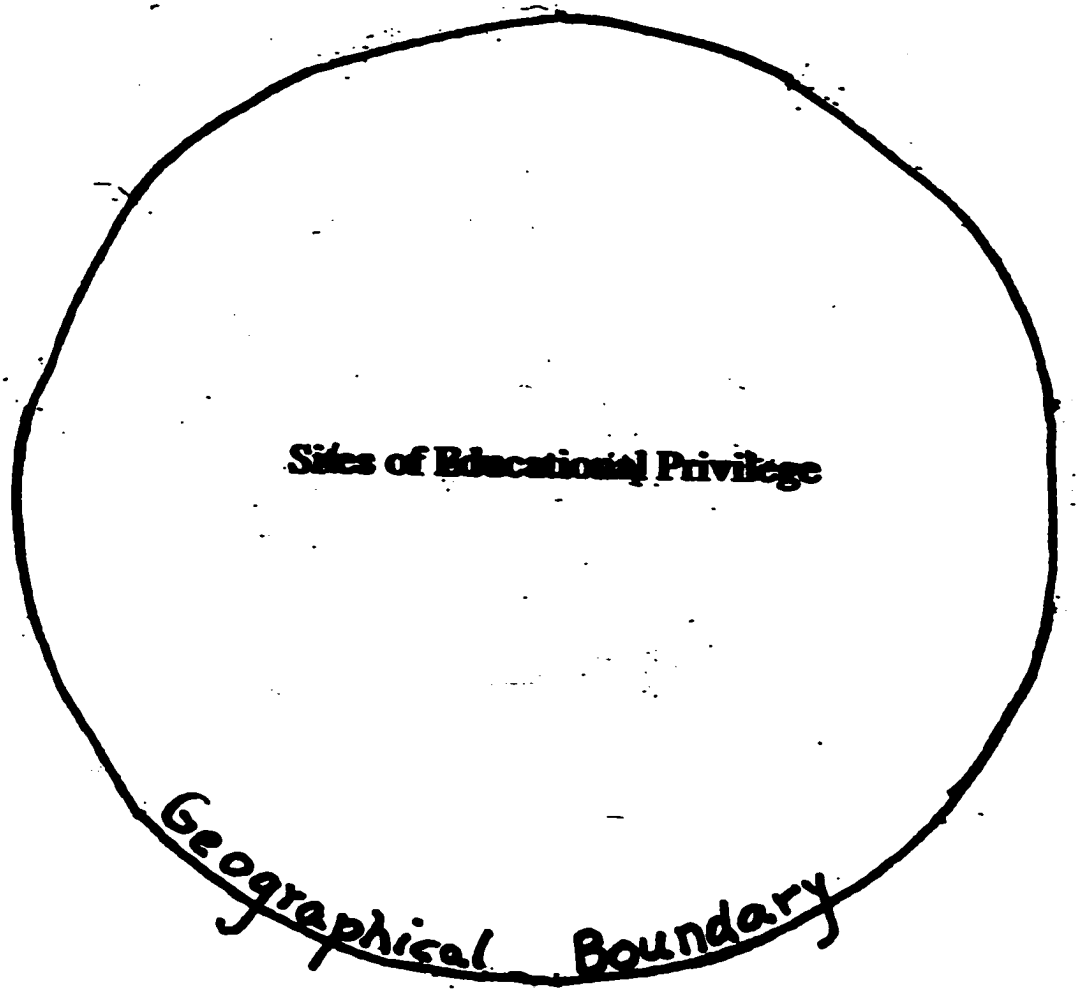
A useful illustration of the interdependence of the district's goals and the consequential permeability of geographical boundaries and impermeability of structural boundaries is located on the series of charts in the next few pages. In these charts, the increasing impermeability of sites of educational privilege to African American students, particularly at the center, is evident, ultimately producing graduations of permeability outward and rigidity inward.[237] Chart 1 illustrates the racial and economic homogeneity of the school system with closed geographical boundaries before 1955. In this illustration, the district is an exclusive system of sites of educational privilege. By sites of educational privilege, I mean educational settings characterized by high teacher

[237] My advisor, Michelle Fine, provided a useful metaphor for the phenomenon of educational change that is somewhere between replication, the "reinforcement" of relations of power ascribed to race, and transformation, the "disruption" of relations of power. She described such change "that alters but does not disrupt social stratifications" as change that "thickens but still preserves." This notion of "thickening" is evident in my chart of the emerging layers of concentric circles, rigid at the center with increasing permeability outward towards the perimeter. (E-mail correspondence with Michelle Fine, 6/28/03, 6/30/03)

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STUDY OF DESEGREGATION,
IN SHAKER HEIGHTS, OHIO

Chart 1: Pre-1955

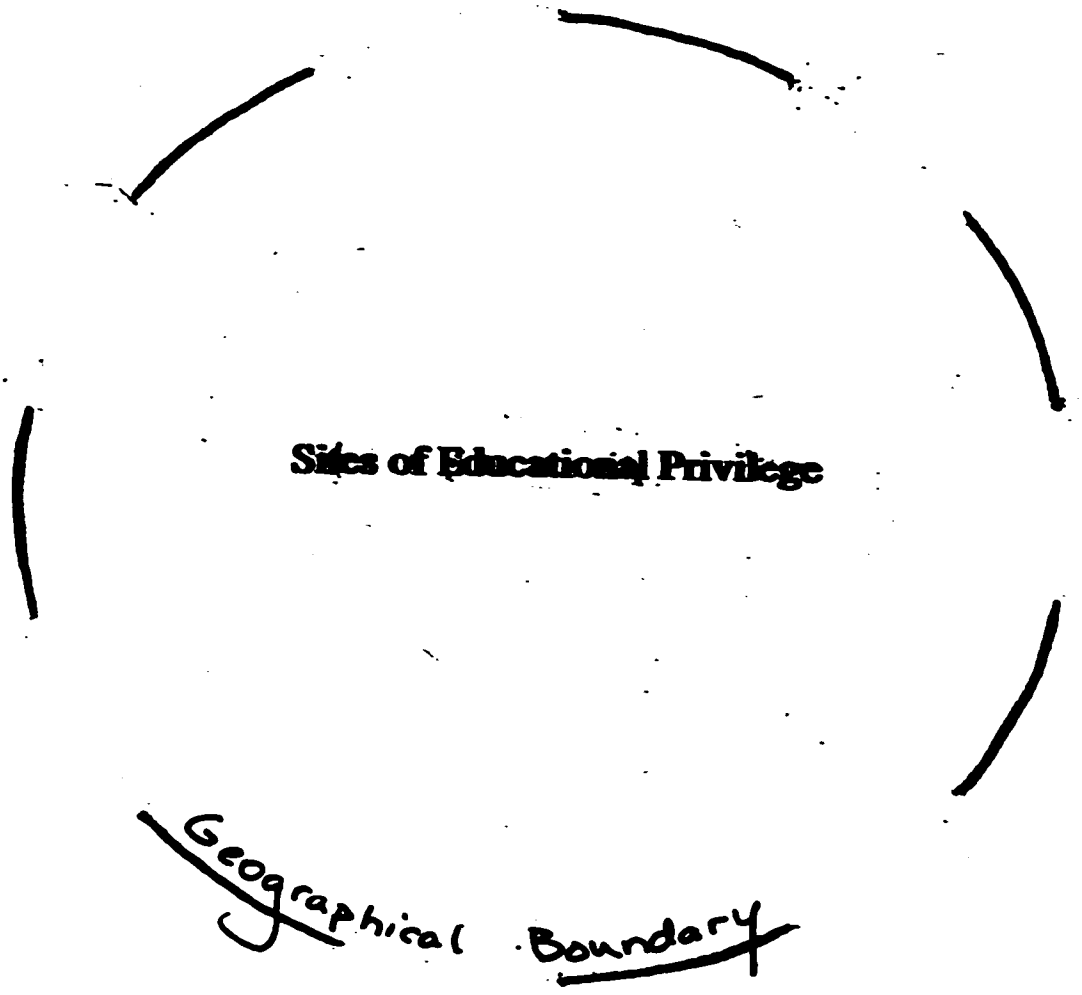


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Chart 2: 1955 - 1963

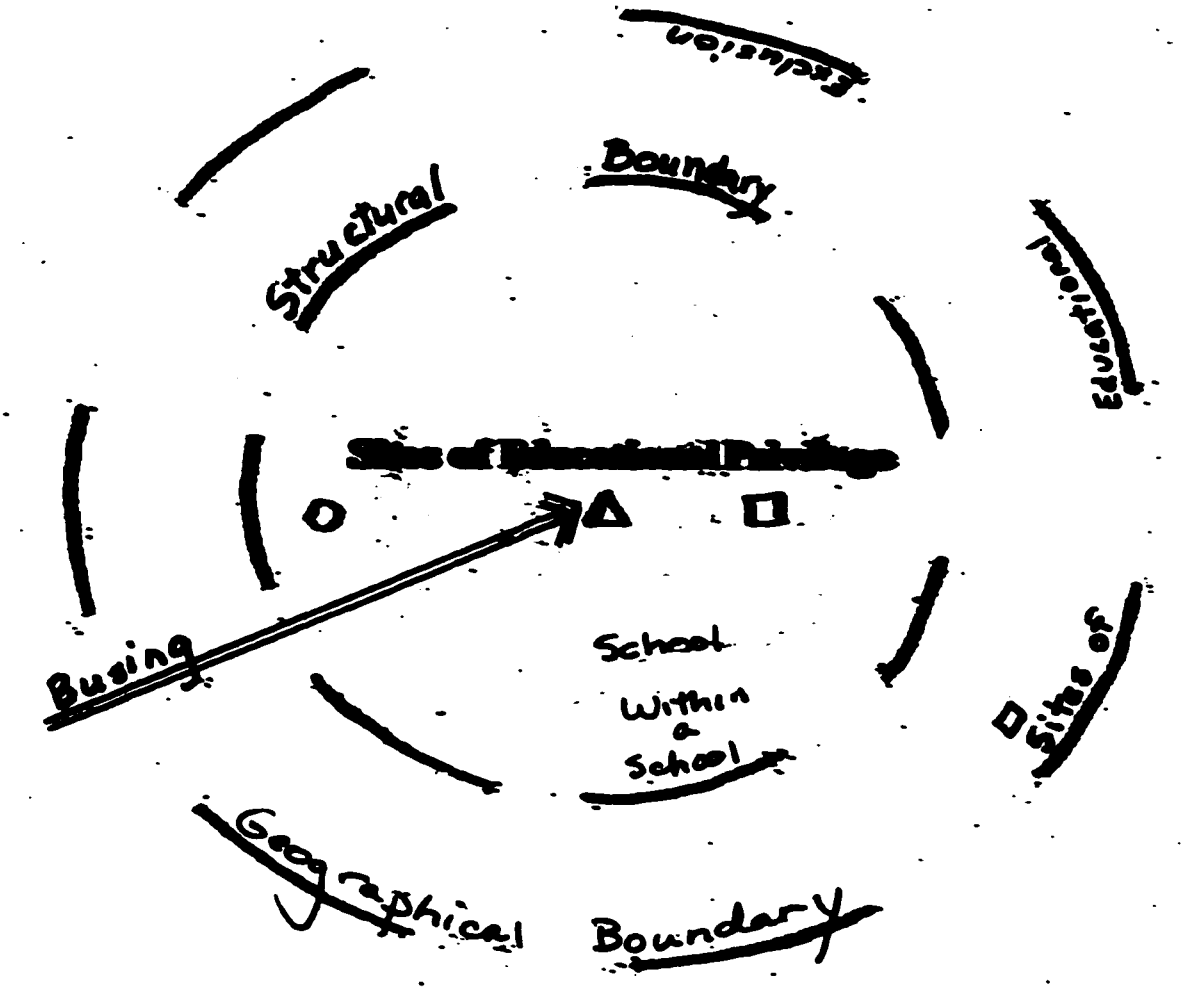


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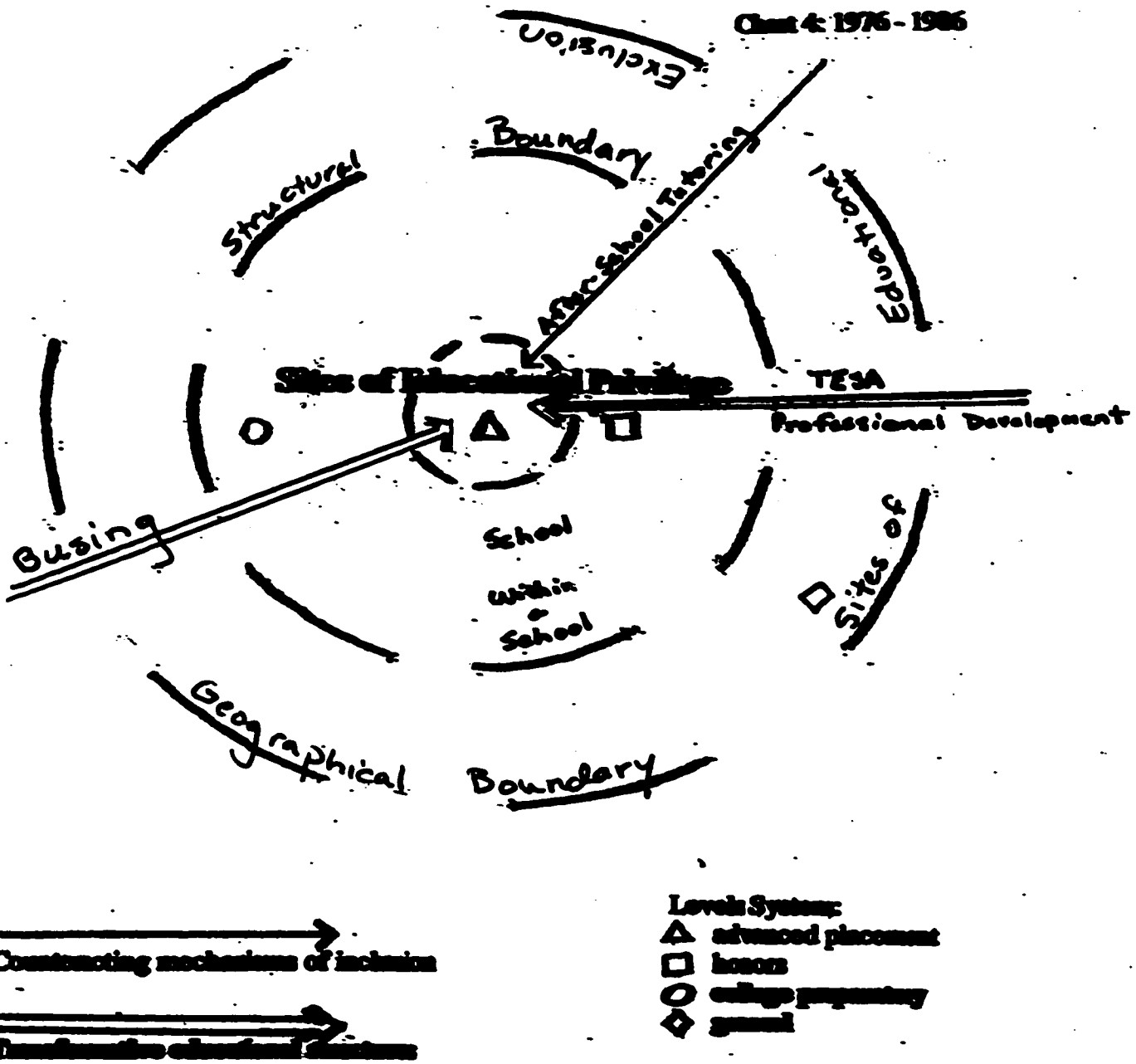
Chart 3: 1964 - 1975



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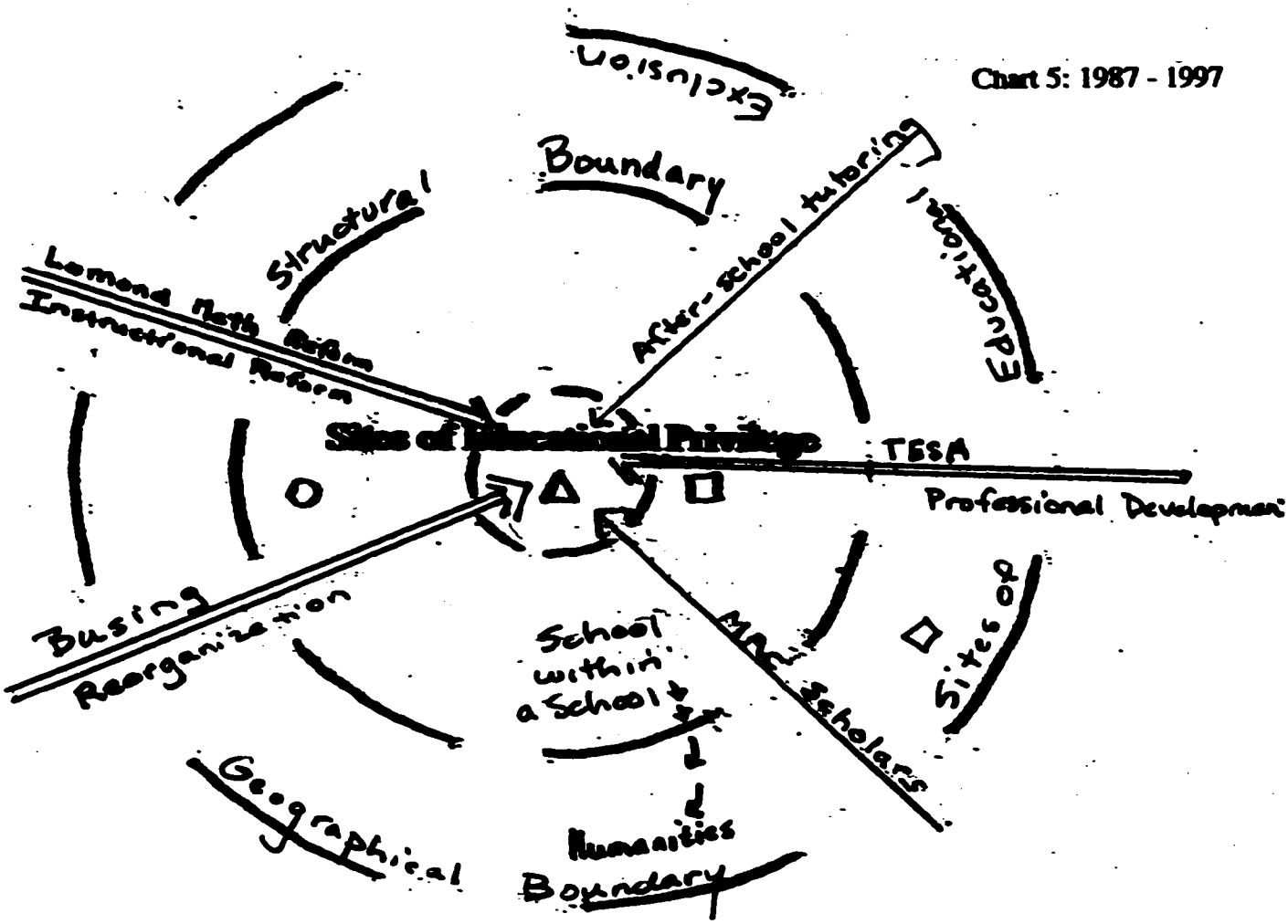
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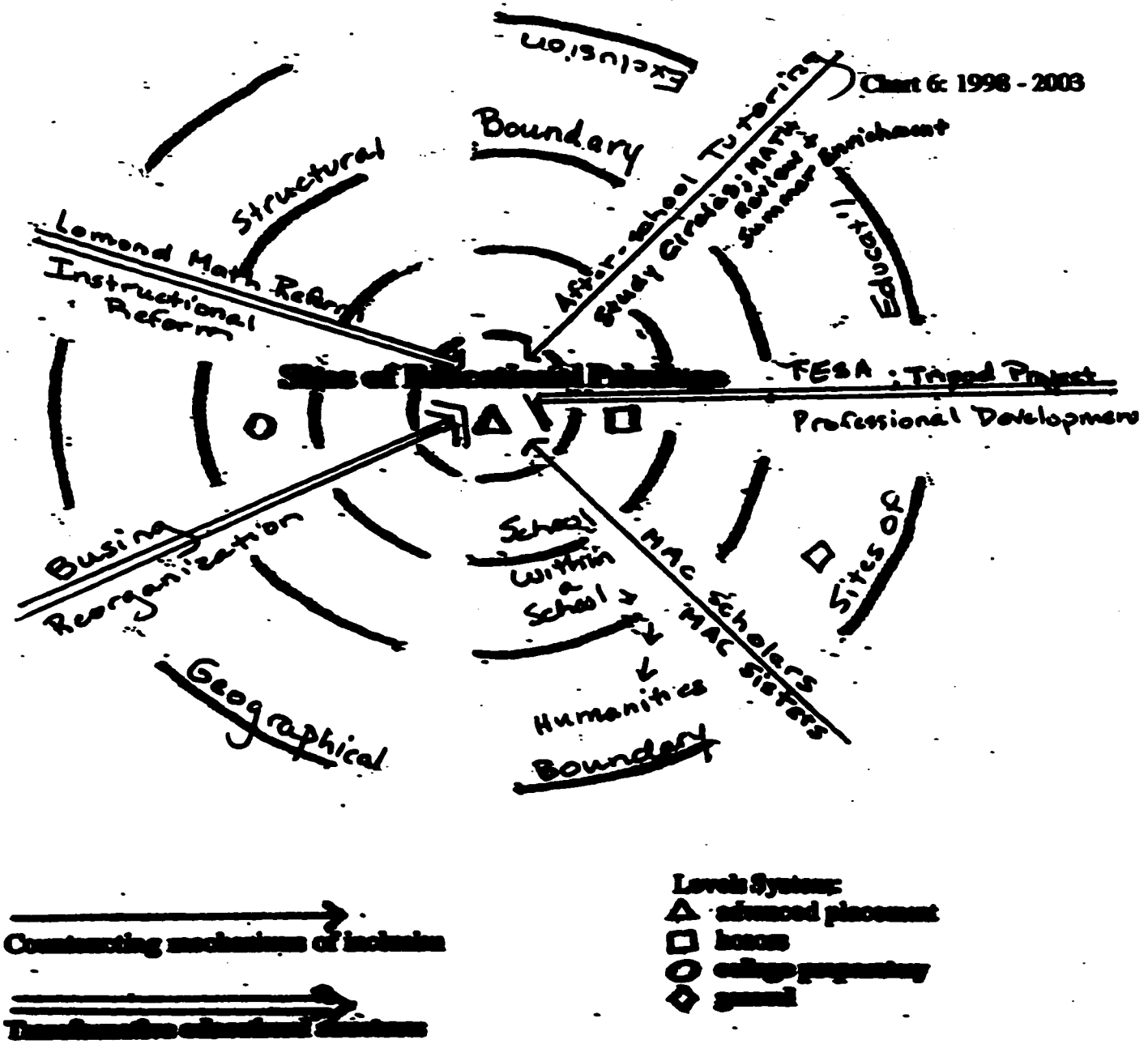
Chart 5: 1987 - 1997



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expectations leading to high academic outcomes; a rigorous and meaningful curriculum; opportunities for students to study and discuss academic work with peers; and relationships between students and teachers that are strong and lead to productive connections inside and outside the classroom.

Chart 2 illustrates the opening up of geographical boundaries from 1955 – 1963. The permeability of the geographical boundaries is shown in the perforations in the circle's perimeter. The source of permeability of the boundaries is a complex mix of events: the outlawing of racial and religious covenants that opened up Shaker Heights to desegregation, the increasing segregation in Cleveland that hastened the exit of those African Americans who could move their families out of the city, and an understanding at a national level of the potential for achieving racial equality, facilitated through civil rights legislation.

Chart 3 illustrates the introduction of a competing boundary in juxtaposition to the permeable geographical boundaries. In the 1964-1965 school year, the district introduced a fully stratified levels system designed to preserve academic homogeneity at the different categories of basic, remedial, average, enriched, and advanced. It also had the effect of preserving racial and economic homogeneity. This is illustrated in the shifting of the sites of educational privilege into the center with an outer shell representing the educational opportunities outside of sites of educational privilege, which are referred to as sites of educational exclusion. Around the center is a newly established structural boundary representing the access to privilege for some and exclusion for others. Using archival and interview data to structure this overlay, the data indicate that levels 1 and 2 were not settings characterized by high teacher expectations leading to high academic

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outcomes; a rigorous and meaningful curriculum; opportunities for students to study and discuss academic work with peers; and relationships between students and teachers that are strong and lead to productive connections inside and outside the classroom. Therefore they are not located within the boundaries of sites of educational privilege, but in an area outside that I have analyzed as sites of educational exclusion.

Chart 3 also illustrates the introduction in 1970 of a *transformative educational structure* at the elementary school level, the voluntary busing program known as the Shaker Schools Plan. This program allowed white students to transfer to Moreland Elementary School, a predominantly black school. It allowed black students to remain in a desegregated Moreland School or transfer to a one of six predominantly white schools. Because the busing through the Shaker Schools Plan directly affected the educational structures of the school system, it is analyzed in this study as a transformative educational structure. It facilitated the provision of educational outcomes, the production of academic outcomes, and the engendering of equal social powers, which I define in this study as facilitating racial equality. It directly impacted the classroom, and in doing so, created the potential for relations of power, according whites more of a privileged status than blacks, to be equalized. In the Shaker Schools Plan, the district invested heavily in staff and resources in its newly heterogeneous sites of educational privilege at the elementary level, particularly at Moreland Elementary School. A review of the archival and interview data underscores the facilitation of racial equality at Moreland School in the provision of choice for African American children to remain in their neighborhood school or transfer, and the busing of European American children to the school. As a

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result, in this study, Moreland School is analyzed as *desegregated site of educational privilege.*

Chart 4 illustrates the increasing rigidity of structural boundaries as geographical boundaries were increasingly loosened. The greatest rigidity is evident at the center, with the least permeable boundaries. It also underscores the tension between the district's efforts to maintain the enrollment of whites, concerned about racial and economic heterogeneity weakening academic standards, while demonstrating effectiveness in raising achievement of black students. This is evident in the continued structural boundaries of the levels system, which were impermeable to many African American students at the higher levels, at the same time that more *counteracting mechanisms of inclusion* were put in place to increase black students' access to sites of educational privilege, such as the after-school tutoring program at the high school, established in 1979 and a year later an elementary school.

Also Chart 4 indicates that during the late 1970's the district nurtured a professional development program, Equal Opportunity in the Classroom. It was also called TESA or Teacher Expectations Lead to Student Achievement, and it focused on teacher interactions with students. In this study, I analyze TESA, as described in the archives and narrated by several participants, as a *transformative educational structure.* It facilitated the provision of equal educational opportunities, production of equal academic outcomes, and the engendering of equal social power, which I define as facilitating racial equality. It directly affected the educational structure (policies and practice) of the school system. It was transformative change and it impacted the classroom and changed the nature of relations of power ascribed to race and class. TESA

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was also likely to make social psychological boundaries more permeable to black students because it made teachers conscious of behaviors that enacted exclusion in the classroom and led to changes in practice in the classroom.

Chart 4 also includes the establishment of the School-Within-a-School in the late 1970's. This was an alternative program for students whose academic skills were weak and/or who were disengaged from schooling. Archival data suggest that educators in this program were often uniquely skilled at fostering connections between themselves and students. At the same time, this program is not analyzed as providing equal educational opportunities, equal academic outcomes, or engendering equal social power, and is therefore *not* viewed in this study as transforming the institution. In the School-Within-a-School program, the seeds of a later institutional phenomenon occur, the existence of classrooms in which educators effectively connect with students and engage them in the subject area, but are located *outside* most other educational structures in the school and therefore are viewed in this analysis as *sites of academic exclusion*. Additionally, this program, though racially balanced early on, put in place the potential to become a predominantly black resegregated educational structure, reinforcing mutually exclusive racial stereotypes that cast white students as more competent and deserving than black students.

At the elementary level, in the late 1970's and early 1980's the district introduced magnet programs as part of its efforts to attract whites to predominantly black schools. One of these magnet programs was the Special Projects program, a gifted and talented program at Ludlow Elementary School. The Special Projects program began in the 1977-1978 school year, and continued until the district reorganized in the 1987-1988 school

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year. Students attended the program in third through sixth grade. The classes were self-contained and traveled together through each grade. Ludlow School was small, and most grades had two classes, the Special Projects class and the regular class. It was common for white students in this program to subsequently enroll in the advanced classes at the junior high school and then the high school. Black student participation in the higher levels subsequent to their participation in the Ludlow Special Projects program was less consistent. In this study, the Ludlow Special Projects program is analyzed as a *replicative educational structure*. It did not interrupt a history of unequal education or make sites of educational privilege accessible to those historically excluded from them. Instead, it exemplified the simultaneous implementation of privilege and exclusion within one educational structure. It also exemplified the pattern in the district of establishing academic programs that attracted white parents and were majority white. Its structural boundaries were impermeable to African American students, and the setting itself reinforced mutually exclusive racial stereotypes of black students not as competent or as deserving as white students.

In the early 1980's, as an outgrowth of student dissatisfaction with the absence of race-conscious efforts in the district toward inter-racial relations and the readiness of teachers already trained by the district in intensive human relations work, the Student Group on Race Relations (SGORR) was proposed by an inter-racial group of high school juniors and seniors. In this study, I have analyzed SGORR as a *desegregated site of educational privilege* and a setting that provides students with the sometimes uncomfortable, but when supported, productive experience of gaining an understanding of self in relation to other and to the educational structures in the school system. SGORR

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offered students an opportunity to enjoy the richness of racial diversity within a context that was deliberately race conscious about membership and representation of all points of view. It was a setting where mutually exclusive racial stereotypes were rejected. With a strong emphasis on establishing and maintaining trust among the members of SGORR, there appeared to be an opportunity for students to "encounter" self in relation to other in a way that produced growth but did not result in exclusion. Additionally, the organization operated through student leadership that was racially diverse and representative of different student backgrounds, with facilitation by a veteran educator. It was an effort to effect the discourse among young people, to give them a "vocabulary" for talking about enactments of inclusion and exclusion and stereotyping, and to provide an alternative to the view that racial separation was inevitable or natural.

Chart 5 illustrates the continued rigidity of the structural boundaries in terms of sustaining the impermeability of the sites of educational privilege, particularly at the center. It also illustrates the increase in district efforts to facilitate racial equality. This period of time began with the district's reorganization of the school system in order to accomplish the following: reduce costs by closing underutilized buildings, improve the quality of educational offerings through the consolidation of staff and resources in each building, and improve the racial balance of each building. Because the district reorganization directly affected the educational structures of the school system, it is analyzed in this study as a *transformative educational structure*. It facilitated the provision of educational opportunities, the production of academic outcomes, and the engendering of equal relations of power, which I define in this study as facilitating racial equality. It directly impacted the classroom, and in doing so, created the potential for

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societal relations of power, according whites more privileged status than blacks, to be equalized.

At the same time, during its reorganization, the district attended to the worries among white parents that racial and economic heterogeneity would threaten academic standards. A major change in the reorganization was the establishment of a fifth/sixth grade, district-wide upper elementary building. In the past, these students attended their neighborhood elementary schools. In the newly organized Woodbury Elementary School, these students often encountered students from their racial outgroup in large numbers for the first time. Duplicating educational structures that result in predominantly white classes, such as the advanced placement and Ludlow Special Projects classes, the district implemented a program of advanced classes at Woodbury. As indicated earlier in my analysis of the Special Projects classes and the levels system, I analyze the advanced classes offered in fifth and sixth grade to be *replicative educational structures*, which act as impediments to facilitating racial equality.

Also, in the 1986-1987 school year, the high school introduced stricter enrollment guidelines for students participating in level two classes by requiring that they be there for remedial purpose only. However, at the same time a new program was established in level three, the Humanities program, which served students described with standardized test scores in reading below grade level. In Chart 5, the Humanities program is located in an outer shell, outside sites of educational privilege. Archival and interview data suggest that educators at these sites were often exceptional teachers who would contribute greatly to the provision of course offerings in desegregated classrooms for the wider student body. The data also suggest that the Humanities classes provided students with an

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opportunity to re-engage with educators and academic work, and it provided parents with a strong connection with educators in this program. In this sense it offered an experience of inclusion. Nevertheless, these classes are not analyzed as providing equal educational opportunities, equal academic outcomes, or engendering equal social power, and are therefore *not* viewed in this study as transforming the institution. They were located outside most of the other educational structures of the school and are analyzed in this study as *sites of educational exclusion*

In 1991, the high school began the MAC Scholars program, analyzed in this study as a *counteracting mechanism of inclusion* for African American male students through which African American students could access sites of educational privilege and improve their level of achievement. This program increased the permeability of structural and social psychological boundaries at sites of educational privilege. It was inclusive in that it expanded privilege to a broader, more racially and economically diverse group of students. At the same time, the program itself focused on the students and not the educational structures, and was therefore not transforming the institution. This had the compounding effect of underscoring individual merit and failing to acknowledge the boundaries black students narrated in this study that white students did not. Nevertheless, the involvement of black male students in the formation of the organization and its ongoing implementation suggests that MAC Scholars played a powerful role in the district's efforts to facilitate racial equality. It did not directly impact the classroom and change the relations of power accorded to race. While it might have been transformative of students, it was not transformative of the educational structures in which these students participated in the high school.

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In the early 1990's, educators at the Lomond Elementary School began an intensive study of mathematics education and developed an instructional program over time intended to reduce the gap in math achievement between black and white students. In this study, I analyze this math reform effort as narrated by educators and described in the archives as a *transformative educational structure*, in that it facilitating racial equality and directly affected the educational structure (programs and policies) of the school system. It focused on the teaching inside and outside the classroom, and it produced equal academic outcomes between white and black students in the subject of math. In so doing, it paved the way for black and white students to equally pursue educational opportunities, such as higher level classes in the middle school and high school. It was transformative in that it facilitated racial equality, and it directly impacted the classroom in its reflecting upon and revising approaches to teaching math. It did not replicate relations of power according to race in the broader society, and it created sites of educational privilege where black students could contradict racial stereotypes about achievement and motivation.

Finally, in Chart 5, while levels three, four and five are all considered sites of educational privilege, there is the possibility that as efforts to increase African American students' access to sites of educational privilege occurred, such as moving from level two to level three, the consistency of academic rigor in these level three classes diminished. This chart does not place level three classes outside sites of educational privilege. Archival and interview data suggest that some level three classes provided all the benefits of sites of educational privilege *and* at the same time were academically, racially and economically heterogeneous. Additionally, some college preparatory classes were

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rigorous majority black settings where black students enjoyed being among their peers. Nevertheless, interview data in particular suggest that in terms of academic rigor and teacher expectations, there was more variation in level three classes than in level four or five. As a result, permeability of boundaries in the level three classes did not guarantee the classes offered could be consistently characterized as sites of educational privilege.

Chart 6 illustrates the highest degree of rigidity to academic and racial and economic heterogeneity in the level five classes as well as the most intensive activity on the part of the district in terms of providing black students the means to access sites of educational privilege. In Chart 6, then, the competing and interdependent goals of the district are evident in its continued focus on maintaining the enrollment of whites while demonstrating effectiveness in raising achievement of black students. An additional circle is evident in Chart 6, shifting the level three, or college preparatory, classes outward toward the perimeter. As emphasized earlier, archival and narrative data suggest this was not always the case. At the same time, as the district engaged in counteracting mechanisms of inclusion, the outer shells increased in permeability, while the center remained rigid. Hence, many white and more black students enrolled in honors classes, creating increasingly segregated classes at the college preparatory level.

The use of *counteracting mechanisms of inclusion*, such as the Study Circles program and MAC Scholars/Sisters, was evident in the other school buildings. For example, Woodbury Elementary School has become a site of intense efforts to prepare African American students academically for the honors levels in the middle school and in the high school. At the same time, admission to the advanced classes at Woodbury has become increasingly competitive and based entirely on standardized test scores. In the

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district's efforts to intensify students' academic readiness for the levels system in the middle school and the high school, the system has increasingly organized Woodbury's classes in language arts and math homogeneously by academic skills and standardized test scores.

Desegregated Sites of Educational Privilege

While sites of educational privilege have been described in the archives and in interviews, many of these continue to be segregated sites of educational privilege. There was less documentation and narrating of *desegregated sites of educational privilege*. However, when they were documented, they produced powerful testimony of the impact of desegregated sites intentionally working to facilitate racial equality on the intellectual and social development of black and white students. In my study of the history of the district's desegregation, I analyze the Shaker Schools Plan at Moreland Elementary School in the 1970's as a desegregated site of educational privilege. A white student described his experience in Moreland in the early 1970's in the following way:

> ...you know, a, a, a general feeling of acceptance, um, and being willing to risk...in a school where [before], I felt, it was the last place I ever wanted to be, um, it, I mean, I think it's a real testament to the, to what um, familiarity and exposure, and um, you know, the benefits of integrating, ah, stretching yourself in your, in areas where you're uncomfortable, um, long enough, and sticking it out long enough, to be, to become integrated into that – environment

In my study of archival and interview data, I also analyzed SGORR as a desegregated site of educational privilege. As such, it had the capacity to disrupt routine arrangements that reflect relations of power ascribed to race and class and offered a space for students to contradict the stereotypes imposed on them in segregated sites of educational privilege within the high school. Some students noted that the program

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operated in a race and gender conscious manner, recruiting equal numbers of black and white, male and female SGORR members. A white student whom I interviewed noted that the policies of SGORR facilitated racial equality in their emphasis on equal racial representation and its willingness to tackle topics and concerns that were not addressed in other settings in the school. He told me, "in SGORR I feel connected to black people, um really strongly because...cause it's about half and half...black or white, it's just, we're all the same." This student also noted:

> The only place I've ever actually seen complete racial equality I think is within the SGORR atmosphere, because...we have a group as diverse as they come, we have half probably like 40 percent white, 40 percent black and the rest we have somebody from India, we had you know we had Asian, Jewish, we had Catholic, we had everything, you know within you know under one roof...you know staying open-minded, you know leaving stereotypes at the door, and just giving everybody an equal chance to prove who they are, sort of thing, it's as equal as I think it can possibly be...

However, while SGORR offered students a space for encounter and contradiction, other educational structures within the high school did not offer the same level of inclusion and rejection of stereotypes. This had the consequence of producing a contradictory mix of experiences for students and educators, where racial equality was unevenly facilitated and where educational opportunities, academic outcomes and social power were unequally available to black and white students under the same roof in the high school.

An African American student in the high school in the late 1980's and early 1990's talked about his understanding of the transformative nature of a desegregated school most profoundly when the Rodney King decision was made public in 1992, and students were reacting to the ruling. There was a plan among the black students in the high school for a walk out. This student told me that the principal, anticipating the

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walkout, had arranged to have a podium set up outside on the front lawn. There was a walk out, and it involved black and white students. This student narrated his reaction to the mass of students whom this student knew to enter and exit through a variety of doors under the same roof in the high school, flood the front lawn in protest of the ruling. This student told me the experience had a "redemptive" quality to it, noting, "It was very, very powerful...[of] all of my experiences [at] Shaker—it was redemption that day and it all made sense, why they were trying to do what they're doing..."

A white educator narrated the district's intentionality in terms of preserving desegregated sites of educational privilege. This educator noted that the global studies program was not tracked until tenth grade when an advanced placement class was offered. According to this educator, the district's unwillingness to establish an honors class in this subject area in high school, or to create an advanced global studies class in the middle school, reflected a commitment within this subject area to heterogeneous classes. This educator told me,

> At the high school, we have an American history class, which is a class that all students have to take as a requirement and we offer it a college preparatory level, and we offer it at an advanced placement level. And we don't have an honors level class. And the reason for that is because, as much as possible, ah, we as an institution, and our faculty, want to have integrated classrooms. If we had the honors level class, there's a, there's a, a feeling that you would have a lot of students opting for that and you have more of a polarization, and you'd have more white students in the honors level if you have an honors level class in American history. Um, there are some parents who would say, "I can get an honors level American history class um, at virtually any institution. Why can't I get it at Shaker Heights? Why do I have to have an AP situation or a CP, a college preparatory ah, situation," and um, so, there are frustrations around it, but we've tried to um, as an institution, as much as possible, particularly in a, it makes all the sense in the world, when you're talking about different viewpoints, different ah, voices, different perspectives, about American history, from all our children together talking about it...

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Educators narrated the complexities and pleasures of teaching desegregated classrooms. A white educator talked about his experience of encountering in his own classroom interactions specific moments of transformation and moments that replicated relations of power ascribed by race. This educator noted that part of the experience of teaching in a racially and economically diverse setting was to stumble upon one's own bias, be aware of it, and struggle to change it:

> You know, there are constant anecdotes that say, "that's cool," there's constant anecdotes that say "man, we haven't changed, you know, one iota," we're, we're still, you know, repeating our own mistakes, you know, you hear the, the and you experience both of those on a regular basis that kind of, kind of, if you're listening to yourself, um, or listening to the experiences, it kind of gives you an idea, of, "ok, where are we on the map?"

An African American educator reflected on the ongoing work toward achieving racial equality in public education. This educator told me,

> I see three directions, you know, I think that, that everybody that has a role and a part in it, needs to examine ah themselves or itself and see "What more can I do? What, what more can I do?" The student, the parents, the school, and I see four—and the community – with the community including the government, the businesses, everything that's involved in—every single thing that's involved in the community. I think that everybody, ah, in all institutions and people, ah, need to look at, you know, "Do I have a role in this, and what more can I do?" As ah, a educator, not as an African American educator, but as an educator, ah, I need to be striving to do the best that I can, to be as effective as I can, ah, to be as well educated as I can be, to be as skilled as I can be, to be as open that I can be, to be as self-evaluative as I can be, ah, to grow as much as I can, and to continue to learn as much as I can, and to ah, to never be satisfied...

Summary

In this chapter, I discussed the history of the desegregation of the Shaker Heights City School District, focusing on an early phase, during the 1965-1966 through the 1986-1987 school years, and the current phase from the 1987-1988 through the 2002-2003 school years. I analyzed archival and interview data in order to outline the course of

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events and to better understand how parents, students, and educators thought about and experienced racial equality in the context of public school desegregation. In the next chapter, I discuss the narratives of students within an analytical framework that encompasses their experience with educational structures and social psychological influences. In this subsequent chapter, the historical context I have already outlined here forms the social and academic landscape in which former and current students narrate their understanding of schooling, race, and equality from distinctly different locations under the same roof of the Shaker Heights high school.

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Under One Roof, Through Many Doors:
Understanding Racial Equality in an Unequal World

by

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Volume II

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2003

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CHAPTER IV:

STUDENT NARRATIVES ON CONCEPTUALIZING AND EXPERIENCING RACIAL EQUALITY IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

Introduction

In my analysis of the students' conceptualizations and experience of racial equality in public education, I found students narrated particular social psychological experiences within certain educational structures. By social psychological experiences, I mean the experience of interpersonal and intergroup relations and the perceptions and beliefs about self and other that guide those relations. I developed an analytical framework based on students' view of themselves in relation to others, and their experience of the educational structures in which they participated. These two aspects of the narratives, self in relation to other and in relation to educational structures, informed the analysis of data concerning the extent to which participants have thought about and experienced racial equality, particularly in terms of equal educational opportunities, equal academic outcomes, equal relations of power.

Self in Relation to Other: Competing or Compatible Subjectivities

> ...and ah, the way I see it is, a black child in advanced classes is fine, but all the ones that I knew that were in advanced classes were just a little bit different than the other cats, than just the average black kid, now, since it's myself, like I said, I'm not *stupid*, ah, I didn't have braids and all that because it wasn't in style then, but, you know, I was in style too, but uh, I don't know, maybe I felt that [he laughs a little], "Well, I'm [name], but I'm this smart, but that's not me in *there*, that's not me in that classroom."
>
> - Black male student, late '80's and early '90's

> I think the general judgment is, if you're in, if you're a white kid in CP classes, you're lazy, and if you're a black kid in CP classes – [tap] it's expected...I guess that's it, if you're a white kid in CP classes, they assume you're lazy or you don't,

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> you don't want to try hard, but if you're a black kid, they won't really judge you because they don't, you know, people really don't – they don't want to get in that battle or whatever it is...
>
> - White male student, early '00's

At the core of the students' experience and conceptualizations of racial equality was their understanding of self in relation to other. I refer to the view of self as a student's subjectivity. In the study, students narrated their experience of self in relation to other as shaped by experiences in the context of school. "Other" included educators (teachers, counselors, and administrators) and students. When the other possessed a view of the participant that was similar to the student's narrated sense of self, there was an experience of *compatible* subjectivities. When the other possessed a different view of the student than the student had narrated of him or herself, there was an experience of differing, or *competing*, subjectivities (Goffman, 1963).

I call these *competing* subjectivities because they were situated in a context of unequal relations of power ascribed to race and class in the classroom, the school, and the broader society. When the participant viewed themselves from the eyes of the other, they saw something altogether different from what they understood to be "self." On the other hand, when there was an experience of *compatible* subjectivities, there was no power struggle over the participant's understanding of self in relation to other.

When there were *competing* subjectivities, I characterize the experience as an "encounter" (Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990), which produced a level of dissonance. As a result, the participant experienced discomfort in that setting and among those individuals where this competing view of him or herself was salient. The discomfort and the dissonance slowed the participant down in her or his interactions with the other, tending to cause caution or compromise in the participant's thinking about and behavior toward

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the other. The behavior was not unconscious, routine, or "natural." It required thought and it was shadowed by the concern that it was not accurate, on target, or what was expected. In short, it treaded on new terrain, and as a result, was often a strain on the participant.

Encounters involving *competing* subjectivities were narrated most frequently by African American participants in their interactions with European Americans, particularly when self in relation to other involved a self identity of "student." Also evident were competing subjectivities of self as "white" in some of the white participant narratives in their interactions with black students. The narratives by the black and white students reflected theoretical work in racial identity development. Black student narratives of competing subjectivities of self in relation to other were similar to the second stage of "encounter" in the study of nigrescence by William E. Cross, Jr., which identifies stages of development in black identity (Cross, 1991). During this stage, the individual has an experience that catches her or him "off guard," which Cross says "may eventually steer a person toward nigrescence" (Cross, 1991, p. 199). Janet E. Helms' (1990) work on white racial identity development was helpful in understanding white student narratives of encounter and dissonance. Helms outlines as crucial "a personally jarring event" in order for a white person to critically examine individual, institutional, and cultural racism (J.M. Jones, 1972, 1981) and develop a non-racist white identity.

When there were *compatible* subjectivities, there was no "encounter," and the experienced produced a congruence in terms of the participant's view of self in relation to other. As a result, the participant experienced a level of comfort in that setting and among those individuals where this compatible view of him or her was present. The

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comfort and the congruence generated an ease in the participant's thinking about and relating to the other. Interactions were smooth, speedy, and "natural." There was no time or thought given over to anticipating an unexpected reaction to who one was or how one behaved. The terrain was familiar and the interactions were straightforward. European American participants narrated experiences involving compatible subjectivities most frequently in their interactions with other whites. They also narrated compatibility of views in terms of self as "student." African American participants narrated compatible subjectivities in their interactions with other blacks. They narrated compatibility of self as "student" also in settings that were predominantly black. They were less likely, however, to narrate compatibility of self as "student" when they were in desegregated or predominantly white settings.[238]

Enactments of Inclusion and Exclusion in terms of Self as "Student"

In the participants' narratives, their experience of compatible or competing subjectivities of self as "student" appeared to have emerged from experiences of inclusion or exclusion enacted by educators and other students. *Enactments of inclusion*

[238] The notion of compatibility must be understood in the context of the persistence of racial stereotypes as narrated by students. Most but not all white students narrated compatibility of self as "student" in the higher level classes. Some African American students found compatibility of self as "student" in the higher level classes, but they were more likely to narrate an experience of competing subjectivities in these classes. On the other hand, some black students found compatibility of self as "student" in college preparatory classes, while others narrated shifts from compatibility to incompatibility, which led to their decision to enroll in higher level classes, or the reverse: from higher level classes into college preparatory classes. One black student narrated compatibility of self as "student," which she narrated as not "booksmart" or honors material, in the Humanities program. In all of these instances of "compatibility," educational structures provided reinforcement for racial stereotypes about achievement and motivation in the student narratives of self as "student." Those students who narrated competing subjectivities talked about encountering contradictions and a lack of compatibility in terms of self in relation to other and in relation to educational structures.

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or *exclusion* often were a result of the other *accessing* or *rejecting a racial stereotype* about two aspects common to the discourse on schooling: achievement and motivation. There were academic consequences to enactments of inclusion and exclusion. In educational settings, stereotypes "group" (Apfelbaum, 1979) young people into dichotomous categorizations concerning those who fit the image of "student" based on the schooling characteristics of motivation and achievement.

In the broader society of unequal relations of power ascribed to race and class, these mutually exclusive stereotypes persist, casting white students as more motivated and more highly achieving than black students, conveyed in educator-student interactions in terms of student competence and deservedness. In schools, racial stereotypes influence this social psychological process of conscious or unconscious "grouping" of students. Additionally, structural factors influence individuals' views of the achievement and motivation of students at different class levels. The enrollment patterns of the educational structures in the academic levels system were predictably African American at the college preparatory and general level and European American at the honors and advanced placement level. Thus, in this desegregated school, the educational structures provided settings in which students could fulfill or contradict these stereotypes.

By experiencing *inclusion* in the classroom, I mean that the student's subjectivity, that is her or his view of self as a "student," was in agreement with the educator's view, producing for the student a sense of congruence. This resulted in an experience of *permeable social psychological boundaries*. Experiencing *exclusion*, on the other hand, involved a sense of incongruence between the students' view of him or her self as "student" and the educator's view, producing for the student an experience of "splitting"

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of self that often resulted in a sense of dissonance. Some students narrated persistence in the educational setting and an experience of dissonance; others exited that setting for another, where they experienced inclusion. In both the case of inclusion or exclusion, the teacher's view of the individual as a "student" had a ripple effect in the classroom, influencing other classmates' view of the student's legitimate place in the classroom. The culmination of these factors resulted in an experience of *impermeable social psychological boundaries.*

Educational Structures: Proximity to Sites of Educational Privilege

In this analysis, the social-psychological experience of inclusion or exclusion is not fully indicative of equality. I studied the educational structures within which students experienced inclusion or exclusion in order to better understand the extent to which these structures facilitated racial equality. I defined racial equality as the provision of educational opportunities, production of academic outcomes, and engendering of social power. Students' narration of inclusion in educational structures that appeared to accomplish these goals I analyzed as being within the proximity of sites of educational privilege.

By sites of educational privilege, I mean settings that provide rigorous and meaningful content, high teacher expectations that produce high outcomes, an opportunity to exchange ideas and knowledge with peers, and relationships with educators that result in strong and productive connections inside and outside the classroom. Sites of educational privilege include but are not limited to academic classes. In the student narratives, student participation in extracurricular activities appeared to

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increase students' sense of inclusion as a "student," expand their connections with adults and other students, and in less direct ways contribute to their academic standing.[239] For example, taking a foreign language class may lead to cultural exchanges nearby or through travel; participation in athletics leads to close affiliation with team members and coaches and possibly scholarship opportunities; the journalism class leads to membership as staff for the student newspaper; the band class may result in participation in the marching band and music competitions, and possibly traveling outside the state and country to perform; modern dance or theater leads to opportunities in self-expression, intensive group work, and performance on stage; certain classes offer unique opportunities to study human relations, African American history, economics, psychology, or oppression; an advanced placement class may lead to college credit; or a senior project may provide job experience or an opportunity to contribute to the community in a long-lasting way. These are all examples of sites of educational privilege for which Shaker Heights High School is well known as offering its students.

As a result, in addition to students' experience of exclusion or inclusion, I also studied the educational structures in which they participated in the system, particularly in

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[239] This indirect influence of participation in extracurricular activities was evident in the narratives in the correlation between engagement in academic work and participation in after-school activities. An African American student attending the high school during the 1990's told me that there was a connection between enrollment in higher level courses and participation in extra-curricular activities, noting, "the students that did most of the extracurriculars, outside of sports, you know putting sports aside, like the extracurriculars like you know, student council, debate team, um, the newspaper, stuff like that, foreign language clubs, um, those were the students—those were, a lot of those students overlapped, like a, may have done, like a lot of them would overlap, and those were the students I had class with, those would be accelerated students—honors and AP." Similarly I was told about students in the Humanities program, a college preparatory class designed for students with weak reading skills and low standardized test scores, "A lot of [the] students don't take part in the life of the high school, in terms of drama or music, or clubs. Um, lots of reasons for that, some of them will say they don't care, they're not joiners, some of them have afterschool jobs or babysitting responsibilities, um, but as a whole [these] students tend to be less engaged in the life of the high school."

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the high school. Students narrated their experience with educational structures (within, outside, at a distance, or on the edge of sites of educational privilege) and social psychological influences (compatible or competing subjectivities). I have collapsed these structural and social-psychological factors and theorized an analytical framework of three social-psychological "spaces," where "space" represents the narration of a social psychological experience by the participant. In doing so, I have organized the experiences described in the student narratives in the following "spaces": segregated spaces of *centrality* and *marginality* and desegregated spaces of *encounter*.[240] This analytical framework is outlined in Figure C. While students' narratives often reflected more than one space, I analyzed their overall narrative within one of the three "spaces," while discussing additional dimensions of their experience as well.

According to student narratives and archival material, the spaces of centrality and marginality were segregated. A *segregated space of centrality* was narrated by mostly white students whom I have analyzed as within sites of educational privilege. A *segregated space of marginality* was narrated by black students whom I have analyzed as outside sites of educational privilege. While white students in a segregated space of centrality experienced enactments of inclusion, so did black students in a segregated space of marginality. In this sense these two spaces allowed for compatible subjectivities of self as "student," and fulfilled the dichotomy of the achievement and motivation racial stereotypes of white students as more competent and deserving than black students. A *desegregated space of encounter* was narrated by black and white students whom I have

[240] My development of the analytical framework was done in consultation with Michelle Fine. For more background information on the construction of this framework, see the analysis section of the research design chapter.

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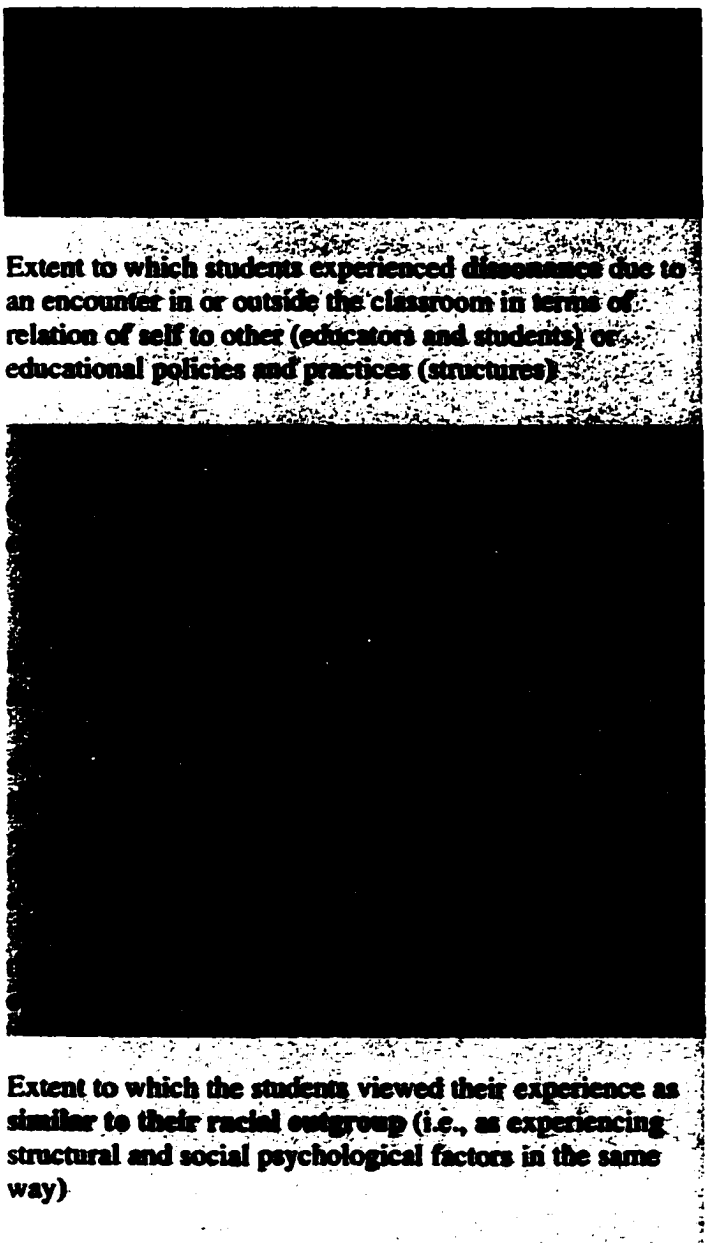
Figure C

Analytical Framework:

Position in Relation to Sites of Educational Privilege

N = 20
Race, Gender

Extent to which students experienced inclusion in sites of educational privelage



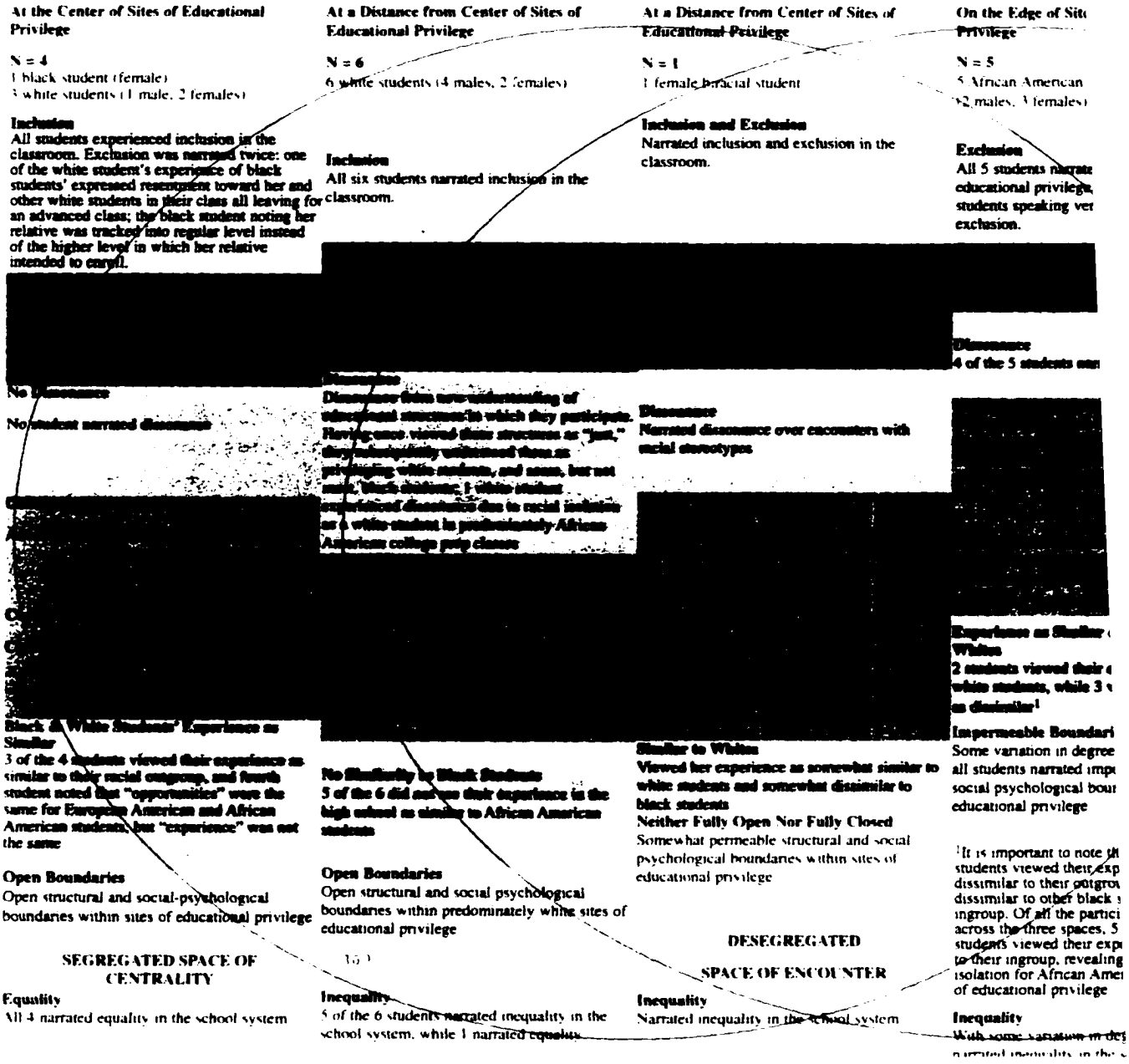
Extent to which students experienced dissonance due to an encounter in or outside the classroom in terms of relation of self to other (educators and students) or educational policies and practices (structures)

Extent to which the students viewed their experience as similar to their racial outgroup (i.e., as experiencing structural and social psychological factors in the same way)

Permeability of structural and social psychological **boundaries** in sites of educational privilege

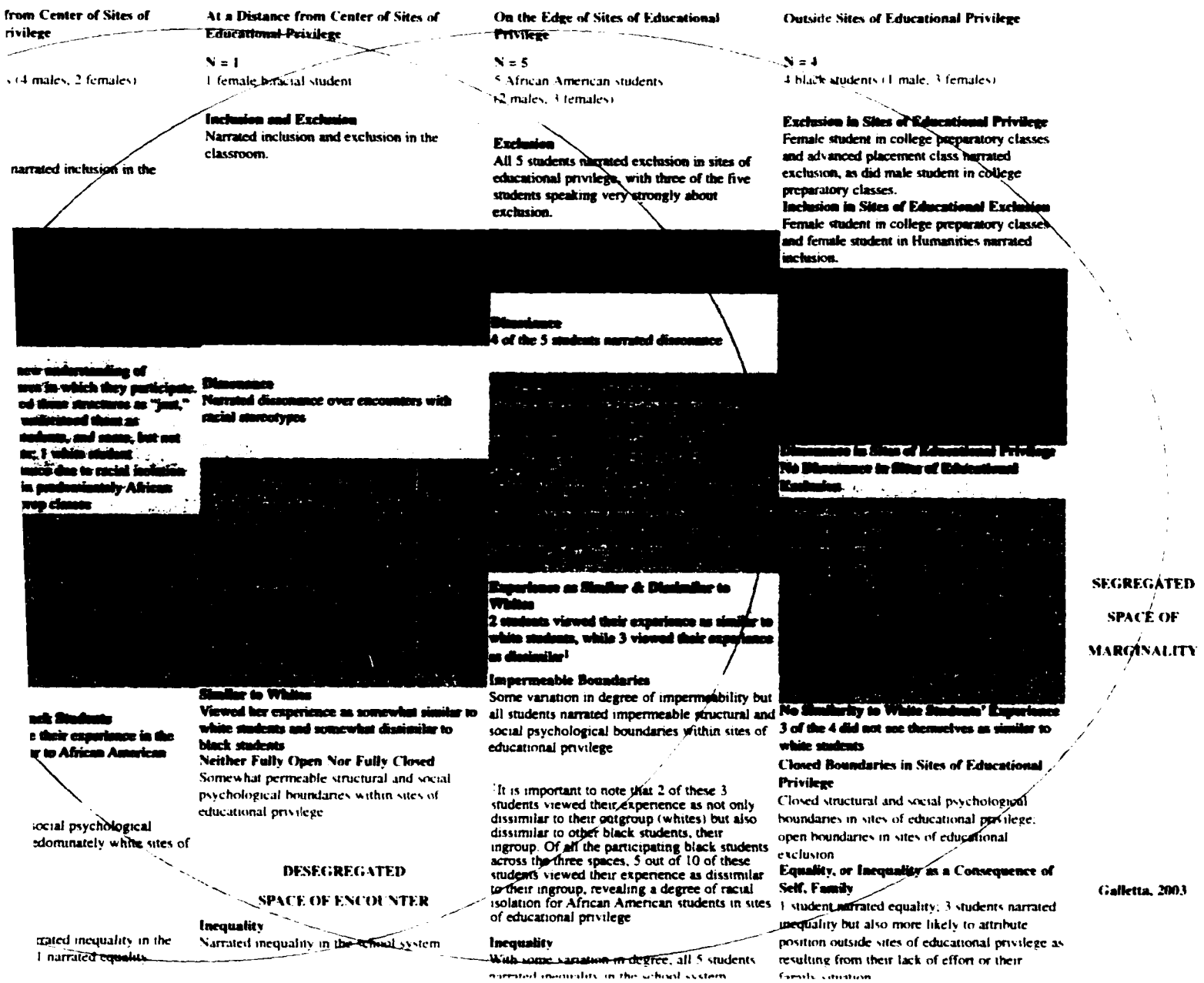
Narration of equality in the school system

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analyzed as within sites of educational privilege, but at a distance from the center or on the perimeter. These students experienced competing subjectivities that were qualitatively different by race. Within a desegregated space of encounter, students contradicted racial stereotypes while simultaneously experiencing exclusion and dissonance. Students narrated new understandings of self in relation to other and in relation to educational structures.

These social-psychological "spaces" of *centrality*, *marginality*, and *encounter* yielded vastly different experiences of schooling. Student narratives also suggest these discrepant experiences of schooling contributed to the gap between white and black students in terms of accessing educational opportunities, producing academic outcomes, and experiencing social power. Finally, discrepant experiences in schooling also appear to play a role in influencing students' views on racial equality in the school system.

Sources of Data for the Analysis of Student Narratives

My positioning of students' narratives in a social-psychological "space" of *marginality*, *centrality* and *encounter* is based on my analysis of several sources of data collected in the semi-structured interview. These include responses to several closed-item questions on specific areas of student experience in the high school; responses to several open-ended questions on participants' thoughts and experience of racial equality in the school system; and the positionality that is suggested in the overall tone and content of the participants' narratives.

In terms of the closed-item questions, I asked students questions about the extent to which the following occurred for them: the school system shared the same

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expectations for their education as their parents did for them; they benefited from the educational opportunities available in the high school; and they were provided with information and assistance about the opportunities that were available in the high school. I made some preliminary grouping of student experiences based on participants' high affirmative responses or high negative responses or a mixture of positive and negative responses.[241]

Further operationalization of "position" in a space of *centrality*, *marginality*, or *encounter* was based on an additional closed-item pair of questions focused on how similar or dissimilar participants viewed their experience of expectations, opportunities, and information when compared to others in their racial ingroup and outgroup. If participants had provided high affirmative responses to expectations, opportunities, and information, did they view other ingroup members as having similarly positive experiences? Did they view their outgroup as having similarly positive experiences? The students' responses to the comparison to ingroup and outgroup questions, as well as their explanation of why they made the selections that they did, provided a glimpse into experiences of relative deprivation of their ingroup, as when students' viewed their ingroup as similar in their experience of fewer educational opportunities, academic outcomes, and less social power than their outgroup. On the other hand, it suggested an experience of relative privilege when students viewed their ingroup as similar in experiencing more opportunities, higher outcomes, and greater social power than their outgroup. Those who compared their experience to their ingroup and outgroup as

[241] Responses to these closed-ended questions include the following, from positive (highest rating) to negative (lowest rating): "very much"/ "a great deal"/ "a lot" (4); "a good amount" (3); "some" (2); "a little" (1); and "none" (0).

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dissimilar narrated experiences of isolation, either within sites of educational privilege or outside them. Participant responses of "very similar" for ingroup *and* outgroup would indicate a perception of racial equality in terms of expectations, opportunities and information and assistance.[242]

When possible, I included participant responses to the Inclusion of Ingroup in Self (IIS) scale (Tropp & Wright, 2001). Not all participants completed this scale. The IIS elicits the strength of connections to the racial group (African American/black or European American/white) to which the participants identified themselves as belonging, or ingroup, and the strength of connections to the other racial group, or outgroup.[243]

Additionally, I analyzed participant responses to the open-ended question eliciting their definition of racial equality in public education. As a part of this question, I also asked participants to talk about an experience that they felt was an example of racial equality, or inequality within the school system. These two questions elicited the abstract and concrete understandings of racial equality on the part of the students. Responses to these questions revealed the extent to which participants saw equality as having been achieved or not achieved and how they understand it to be facilitated or impeded. However, the experience itself that the students narrated inevitably provided a more textured and in-depth set of data from which I was able to analyze conceptualizations and experience of racial equality.

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[242] Responses to the comparison of self to ingroup and self to outgroup question includes the following: "very similar"; "somewhat similar"; "similar"; "somewhat dissimilar"; "very dissimilar."

[243] The Inclusion of Ingroup scale groups "low connections" for the Venn diagrams that are the widest apart (1-4) and "high connections" for the Venn diagrams that are the closest together (5-7). See interview protocol in Appendix B.

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In this respect, the final and most critical component to the operationalization of participants' position in a space of *centrality*, *marginality*, or *encounter* were the narratives themselves, which traced students' experience from elementary school, through junior high school (early phase) or middle school (current phase), and into the high school, with a major focus on the high school academic and social experience. I found the narratives to be rich in details concerning students' experience of educational opportunities, academic outcomes and social power as students spoke about favorite teachers, least favorite classes; losing friends, gaining friends; finding oneself in the academic and social worlds actualized in the levels system; encountering categories of self and other as "white," "black," "jock," "prep," "thug," or "booksmart," "bright," "lazy," "burned out," or "brilliant"; and ascertaining optimal comfort levels in such matters as where to eat lunch, where to enter and exit the building, and what adults and peers they could trust.

The narratives were the most compelling source of data. Unwieldy and voluminous, they provided a collage of stories of privilege, exclusion, and contradiction. The open-ended structure of the interview allowed for the clarification and further discussion of participants' experiences in the school system and their views on racial equality in public education. The narratives were also critical to the analysis in that they often contradicted the participants' responses to the closed-item questions, as when an African American student in the current phase, who had provided very positive responses for the questions on expectations and opportunities then told me in her response to the comparison question that her experience was "somewhat similar" to other black students but "very dissimilar" to white students. She said, "when it comes to academic level, there

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was nowhere close to being...similar." Thus the narratives allowed me the opportunity to point out discrepancies between closed-item responses and the stories the participants' narrated of their experiences. When the participant felt there was no discrepancy, or was untroubled about the discrepancy, this was noted in my analysis as a tension that became the source of further study.

An Important Final Note on Analysis

It is important to note that this study involves an analysis of the *narratives* of student participants. It is not an analysis of the students as individuals. The narratives likely reflect a sliver of their more broadly defined life experience captured in the constraints of a one to two hour interview. Additionally, there is great variation in the age of the participants, with some of the participants currently still attending the high school and others out of school for ten to thirty years. A number of participants are now parents of children in the high school. This range in participants' age meant that older participants had the advantage of more life experience and the younger participants had the advantage of the immediacy of their school experience. In the analysis, I have ordered each group of students from oldest to youngest. The last participant in each section, then, is a current phase participant, either in high school currently or having graduated in the last fifteen years. This is useful in that it leaves the reader with current perspectives on race, schooling, and equality.

While there were many subjects covered in the students' rich and detailed narratives on schooling and desegregation, their experience of self in relation to other and in relation to educational structures appeared to contribute most powerfully to their views

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on racial equality within their school system. As a result, the narratives provided useful and provoking findings for this study of how students think about and experience racial equality in a desegregated school system. What follows, then, is an analysis of the student narratives within the framework of segregated spaces of *centrality* and *marginality* and a desegregated space of *encounter*.

Educational Structures and Social Psychological Experience: Centrality, Marginality, and Encounter

Segregated Space of Centrality

Those whom I have positioned in a "segregated space of centrality" were *within* the boundaries of sites of educational privilege. This social psychological "space" was narrated by students who responded very positively about the extent to which the following occurred for them: the school system shared the same expectations for their education as their parents did for them; they benefited from the educational opportunities available in the high school; and they were provided with information and assistance about the opportunities that were available in the high school. The students experienced inclusion in the classroom and their experience of self as "student" as compatible with educators and their peers. These students were predominantly white students who saw their experience as similar to other white students, or a black student who saw her experience as different from other black students but similar to white students. Students in a segregated space of centrality had developed a view of racial equality in Shaker Heights that appeared to be largely guided by their own experience, which was very

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positive.[244] Their lack of experience with exclusion in the classroom themselves or having not witnessed others' experience it appeared to reduce the likelihood of their questioning or critiquing the school system or considering the potential for human interaction to be exclusionary. As a result of their narration of compatible subjectivities as "student" and no dissonance from exclusion, these students narrated a view of sites of educational privilege in Shaker Heights as equally available to white and black students. When they did narrate exclusion, it did not produce in them a competing understanding of self in relation to "other" or in relation to educational structures.

"...there was no – prejudice or anything like that, I mean they were black, so what?"

Dan is a white student[245] who grew up in the Malverne area and attended the high school in the early 1960's, later returning to Shaker Heights to raise his family. Dan responded very positively to the questions on expectations ("very much," or 4), opportunities ("a great deal," or 4), and information and assistance ("a lot," or 4). He told me that his classes were academically rigorous and fairly heterogeneous in terms of students' academic skill level. He recalled that there were some advanced classes offered in the early 1960's in the high school, though he did not take them. He compared his experience to other white students as "very similar" and to black students as "similar." He selected a high strength of connections with other whites (a six on the IIS scale) and a lower strength of connections with black students (a three on the IIS scale). Dan recalled

[244] While these students viewed the Shaker Heights school system as facilitating racial equality, they distinguished the system from other school systems, which they noted were segregated, and as such, were not instrumental in making education equal for students of different racial groups.

[245] Participants self identified their race.

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his years at Malverne and Byron very warmly, and he felt he benefited from the academic excellence of the school system and racial diversity introduced to him in his high school years. Dan felt well prepared for college, noting, "I can just speak from my first two years of college, I was so far advanced ah, that it was ridiculous, I didn't have to do anything."[246] In this analysis, Dan's narrative positions him centrally within sites of educational privilege.

Dan told me that when he was a student in the 1960's, there was a "division" between the western and eastern ends of the city. The "division" was geographical, but because of residential segregation, it was also racial. It was reflected in the structures of the school system, with an all-white junior high school, Byron, at the eastern end of the city and racially mixed junior high school, Woodbury, at the western end, closer in proximity to Cleveland. Because of the division, the integration of the two junior high schools into a single tenth grade class in the high school was not easily or effectively achieved.

However, Dan reported that sports activities organized by the school system aided in the facilitation of cross-racial interactions in the summer before tenth grade, when athletic teams came together to prepare for fall competition. Dan talked enthusiastically about how sports teams were instrumental in bringing together African American and white students, more so than most activities in the mid 1960's in the high school. In these settings, student contact and some level of social affiliation reduced the "division."

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[246] Although Dan told me his father attended an ivy-league university, he did not mention where he went to college. Unfortunately, I did not include this question in my protocol, although students often made some reference to college. As a result, the inclusion of data on post-secondary education is uneven. Future work in this area would benefit from additional data on post-secondary education.

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Dan told me that the summer athletic activities "introduced" him to African American students as well as broadened his already strong connections with whites by providing him with new friendships with white students from Woodbury.

Dan also mentioned the social room as a place where black and white students gathered and where there existed the potential for interracial contact and social affiliation. Students planned and organized student activities, as Dan noted, "and you'd set things up, I remember talking to people, hey do you want to be in [club], you want to do this? You want to do that?" It was also an informal space for students to interact in terms of interests such as music and dance, although Dan noted that students tended to coalesce by race. For example, Dan recalled being very drawn to the music and dance popular with many of the African American students.

> ...you know, [gets very animated here] and the one thing I *do* remember that really sticks out in my *mind* is that there used to be on Thursdays or Fridays, I can't remember, a social, what used to be the social room at the high school, and they had potato chips and pop, and that sort of thing, and you'd go down there and basically you know, just meet a bunch of people, and the black kids would go down there, too, and that was my ah first exposure to – black music and the way kids danced, and I remember seeing that and thinking, "*Oh, my God, is that neat!*" I rem—I was, you know, it was "My Girl" or something like that was playing, and one of the kids I knew real well [through after school activity], um, started dancing with this other black girl that I knew very well, you know, I just, one of those things, it's a stereotype but, it's *not*, I mean, I never, you know, I'd seen it, but I've never seen a friend, really be able to...

Earlier in the interview, Dan told me his parents sent him to a dance school, where he learned dance and social etiquette. These dance schools were all white and segregated by religion, and some were exclusive.[247] In the desegregated high school, Dan found in athletics and in settings such as the social room an opportunity to interact with

[247] Dance schools during the late 1950's and early 1960's are mentioned in the chapter on the history of the school system's desegregation. I also analyze my conversation with Dan on this topic in the speedbumps section of the research methods chapter.

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black students. It was likely that the existence of the desegregated sports teams and some other school activities (choir was mentioned frequently) set the stage for the desegregation of the social room, where connections across race fostered a level of comfort sufficient for students from both groups to be together.

While athletics and, to some extent, music and dance, provided opportunities for students to come together across racial groups, the academic sphere did not. Racial stereotypes that cast white students as more competent and deserving than black students shaped students' thinking about themselves in relation to others. For example, Dan told me, "there were a couple of kids that were – low achievers, I guess, that's the nice way to put it, ah, and – they were – you know, nobody really cared, I mean there were – *white* kids that were low achievers too, except they [black kids] just kind of stuck out more it seemed."

Some time after college and into adulthood, Dan returned to Shaker Heights to raise his family. He responded very positively about his child's experience in the high school during the 1990's, answering the questions affirmatively on expectations ("very much," or 4), opportunities ("a great deal," or 4), and information and assistance ("a lot," or 4). He told me that he felt his experience as a parent of a child in the system was "very similar" to other white parents and "similar" to black parents.

When I asked Dan to talk about racial equality, using the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* decision as a starting point, he began by talking about segregation as located in the South, and as not being a part of his experience, noting, "Well, ah, again, ah, not being from the South or not experiencing anything that went, I've never seen true segregation, ah, I've seen it, ah when traveling down South, and you—but never

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experiencing it..." Most of his exposure to segregation, he told me, was through the television. He was repulsed by what he saw on the television news broadcasts, depicting the violent opposition by Southern whites toward civil rights marches, boycotts, and other forms of non-violent protest.

Dan felt that prejudice also existed in the North when he was growing up. At the same time he told me he felt that segregation in the North was based on social status, not race, "even though in the North, there were, there was segregation, I mean country clubs were segregated, that there was definite segregation, but I felt that was more because of social status, not black or white, you know I felt that if somebody was president of General Motors and he happened to be black he could join any country club he wanted." He also distanced himself from witnessing or being a part of racial prejudice in the high school when he was a student, telling me,

> ...there was no – to my knowledge, I'm sure there were prejudices—but it never really came in to play, ah, there were some of the kids were definitely not at the same academic level, and as a result of that, you know, they took some teasing, I guess you could call it, and in some cases it was more than teasing, I guess...

Similarly, Dan did not narrate the existence of racial exclusion when he talked about his current opposition to affirmative action in employment and the awarding of contracts. In this case, while he saw affirmative action as unfair and discriminatory to whites, he did not view his current workplace situation, which he noted at another point in the interview as having an all white managerial level staff, as indicative of the persistent segregation in employment in the greater Cleveland area. While he viewed segregation in the South as "true segregation," he also told me "I knew it was going to go away, it—you know even back then, I knew that didn't fit, that the South was behind times."

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Dan noted that to some extent the prejudice he saw was reflective of a culture at that time and that members of the older generation who made prejudicial remarks were a product of their culture. He noted his parents were not that way, nor was he. He saw the urgency to change laws and social practices during the 1960's, and he felt that the necessary change had occurred. His own experience appeared to be the source of his own conviction, referring to the contact and affiliation with black students that he enjoyed in high school. He told me, "I always thought that it was gonna go away, just because of my own experience." He noted,

> ...so when you got to the high school, you really found out, you know ah, and it was fun, because everybody worked together, and, again that was an introduction to the black kids, and, but ah, again there was no – prejudice or anything like that, I mean they were black, so what?

As a result, Dan's contact with black students increased through his high school experience, particularly in sports, as well as his child's experience in the school system later on, after Dan returned to raise his family in Shaker Heights. His experience, then, with an educational setting for himself and for his child, which was desegregated and which he viewed as not characterized by racial prejudice, appears to have led him to support past policies and practices to facilitate racial equality, but not present efforts. He made it clear to me that the view of persistent racial discrimination was not valid:

> I see things going the other way, and that kind of upsets me, it really does, that, because of color, ah, people are getting away with things, that they shouldn't, and ah, I don't agree with that at all. I mean that does make me mad, if someone's using the fact that they are black and ah blaming the fact that they can't get a job or, this, that, or the other thing. I, that is not right, and that upsets me, so ah, playing it to the advantage, is not right, and ah, I, I do feel strongly about that, that ah, today is today, and I think the barriers have gone away for the most part, it's shifted more the other way, and if you don't take advantage of the opportunities that are given you today, it's your fault. I don't know if that's right or wrong, but that's, that's definitely my feeling about that.

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As with other students whom I have located within segregated spaces of centrality, Dan was fully appreciative of the racial diversity of the city and school system. His own experience of inclusion within the school system and of a compatible sense of self as "student" made it less likely he understood exclusion as narrated by black students. His child's positive experience in the racially diverse school system, that he and his family clearly valued, also appears to have strengthened his sense of connections to blacks and his view of educational opportunity in the schools as equal. Where he expressed concerns was in his worry about educational standards. He expressed this when he spoke about the gap in test scores and grade point averages between white and black students and his fear that efforts to achieve equality would compromise educational standards:

> ...and there are some kids that could be up here, are being drawn down here, whereas, not the upward...and that scares me a little bit, um, you know there, it's great with equality, you know that's fine...it, to my, in my opinion, maybe it's going the other way a little bit, I think that people that have ah, the brains, that have the social skills, are being pulled down a bit, so, that's, that's where I think it's gone...

Dan described the high school as more "polarized" while his child was there in the 1990's than when he attended school, but he attributed his child's participation in sports and other extracurricular activities as particularly beneficial and helpful in his child's positive connections with black students. He told me that a moment of racial equality for him was when he understood how unacceptable his child viewed the racially prejudiced remark of a grandparent to be. He noted that this response was a result of his child taking the grandparent's remark "personally" and viewing it with great seriousness. Dan felt his child was "more than repeating" something learned in school "or through some of the groups." Perhaps a reflection of Dan's motivations for returning to Shaker

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Heights and sending his child through the system, his comments suggest how important to him it was that his child recognized discrimination and spoke against it. He told me, "I just loved it, to be honest with you."

"[the] opportunity was there—how easily accessible it felt to people was not clear to me—I wasn't in that position"

Lorraine, a black student who graduated some time in the late 1970's, early 1980's, provided a narrative of accessing many educational opportunities and producing high academic outcomes, ultimately gaining admission in an ivy league university. In this study, I analyze Lorraine's narrative as describing an experience central to sites of educational privilege. She responded positively regarding the extent to which the school system shared the same expectations for her as her parents did ("very much," or 4); the extent to which she benefited from the opportunities available at the school ("a great deal," or 4); and the extent to which she was provided with information and assistance about the opportunities that were available in the high school ("a good amount," or 3). Lorraine was in advanced classes in junior high school and high school. She told me that at the high school level she thought the advanced placement courses were "very good, though not consistently" in that she did have some teachers who were not terrific, but the material they covered was excellent. She noted that she "came out of Shaker Heights very prepared for college."

Lorraine's narrative detailed a great deal of involvement with after-school activities and a racially diverse social group that included white students from the advanced placement classes and black students from friendships formed in extracurricular activities. She said that the "AP classes set up a core group but not everyone [in the AP

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class] was part of our social group." Lorraine noted that her experience with an inter-racial group of friends was significant and that she was "astonished when I got to [college] and realized that was not the norm." She said, "I really loved high school. I really grew at the time." She said there was a black clique of popular black kids and a white clique of popular white kids. She told me that her friends were "very integrated" and there was a lot of "inter-racial dating." She said she was not really aware of the social worlds of other kids. She did mention that some kids "moved in and out a lot" of groups. Lorraine selected a four on the IIS for her sense of connections to other black students (low connections) and a six for her sense of connections to white students (high connections). She noted that her sense of identity as a black woman did not develop until college.

Lorraine told me that Shaker Heights was an "extremely good public school system," and she added "for [the] best students" it was "better than private schools." I asked her what educational opportunities in particular she benefited from, and she said that because of particular interests in courses outside the required content areas, her schedule was difficult to arrange and required some special accommodations, which she was able to make through agreements with teachers and her guidance counselor. Otherwise, she noted that she went to see her guidance counselor only when she had to get her schedule signed. She said that her counselor told her "nothing" about the levels and that "I just took in my schedule and they signed it."[248] However, she told me that

[248] Narrative data suggest less of a reliance on counselors for information and assistance for white parents and for very active and often more highly educated black parents. Some white students and fewer black students reported meeting with guidance counselors as a matter of protocol in obtaining a required counselor's signature for their academic schedule and other needs. In this respect the students and their parents used the counseling service in some kind of "rubber stamp" capacity. These students relied on their parents and their parents' social networks to provide

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during the college application process, she was concerned about the logistics and some very close application deadlines for one college in particular, but the counselors assured her that they would take care of the situation, which they did. In her narrative, Lorraine underscored how willing the educators were to accommodate her needs and interests while she was a student there.

Lorraine narrated her two experiences in level three classes, noting the vast difference in terms of class rigor, content, and general atmosphere between the level three (college preparatory) and level five (advanced placement) classes. She referred to the level three classes as "crummy" and told me she was "flabbergasted" to find that "nothing was being taught, [the] expectations [were] so low." I asked her about the racial makeup of the level three classes, and she said it was definitely different from the advanced placement classes. In the advanced placement classes, she told me, there were only "two or three black kids" in the class, and it was "always the same [black] kids."

When I asked Lorraine about how her experience compared to other black students, she told me it was "somewhat dissimilar." In comparison to white students, she said her experience was "somewhat similar." She had noted that she was sometimes the only black student in her advanced placement class, or one of a very small group, and she told me "Because I don't think my experience was typical" and that it was "more like white students." When I asked Lorraine what she thought racial equality in public

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them with the necessary information and they would arrive at the counselor's office with their plans in hand. Black parents were often not privy to his information. They might have had less frequent contact with the schools due to their employment situation and/or an assumption that their children would receive the same high standard of curriculum and instruction as white students. Other black parents were in the schools very frequently or in communication with educators a great deal, intervening for their children and ensuring that they were benefiting from educational opportunities and producing academic outcomes on par with white students in the system.

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education meant to her now, she told me that she felt "really strongly about integrated school systems" but she also felt, especially now as an adult, that the important criterion was that "it needs to be [a] really good school system." She told me that she would not care if a school were an all black school; what she cared about was the quality of the education. She noted that in an integrated school the quality of education for black students is "often not happening." I asked her if this was the case in Shaker Heights. She said, that there was "no question in my mind" that the "opportunity was there—how easily accessible it felt to people was not clear to me—I wasn't in that position." She also noted, within the context of discussing equality that she was "not against tracking" but she wished it were "more equal."

During our interview, this was the first time Lorraine linked opportunity with equality and touched upon the possibility that opportunity might be perceived differently and accessed differently by race. Here and elsewhere in the interview, Lorraine pointed to her position within the many academic and social spheres in the high school, spheres I refer to in this study as sites of educational privilege. Lorraine noted that her understanding of the extent to which the school facilitated racial equality was somewhat constrained by her own position within the high school, in terms of the classes she took and the students with whom she socialized. At the same time, her assessment of level three classes, having taken nearly all advanced placement classes, was stark in its view of the inadequacy of the content, expectations for students, and the nature of the interactions between the teacher and students. Several other black and white student participants corroborated her observations. Such responses, as when Lorraine said early in the interview, that she felt that the high school was a "very good high school for kids like

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me," and her telling me that she wished that tracking were "more equal," suggest an awareness of the gap in opportunities for black and white students in a desegregated school and the potential of school systems to sustain the inequalities of the broader society.

Lorraine also noted that she knew of an incident where a counselor had scheduled a black student with all level three classes, telling me that the "perception" was that "because she was a black student" this student was "tracked in a particular way." The student's mother had the schedule changed, but Lorraine told me that had not the mother gone in, the student would have lost the opportunity to participate in high level classes. She said that she was "conscious that" this did happen, where counselors directed black students into level three classes based more on their race than their academic skills. I asked her if there were any critique of this among students—a critique less at motivation and more at the institution. She said, "No." She also told me that she "saw that it was both—was motivational and also institutional."

In this analysis, I positioned Lorraine's narrative as within sites of educational privilege and in a *segregated space of centrality*. While Lorraine narrated inter-racial friendships and integrated opportunities, she did not narrate experiences of exclusion on the part of an educator or the accompanying dissonance of self as "student." Lorraine herself acknowledged limitations on her understanding of the extent to which other students experienced equal educational opportunity, largely due to her own very positive experience. At the same time, her statement, "I wasn't in that position" suggests the powerful influence of structural and social-psychological factors in shaping participant views of racial equality in the school system.

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This was particularly clear when I asked Lorraine if she could talk about an instance when she saw or experienced something and thought that it was an instance of racial equality – or racial inequality. She paused and then said, "I'm at a bit of a loss." She then told me, "I understand I was not typical." She noted that being one of a small number of black students in the advanced placement classes and also being from an inter-racial family placed her in a unique position that many students did not experience. She continued, "Clearly, there were other black kids in the classroom at AP levels, but teachers may not have seen me as a black student." She told me that she came to this realization later in life. As a student in the high school, she did not consider the possibility that the teachers in the advanced placement class might have viewed her as a white student and their view might have influenced the nature of her experience in the advanced placement classes.

Lorraine narrated participation in sites of educational privilege and an experience as a student in the high school that was very satisfying. Unlike some white and black students' experience, Lorraine did not narrate isolation from her black peers as a result of her participation in the advanced placement class. She appeared to have been able to balance the segregation of the level five classes with an extensive involvement in extracurricular activities that fostered friendships with black students. Nevertheless, in small segments cut into the interview from time to time, there were suggestions of an awareness of another world within the high school, of "crummy" class experiences, low teacher expectations and the production of very different academic outcomes in predominantly black lower level classes.

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When I asked Lorraine to what extent did she experience the high school as a place that was transformative in that it paid attention to racial equality, she said, "...it wasn't till I got to college did I realize what a remarkable school system I was in." She told me she did not "know [the] specifics as to how the system achieved this diversity and excellence but it does deserve credit." She said that Shaker Heights High School was an "environment where we were aware of race but [it was a] very safe environment to cross boundaries." She noted that at a school reunion, her husband remarked about the group of Shaker alumni present at the reunion, "I've never seen a group like this." She said it was "a very special setting at that time."

"I did not feel I had less because I knew I had more"

Kate, a white student graduating in the late seventies, early eighties, narrated the value of a racially diverse educational opportunity from her early years in the school system. Kate's parents volunteered her to be bused to Moreland in the early 1970's as part of the district's desegregation plan, the Shaker Schools Plan. She told me about her understanding of why she was attending Moreland instead of her neighborhood school, "I suspect it was presented...as an opportunity." She said that because her parents were already attuned to civil rights issues "it was a good fit for us." She had a feeling that "it was the right thing to do" and that going to Moreland had something to do with bettering the world. Kate said that there were issues that were "probably raised in the household" that gave her some level of consciousness about the importance of integrating communities and schools. She noted that at a young age she was exposed to multi-

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cultural settings, attending gatherings of blacks and whites, and having friends through her dad's business opportunities who were black as guests in their home.

Kate narrated a very positive experience with the academic and social setting at Moreland. She loved her teachers and she made many black and white friends. She also noted that she formed several close friendships with white children with whom she traveled by bus, whose parents had also elected to have them participate in the desegregation plan. Kate narrated close ties with African American students in elementary school, with segregation beginning in junior high school but not fully emerging until high school. She told me that she was very engaged at Woodbury Junior High School, in terms of extra-curricular activities and socializing with a racially diverse group of friends. She told me that students could connect more easily since they were older and could walk or bike to each other's homes or meet each other at regular hangouts, such as a nearby pizza restaurant. She said there were parties at people's houses—and the forming of "more long-term relationships" with black students. Inter-racial dating took place also. In the high school, with the merging of Byron and Woodbury, there was a period of social reshuffling as the predominantly white group of students from Byron and the racially diverse group of students from Woodbury secured a new configuration of social groups, more segregated than the last.

Although social ties with black students from Moreland appeared to have weakened over the years of high school, Kate told me she felt she had an "advantage" as a result of having gone to Moreland, and then having those connections still in Woodbury, and this advantage was that she was more familiar and comfortable with African American students: "I felt I had an acceptance from them – they knew I was cool:

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I did go to Moreland and had black friends and wasn't racist." In her narrative, it appeared that Kate's participation as a bused student at Moreland affirmed her sense of self as "white" as connected to support for racial justice.

Kate and I talked about her consciousness as a white student bused to Moreland and in a minority situation. She noted "I was in the minority, skin-color wise, but I never felt less because as a kid you felt like you were doing the right thing." During the interview she paused at this point and then told me, "even as a kid I felt that blacks were not on an even ground [with whites]." She hesitated, and then added, "I know this is kind of arrogant, but I knew I was doing the right thing. Because there's such an inequality. I did not feel less because I had more." Kate continued to narrate her consciousness about this experience in a very transparent manner, noting that, although it was not pervasive, there was an element of her experience that viewed her participation at Moreland as contingent, allowing her to think, "Hey, I'm doing you a favor—I could go back to my elementary school."

In Kate's narrative, then, was a powerful insight, even as a child, of the unequal relations of power ascribed to race and class. More significantly, her narrative reveals the implicit understanding of privilege that whites possess in desegregated settings particularly. Already in a position of privilege because her family could choose where to live and where to send their children to schools, the school system preserved her privilege by the implicit power she wielded in being a critical player in the desegregation of Moreland.

The action taken by Kate's parents and other white parents participating in the Shaker Schools Plan reflected the shift from "privilege to responsibility" (Burns, 2003) as

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white and black parents and educators participated in efforts to make Moreland School a transformative educational setting in terms of facilitating racial equality. Her choice, or her parents' choice, to participate in the Shaker Schools Plan shaped her understanding of self in relation to other as "white" and as contributing to racial equality.

In her narrative Kate scrutinized her understanding of inequality in a way that was more introspective than the other white participants whose narratives I have positioned within this segregated space of centrality. However, when she narrated her experience in the high school, it was much sparser on details as to how equality was facilitated or impeded in either the educational structures within the high school or the social psychological influences. While Kate narrated the highest degree of contact and affiliation with African American students among the white students in this social psychological space of centrality, she did not narrate any encounter with exclusion. Kate narrated a compatible subjectivity as "white." Absent from her narrative was any form of *encounter* with the perspective of black students, as narrated by the white students in the encounter "space." Also absent was the accompanying dissonance introduced into the encounter experience, as narrated by white students. This dissonance often led to an insight into the privilege white students are accorded in the school system that black students are not accorded as routinely or frequently, and was therefore a critical ingredient in developing an awareness of inequality in the school system. Although Kate talked about an increasing level of academic and social segregation in the high school, she explained this as a "natural separation," and did not raise questions about educational structures that might have reinforced the segregation among students. She told me, that students "make [their] own choices."

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Kate responded very positively to the questions on expectations (4), opportunities (4), and information and assistance (3). In terms of particular opportunities she benefited from, she told me that an advantage was the "availability of faculty after school" who "were always available." She added "coaches were always available and really cared about you." She noted that high school was a "great academic experience." When I asked Kate about her experience as a student compared to other white students, she told me it was "very dissimilar" due to her early experience at Moreland and the continued, though more distant, ties to African American students in the school system. She told me, "I just think that most people didn't have that opportunity, to have a social consciousness about that." Among the nine white student participants, Kate was the only student to view her experience as dissimilar from other whites.

Kate was initially unsure how to respond to the question of comparison between her experience as a student to the experience of African American students. She said she was "not sure" and asked me to repeat the question. Then she said, "very similar," and immediately after she said, "Well, wait a minute" but then she told me, "Yes, because they had the same opportunities I did." Earlier in the interview she had stressed the high number of quality educational opportunities available in the high school, telling me that opportunity was there "It was there but [it] was whether I choose to take advantage of it."[249] In her comparison of self to ingroup and self to outgroup, then, Kate viewed her

[249] Because of time constraints I was unable to talk with her about the discrepancies in educational outcomes and get an understanding of whether she felt in terms of outcomes there was any gap in experience between whites and blacks. In another interview also with a white student whom I positioned in segregated spaces of centrality, this student, Jill, made a distinction between *opportunities* between black and white students being equal, but *experience* not being equal. Had I pursued these nuances more, I might have had a better idea of Kate's thinking on the gap in student achievement.

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experience as "very similar" to black students as a result of the opportunities that were equally available to her as a white student and to black students. Although Kate indicated a strong sense of connections with African American students, she did not offer any critique about exclusion of African American students from sites of educational privilege in the high school. She also viewed the segregation in the high school as "natural" and not related to enactments of exclusion.

While clearly she felt connected and valued that connection, it appeared that her belief of the existence of equal educational opportunity in the high school was strong enough that she did not narrate the critique emerging in the late 1970's among some African American parents, evident in archival and interview data. At the time she was in high school, Concerned Parents as a group was raising critical questions about discrepancies in educational opportunities and in achievement between black and white students, including the lack of representative numbers of black students in the higher level courses.[250] As a student, she may not have been aware of the emerging activism. However, Kate did not view the high numbers of black students in the level two classes and their low numbers in the level four and five classes as evidence of inequality, but of student "choice."

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[250] As indicated in the chapter on the history of the district's desegregation, Push Excel collected achievement data on sophomores and analyzed the data, disaggregated by race, issuing a report in the 1979-1980 school year. The report was presented to secondary level school administrators, the high school faculty, several elementary school faculties, a community advisory committee, the Concerned Parents organization, and individual parents and students. The report "revealed a startling disparity between the academic achievement of black and white students with black students lagging far behind white students." The report revealed, among African American males, "More than 60% had less than a 2.0 accumulative average and 50.5% took at least 1 of the lowest level classes." Student enrollment by race around that period was approximately 39% African American.

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When I asked Kate how she defined racial equality in public education, she stressed its importance, but immediately after that she narrated her experience with segregation with college. She told me that while attending a large urban university she found she was unable to make black friends because the black students "tended to congregate" and there was the formation of black associations, which she felt was "not right." She also noted that she and some of her black and white classmates, with whom she has remained in touch, live lives that are largely segregated. At the same time, she stressed that her experience at Shaker "has definitely broadened my life," personally and professionally, and that it continued to impact how she thought about raising and educating her family. Kate noted that her experience of interracial friendship and respect was a "key thread in my life as an adult."

"because we were white, and because we were smart"

Jill, a white student who graduated from the high school in the late 1990's, narrated a high level of satisfaction with her experience at Shaker. She felt she gained a lot from its academic excellence and its racial diversity. She responded high on the questions about expectations (3), opportunities (4), and information and help (4). Her strength of connections with other white students was fairly high (five on the IIS scale) and with black students it was lower (between three and four on the IIS scale). At Lomond Elementary School, she participated in the gifted program, which she characterized as a strength of the Shaker schools. She told me these were "*great* programs," and that these programs had "a lot of creativity beyond just the basics," in math and language arts. Elementary school was the setting in which she felt most

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connected with African American students. She also mentioned Woodbury, but her narrative of her experience at Woodbury also underscored her experience of severed connections with black students. Jill described a year she had at Woodbury:

> It was a horrible year, um, it was—I liked my teacher and I thought that she had [slight pause] great potential, but she was given a group of kids that she couldn't do anything with, and it was a very—very unequally balanced racially, um, that—I was *definitely* the minority, I mean there were probably three or four white students in my class, and, um – the kids were rough, and they were mean, and we had a lot of issues in that class ...

In our speaking about racial equality in public education, Jill cited this experience at Woodbury as an example of racial inequality "socially speaking." She told me it was unequal for her and the other white students because it "affected the educational setting," thus making her experience different from and educationally less useful than the opportunities that existed for white students in other classes. It was clearly a frustrating situation for her—she tells me "that's when I became the queen of faking sick [laughs a little] and I used to miss probably a day a week of school, if, if not more" – and for her parents, who went to the principal with their concerns, as apparently several other white parents did.

What appeared to disturb Jill most was the experience of being targeted by race. This was the reason why she raised it as an example of racial inequality. Jill vividly remembered this hostility and was still disturbed by it when she spoke about it. She was very conscious that she was in the minority, and that the majority did not like the minority. I asked about other factors that might have paralleled race and exacerbated the situation. She told me,

> Jill: and there was this very, I mean, race was a huge issue that year because the students made it so known [slight pause], and made it such an issue

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Anne: was, you know, was it around resentment of any particular aspect?

Jill: they were just, the black kids in my class, mo—most of them, tended to, they just hated the white kids, because we were white, and because we were smart, and—

Anne: were, were all of the white kids being pulled out for the advanced course, was that

Jill: ah—

Anne: when you say "because we were white and we were smart" um—

Jill: [indicates number of white students] were pulled out for math. I think we were all pulled out for language arts

Anne: uh-huh. Do you think that aggravated it in any way?

Jill: probably, it was sort of like, "well, why are the white kids getting the opportunity to pull out and take other classes?" And honestly, I don't know what was going on in their minds

In my analysis, I view Jill's narration of her experience as one of a social psychological "encounter" with exclusion on the part of black students in her class. However, Jill's experience as reflected in her narrative of centrality appeared to hamper any potential for her understanding how the black students might have viewed her participation in the advanced classes. Jill did not narrate any questioning of her view of her self in relation to these students and to the educational structures in which she was participating—and from which they were excluded. At one point during this part of the interview, she expressed an openness toward considerations of the experience of those excluded from the advanced classes when she said, "it was sort of like, 'well, why are the white kids getting the opportunity to pull out and take other classes?'" At the same time, the extent to which she appeared willing to narrate dissonance was limited, as evidenced in the statement immediately following her expression of the black students' possible

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resentment, when Jill concluded "and honestly, I don't know what was going on in their minds."

While my analysis examines the social-psychological influence on how individuals and groups view themselves, their ingroups, and their outgroups within a desegregated setting, it also looks at educational structures, that is policies and practices in the school setting, and their facilitation or hindrance of equal educational opportunity, academic outcomes, and social power. In Jill's classroom, educational structures reinforced mutually exclusive racial stereotypes of white students as more academically competent and motivated than black students. Jill's narrative suggests that as early as the fifth and sixth grade, social-psychological boundaries around sites of educational privilege emerged, as did the enactments of inclusion or exclusion on the part of educators and students, justifying the positioning of students within and outside the boundaries.

At another point in her narrative, however, Jill noted the influence of educational structures at the high school in effectively separating students. This was in response to my question whether there was anything that had the effect of separating groups of students. She responded:

> Jill: um, well, I mean classes, I think the, the tracked classes definitely distinguishes between students, um, I mean, I, I, I support tracking, but it, it does -- um, group kids, and I, it's hard from people I've talked to and things that I've seen for people to feel like they can be in, like if you're really great at math, but not at anything else, that you can't, you feel like the, the sore thumb when you're the—when math is the only AP class you're in, and you're in, in CP classes for the rest of them, um, that,
>
> Anne: right, you feel like the sore thumb in the – AP class?

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> Jill: right, because everybody else tends to be in *all* of the higher level classes, or all of the lower level classes, um, but it's harder to do – part – even though you, you totally can in the high school, and you, get choice over it

Jill also narrated an experience of exclusion on the part of a teacher in an advanced placement class. She told me she liked this class least because the teacher clearly made known to the students those whom this teacher liked and disliked. Being "liked" by this teacher required that a student be an A student, which Jill was at one point in this teacher's class. However, when her grade was a B, the teacher became antagonistic with her, as was the case with other students. For example, Jill noted that this teacher "called people stupid in front of the class." As a result, the subject area this teacher taught, which was at one time Jill's favorite, became less appealing. She told me, "and the teacher experience is what turned me away" from this subject area. She said,

> That was not so fun, and I couldn't go anywhere, unless I wanted to switch levels... I was more determined to just stay where I was, so I never, um, I mean I didn't have too much of a problem...I mean I didn't like the teacher, but I, it wasn't like I was failing the class, you know, I mean, I didn't think getting a B in an AP [subject area] class was, was bad, um, if she didn't like me, she could not like me, I was still gonna – be there and do the work.

In her narrative, Jill suggested two key reasons why she would not consider exiting this class. The first was social: she had taken advanced placement classes with the same cohort of students, beginning with a smaller group in an elementary gifted pullout program, then advanced classes at Woodbury, the middle school, and the high school. This was an educational setting where she was comfortable and had friends, as she told me, "once you get into that track, you're with the same people, for most of the same classes...those are the people that you're seeing and doing stuff with, then you have projects with school." The second was related to what I am calling a *compatible subjectivity as "student"* that had been fostered over her many years of experiencing

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inclusion in sites of educational privilege. There was no previous experience of dissonance to compound this particular encounter with a teacher's negativity toward Jill. Toward this end, there were no racial stereotypes about race and achievement to threaten her position as an advanced placement student in the high school. In fact, the stereotypes affirmed her position in the class and helped her ward off this teacher's enactment of exclusion toward her and other students who were not producing A level work.

In Jill's conceptualization of racial equality, equality of educational opportunity in the school system between whites and blacks had been attained. The question of persistent and unresolved racial inequalities appeared to be in her view more a reflection of lack of individual effort or family support than a social psychological experience of exclusion or dissonance within educational structures. Jill viewed unequal rates of participation by blacks and whites in educational opportunities as a matter of choice. Unequal academic outcomes she felt were not due to institutional failure, since white students in the same schools produce high test scores and grades, but the failure of black families to support children's learning and black students who were unable or unwilling to work hard.[251] Black students' failure to take advantage of the opportunities available in the high school was due to their individual lack of initiative or interest. When speaking about an article in the February 1997 *Shakerite*, the student newspaper, which

[251] The failure of black families to support their children's learning, as well as the failure of black students to work hard and advance themselves in the same way that white students do, was raised by white and some black students. Black students were more likely to acknowledge the additional influence of exclusion, often narrating their experience of exclusion due to racial stereotyping and the reinforcement of racial stereotypes through the enrollment patterns by race of the levels system which produced isolation for black students in the high levels and for white students in the general and college preparatory levels. The narrative of a white student who enrolled in college preparatory classes also suggested an experience of isolation. This narrative is located in the section on narratives I have analyzed as within the desegregated space of encounter.

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raised questions about the gap in test scores, grades, and rate of participation in the high level classes between white and black students, Jill told me,

> It was factual information that they were presenting, it was not an opinionated article. It was these are the scores, there is a problem that there is this racial difference in test scores, and these kids are coming from the same elementary schools, and the same middle schools, the same high schools, there shouldn't be – such a discrepancy in who's in the AP classes and who's in the general classes and who's scoring this and who's scoring that, um, so I think it was a very eye-opening article that sort of got started this initiative of trying to – bring up the scores and bring up the level of achievement of African American students, and I think that one of the things that was focused on there was that family involvement, that if the education is not supported in the home, then it's not – gonna – go very far.

In Jill's view of racial equality in public education, the educational structures were neutral and color-blind and did not influence differential educational opportunities or outcomes for African American and European American students. Since she had not narrated an experience of exclusion that resulted in competing subjectivities of self as "student" nor had she described other students experiencing this, it appeared that she did not feel the need for educational structures designed to increase the participation of black students in spheres where they continued to be absent. For example, in talking about affirmative action, she felt that such policies should not be based on race but on differentials in educational opportunity. She told me, "I think that – a black person and a white person – going through the Shaker school system for 12 years – have the same – have been given the same educational opportunity and should have the same, um, be looked at the same." She noted that there were inequalities of opportunities in the larger world, such as the inequality between the large number of opportunities available to black and white students in Shaker Heights and the smaller number of opportunities available to black and white students in East Cleveland. She told me "the black person from

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Shaker should not be looked at the same as the, the black person from East Cleveland, but the same with a white person shouldn't be [looked at] the same as the white person in East Cleveland."[252]

In this conceptualization, Shaker Heights was an exemplar of desegregation and educational opportunity.[253] There was no consideration that the power relations ascribed to race and class that resulted in the dramatic white flight from East Cleveland could possibly be at work within the educational structures and social-psychological relations between and within racial groups in the Shaker schools.

Jill's conceptualization of equality was related to her comparison of her experience as a student to other whites and to the experience of black students. She responded "somewhat similar" in comparing her experience to other whites and "somewhat dissimilar" in comparing her experience to blacks. It was at this point in the interview, and a few other junctures, where Jill appeared more equivocal in her view that racial equality had been achieved in the Shaker school system. This occurred when she asked me if my question of comparison between black and white students was one a

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[252] There are few white students in East Cleveland. According to Keating (1994), "The 1990 U.S. Census indicated a black population in East Cleveland of 94 percent...East Cleveland's failure to successfully confront housing turnover on this scale and white flight can be attributed to the decisions...to reject the race-conscious approaches later adopted first in Shaker Heights and then in Cleveland Heights. By continuing race-neutral policies, the city and the schools [in East Cleveland] actually contributed to racial resegregation" (pages 93, 94).

[253] Often times when speaking with white students, parents, and educators, and some black participants, it became evident to me that these participants viewed Shaker's success in attaining racial diversity as evidenced by its ability to retain a stable base of white families in the school system. This was also linked to Shaker's continued preservation of academic standards. Kate's earlier introspection of racial relations is relevant here when she narrated her understanding, as a child, of her position and role in the desegregation of Moreland, as she told me there was a feeling present of "Hey, I'm doing you a favor—I could go back to my elementary school." Kate's narration underscored the privilege of those who have social mobility, facilitated by race, class and educational background, and the privilege of "choice," or as an educator narrated to "control your own destiny." Implicit in the relationship between the white community, in particular, and its desegregated school system is the power of "the favor."

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question comparing "*opportunity*" or was it a question comparing "*experience*." She viewed these two as different, and she felt it was necessary to know this before she answered the question. As a result, she distinguished between her "experience" in general in the high school, which she said was "somewhat dissimilar" to African American students, and her experience of "opportunity" in the high school, which she said was the same for whites as it was for blacks. The discrepancy in general experience, however, she did not attribute to racial exclusion but to the lack of interest and support among African American families. This was evident in her definition of racial equality:

> I think it's [slight pause] a lot based on opportunities because I think specifically at Shaker and in general, that, that people of -- white and black and all the other, um, backgrounds are given usually, not always, are given equal opportunities, um, and they tend to take advantage of them in different ways...and from what I've noticed is, a lot has to do with family support, and, I mean, a black kid or a white kid if they bring the same homework problem home, if one family helps the child with the homework, and helps them get through it, and the other doesn't want to have anything to do with it, that will make an influence on how they're going to come back and relate at school and how they're going to do in the schoolwork in general.

Jill noted that there were dilemmas in between trying to "equalize" education for students and at the same time addressing the different skill levels. She spoke about the elementary schools and what appeared to be gained or lost in thinking about equality in the classroom:

> I was in favor of tracking for myself—I was in, I was in a school system that it seemed to work in, and I was in the higher track, so I, I got a lot out of the opportunity. When I go back I see what it, what it seemed to me in [a Shaker elementary school] where I saw it, was that, in order to equalize the educational opportunity for everyone, they, instead of pulling out students, that were more gifted, they would pull out everybody to do something in like special, like there was a teacher who would bring them, pull out, groups of kids at time to do special projects. Um, as far as like math went, everyone was in there doing the same thing, and working at the same speed, and I think that, I mean, part of me thinks that it's good to, to equalize it. Part of me also thinks though, there's those kids that are finishing these math worksheets in 2 minutes, and they're not being

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> challenged by it, and there are still the kids that can't finish those math sheets, and are struggled by it, so I don't see how, I mean, I see how pulling them out can have social impacts, but I feel like it can – it helps academically more than it hurts academically.

Jill felt that the school system was increasing its attention to the gap in standardized test scores and grade point averages between white and black students. She felt that more attention on the part of the school system in terms of "starting young and starting with the family" would improve the achievement of black students. She spoke about her experience and her family's support,

> There needs to be that reinforcement, like I said, I think my parents played a major role in influencing my education. I think that if they hadn't been involved in my education, I would have had a much different experience and a much different outcome, so working not only with students, but with their families, and the reinforcement they're getting at home...

Summary

A common thread among the student narratives I have analyzed within this framework of *segregated spaces of centrality* was an experience of inclusion within sites of educational privilege and a compatible sense of self as "student." All of these students felt they had benefited from high expectations, opportunities and the availability of information and assistance in the high school. Their narratives corroborate this. These students also narrated rigorous preparation for college, which all of their narratives suggest they completed successfully. Additionally, these students narrated a value of racial diversity and a positive view of the school system's commitment to desegregation. Kate participated in the Shaker Schools Plan and narrated its positive impact on her while she was in the school system and later as an adult. In particular, Kate and Lorraine narrated high inter-racial contact and affiliation.

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Students who narrated segregated spaces of centrality did not narrate a view of racial *in*equality in the school system – although some of them (Jill, for instance) distinguished Shaker Heights from other districts, the latter of which she viewed as less likely to facilitate racial equality, and Lorraine narrated the possibility that opportunity might be perceived as less accessible to students in a different "position" from hers. These students who narrated inclusion and compatible subjectivities of self as "student," did not narrate an observation of structural boundaries (as a result of policies or practices in the school system) or social-psychological boundaries (as a result of stereotypes guiding the behavior of an educator or a student). While they narrated sites of educational privilege as segregated, the students who narrated centrality viewed them as equally available to black and white students.

Segregated Space of Marginality

Those whom I have positioned in a "segregated space of marginality" were *outside* the boundaries of sites of educational privilege. This social psychological "space" was narrated by students who may or may not have responded negatively to the questions about expectations, opportunities, and information. While there was variation in the manner in which these students narrated exclusion, and in their educational achievement (two of them secured graduate degrees, and two did not attend college with one of them not completing high school), these students shared a common experience of some degree of marginalization. While some of these students narrated exclusion or competing subjectivities of self as "student," some students narrated inclusion in the classroom. As will be discussed later, some of the educational structures established to

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re-engage students who were underperforming academically had the simultaneous effect of providing alternative sites that were *inclusionary* and *supportive* of students but did not do the following: provide equal education opportunities; produce equal academic outcomes; engender equal power relations. Because student narratives suggested the failure of these sites to facilitate racial equality, these narratives are theorized in this analysis as positioned in a segregated "space" of marginality. One student enrolled in high level classes but experienced exclusion from educators and other students.

Students who experienced this marginality were African American students. They understood exclusion but not all of them fully saw themselves as excluded from sites of educational privilege. If they did view themselves as excluded, they sometimes attributed their exclusion to faults of their own. All of these students credited the school system for its desegregated schools. Nevertheless, they were much more likely to view sites of educational privilege in Shaker Heights (and elsewhere) as unequally available to white and black students.

Race and Class Exclusion: "so she was my drive, it wasn't the school"

Michelle was an African American student who graduated in the early to middle 1970's. Her family moved to the Moreland area in the early 1960's, at a time when the neighborhood was still predominantly white. Michelle's mother was a stay at home mom until she and Michelle's father divorced and the family moved into an apartment in a two family home in Moreland. After that time, Michelle's mother, who had earned her high school degree in night school, then went on to nursing school. Michelle told me that some of the exclusion she experienced in the school system by black and white peers and

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by educators she attributed to her parents' divorce and the domestic abuse that preceded her parents' breakup.

Michelle responded very negatively on the question of the extent to which the high school shared the same expectations for her as her parents did. She said "none" (0), telling me that the high school was "very discouraging." She said, "I don't think I was given the same options" as compared to white students, telling me, "I noticed a lot of the African American students were, even though it was a college prep school, were geared more towards vocational kinds of things, versus, um, college bound kinds of things, like ah more of the – um, secretarial, um, well, for girls, um, boys more factory kinds of vocational, mechanic kinds of things." At the same time, she distinguished between racial discrimination and class discrimination on the part of the school system. She felt that African American students from the Ludlow area, which she equated with higher income, educational levels and more parity with white students on the part of students and teachers, were not likely to be discouraged in the same, systematic way as the Moreland students were:

> Now I don't know how it was for the other kids—the ones that came from the other side of the tracks, whose parents were doctors and lawyers and things, I don't know, maybe their, because of what their parents did, they were influenced differently because they [school staff] felt more threatened by them, because they were more affluent, so I don't know what kind of um, um, career counseling they got but – I know for myself it was very – demeaning. It wasn't [was] like, "Well, you know, you're just gonna get one of those mediocre jobs, and you know, your expectations really shouldn't be too high.

In terms of the extent to which she felt she benefited from the educational opportunities in the high school, Michelle responded "some" (2), and noted that because her mother worked and there were younger children in the family, Michelle was needed at home after school to help out. This precluded her participation in extra-curricular

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activities. Michelle remembered her mother having to come to the high school once over a matter influencing Michelle's academic future. Otherwise, she noted, her mother did not have the time or the expectation that she would be involved with the school system. She noted, "We just went and that was it."

Michelle also responded "a little" (1) when I asked her how much information and assistance she felt she had in terms of taking advantage of educational opportunities. She took high level courses in high school, but felt little direction or support from her guidance counselor, particularly when it came to decisions about college. She noted that she and her siblings were the first in the family to go directly to college after high school. As a result, she felt very uninformed about how to pursue the application and, equally important, financial support process. She told me,

> [There] should have been a lot of, um, counseling, as to what was out there, and for me, being that – I was – the actually the first um, person in my immediate family to go from high school to directly to college – I didn't have anybody else to ask, ok? Now, um, my – great, great grandfather, actually went to Howard University, and was studying um, he was studying [pause] it fails me now, but he left Howard and then went to mortuary school because he was the partner with a funeral home...but even though my mom went and got her nursing degree, that was not like she went to high school, you know, she went on to high school and then went to college, so actually my [siblings] and I were the first in our family. Even my mother's brothers, when they got out of high school, they went into the service. And my uncle that's next to her, he went into the service, when he came out, um, I remember him working for the post office and then he retired as a fireman, in his forties, and he went to um, Kent...so we were the first, to go directly...

While Michelle experienced exclusion and competing subjectivities of self as "student," it was an encounter with her guidance counselor over post-secondary education plans that she recalled as reinforcing her marginalized status. She told me, "as I said they were just very discouraging because I remember crying when my um, my adviser, counselor said, you know, she never felt I would make it in school." Later in the

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interview, I noted after that despite the lack of encouragement, she still went ahead and applied to several colleges, which accepted her and offered varying amounts (but not enough in most cases) of financial support. Michelle credited her mother for not letting her cave in to the discouragement:

> Michelle: because, my—because of my mom. My mom, I, I remember I cried, I was so hurt
>
> Anne: you came home and you told your mom?
>
> Michelle: and I told her and she told me, my mother always told, told us, we could be whatever we wanted to be—just be a damn good one
>
> Anne: right
>
> Michelle: whatever that is
>
> Anne: right
>
> Michelle: and she always said there's gonna be a dozen who disagree and a dozen who agree with whatever you choose to be, just do your best, and that's all, she said that's all I can ask of you, is that you do your best, and I'm only disappointed if I know that you didn't do your best, and so *she* was my drive. It wasn't the school

In terms of comparing her own experience to that of other black students, Michelle responded "somewhat dissimilar." She noted that a lot of the black students with whom she went to school were from two-parent families. She felt that her experience with her mother as her primary source of financial and emotional support distanced her from other students and also was responsible for the educators' low expectations of her as a student. She noted that it was not until she went away to college that she experienced racism in the predominantly white college she attended. In addition to the enactments of racial exclusion on campus, Michelle narrated her terror during a

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chase by hooded Klu Klux Klan members while driving with a white girl from her college.

Michelle viewed her experience of high school as "very dissimilar" from white students, noting that they had "a whole different lifestyle." She recalled white students at the high school in the early 1970's "whose parents were not around [and] they were being raised by maids and butlers." Michelle responded with high connections (five on the IIS scale) with other blacks in the early '70's and low connections with whites (three on the IIS scale).

As a parent now living in Shaker Heights with a child in the school system, Michelle responded with high connections to other blacks (between six and seven on the IIS scale) and high connections to whites (five on the IIS scale). Her responses for her child's experience as a student in the system were higher than they had been for herself, with "a good amount" (3) for expectations and opportunities, but still "some" (2) for information and assistance. She saw her experience as a parent as "somewhat similar" to other African American parents and "similar" (slightly less than "somewhat similar") to white parents. At the same time, she was troubled by the grouping of children by ability that she saw in her child's elementary school. Narrating the impact she felt the grouping had on her child's view of her self as "student," Michelle described an experience of encouraging her child to do additional work on a project she was assigned, where she narrated frustration when her child responded "that she was just an average student." Michelle said to me, "Now where does *that* come from?" Having recently completed a second graduate degree, and working full time, Michelle narrated her experience of late nights of graduate school assignments after first working with her child on these projects,

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dissuading her child's satisfaction with "average" work. In terms of her view of racial equality in public education, Michelle narrated a determination to deflect potential enactments of exclusion and the experience of competing views of self as "student" that her child might experience in the school system.

"I was very proud to be a Shaker student"

Some black students spoke very warmly about their experience in the school system, and did not talk about inequality of opportunities or outcomes. Carol, an African American student who attended the high school in the middle to late 1980's, told me "I was very proud to be a Shaker student." She attended Moreland Elementary School and then went on to Woodbury, which she loved. Carol selected high connections with African American students (seven on the IIS scale) and high connections with white students (five on the IIS scale) during her high school years. She was very active in clubs, had many black and white friends, and felt very connected to her teachers. However, some aspects of her narrative suggest marginalization.

In high school, Carol was enrolled in college preparatory level classes. Some of her classes, she noted, had students from levels one, two and three all in one class, with different levels of assessment under the same curriculum and teacher. In terms of the extent to which the high school shared the same expectations as her parents did for her, Carol responded "some," (2). She told me, "My mother was a stickler, she wanted us to have all A's and B's, and they wanted all of us kids to go to college." Carol noted that it was her mother who helped her decide what classes to take. She told me that the counselor was there "to make sure you had those 20 hours—credit hours we needed to

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graduate, or making sure we had everything in our file for um college entry." However, the relationship between Carol and her counselor appeared otherwise to be distant and perfunctory.

In terms of opportunities, Carol responded that she benefited "a great deal" (3) from the opportunities at the high school, telling me, "there were a lot of opportunities there for you at Shaker." At the same time, she also told me the high number of the activities in which she participated during Woodbury lessened during her high school years. Additionally, she told me that when she got her high school schedule for senior year, "they had my classes spread throughout the day and I was supposed to stay there 8 periods and then I did go to my counselor because I had study halls and 2 or 3 lunches." She requested that the counselor revise her schedule so she could have her classes in the morning and go to work in the afternoon. She noted this was not necessarily for economic reasons, but that she really enjoyed her job at a nearby supermarket. I raised the question about whether the counselor had recommended she take other courses and why she was given a schedule with so few classes.

> Carol: and I did go to her and I said is there is anyway I can get all of my classes first through fourth period and leave after fourth period. And she did change it. So I had first period math, second period I think I had history, third period it was English, and I forget—fourth period was probably gym, or something...
>
> Anne: and that was a real benefit for you to be able to leave and
>
> Carol: yes, yes it was
>
> Anne: ok, cause you think of the issue of equality and then you think well [pause] thinking about students today, if it's a financial need then you don't want to deprive a student
>
> Carol: right, but it wasn't even a financial need. I just liked my job
>
> Anne: right

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Carol: cause I worked in a supermarket then

...

Carol: I don't know, because my schedule, when I got my schedule in the mail, I had like first period math and then it was like study hall, study hall,

Anne: right, but what I'm wondering is why your counselor wouldn't have said, gee if you really like [subject area], here's another [class you might want to take], or—

Carol: um-hmm, she didn't, she didn't. She changed my schedule from when I was there from fourth period

Anne: right, right, which you, you appreciated

Carol: right

Anne: um, you see where I'm going with—

Carol: I understand what you're saying

In terms of how much information and assistance Carol felt she received concerning educational opportunities, she responded "some," (2). Again, she brought up the lack of guidance and direction in terms of planning for college.

> You see, you would go to your counselor, you would tell, you would tell your counselor what you wanted to do—see my counselor just wasn't helpful. She really wasn't. Because I don't—I told her I wanted to go to college but she – really didn't say, "Well, this type of college—" I mean she didn't give me any choices...but so what happened is my mom and my dad and [sibling], we would just go visit different colleges...so when I narrowed it down to my last four, I told her what four I was interested in and then um she helped me with filling out the application, and all, and getting everything ready, but that was it, but it was because of my parents and myself and how I felt...

It was not unusual for students of both racial groups and at different levels of classes to critique the guidance system's inadequacies in terms of investigating colleges and selecting colleges for application. Among the white students, Kate (and later in this chapter, John and Samuel) expressed dissatisfaction with their guidance counselor in

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terms of the college search and selection process. Among black students, Carol and Michelle (and later in this chapter, Lynne) also expressed dissatisfaction. It is likely that guidance counselors themselves were not satisfied with the large number of students with whom they were expected to advise and support. The lack of guidance, however, had its greatest impact on those students whose parents were unable to assist their children in the decision making, which was narrated most clearly by Michelle. Although this was not a problem for Carol, students whose parents did not attend college, or who had earned a college degree later in their adult life, had the most difficult time in terms of thinking about and planning for postsecondary education.

While I have analyzed Carol's narrative as positioning her outside sites of educational privilege, largely due to the limited extent to which she appears to have accessed equal educational opportunities, produced academic outcomes and experienced social power, her high school experience did not ultimately jeopardize her educational future. After completing her bachelor's degree, she finished a master's degree. Additionally, it is likely Carol may not agree with where my analysis has positioned her narrative. She narrated a very positive social experience in the school system along with many strong relationships with educators and students. However, with the richness and rigor of academic offerings in the high school, Carol narrated a fairly tepid level of engagement, in most, though not all, of her courses. While she did not appear willing to critique the high school, and focused most of her disappointment with her counselor, the extent to which her education was similar to that of many of the white students attending in the middle to late 1980's whom I interviewed is questionable.

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Nevertheless, Carol told me that she viewed her experience at the high school as a student as "similar" to other black students and to white students. Carol defined racial equality as "it's everybody having the same opportunity, you walk into a classroom, you don't see students separated by race, everyone is—it's a diverse classroom, boys, girls, whites, blacks, um—biracial, I mean all of them have the same opportunity. And the teacher is being fair to all of the kids." Carol did not narrate exclusion nor did she view her experience as a student in the high school as different from other white or other black students. In this sense, she is likely of the four students whose narratives I have positioned in this social psychological space to have the most contest with my analysis of her narrative.

"Who's <u>he</u> asking all these questions?"

Anthony is an African American student who attended the high school in the late 1980's, early 1990's. He grew up in the Moreland area and attended Moreland Elementary School in first half of the 1980's. His standardized test scores in elementary school were above grade level, and he was recommended for the Special Projects magnet program at Ludlow School, which was the district's gifted and talented magnet and, at the elementary level, a site of academic privilege. Anthony narrated a great deal of discomfort at Ludlow, where African Americans were in the minority and few black male students were enrolled.[254] Anthony did not want to attend the Ludlow program, telling

[254] Early on in its implementation, the Special Projects classes appeared to be more racially balanced; however, as the percentage of black students at Ludlow Elementary School increased, the Special Projects program appeared to be increasingly more white. This program involved the establishment of a self-contained class with students, most of whom were bused to the school and were predominantly white, who remained together from third through the sixth grade. The Ludlow Special Projects program is analyzed in this study as a segregated site of educational

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me, "I kinda knew that I had a high level, but I wanted to stay at *Moreland*, that's my neighborhood, friends, family, you know, you get comfortable as a child, you want to stay where you are comfortable."

At Ludlow, Anthony encountered enactments of exclusion by teachers and students and racial isolation in the classroom. He told me that lunchtime was the only opportunity he had to interact with the African American students from the regular class.[255] He told me, "I interacted with them as much as I could, the ones who would actually interact with me, but some of them wouldn't because I was in the gifted class." As a result, there was the potential for African American students to feel isolated within the gifted class and to feel excluded outside the gifted class from black students in the regular program. This gifted magnet program, a key component of one phase of the district's desegregation, albeit a contentious component, reinforced dichotomous racial stereotypes, thwarting any efforts to instill in children a view of the racial outgroup as academically equal.

In this analysis, Anthony is positioned early on in elementary school at a site of academic privilege and within the boundaries of inclusion during his years at Moreland School, where he encountered compatible views of "self" as "student." Although he told me he was "challenging" to teachers, and very independent, he felt strong connections to

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privilege. While it improved the racial balance at Ludlow School, it failed to facilitate racial equality, particularly within the school itself, in terms of the measures used in this study: providing equal educational opportunities, producing equal educational outcomes, and engendering equal power relations. As a result it is analyzed as a replicative educational structure. For further history on the Special Projects class at Ludlow, see the chapter of the history of the school system's desegregation.

[255] Other participants reported "specials" as also being a time for shared activities with the "regular" class.

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the teachers at Moreland who had taught his siblings and who knew his parents well. At Ludlow he felt isolated and disconnected, telling me, "but as far as going to Ludlow, it, it was kind of a shock for me, you know, ah, I don't think – I was focused on what I was there for, ok? I wanted to go back to Moreland." As a result, in this analysis, Anthony's encounter with the "shock" of *competing subjectivities* produced early dissonance and triggered the beginning of his movement away from the center, toward a segregated space of marginality where he experienced full academic exclusion.

Anthony told me he thought his problem all along while he was in school was that he wanted to "drive the car" – before it was the appropriate time to do so. He told me, "but you see that, I think that's been my whole attitude my whole life and that's why I had a lot of problems in Shaker schools, because I always wanted to drive when I'm a kid." His metaphor of driving was significant. I did not learn about the full extent of his disconnect at Ludlow, nor its probable influence on his later achievement in school, until later in the interview, when he and I explored the theme of "challenging" teachers.[256]

> Anthony: yeah, and, I never, I mean I was a, in school, when I was there, I wasn't—I didn't start trouble when I was there, you know what I'm saying, I wasn't violent, I didn't steal, things like that, but I might – I didn't get along with my teachers, because I'm very ah *challenging* toward the teacher, and, and people with degrees and masters, are looking at this kid, like, "Well, *who's* *he* asking all these questions?" you know, and ah,
>
> Anne: even though
>
> Anthony: it could
> Anne: they get
>
> Anne: [laughing slightly] I'm sorry but, even though they get those kind of questions, from – white students as well, but maybe it's just—

[256] In the "speedbumps" section of the research design chapter, I reflect on my ambivalence concerning the particular standpoint *I* narrated in this conversation with Anthony about his being "challenging" toward teachers.

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Anthony: oh, I wasn't even thinking

Anne: it's just a different

Anthony: it was racial

Anne: no, I know, but I, it bothers me sometimes, when I hear, because kids challenge teachers no matter what racial group they're in

Anthony: um-hmm

Anne: but they do it differently, and so teachers will accept, they can be more, a white teacher might be more accepting of

Anthony: I see what you're saying

Anne: kind of um, cause I've seen it in my kids, you know my kids will come home and talk about you know, an uppity white student who will correct a teacher constantly, and that's acceptable, do you know what I'm saying?

Anthony: uh-huh

Anne: um, I didn't mean to interrupt you,

Anthony: no, I see what you're saying

Anne: I, I, do see sometimes that happens

Anthony: um-hmm

Anne: where it's the *manner* and the *ways* that – young people question adults

Anthony: [speaking more rapidly] I remember, I remember, now that we're talking about that, when I was at Ludlow, my mother, ah, told me that a teacher told her, I questioned her or told her something, but I corrected her from something, and my mother told me, the teacher told her like, were basically saying that your son is asking me questions and I'm the teacher, *who is he* to be asking these—I remember my mother bringing me, that out, and, and they had told her, that they wanted me to take, or go see a psychiatrist, a school psychiatrist, or something or whatever. See, at Ludlow, I remember this now, and ah, but my mother told them, "No!" [she said,] "There's not anything wrong with my son," you know. I remember my mother telling that, that they wanted me to see a school psychiatrist...

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The fundamental complaint lodged in the teacher's question, "*Who's he*?" revealed in Anthony's narrative the extent to which his position within a site of academic privilege was questioned. In the gifted classroom, not unlike the higher level classes in which he did not participate later in high school, Anthony was in a setting where he was isolated racially and culturally, with few African American students. At Ludlow he told me there was another African American boy that Anthony described as, "a black kid in my class as well, but at that time as a kid, I didn't look at him as being black, you know, and he was black – black, he was, but he wasn't what the culture like I was. See, as a child, I was, I didn't—I was confused with, 'How is he?' you know?"

Anthony's narrative suggests that his use of language, style of interacting, and level of physical activity was in contrast to the white—and black—children in the gifted program. His tendency to ask questions, perhaps outside of the protocol with which the children and the teacher in the classroom were accustomed, combined with his being one of a few black students in the class, likely positioned him, from the view of the educators he encountered, as within some approximation of the racial stereotype of less competent and less deserving. As a result, he encountered enactments of exclusion and competing subjectivities of "self" as "student," accelerating a trajectory within sites of educational privilege to outside them. During his years following Ludlow and into junior high school, his grades went down and he had less of an interest in school.

Anthony narrated his "journey" through the junior high school, telling me his favorite class was Latin, which his mother made him take, and noting "but of course I gave the teacher hell, but you know not too much, you know. I mean, I didn't do some other things some other bad kids did..." He told me, "I remember being in some classes

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with some [Special Projects] kids that I went to Ludlow with, but they weren't considered – level four [honors or enrichment], ah, not that I can recall, ah, but I do remember being in some classes with some, you know, more studious children."

In high school, Anthony enrolled in level three, college preparatory classes, but he was more interested in his social life than academics. He told me that he "started hanging with the wrong type of people, and just doin' what I wasn't supposed to do [tap], that's when I was drinking beer, you know, [tap] partying, worrying about, [tap] like I said, my social life rather than [tap] you know getting this education." Anthony narrated an increasing disconnect with educators and disengagement with his schoolwork. Anthony told me he became close with a group of students who were equally disconnected with school. He told me at some point in high school, "I just stopped going to school."

Anthony reflected during the interview, "I don't know what didn't have me on the track of being a – a *student*." Later in the interview, he spoke about the process of "misidentifying" himself. His narrative portrayed his experience as a black student steeped in signifiers of black culture—the clothing, the mannerisms, the style of speaking—and the accessibility of racial stereotypes concerning achievement and motivation that influenced educators' view of him, and likely other students' view. Anthony told me that he would not have felt comfortable in a high level class. He noted that he believed now he should have been taking advanced courses in high school. He credited his parents with being very positive, and he narrated a number of times when his parents encouraged him to excel and accessed opportunities in the system for him. He did not always agree with his parents, noting, "there were times when I thought that a teacher was totally wrong and my mother and father totally disagreed with me..."

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Finally, Anthony narrated muted disappointment at his inability to connect with teachers. Anthony noted that there was one teacher in the high school with whom he connected. He felt this teacher valued his participation and presence in the classroom:

> And ah, I think just because of my discussion in his class, you know what I'm saying, he thought I understood it very well, he gave me a B+, and he talked to me about it before, and that was like the highest grade I had in high school...he gave me a B+ and I was really excited about that, you know, but that was the only teacher that—I think he kind of understood me, I'm not saying that, what I, what I, what I wasn't doing was acceptable in other classes, but he kind of more understood me as a *kid*, because I was the only black kid in there, cause you know my discussion [he appreciated]...

Anthony narrated his unsuccessful efforts to re-engage with schooling. After a period of time out of school, he realized that he wanted to return, and he decided he would try to enroll at the high school. He said he came to the school one day, but he encountered the principal who, on Anthony's arrival was meeting with individuals on truancy-related matters. The principal told Anthony to leave the premises or he would be arrested. Anthony told me he thinks in retrospect had he come back with a parent, the principal might have responded differently. His parents had been involved earlier but they did not accompany him that day to the high school, nor is it clear that they knew of his decision to return to the school.[257] Anthony told me that after he encountered the principal, who told him "You're not coming back here," Anthony left the building. He told me, "yeah, I walked out of the office, went and got on a bike that I parked behind some bushes, and went home." In his narrative, he expressed mixed feelings, telling me, "you know, I didn't care—I mean I cared, but I didn't care."

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[257]To preserve the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants, specific details are omitted, as well as particular school policies that may have also influenced the administration's response toward Anthony.

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Like nearly all of the students I interviewed, Anthony expressed appreciation for the Shaker system. He told me, "Shaker's a cool—good system and they're number this and number that." In his narrative, Anthony talked about equal opportunity, saying "it's all about what the individual gets out of it" and "black kids can get the same education a white kid gets from there." Yet his own experience of competing subjectivities of self as "student" and encounters with exclusion reinforced his very next statement, "because, I mean and, and really how do the teachers accept you. It might be who you—what teacher you're running into, it might be what teacher you're running into." In his statements, the contradictions are legion, as he moves back and forth between a discourse of opportunity and one of exclusion:

> ...you can go to the top too, but it depends on, I mean, because you can't be – [sighs] what the society sees you as a black kid—I'm not just saying black, I'm—cause I'm black that's why I'm saying it because—all right, um, the average black kid nowadays, if I wear saggy pants, tee-shirt...braids, whatever, you know, and then the average white kid might look like whatever. But if you look at the average black kid in these videos, but you're super smart and studious, somebody's not going to accept you – you understand what I'm saying?

The contradictions Anthony encountered in his schooling appeared to result in his conflict with his own narration of equal opportunity. When I asked him about benefiting from educational opportunities in the high school, he told me, "I didn't benefit from any educational opportunities, they were *there*, yeah, they were there, available, but I didn't benefit from them." Anthony responded with the most negative responses of all the black and white students, with "none" (0) for the questions on expectations and opportunities, and "a little" (1) for the question on information and assistance. When I asked Anthony how similar his experience in high school was to other African American students, he told me "somewhat similar." He responded "somewhat dissimilar" when comparing his

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experience to white students in the high school. The strength of his connections with black students was high (six on the IIS scale) while his connections with white students was considerably lower (four on the IIS scale). He enjoyed the friendships he made with white students in Moreland's desegregated program but this did not continue at Ludlow, nor did he narrate friendships with white students in junior high or high school.

Anthony narrated the difficulty of being the "average black kid nowadays" enrolling in a predominantly white advanced class and gaining the acceptance from the white teacher and from the white students who are in the majority along with several black students, with whom he may or may not have been able to relate. He told me,

> It's gonna be hard for me, to come into, or, ok, the kid that looks like a thug or whatever, to be in the advanced class as being himself, but with just with the same, the same smartness or intelligence, you know. It's gonna be hard for him to be in there...and ah, the way I see it is, a black child in advanced classes is fine, but all the ones that I knew that were in advanced classes were just a little bit different than the other cats, than just the average black kid, now, since it's myself, like I said, I'm not *stupid*, ah, I didn't have braids and all that because it wasn't in style then, but, you know, I was in style too, but uh, I don't know, maybe I felt that [he laughs a little], "Well, I'm Anthony, but I'm this smart, but that's not me in *there*, that's not me in that classroom."

The year his class graduated, Anthony earned his GED. It appeared that after some time of uncertainty, he enrolled in some vocational training and began a business that has been successful. His family support appeared to be very strong, as it had during high school. There was evidence of an emphasis on education in Anthony's family, and a tradition of college education as far back as his grandfather, who graduated from a competitive university in the Midwest. Given Anthony's high level of achievement in his early years in elementary school, his narrative underscores a tremendous loss in educational opportunity.

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"[they were] always encouraging me...within the Humanities program, but I don't think I was honors material"

While Diana, an African American student who graduated from high school in the early 2000's, responded positively to the closed-item questions on expectations and opportunities, she narrated an experience outside sites of educational privilege. Diana began her schooling at Boulevard Elementary School. Diana said she loved her elementary school and noted how she valued having friends who have "traveled" with her through her years at Shaker. At the same time she also described her relationships with teachers as strained, noting she had "conflicts" with all her teachers in elementary school and telling me that she did not think the teachers accepted what she said as truthful, but she then wandered into a less defensive stance, concluding "I don't know, maybe it was just me." She felt that she was never really accepted in school among teachers and many of her classmates, who appeared to like her but not develop close friendships with her. She noted that teachers seemed unaware of her sense of isolation: "you know, I always, you know, just feeling bad for myself, and I don't think my teachers really quite understood that."

Diana narrated how in junior high school, she had a class with a teacher whom she described as having "...just completely opened my mind to something completely new, a whole new inspiration, a whole new foundation." She noted that she had "such a great respect and admiration" for this teacher. She talked about his influence on her, noting that "even if I never talk to him again, never see him again, just thinking about him, and thinking about all the advice that he's instilled in me" she said she would never be the same. Finally, in addition to the social influence he had on her, he also influenced her academic work. She invested a lot of effort in his class, saying "I came to his class

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everyday, I did my work to the best of my ability." She told me she got a B or C in his class.

Diana noted, "but I was just so comfortable around him, I don't know what it was, that just sparked that, I was like, 'I just have to share this with him,' because I just, I felt like I did something good, and it [smiling] took me so long to find something that I'm good at." Diana's experience with this teacher resulted in her improvement in other classes as well. She told me, "me and ah, tea—my teachers were crashing heads, so, I *could not* learn anything because I was getting bad grades," but after her experience with this teacher she said "now I just learned how to – in an essence just turn it around to take out what I need to take out, to learn what I need to learn." Diana told me the change she experienced in herself as a student was a "100 percent" turnaround and had a significant impact on her subsequent high school years.

In eighth grade Diana passed all of her proficiency tests.[258] Nevertheless, she was enrolled in the Humanities program in 9th grade.[259] I asked Diana whether her counselor

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[258] State proficiency tests, in existence since 1990, consist of a test in math, reading, writing, citizenship and science. Overall passing rates for in that first year was 51% of the 373 ninth grade students, with the percentage of whites passing in the first year at 81% and for blacks, 22%. [Source: Sims, B. (2/7/91). "Proficiency test results disappointing." *Shakerite*. Page 3.] Diana took the test a number of years later, and passing rates for black students did show improvement. A study and preparation program for the proficiency tests, PROBE, was instituted in 1991 for students failing the test.

[259] The Humanities program was established in 1986 and serves approximately 100 students in grades 9-11 each year. It consists of a class in English, social studies, and reading, and its goals include the improvement of students' reading and comprehension skills as well as "building of acadadmic skills and self-confidence to enable Humanities students to maintain their academic engagement in all subjects, to continue progressing toward graduation and, where appropriate, to move to high-level class offerings within the English and social studies curricula." A description of the students served by the program include those "who test below grade level on standardized reading tests" who "are counseled to consider this program" and "[s]tudents make the decision to participate." [*Selected Initiatives to Improve Student Achievement in the Shaker Heights City Schools*. Shaker Heights, OH: SHCSD, 1/15/97.]

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raised the possibility of her enrolling in an honors class, and she told me she did not recall that taking place, telling me, "I had a full schedule, I was taking basically, my basic classes." At one point it was recommended she not be in the Humanities program, but she told me that she stayed in the humanities because "I thought that was where I needed to be" largely because she loved her teachers, who supported and encouraged her. In the Humanities program, she had a teacher whom she really liked, and she did not want to lose this teacher, so she was reluctant to move from the Humanities program to the "regular" program. Diana told me "I got decent grades, and I was, I had a sense of belonging, I had a relationship with the teachers."

Although Diana narrated strong connections with her teachers and the students in the Humanities program, and narrated a compatible subjectivity of "self" as "student," it appeared that she also did not see herself as located in a site of academic privilege. She told me she did not see herself as "honors material" or "booksmart." I asked Diana what she thought "honors material" was, and she told me it meant having to spend a good chunk of her time outside of school studying and doing homework. She was quite adamant about her unwillingness to dedicate time, any time in fact, on homework outside of school time. I asked her about the time she was willing to spend on her homework and class preparation for the teacher she had in middle school, who challenged her and for whom she produced strong academic outcomes. For this teacher, she made a distinction, telling me "I did as much as I could, and, ah, I mean, I had the desire to do it, which was the difference because, I, I, I had – I wanted to do it. So I did it, you know, I had this, I was like, 'I'm gonna do it because I, I don't want to let him down,' and I love [name] so

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much, I'm not—I'm gonna do it, I'm gonna do it, I'm gonna do it, so I did it to the best of my ability."

Diana pursued a vocational program while in high school, telling me, "I was looking at the all the career prep programs, which I knew, I knew I wasn't so good as an academic student, so I knew that if I got a trade under my belt, I will always be covered, even when I go into college, I, I would always something to do to fall back on." The program she pursued was not her first choice, but her mother felt it would be beneficial. Although initially Diana was willing, by the second year of the program she felt dissatisfied with it. She also was unable to participate in after school activities because the program was offered at a distance from the high school[260] and she did not get back to the high school in sufficient time to participate in any activities.

When I asked Diana what her parents' expectations were for her, she told me "[to] have straight A's," and she responded "very much" (4) to the question on the extent to which the high school shared the same expectations as her parents did. She responded very positively also to the question on how much she felt she had benefited from the opportunities available in the high school, to which she said, "a good amount" (3). When I asked what opportunities in particular she benefited from, she responded very positively about her participation in the MAC Sisters program.[261] In terms of how much

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[260] Shaker Heights and nearby Warrensville Heights and Cleveland Heights provide vocational education to their students through a shared program that is provided off-site from Shaker Heights. Students take a bus to the program, spending some time in academic classes at Shaker Heights and then a good amount of time off-site.

[261] The Minority Achievement Committee "MAC" Scholars Program, began in the spring of 1991, and its sister program, began in the 1996-97 school year [Masine, C. (3/26/96). "Female MAC to be installed next fall." *Shakerite*. Page 3.] These programs have as their goals "to make the high academic achievement of African American male [female] students (MAC Scholars) a visible model of scholarship for underachieving ninth and tenth grade black males (Potential

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information and assistance Diana felt she had in terms of learning about and taking advantage of opportunities in the high school, she responded with the highest positive response, "a lot" (4). However, she told me that she got her information from another educator in the high school who worked in a related informational capacity. In terms of her guidance counselor, Diana responded that she got "a little" information and assistance. She felt her guidance counselor was not only unhelpful, but hostile and she noted that in at least one situation, the counselor impeded Diana's ability to fulfill academic requirements. She told me she that early on in high school she went to her guidance counselor's office frequently, but as "my high school career drew on, it got less and less."

In terms of responses to the three questions on expectations, opportunities, and information and assistance, Diana narrated a level of satisfaction with the high school was fairly high, with "very much" (4), "a good amount" (3) and "a lot" (4) as her respective responses. At the same time when I asked Diana the question concerning her experience as a student in the high school compared to white students, she responded, "it was completely dissimilar, I don't think it was—yeah, I just, don't, academics, when it comes to academic level, there was nowhere close to being – what's the word I want? I don't know -- close to being [laughs a little] similar in terms of the experience of classes, and stuff like that." She saw her experience as "somewhat similar" to other African American students. When I ask her about racial equality in public education, she told me,

> I still don't think it exists because no matter what, eh, I mean, even if where you live, and things of that nature – it's just, it's not gonna happen, it's not gonna

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Scholars) [females] through programs that create a link between these two groups" [*Selected Initiatives to Improve Student Achievement in the Shaker Heights City Schools.* Shaker Heights, OH: SHCSD, 1/15/97.]

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> happen, even, I don't know, you might have—some of the opportunities may be there and there may be some forms of equality in, in, say like maybe...in sports...in the liberal arts aspect, but when it comes to just downright education, they're—I don't know I can't say they're, because who is they, you know? But people always try to put people in their categories because of what they think, not because of what they know. If people would start thinking a whole lot, then we'd be able to progress a little bit...if they get to know the person, they know what is right for that person, and that's why we have counselors and that's why we have assistant principals. But – still – everybody has their flaws and everybody has their judgments. There's nothing you can do about it.

Although Diana's narrative expressed the view that racial equality was not facilitated within the school system, or elsewhere, she also narrated a view of herself as a student who "need[ed] improvement." When I asked what, if anything, would she have needed to achieve a higher academic level, she placed the onus for change on herself, telling me "probably just more—it wasn't, it wasn't the people, it was basically me, it was just me actually making my, getting my priorities together, and lessening the mother, I'm the mother of procrastination."

While Diana did not narrate a view of education as equally available to white and black students, she did tell me she thought the education at Shaker was transformative, crediting its transformative nature to its desegregated schools. She contrasted Shaker to nearby Warrensville Heights, which is predominantly black. Diana said she recognized that Shaker's racial diversity was unique, telling me, "...when it comes to people, I can honestly say, my senior class, we were very, very diverse. We were a family. We didn't—we didn't have a whole lot of drama, we all loved each other, we all had a good time together as a class."

However, Diana also narrated an experience of segregation. She called herself a "floater" in that she was able to be in both the white groups and the black groups. At the same time, she acknowledged increasing limitations to her ability to "float" as she

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progressed through the Shaker school system, mentioning white friends she had in elementary school toward whom she was still friendly but noting that the ties were based on past connections, not present:

> Anne: when you went like, let's say into the Humanities program, did you feel like you could float there?
>
> Diana: it was basically black students in the Humanities program, majority of black students
>
> Anne: uh-huh
>
> Diana: but in my other classes, my sciences...and my gym class, it was, it wasn't all, um, it wasn't all black people
>
> Anne: right, so that was more racially mixed, science and gym
>
> Diana: science and gym, math perhaps was pretty much mixed up a little bit, even math was a little bit, even science at times, could be racially—predominantly black or predominantly white...and the classes are, all you'll see is like, majority white people or majority black people

While Diana and I talked about "floaters" as people who could bring others together and "bridge" groups, there was an element in her use of the word that also revealed a sense of disconnection, as when she explained that she equated "floater" with "nomad." In Diana's selection of her strength of connections to other African American students, she selected high connections for black students (six on the IIS scale) and low on her connections with white students (three on the IIS scale) during her high school years.

In Diana's narrative, then, is an experience of compatible subjectivities of self as "student" – she viewed herself as not "booksmart" and the educational structures in which she was enrolled reinforced that view. Only in the class of the middle school teacher that she narrated was there on opportunity for her to contradict that view of her

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self as "student." Although she took college preparatory (level three) science and math classes, most of her classes were in the Humanities program or, in her later years, in vocational education outside the high school altogether. Her source of information was not her guidance counselor; she worked with an educator who appeared to have some designated role in terms of linking students, perhaps African American students, to information about educational opportunities.

At the same time, Diana's narrative reveals the complex set of factors beyond schooling that contributed to her participation outside sites of educational privilege, shaped partly through Diana's mother who felt she needed to learn a trade and partly through Diana herself, who was unwilling, with the exception of one particular teacher's class, to do any amount of homework. These factors influenced Diana's view of her self as "student" and she found reinforcement in that view through her participation in educational structures in the high school. While Diana was comfortable in what I am calling sites of educational exclusion, she also knew them to be unequal to the sites in which most white students participated. Therefore she did not view education as equally available to black and white students within the school system. As a result, I positioned her narrative as within a social psychological space of marginality.

Summary

In this analysis, I have positioned the narratives of Anthony and Diana in the social psychological segregated space of marginality. These students narrated, with some variation, the experience of exclusion from sites of academic privilege. It is important to note that for Diana, however, the educational structures in which she participated

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involved enactments of inclusion. She found the Humanities program very supportive, and she enjoyed her teachers very much. At the same time, she did not narrate accessing educational opportunities or producing academic outcomes in the way most white students narrated. Anthony's narration began as one of inclusion in sites of educational privilege and a compatible sense of self as "student"; however, he narrated exclusion at the Ludlow Special Projects program, compounded by later encounters with competing subjectivities of "student" and his withdrawal from high school. Neither Anthony nor Diana had enrolled in college at the time of the interview. Anthony did not graduate from Shaker Heights but did earn his GED.

Carol also narrated inclusion and enjoyed her teachers and the classes she took. However, in the high school, there was little indication of encouragement of her academically. In one subject area in which she was strong, she did not narrate any consideration of taking a higher level class, nor did her counselor appear to encourage her to do so. Like Michelle, Carol was given very little direction on her college search and selection. Fortunately, Carol's parents filled in the gap in guidance. Michelle's mother, who was working full time and had younger children at home, could not do this. Additionally, Michelle narrated a family background where some family members secured college degrees but none of them immediately after high school. Michelle in particular felt that despite her success in high level classes, she was guided towards vocational post-secondary education.

There was also some variation in terms of the views of equality in the school school system as narrated by these four students. Carol did not narrate a view of educational opportunity as unequal in the school system, but Michelle did. In both cases,

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however, these students completed college immediately after high school and later completed graduate degrees. While Anthony and Diana to some extent attributed their exclusion to faults of their own and they both credited the school system for its desegregated schools, they also viewed sites of educational privilege in Shaker Heights (and elsewhere) as unequally available to white and black students. Diana's narrative was more direct about this. Anthony's narrative on racial inequality was buried in a discourse of individual merit and the view that black students can access educational opportunity as readily as white students. Nevertheless, his narrative on the lack of teacher connection, with the exception of one class in high school, and his inability to "see" himself as belonging in a high level class underscores his view of impediments to equal educational opportunity.

Desegregated Space of Encounter

Those whom I have positioned in a "desegregated space of encounter" were black and white students who narrated experiences with exclusion—but in differing ways. Black students experienced exclusion in their interactions with educators and some white students in sites of educational privilege, but they persisted in these sites, experiencing competing subjectivities as "student." White students did not experience exclusion in sites of educational privilege from educators, but they did experience exclusion in some form of a desegregated setting in their encounter with black students. They persisted in these desegregated sites of educational privilege, experiencing competing subjectivities of self as "white." For both black and white students, there was an experience of encounter with members of the other racial group, as well as experiencing competing

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subjectivities and dissonance within this social psychological space of encounter. This experience of encounter contributed to their view of sites of educational privilege as unequally available to white and black students.

Black Students Experience of "Encounter"

The African American students who narrated an experience of encounter and dissonance experienced exclusion, creating for them a vivid understanding of the persistence of racial stereotypes that continued to be accepted by educators and students. All of the students in this "encounter" space enrolled in one, several, or all high level classes. These students responded negatively and positively to the questions about expectations, opportunities and information. They were likely to see their experience as a student in the high school as dissimilar to other black students. In terms of their comparison to whites, some felt their experience was similar, others did not. Those students who did not see their experience as similar to blacks *or* to whites experienced the greatest degree of isolation from their peers. Black students in a desegregated space of encounter had a sense of the conditionality or tenuous nature of their position, having experienced exclusion in some form of an encounter with an educator. They described the experience as "shocking" or "traumatizing," and it produced dissonance in their view of self as "student."

Cross describes this phenomenon in his work on nigrescence, a French word meaning "the process of becoming black" (Cross, 1991, p. 147). In his discussion of the role of a black identity, he notes,

> ...the "Blackness" part of Black identity (Cross 1985; Cross, Parham, and Helms, in press) tends to perform three unique functions in everyday Black life: (1) to

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> defend the person from the negative psychological stress that results from having to live in a society that at times can be very racist; (2) to provide a sense of purpose, meaning, and affiliation; and (3) to provide psychological mechanisms that facilitate social intercourse with people, cultures, and human situations outside the boundaries of Blackness. A person may acquire these functions over the course of being socialized from childhood through early adulthood, given that his or her parents or caretakers have strong Black identities. If this is not true, the functions may unfold as part of the resocialization that takes place during nigrescence. (pages 214 – 215)

In his study of the stages in developing a black identity, Cross describes the second stage as the "encounter" stage, which interrupts routines and a stable, uncritical view of relations of power ascribed to race. Cross notes that an encounter is "a single dramatic event" that occurs in the life of a black individual, such as the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., or an encounter with the police that is racially motivated, or being exposed to critical views about racial inequality by another black person who is important to the individual. The encounter is significant because it is startling enough to generate a new level of thinking about the circumstances a person experiences as a result of being black, along with the experiences of other black persons. As Cross notes, "the Encounter jolts the person into at least considering a different interpretation of the Black condition" (p. 201).[262] Cross emphasizes the pattern of experience in the encounter stage is some form of confrontation, surprise, shock:

> Since a person's ongoing identity will defend itself against identity change, the person usually has to experience some sort of encounter that has the effect of catching him or her 'off guard.' The encounter must work around, slip through, or even shatter the relevance of the person's current identity and world view, and at the same time provide some hint of direction in which to point the person to be resocialized or transformed. (p. 199)

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[262] While Cross underscores the "shock" of the experience, he also notes that the "Encounter" may not be one specific event, "but a series of small, eye-opening episodes, each of which chips away at the person's ongoing world view," and that these episodes have a "cumulative effect," and at some point the individual finds him or herself experiencing "the push toward nigrescence" (Cross, 1991, p. 200).

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The black students whom I have positioned within the desegregated space of encounter varied in persistence and in the extent to which they were willing or able to contend with the dissonance of competing subjectivities of self as "student." They also varied in the extent to which they saw injustice in their exclusion, although there was evidence of a high level of critique toward structural and social-psychological boundaries on the part of this group of students. All of these students were within the boundaries of sites of educational privilege, which had assured their academic success and social mobility but had also isolated them from many of their black peers and for some, from their white peers. Some of these students had experienced transition out of and then back into sites of educational privilege during their years in the Shaker schools.

"this is the way it is, you know, this is still a way to get wherever you want to get to..."

Lynne, who is African American, and graduated between 1965 and 1970, moved as a child with her family to Ludlow in the late 1950's, where she attended Ludlow School. She told me that her neighborhood was predominantly Jewish, as were her best friend and many of her teachers. Her father had a professional degree, and her mother, college educated, stayed at home with the children. In the early grades at Ludlow, she told me she was "one of three black students." Before Lynne graduated from Ludlow, she noted the enrollment by race had changed such that "there were 3 white students in our class."[263] She also told me,

> When I was a student there, um, it was just almost a given, that if you come into Shaker from—well, if you're black and you move into Shaker, you're automatically behind, the assumption was, and you automatically, almost got put behind without question. Now granted, you may have come from a place with not as many resources, but what they, what they seemed to disregard was ability and

[263] Weeks (1968) indicates that Ludlow School was 70 percent black in the early 1960's (p. 51).

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> accommodation – to – you know, not necessarily just, put you behind, but at least, if – give you a chance and support...

Lynne participated in advanced level classes as soon as they became available in the schools. She narrated the establishment of the levels system in the mid 1960's, telling me,

> ...I think this is when Shaker created this big levels system. It was around that time, yeah...because there were so many black kids coming in the district, and I remember in—they had level 1 through 5, yeah, and then eventually they got rid of some of the levels, but um, because that, the reason I remember is because kids used to pick on each other, or joke about, "Oh, you're in level 1," and...through high school, um, I had very few – blacks in any of my classes.

Lynne noted that in her advanced level classes, she did not feel there was racial tension among the students, but she did feel there was discrimination on the part of teachers. In one of her high level classes, Lynne experienced exclusion on the part of a teacher and an experience of dissonance in terms of self as "student." In this class the teacher consistently graded Lynne's work with a B. Lynne told me that she produced a paper for the class that she felt was academically strong and a sample of her best work. Lynne noted that having been in advanced classes throughout junior high and high school with the same white students, she knew the caliber of the work of white students with whom she was friends, and she felt her work was compatible, telling me, "you know where you stand." The teacher, as she had in earlier papers, did not see Lynne's paper at the same level as other A papers in the class, and again graded it a B paper. Lynne told me, "and, I, so I asked the teacher about it, you know, well what is it, that could—that I did not, that was—what did I do that you didn't want? You know. [clear clank sound] And she said, 'Nothing,' she said, 'you will never ever be above a B student.'" I asked Lynne about how she responded to the teacher's statement. She told me,

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> I was probably – shocked, but just "ok," I mean, you know, you don't, know what to say – yeah, and, and, and, you know, I didn't realize it had an impact on me – but it did because I always felt, it made me feel like [slight pause] not good enough, you know, but I didn't realize I felt that way, you know, and so I shied away from thinking, you know, that I could ever write...

Lynne's use of the word "shocked" is characteristic of descriptions of "encounter." The language of "trauma" and "shock" found its way into many of the narratives of African American students, consequences of an encounter with *competing subjectivities* over "self" as "student," and producing *dissonance* that had the potential to compromise engagement in that subject area. Lynne told me that she did not report her experience to her parents, both of whom were active in the school district.

> Anne: did you go back and tell that to your parents?
>
> [pause]
>
> Anne: what [the teacher] had said to you?
> Lynne: I don't—I don't believe I
>
> Lynne: I don't think—I've told other people, but I don't think
>
> Anne: but when [the teacher] said to you that day
>
> Lynne: oh, no, I didn't
>
> Anne: you didn't
> Lynne: no
>
> Lynne: no
>
> Anne: you just accepted that?
>
> Lynne: um-hmmm, um-hmmm
>
> Anne: oh my gosh!
>
> Lynne: yeah
>
> Anne: that is so amazing

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Lynne: I know. And then, you know, when I went away, later on, it, you know, I reflected on that [clank again] and you know, I put it in perspective and I realized the impact it had on me personally

Anne: yeah

Lynne: but also, I realized, um, the, the subtle, subtle things like that are what destroy people [light clank] yeah, cause you're, you're so vulnerable, at a, at that young age

Lynne responded with high affirmative for the expectations ("very much," or 4) but low ("a little," or 1) on both opportunities and information and assistance questions. She viewed her experience in the high school as "somewhat similar" to black students and "somewhat similar" to white students. In Lynne's selection of her strength of connections to African American students, she selected the same high connections for black students (five on the IIS scale) as she did for her connections with white students (also five on the IIS scale) during her high school years. However, in addition to her encounter with exclusion by a teacher in an advanced class and her feeling that there were teachers who discriminated against black students, she was also dissatisfied with the level of assistance she received from her guidance counselor in terms of thinking about college. Lynne reflected on just how little guidance she thinks she was given about choosing a college, noting "cause I might have made different choices." She felt that a lack of interaction between herself and the predominantly white students in her advanced classes also played a part in her lack of direction, noting, "maybe if, I had socialized [laughs a little] with white people that I would have heard those conversations, you know, and I didn't." Lynne also did not recall extensive discussions with her parents about her

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college plans, noting that they might have given her more credit for her own planning than was the case.[264]

> Lynne: well, I don't remember ever getting any guidance counseling...and I don't remember – anyone really helping me decide where to go to college and asking me what I want to do, or any of that, now, maybe somebody'll say they did [Lynne laughs lightly] and I don't remember, but I don't remember getting any, you know – for, for me it was like, from high school to going to college was no, was the same expectation as going from 10th to 11th grade, 11th grade to 12th grade...but I didn't really have any focus
>
> Anne: right, so, nobody called you in, no guidance counselor called you in, and said, "Let's look at the courses you're taking," um, you know, "it seems like you're moving in a direction for a competitive college"
>
> Lynne: um-hmm
>
> Anne: "let's talk about," you know, "what might be available," and
>
> Lynne: right, no

Lynne talked about many years later, having returned to Shaker Heights to raise her family. Her daughter, Nika, is also a participant in this study, as indicated later in this chapter. Lynne narrating a level of "vigilance," as another black parent described it, in terms of ensuring her children in the middle to late 1990's benefited from the educational opportunities available in the school system and produced high academic outcomes. Lynne noted that the situation was particularly difficult for black parents raising sons:

> When we went to the Honors Assembly at the end of the year at the high school...there was nobody: no African American male at that 3.5 and above, and in the other [Honors Assembly she attended] there may have been nobody or no more than 2 or 3, and only a handful of 3 points and above. Now there were a few more females. But the, the difference in lack of African American males with academic achievement was – significant.

As a parent, Lynne narrated the stress of expecting her son to take high level courses in the middle school and high school, and his resistance due to the few number of

[264] Lynne otherwise narrated the active involvement of her parents in academic matters and in school activities.

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black students, particularly black male students, as well as social-psychological interactions with teachers who in several ways distanced themselves from the black male students or excluded them.

> ...there's a couple, um, although, um, in his [subject area] class, this year, he wanted to get out of it, because he was the only, he was the only African American in his [subject] class, yeah, he wanted to get out of it. But I made him stay. And he didn't do well...yeah, and, in, in his [subject] class. There were two other African American males. There probably were some females, but he doesn't talk about them [Lynne laughs a little] um, [tap of pen] he felt like the teacher used – used to discriminate against them, he—he, in his class, the, the African American males, cause he'd come home and say things like, "She doesn't believe me when I tell her something," you know [slight pause], "and she," you know, he'd say, "We got it all right and she thought we cheated," you know, stuff like that...

Lynne noted that her discussions with her parents about racial discrimination took place later in her life, when as an adult she understood the meaning behind some of the experiences that most disturbed her: leaving a white friend's house early before the father arrived home, the predominantly white high level classes, the teacher's assessment of her work, and her own children's encounters with racial discrimination in the same school system. She told me that it was only later in her life that she spoke with her father on this topic:

> Later on as an adult, you know, um, my father shared some situations he had as a young person growing up and basically he went through the same thing , you know, so, on one hand...because it was happening to my [children], and I guess maybe, you know, since I saw my parents achieve a level of success, I maybe unconsciously knew that, you know, um, you just go through this, you know, *this is the way it is*, you know, this is still a way to get wherever you want to get to...

"...didn't want to be alienated again"

Stephen was a student who graduated in the early 1990's. He is African American, and he grew up in the Moreland area. He spoke very fondly of the Moreland

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School, and told me he was "proud to be from Moreland," because they were "doing big things there," having won an award for its academic excellence and educational activities. It was "the black school in the district,"[265] and it had an African American man as principal. Stephen walked to school. He recalled that at the close of the school day, the principal, who knew his students well, would say goodbye to the students by name.

Stephen narrated experiences with inclusion early on in his elementary years, experiencing compatible subjectivities in terms of his sense of "self" as "student." His academic performance was above his grade level, so he took some subjects in classes with students in the older grades. He also participated in Moreland's Math Projects class which was an advanced math class offered as part of the school's magnet program, where he was one a very small number of African American boys in the class.

When he reached the older elementary grades, Stephen's parents transferred him from Moreland to a predominantly white school through the Shaker Schools Plan. He noted that his parents, his father especially, "thought there may have been more opportunities" at the predominantly white school. His father also felt that an academic focus was necessary for African American males before they left elementary school. At the new school, however, Stephen narrated an "encounter" with exclusion and a *competing* sense of self as "student." He told me there was "a whole different makeup"

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[265] During 1980-1981, one of the several years Stephen was at Moreland, the elementary school was 72 percent African American. Because of the district's voluntary busing program, a percentage of black students elected to attend predominantly white schools elsewhere in the district, and a percentage of white students from predominantly white schools elected to attend Moreland. The projected percentage of enrollment of black students at Moreland without the busing plan was estimated to be 96 percent. The other predominantly black school at that time was Ludlow School, which had 61 percent black enrollment and a projected percentage of 89 percent enrollment of African American students without the busing plan. [Memorandum and attachments from Jack P. Taylor, Superintendent of Schools, to Members of the Board of Education, January 5, 1981, regarding: State Guidelines for Desegregation. Library archives.]

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at the predominantly white school. He said he "hated" his experience at this school. Stephen told me, "I felt alienated, being [a] new kid, but also being [from] Moreland" further alienated his white classmates from him. He said that it was his "first experience being bullied." He told me his teacher had a negative attitude toward him, which was conveyed in differential scrutiny by race of student behavior. He noted, "kids are mischievous [in general] but it seemed like she picked on me." Like Diana, however, he wondered aloud that perhaps it was more a case of his imagining this, but then he went on to say that it seemed to him that his teacher "disciplined black kids differently." He felt the teacher was more lenient with white children. His time at the predominantly white school was not productive, he told me, and there was a "noticeable decrease in [my] achievement level."

Stephen's experience in the predominantly white school provided his first encounter with enactments of exclusion, and his subsequent academic experience revealed a splitting between "self" and "student." At the middle school and in his early years in high school he did not enroll in higher level courses. The middle school, like the predominantly white school Stephen had attended, took some getting used to in terms of there being more white students than Stephen was accustomed to at Moreland. He told me that "I was rapping then," that he was not focused on classes and grades, although he was active in the school band, which he enjoyed very much. He said, "I saw how much attention I was getting and that was my focus. [My] focus [was more] being popular than being smart." He noted that a lot of this solidified for him while he was in the predominantly white school, telling me, "To be black was to be – you had [to] be more cool than smart, you had to know how to fight." He told me that if you "succumbed to

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academia, you were an oreo." He said, "I had been alienated at [name of predominantly white school]; [I] didn't want to be alienated again."

Stephen's transition from within sites of educational privilege to outside them was dramatically halted the year he learned he would be held back from school. He told me, "That was the day the world stood still." While such an experience had the potential to deepen the experience of exclusion, several educators became closely involved with his academic progress and made strong connections with him during the year he repeated, and he was able to make further connections with more educators during the years that followed. These connections, as Diana narrated, buffered (Cross, 1991) those encounters with exclusion that occurred subsequently and strengthened his view of himself as a "student."

Stephen narrated *enactments of inclusion* and encouragement, as well as educators pushing him toward greater academic engagement. He experienced very strong connections with several other educators in the building, including counselors (not his assigned counselor) who helped him access a college related academic opportunity, and several teachers, as well as a very close relationship with the principal, whom he felt was very much responsible for his re-engagement with academics. These individuals deflected the enactments of exclusion and competing subjectivities that he continued to encounter as a black student, particularly a black male student re-entering sites of academic privilege. Stephen told me that in the one advanced placement course he elected to take in high school, he experienced inclusion and a compatible subjectivity as "student." He described this teacher as someone who valued his opinion and in whose

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class, where he was the only African American male student, he felt fully supported and included.

Stephen responded high for expectations ("a good amount," or 3) and opportunities ("a great deal," or 4). In terms of how much information and help Stephen got in learning about and taking advantage of the educational opportunities that were available to him, he selected "some" (or 2). He told me things improved after the PSAT scores came back "but then it was too late." He told me he "used to dread" meeting with his counselor. His counselor did not discuss opportunities at the different levels with Stephen and was "rather reluctant" to let him take an advanced placement course. Stephen told me that he "blew him out of the water" when he did well in the advanced placement course. In the end the counselor wrote him a recommendation for college.

Stephen responded that his experience as a student in the high school was "somewhat similar" to other African American students but he told me emphatically that it was "very dissimilar" to white students' experience. He told me that in general whites did very well in education. At the same time he also told me that white students' success "doesn't mean" that African Americans cannot be successful, but he said there was an existing system arranged "in your disfavor" as a black person.

Stephen narrated the influence of racial stereotypes on white people's interaction with African Americans. He narrated the consequences of anticipating the "other's" stereotypes, saying his mind was like a "hard drive in a computer" and that "some of my megabytes [get] filled up with being black and dealing with being black. White folks just [have to] be white." He noted it was "hard to overcome that." He talked about his workplace and "the power structure in management and in clients," particularly the older

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clients, who commented to his boss that Stephen speaks very well. He was outraged by the white superiority that continues to flourish, unchecked. He described encounters with whites as occurring at two levels: what is actually said and what is thought, creating an inter-racial interactional experience[266] where "duality is my reality." This experience of encounters with whites, where racial stereotypes informed whites' interactions was described to me by many African American participants, as was the kind of dissonance resulting from these "encounters."

When he first responded to my question asking him to define racial equality, Stephen told me, "at Shaker, for example, they spent a lot of money per student as far as education [pause] but to me public education can never be equal. Even though [we] all went to the same schools, attitude is everything, people's perceptions toward students and [their] desire to build rapport with students is the key that unlocks [the] door to [the students'] future."

Stephen then narrated a broader look at history. He talked about "separate but equal" and raised images of "white bathrooms" that were "pristine" and black bathrooms that were "substandard," applying the "separate but equal" motif to the vitality of the discrepant experiences of white and black students under the same roof of a school building and raising the specter of white superiority and privilege. He paused and referred to a line in my research participant consent form that states that the interview

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[266] Elizabeth G. Cohen (1975, 1984; Cohen and Roper, 1972) notes that even when students working in a cooperative group setting are of the same academic level and same socioeconomic status, if the members differ on race, that differential will create unequal status in the cooperative group. Cohen studies the "phenomenon of white dominance in interracial work groups" (Cohen and Roper, 1972, p. 644), which she calls "interracial interaction disability" (Cohen, 1975, p. 293).

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"may include some level of stress" due to the topic, acknowledging the stress he felt in talking about racial inequality.[267] He told me,

> I'm covering so many things—equal opportunities, but it can't be equal unless somehow I mean the teachers are able to connect. We're all in the same [institution] – make me feel like I'm a part! Don't make me feel that I'm here because something else...

In Stephen's narrative, he underscored his encounters with scripts of exclusion on the part of educators who accepted mutually exclusive stereotypes of white students as more competent and deserving than black students, privileging one group and marginalizing the other (Apfelbaum, 1979). Stephen's narrative reflected a movement away from sites of academic privilege as he experienced encounters with educators' enactments of exclusion. In this process, he experienced a splitting of "self" as "student" and a compatibility of "self" as deeply involved in the social life of his black peers—into music, rapping, and not academics. When Stephen became re-engaged with academics in the high school, he was also active in the formation of a group of African American male students, the Sons of Africa,[268] who met regularly to discuss racial injustice, black

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[267] While a number of my interviews reflected a level of emotion or stress as related to participants' thoughts or experience of racial equality, my interviews with several African American men left an indelible impression on me of the chasm that existed between my understanding of racial exclusion and their experience of it.

[268] The high school did not sanction the Sons of Africa group until some time after it was established. According to "'Sons of Africa' seek official sanctioning," by Jeremy Kahn and Ahmad Atwan, in the November 1, 1990, issue of the *Shakerite* (page one), the high school administration's policy that school sanctioned activities have open membership contrasted with the Sons of Africa's original intent, which the *Shakerite* notes was that "[t]he group was originally restricted to African American males, but it has now been opened up to African American females." In its early days of formation, the fall of 1990, it met in the basement.

The location of the basement as the meeting place of the Sons of Africa is significant in that it was also the site of programs designed to re-engage students in learning and assist them in their academic skills, such as the School-Within-a-School program and later the Humanities program. In the late 1980's through 2003, the Humanities program was predominantly African American. Additionally, the African American history course, taught by an African American male teacher,

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identity and activism, and to develop connections with other black-led activist organizations in the Cleveland area. In his movement from inside to outside and then back within the boundaries but still on the edge, he shifted in his narrative to an expression of deep affection and respect for those educators who had drawn him back into the site of academic privilege, a turbulent place for those black students who sustain the dissonance and choose to remain connected and engaged.

In addition to several teachers and counselors who were supportive, he told me that the principal was "very influential, very powerful." Stephen told me, "[He] looked at my PSAT scores and called me in. His approach with me, even in the 9th grade [was] 'I love you.' That got through to me—genuine love, as a father would have for his son," and he said that the principal conveyed this respect and affection toward Stephen throughout his years in high school, noting that the principal would "pull me in his office and we just talked." When I asked to what extent did the school system pay attention to racial equality, creating the possibility of transforming its schools and interrupting a history of unequal education, he told me,

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was held in the basement. The location of these majority black sites of diverse purposes in the school basement suggests the potential for the formulation of these sites (and in the case of School-Within-a-School and the Humanities program, which I have analyzed as sites of educational exclusion, the re-formulation of these sites) into sites of identity, regrouping (Apfelbaum, 1979), and resistance to existing relations of power.

It is important to note that the MAC Scholars program, established in 1991 with an emphasis on leadership and academics and focused on African American male students, which I have analyzed as a counteracting mechanism of inclusion, is also an activity largely limited to black male students. To my knowledge, this organization did not meet in the basement. While MAC Scholars was and is student led, and was narrated in a positive way by African American male students, its origins and its place in the district's focus on improving black student achievement through change in students themselves, are different from those of the Sons of Africa, which focused on institutional racism and political issues, in addition to self-change. The Sons of Africa changed its name in the 1991-1992 school year to the African American Cultural Society, according to a letter to the editor by Michael A. Simmons, "senior and co-founder of AACS," in the November 15, 1991, *Shakerite*, "Shaker ignores realities of racial problems," (page 5). It appears at some point, perhaps with its change of name, to have gained status as a school activity.

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> Shaker Heights school district provided a magnanimous light – the light in a sense was comprised of the teachers, you know, they were the force behind the light, the positive teachers and administrators, and in conjunction with the district's mission, it has made those of us who have taken advantage of it torchbearers...we can be the ones to bring about that positive change. For whatever it was worth, I could have taken advantage of more, but what I did take away is powerful to share with others.

The Next Generation: "that's when I saw like the light"

Lynne's daughter, Nika, who graduated from the high school around the middle 1990's, participated in the gifted "track," beginning with the Ludlow Special Projects gifted program, followed by advanced classes in the fifth through eighth grades and advanced placement in the high school. While Nika was within the boundaries of sites of educational privilege, she narrated an experience of being on the edge of those boundaries. She described her experience as tenuous, subject to enactments of exclusion by a number of educators, some white students and many black students. She persisted within sites of educational privilege, but she experienced competing subjectivities between her view of her self as "student" and her teachers' view of her. As a result, in this analysis I have positioned Nika's narrative in a desegregated social psychological "space" of encounter.

Nika responded very low to the question on expectations (1), but very high on opportunities (4) and information and help (4). On the latter, she told me that her mother, Lynne, having been a student in the system in the late 1960's, had requested for Nika a guidance counselor. Lynne herself told me that she knew this guidance counselor to have high expectations for her daughter and would see to it that Nika would be made aware of the educational opportunities that the high school offered. While Nika took all advanced placement courses in the high school, she also enrolled in a college preparatory class one

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year because the choice of teachers available at the honors and advanced placement level was such that she felt guaranteed to experience exclusion in the classroom.

Nika was eligible to participate in the Ludlow Special Projects, or gifted, magnet program in the 1980's, which her parents elected to have her do. In the fifth and sixth grade Woodbury of a recently reorganized district, Nika participated in the advanced courses in language arts and math. In Woodbury, she noted that the students were "a little older, and students, you know, kids start to realize the difference in race" and other forms of "difference," such as being pulled out of the classroom to participate in an advanced class. It was in Woodbury, Nika reported, that intra-racial splitting began to occur, as African American students who remained in the regular class and those being pulled out of class for advanced level school work began to experience distance from each other: "...when the kids see you get up and walk out the door, the other black kids like want to treat you different, but I don't think the white students – experienced that kind of thing, you know? But I, you know, you have to physically get out of your seat, you walk out, and you come back—later in the day..."

Nika noted that at the time that she was not too bothered by the way in which she was treated by the African American children who remained in the regular class. She said that close friendships fostered in the Ludlow special projects class with white children continued at Woodbury, and she felt at ease with the white students:

> I mean I was exposed to interacting with people of other races at a very early age, so I never really had this stigma attached to anyone that looked different than me. I really didn't see – a difference. It was no big deal. I got the—some of the worst treatment from black people, you know, I really didn't, I never was, there was never any like, I never got any racial comments from any white students, but I would get some negative comments, from black students, like "oh, you think you're better than everybody else" and "you think—," "you're that," "you're a nerd," "you're this," "you're that..."

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This conflict for Nika continued throughout her years in the system, escalating in middle school and not subsiding until senior year, when Nika found the divisions reduced and her black classmates, male and female, were friendly toward her and spoke about her academic accomplishments in ways that showed they valued them. In middle school and the three years before senior year, however, the critique was harsh toward Nika for her participation in higher level classes, particularly among the girls who were African American:

> It was the black girls, it was never the boys, and the girls were like, maybe they were jealous, I don't know, I really don't know but they would like call me an oreo, stuff like that, just because I was in those classes, and I was, *I don't care*, I'm gonna interact with the people I spend the whole day with, I, I don't care, you know.

Nika's comment, "maybe they were jealous, I don't know, I really don't know," has some similarities to the experience narrated by Jill, a white student, who several years after Nika, also left her homeroom class for a portion of the day to attend advanced classes in the fifth and sixth grades in Woodbury and like Nika, stayed in this advanced track throughout her middle and high school years. Jill was also very disturbed by the reaction of African American students in her class who resented her and the other white students' participation (no black students participated) in the advanced classes.

While both Nika and Jill experienced exclusion from African American students in their classes regarding their participation in the advanced classes, there appeared to be is a gap between them in terms of their understanding of the response of the "regularly tracked" black students. In this study, I theorize that this gap in experience is influenced by students' social psychological experience and their location in relation to sites of educational privilege. Jill narrated a segregated space of centrality and Nika, a

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desegregated space of encounter. These positionalities are not a result of level of effort, grades, or test scores. In this "encounter" space, Nika experienced and observed a level of vulnerability to encounters of exclusion and competing subjectivities as "student" that Jill did not. It is precisely because of Nika's experience that she had some understanding for the resentment of African American students toward their black peers for their participation in higher level classes. At the same time she was both irritated and deeply troubled by the resentment, as well as the enrollment patterns by race in the levels system, which reinforced mutually exclusive racial stereotypes. Nika's experience of exclusion within the higher level classes, particularly by educators, resulted in a level of dissonance for her throughout her years in the system, but particularly in the middle and high school years. Jill's narrative, on the other hand, did not reflect concerns about educational structures, her participation in them, or the possibility that inequality could play a role in the school system's education of black and white students.

Nika's first encounter with *competing subjectivities* of "self" as "student" and *enactment of exclusion* on the part of a teacher occurred in the middle school. Early in the school year an educator entered an advanced class she was taking and read a list of names of students. The students whose names were listed were all African American. The educator told the students that they were in the wrong class and asked them to leave the class and follow the individual to another class, the regular level class. The students, including Nika, left the class, now homogeneously white, and followed the educator into the regular class for that grade level. Nika tells me of the "shock" she experienced as this event unfolded:

> [The educator] called all the black students' names and told us – in front of the whole class – that we were in the wrong class, that we were supposed to be in the

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> other teacher's and [the educator] said [the other teacher's] name, and the other kids in the class knew that wasn't the enriched class, and I'm, and I'm thinking to myself, this is wrong, this is not—how could that be? And we were all kind of like embarrassed, you know, because why are you like singling—you're singling us out, number one, and then, you don't have to say, you can just say, "Oh, I need to see these students," you don't have to say, "You're in the wrong class"...and all of us were like, "What?!" Like [hands come down lightly on desk] and that doesn't make any sense, and I was – *mad*, I mean I was like *livid*.

Nika told me she knew the information was erroneous. She noted that the students in the class likely did too because many of these students had taken advanced classes together in Ludlow and then Woodbury. She narrated her anger that the error was tied to a racial stereotype that views African American students as academically inferior. She told me, "I knew it was racial the moment every single black student in that class, no one else's name, only—not—and it wasn't like they called all but one black student, it was every single one." The action, taken by a person of authority in the school, reinforced the racial stereotype of whites as more competent and deserving than black students. The impact of this reinforced stereotype affected the white students who remained in the advanced class, the white and black students in the regular class, and most intensely, the black students who were taken out of the class. According to Nika, most of the students who were removed from the class did not return. She recounted the academic repercussions for these students: "when I got to 9th grade, they weren't even, they weren't in my AP classes, it's like they were, like de-tracked, kind of like...they took some honors classes but not AP...one of them took some CP..." For herself, Nika noted the consequences of the experience in returning to a class of white students, telling me, "and then what do they think of *me* after the fact? You know? Do they think that I'm incompetent...what do they think? Or am I there just because I'm *black*, just to be a token."

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The consequence of this act of exclusion was not only in the promulgation of a racial stereotype about African Americans not belonging in sites of educational privilege. It was also the reinforcement of a racial stereotype of whites as appropriately positioned in the sites of educational privilege. The message was not conveyed explicitly; instead it was communicated through the logical deduction from an experience such as Nika's. As Nika pointed out, not one white student was removed from the advanced class. The next day only Nika and one other student returned to the class. The other students did not return, as a result of this and likely other experiences with exclusion.

Nika's narration of her anger and clear sense that the decision was flawed due to a kind of institutional racial profiling underscored her experience of the inherent conflict in an institution committed to racial equality that finds its efforts concomitantly impeded through the boundaries it establishes in its educational structures and through the enactment of social psychological exclusion within its classrooms. The academic levels and enactments of exclusion reinforce each other to create a powerful deterrent for African American students accessing sites of educational privilege in an "open" enrollment system. Nika told me she went home that night to her family and reported what had happened. They immediately responded by calling the school and a correction was made, with many apologies. Nevertheless, the experienced shattered her own sense of comfort with the system. She notes,

> That's when I saw like the light, I saw really what was going on in that whole school system, it's like, they showed their face pretty much, and, I mean, if you don't really, if you don't get hit like that, then you're naïve, you don't even know, and you just let it go, you don't do anything because you think there's nothing to do, you think you're in the right place and you're not.

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The experience, like other moments of disjuncture described by black students and parents as "shocking," produced a critical awareness of how equality was impeded. Nika's narrative, then, is an "*encounter*" as Cross (1991) would theorize, causing a "*jolt*" and changing one's "world view." As Nika said, "that's when I saw like the light." Nika noted that her awareness was increased by her own observation of other African American and white students, and how their experiences, split by race, deviated in the high school:

> I noticed like at that point [snaps fingers] that's when it started – I was, started to have more talks with my mom about things that were going on, cause as I got a little older, when I was in high school, I noticed that like, that was the point where the mix of the students, like I told you how those other students stayed back in the [middle school class], they just stayed back forever. And I realized that, then I saw like that happened to younger students, people that I knew that were like maybe a grade behind me, you know...I know who's in the enriched [classes]...you kind of see it changes a little bit and you notice that the number of black males that are doing these challenging courses starts to drop off, from when I was in the 9th through the 12th grade, every year, somebody's dropping off, like in my AP math class, it got to the point where I think there was one black boy...but you notice that they fall off—and, they'll *add* more white students, they'll, they'll bump them up from honors to AP, you know, or they'll, they'll *encourage* them, but they don't encourage the black students. They're kind of *dis*couraged, they actually will discourage them, things like pulling me out of that [advanced level] class, they're you go! You're sitting there telling me I can't achieve at this level, and then some of those kids buy into it, and they believe it.

Nika told me that forms of "discouragement" included teachers or counselors asking students whether they are sure they can "handle" the academic work involved in taking a higher level course or interactions in the class between the teacher and the student that are not positive nor supportive. Nika noted, "they tried to *suck* the black males out, at, in the middle school, so that you can't even get in, like I said, it's like either you're in or you're out, so they want them out, before they even get to the high school." Additionally, there was a lack of clarity in terms of when prerequisite courses were

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necessary and when they could be waived. She told me, "I mean, like, some, some students that I knew – could do that work but they were in CP because no one ever sat there and told them that they *could* take that class, they made you think that if you didn't start with AP in the 9th grade, or if you weren't in enriched in the 8th grade, you couldn't get in, kind of like, it's this exclusive club membership—you know if you're not a member by this time, then you just can't be at all."

Like several other black and white students, she noted that even when a student might have the prerequisite knowledge, the policy of one department of using the same teacher and same group of students for a three year sequence in an advanced class created difficulties for those students coming in new to that level: "so if you want to try to jump in the 11th grade, it's kind of hard—it's kind of tough because the teacher is so used to all the rest of the students, it's like you never have to start, like at the beginning of the year, you usually have to start all over, if you have a new group of kids, everybody's new—but like we never went through all that protocol, like ok, these are the rules, these are the procedure, these are the expectations—we just *jump* right in from the first day, all the way through the 12th grade, so it's kind of like, if you were lacking in some area, then you might struggle because you didn't have what we had...a continuing, like one long continuing course." Nika noted that in fact several African Americans had come into the class in 11th grade but did not remain in the class. Nika noted that in general, the group of students in the AP track was the same year after year, noting, "a lot of those students that were in that 12 AP, were the ones that were in AP chem, and those kids were the same ones that I went to Ludlow with in Special Projects, the same ones in my pull-out

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program for the advanced...[classes] at Woodbury...but it was interesting, I mean it's interesting because they all just stuck together." [269]

At the same time as Nika described the racial composition and dynamics of the advanced placement level classes, she also told me about the boundaries within the African American student body that separated and categorized, or "marked" (Apfelbaum, 1979) students. She noted that there were three major groups among African American students: the black students in the honors classes and advanced placement classes, those in the college preparatory classes, and "The Cru." The latter she told me was a group of about 100 students or so, across grades in the high school, who hung out together in school and after school. She told me, "The Cru, these students have too much of a presence in that school, too much of an influence to the point where I think some faculty and administrators *fear* those students." Her description of the exclusive nature of this group, the "Cru," sounds vaguely familiar of her description of the exclusivity of the advanced placement track:

> It was kind of like, an *exclusive* club, like you couldn't get in—if you weren't already in from the beginning, you couldn't be pulled in by association or anything because they had already labeled you the way that you were.

In Nika's landscape of social relations within a desegregated school, the consequences of years of participation in educational structures and encounters with inclusion or exclusion have vastly different influences on the formation of young people's understanding of self in relation to other, those within one's racial group and those outside it. Socially and academically these influences position students in very

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[269] In transcribing this statement, I replayed the tape several times because Nika used the word "they" instead of the "we" I expected, revealing a level of distance on her part toward the predominantly white advanced placement class with whom she spent most of her school-age years.

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different places in relation to sites of educational privilege and inform their understanding of racial equality in varying ways.

As a result of Nika's experience of a desegregated space of encounter within sites of educational privilege, she had a strong sense that racial equality did not exist in the Shaker schools, nor in the larger society. Her persistence in taking advanced placement classes and in dealing with the dissonance created by encounters with exclusion put her at odds with many of her black peers, and during high school she felt disconnected from them. This was evident in her narrative. It was also evident in her response to the Inclusion in Ingroup Scale, in which she responded with a 4 (low connections) in terms of the strength of her connections with other black students in high school and a 5 (high connections) in terms of the strength of her connections with whites in high school. For the comparison question between her experience and other black students, she responded, "very dissimilar," and compared to whites, "somewhat dissimilar" with an interval of one between these responses. As a result, her experience was one of isolation—from whites and from blacks. When I asked her to define racial equality in public education, she told me,

> Racial equality in public education um, to me it means equal access to everything, from – um, the best teachers to courses, to resources, to technology—calculators, books, you know, clean buildings, transportation, you know – and equal expectations...like no—you can't dumb down because a student is a certain color.

Nika's definition of racially equality is remarkably close to her mother's response, after Lynne narrated her experience as a student in the high school in late 1960's. Lynne had told me in response to the same question on racial equality,

> I think one of the most important things impacting equality is expectations, and it boils down to within a classroom, what are a teacher's [light thud, like a finger tap] expectations? And you know that's colored by eh, a lot of things, it doesn't

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> have to just have to do with race, but just a teacher who has whatever their expectations of whatever students they have for whatever reasons, you know, but just expectations. And I think that um — in order to achieve, educational equality – [speaks very slowly, deliberately with pauses between each word] we have to find a way to be more selective in who we – give the charge of influencing kids.

As mentioned earlier, Nika's mother, Lynne, also attended the Shaker system, graduating in the middle to late 1960's. In this span of a generation between mother and daughter, enactments of exclusion persisted and racial stereotypes were not sufficiently contradicted by the determined presence of African American students like Nika. Lynne herself had narrated encounters with exclusion and competing subjectivities about self as "student" from a teacher in one of her advanced placement classes when she was in high school in the 1960's.

In the narrative of Lynne's daughter, Nika, is evident the lack of transformation within a system where educational structures and enactments of inclusion or exclusion reinforced mutually exclusive racial stereotypes concerning achievement and motivation. Nika, too, encountered a teacher in a high level class who would not assess her papers above a grade of a B. Another black student in the class encountered the same experience. In the interview, Nika narrated her mother's experience, a generation later, telling me,

> And I didn't understand like – no matter what I always got a B and there was another black girl in my class. She always got a B too, like [the teacher] never wanted to give us an A...that was one particular teacher...you could feel that [the teacher] treated you differently...not really do it overtly but, but it was there, it's kind of like...[the teacher] wasn't very open to helping you or, you know, you didn't feel very comfortable.

At the same time, Nika responded very differently to her encounter with exclusion than her mother did. Nika was angry and had a clear sense of racial exclusion, which her

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mother experienced only much later in life. Within a desegregated school system, Nika's expectation of equal treatment was not what she experienced, and from the "shock" emerged her understanding of racial inequality in the school system. The patterns of exclusion and of competing subjectivities as "student," producing a social psychological "space" of encounter, were evident in the narratives of many of the black students I interviewed. I noted this pattern of mother-daughter experiences in my interview with Lynne.

> Anne: um, well, I guess I'm just thinking generall—gen—generalation—I can't get that word out, but you know, generation by generation, um, you know, you have that experience
>
> Lynne: um-hmm
>
> Anne: and so, and then your *daughter* has it
>
> Lynne: right
>
> Anne: and, and it, and, and, um, kind of this um, this historical [slight pause] thing that you know, must be carried – [takes a breath] *with* you, so that when it happens to your own child, it must, it must hurt even more, it must, you know, the, the—
>
> Lynne: that, I've le—learned what – what I call institutional racism
>
> Anne: yeah
>
> Lynne: yeah, and it's, it's there,
>
> Anne: but was that a learning in high school?
>
> Lynne: I didn't, no, I didn't understand
>
> Anne: you didn't understand it
> Lynne: until after high school

"it basically came from myself"

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Julie is an African American student who graduated from the high school in the late 1990's. She remembered Lomond fondly where she began her elementary school, and she enjoyed her fifth and sixth grade years at Woodbury as well as the Middle School. She told me about her school work: "I thought it was easy, and also um, as far as the effort, you know that goes into another thing, so like to me, each level I got better as far as, you know, from going from Woodbury to the Middle School, middle school to high school, high school to college, um, as far as—how much, you know, effort you put into, but I thought the work was definitely doable, it wasn't a challenge or anything like that."

While Julie did not find her schoolwork to be a challenge, she also found that she was not encouraged or pushed to consider enrolling in higher level classes. It was not until she was in tenth grade in the high school that she took her first honors class (level four), a math class. In ninth grade, she had consulted her teacher about taking honors math. She told me that her math teacher recommended she not move into the higher level math in ninth grade. At the close of the year, Julie had a different math teacher due to some changes in staffing, and this teacher agreed she should take honors level math the following year. After that point she took more honors level classes and felt the work was well within her reach.

> Well, I remember in sixth grade um we had, they had, as far as our classes went, I remember, that every teacher had gave, like each student, a printout of the type of classes we should take, which would be, you know, right for our level. I had no idea college prep, honors, you know, I had no—you know, all of my were college prep, I had no idea what they meant. So, um, I basically went on what the teacher gave me, and I really didn't get into the honors classes until I went to the high school, cause it didn't seem as if – I wasn't, as far as, with my, my teachers, I wasn't actually like really encouraged, like, you know, "take this—the honors and the advanced classes," I had basically taken the initiative myself when I got into the high school.

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In her first year of high school, Julie participated in the Bridges program,[270] which she describes to me as,

> Basically you had, I believe it was four teachers and um they were all—when for example in science, if you were learning something in science you might be learning like that math concept in math, same thing with like social studies and English. The only thing, I mean, it was really easy, I got all A's in the Bridges, but to me once you got to 10th grade, it was, it was kind of like they were like nurturing you , and, to me, it's easier, well for me, it's easier to just throw me out there, it's like, you know, learn on my own...

Julie said that leaving the Bridges program and going into the regular level classes and the honors math class was "a shock" in terms of the rigor of the classwork and expectations for students. She told me that ultimately "it wasn't that big of a deal." In Julie's narrative, then, is the student's competing subjectivity where she sees herself as a more capable "student" than her first math teacher and her guidance counselor did. She took the initiative, along with parent support that she frequently narrated, and she employed the "open" system as most white and some black students do. However, once in the honors classes, she was isolated from most of her black peers. Having overcome the structural boundaries involved in moving from one level into a higher level, she then encountered social psychological boundaries in the isolation of her position as one of a few African American students or the only one.

Given all that Julie told me, I expected that she would be counseled into higher levels of courses in her tenth grade in high school. Perhaps her participation in the Bridges program was not only too easy for her, but it may have "marked" her as a certain

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[270] The Bridges program was developed in the 1990's, and is a transitional program for ninth grade students. It provides a high level of teacher support, smaller class sizes, more communication across team of teachers, and includes classes primarily at the college preparatory level. For the 2002-2003 school year, students could also elect to take an honors class during their year in the Bridges program.

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level of student in such a way that her guidance counselor was not convinced that she could take honors level math. She told me,

> I actually, well, my, my 9th grade counselor had, well, I had took all CP classes my 9th grade year, and I wanted to take um, up my math to honors, but, my, my math teacher said, well he suggested that I should just stay at the level that I was at...I knew myself, I could do [it]. As far as my counselor, she wasn't very, as far as when I was making my schedule for 10th grade, when I was choosing the classes, she wasn't very encouraging...I wanted to take the honors classes again [tap] and she had told me that, you know, well maybe I should stick at the CP level classes—I took them anyway, but um, basically, it, it basically came from myself...when I did the class, she was surprised at the grades I got, she was, you know, all these are great, but you know beforehand it was "No, you shouldn't take them."

Julie responded positively to the questions on expectations, opportunities, and information and assistance, responding "a good amount," (or 3) to each of these questions. She did not see her experience as typical of most black students, responding "somewhat dissimilar" to other blacks, and she credited her parents for their insistence on high grades and persistent school work. She compared her experience to white students as "somewhat similar." At the same time, her connections to black students were much stronger than to white students. She selected a high strength of connections to black students (6.5 on the IIS scale) and low for her strength of connections to white students (3 on the IIS scale). Julie narrated her experience of isolation in the honors classes:[271]

> At first you don't think about it, but...I don't know, you're just sitting there, and the teacher is talking and you just look around and it's just like, you know, "I'm

[271] The exception to this was African American history. A number of black students reported taking this class. No white student reported taking it, and Mark, who narrated his preference for desegregated settings, told me about the course that, "it's like, kind of like ah, I mean I'm sure a lot of white kids would want to take it, but like, it's sort of, you'd feel, like you didn't belong and you'd feel like people were looking at you and telling you, 'you should,' [or] 'why are you in this class?'" Mark noted that if the class were required, then he would not feel so uncomfortable taking it. While the loss for white students is evident, there is the possibility that the course provides some much needed "breathing space" for black students interested in studying and discussing black history among black peers.

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> the only black person sitting in the class." I mean it just feels weird, but you're just thinking about, you just think about it, and it's just – it's a, it's a little shocking. But then again, it's not, just because, you know, like I said before, I wasn't really encouraged. I had to take it, you know, upon myself to take those classes, so it was just – in a way I think, I mean, it's discouraging no one's encouraging you and no one's backing you up, you don't want to take those classes, and honestly to me, it was – I didn't see the change as far as you know academics between the CP and honors classes, it wasn't that big of a—to me, it wasn't that big of a deal, right, but – I think as far as, you, know black people in the high school, you're not really encouraged to take those classes...it's kind of sad, you know, when you think about it, but – at least I know I'm in there, you know. Maybe someone might see me in the honors classes and might, you know, want to join, but it's, it's kind of weird being the only person there, so...

Julie's narrative corroborates Nika's statement regarding educators who "don't encourage the black students." While Julie's teacher and counselor might have felt that their best professional advice to Julie was to stay at the college preparatory level, they failed to exercise the basic premise argued in support of an "open" levels system: student (and parent) choice. Julie's narrative is reminiscent of the narrative of an educator who told me how in the early 1970's counselors systematically approached white students and their parents with the assumption that they would enroll in higher level courses and approached black students and their parents with concerns about their ability to "handle" the rigor of the higher levels. Thirty years later it was not uncommon to hear students were narrating similar encounters.

Julie's experience of pushing herself into predominantly white honors classes appears to have strengthened her subjectivity as "student." She told me that while initially the workload was "shocking" because it was heavier than in the Bridges program, she found she performed academically well in the classes. Nevertheless, she used the language of "shock" common in narratives of encounter when she talks about the racial isolation of the higher level classes for black students. In this sense, the social

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psychological experience of *exclusion* persisted in the classroom and in the larger school context, where mutually exclusive racial stereotypes were contradicted infrequently. Julie narrated increased educational opportunities and high academic outcomes, a goal of the district; however, her advancement was accomplished not through educational structures or enactments of inclusion but through Julie's persistence and her parent support.

"[in] history, most of the black kids are in my class – and English, there is – only one white kid in that class"

While Julie narrated her decision to override her teacher and counselor's view of her as "student," and to enroll in honors classes, other black students narrated a graduate withdrawal from high level classes, beginning in the middle school and then into the high school. Keith is an African American student who attended Fernway after the district reorganized and was a high school student in the early 2000's. Keith was enrolled in advanced classes in the middle school in science, math, and English. In the early part of the year in 7th grade, he withdrew from the advanced science class as a result of feeling overwhelmed with choosing a science fair research project and anticipating the independent work required for the research fair.[272] He told me, "cause we had to do like science fair and stuff like that...I stayed with the college prep science, I still got good

[272] The amount of independent work in preparation for the science fair and in understanding the research process often is the cause for students choosing to leave the advanced level and take the college preparatory science program. More recent changes to the science fair project, such as using the seventh grade curriculum for an introduction and development of a science fair project and the eighth grade curriculum for the implementation of the science fair project appear to have been introduced to retain more students, particularly African American students, who enroll in this class in lower numbers than European American students.

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grades in, but I stayed in honors math and honors English, even though honors English was my hardest subject in 7th grade."

Sometime in eighth or ninth grade he moved from advanced English to college prep English but he remained in honors math. In this analysis, Keith is in transition from being on the edge of the sites of educational privilege to moving some distance farther outward. He did not narrate direct encounters with exclusion. In both the advanced level classes and the subsequent college preparatory level classes he appeared to be engaged in school work and connected with teachers. For example, he told me that one of his teachers in the middle school in a higher level class "was very, very challenging" and "nice." He told me further about his decision to move out of the advanced science class,

> Keith: I dropped, I went out of the um honors science just because of science fair...cause I just couldn't think of anything to do, really and it was like experiments, kind of hard
>
> Anne: so, what was it, in the middle of the year you, you decided this wasn't, you know,
>
> Keith: yeah, probably by the, before second, before the end, in like, when the second quarter started...[the counselors] send something home to your parents to see if it's ok with them. I talked to my parents before that
>
> Anne: right, so they knew that [the counselor] was gonna call and
>
> Keith: yeah
>
> Anne: ok, and then in 8th grade, did you stay with the college prep science or did you, decide to
>
> Keith: yeah, I stayed with the college prep science
>
> Anne: ok
>
> Keith: I should have went up
>
> Anne: you think so,

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Keith: yeah, I still got good grades

While Keith appeared unperturbed by the turn of events that have resulted in his opting for college prep classes except in math, he also appeared to recognize he had the academic skills necessary to handle a higher level class, as he indicated in his assessment that he should have returned to the higher level science. At the same time, he did not view himself in the same way he viewed white students in the higher level classes. While he told me his experience was somewhat dissimilar from other black students with whom he was in the college prep classes, and while he considered himself "smart," he was unwilling to position himself in the same place as the white students he also saw as "smart." He saw his experience as "somewhat dissimilar" from other black students but "very dissimilar" from the experience of white students. He told me,

> Keith: the smart kids, they're predominantly white, or they at least seem it, whatever. I don't think black kids like to show it, that they're more intelligent just because of, I don't know, maybe somebody will be embarrassed to say that they're smart or something like that
>
> Anne: right, right [slight pause] whereas the white kids, that's
>
> Keith: yeah
>
> Anne: no big deal?
>
> Keith: yeah
>
> Anne: ok. I mean, is that, is that a pressure that you feel, like you know, when you are like in the honors classes, and that, you know,
>
> Keith: sometimes, some of them are like, "oh, you're smart" or something like that, um, I don't know, yeah sometimes, but I, like, I help a lot of kids and stuff, like in some of my classes, so [slight pause] I don't know they'll look at me as smart, a lot of my friends
>
> Anne: um-hmm, so it's not a problem for you, then, is what your saying [he nods "yes"] right. Ok, ok

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Keith narrated a great deal of personal satisfaction with the high school and his experience there. He responded very positively to the questions on expectations ("a good amount," or 3), opportunities (a great deal," or 4), and information and assistance ("a lot," or 4). Keith told me that the educational opportunities in particular that he had benefited from were the conference period held immediately after dismissal, where teachers assist students with questions on the subject matter or in preparation for class tests; the tutoring center, open several days a week in the high school library with tutors who can work one on one or in small groups with students; and the tutors who are available to work in small groups with students once a week during an elective period. Keith saw himself as strongly connected to white and black students. He told me his best friend was a white student. On the Inclusion of Ingroup in Self scale, he selected 6 (high connections are 5 through 7) for the strength of his connections to his ingroup and 5 (high connections) for the strength of connections to whites. The gap between these responses, an interval of one, is narrow. When I asked where in the high school were the connections with other black students the strongest, he told me,[273]

[273] In my use of the semi-structured interview protocol, I had been asking students and parents more broadly where their connections to their ingroup and outgroup were strongest: home, school, place of worship, etc. However, as a result of the clear identification by Keith of the specific spaces where his connections to whites were strongest (honors math) and where his connections to blacks were strongest (college prep English), I changed the question in the student protocol to read "Where were these connections strongest in school—in what class, activity, or physical space in the school were they the strongest?" Responses to this question after I changed its wording were often similar to Keith's and gave me a closer look at the segregation by levels in the high school and the way in which students selected levels often for social reasons and the desire to feel comfortable with others with whom they felt most strongly connected. While white and black students both report that social connections play a part in their self-selecting into the higher level of classes, white students suffer fewer negative academic consequences in their selection. The enrollment patterns of the levels system by race result in black students benefiting less fully from educational opportunities available in the high school, particularly through the advanced level classes. Additionally, because historically white majority honors and advanced placement classes have continued as predominantly white and college preparatory classes are predominantly black, the peer pressure to remain with one's friends not only has academic

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Keith: gym [he laughs a little] gym, and then – maybe some of my classes

Anne: ok [slight pause]. What classes, in particular, any one in particular?

Keith: history

Anne: and why is that?

Keith: most of the black kids are in my class

Anne: ok

Keith: and English, there is – only one white kid in that class

Keith told me that his connections to white students were strongest in his honors classes, which was math, whereas in the past it was also English and science. He noted that his best friend was white, a student he met in middle school. In the heavily stratified social context of the high school, where the levels system supports the formation of categories of "smart," "motivated," "average," or "lazy," the enrollment at the different levels reinforces these categories as racial stereotypes. When Keith was enrolled in higher level classes in the middle school, he attended classes that were predominantly white. Later, at the high school he encountered white students on a less frequent basis in his classes. While Keith appeared secure in his sense of self as "student," he narrated the social constraints on a black male in not acting "smart" like white students. At the same time, he did not appear willing to jeopardize his 3.2 grade average, and he continued to take courses in the honors level math.

In this sense, Keith narrated his navigation of segregated educational structures and social-psychological boundaries with whites and with blacks. He did not narrate exclusion nor did he narrate an experience of dissonance in terms of self as "student." At

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consequences but also reinforces the view that white peers support academic engagement and black peers do not.

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the same time, he was aware of an inequality between blacks and whites in terms of accessing educational opportunities and producing academic outcomes. Although he told me that he should have selected the higher level of science the following year he moved to college preparatory, he did not express concerns about whether he was significantly challenging himself and taking advantage of the academic opportunities available to him. As disturbing as Julie's narrative was about being the only black student in her honors science class, and one of a few black students in other honors classes, equally disturbing is a college preparatory English class with only one white student. Additionally, in Keith's narrative it is evident how the segregation in the levels has a consequence of influencing student selection based on classes where students' connections with their racial ingroup is strongest.

Like Julie, then, Keith was in a position of isolation in terms of his subjectivity of "self" as "student." He compared his experience in the high school as "somewhat dissimilar" to other black students and "very dissimilar" to white students. When I asked him to talk about why he made those selections he noted,

> Keith: I don't think there is anything racial things that go on, that go on in the classroom, it's just that like my dad is always telling me that just because I'm black, that I always have to do [slight pause] better than all the other white kids in my class, just to get to college or something like that, just to [slight pause] show that I'm smart or something like that...
>
> Anne: and has that information been useful to you? Has that helped you?
>
> Keith: yeah.
>
> Anne: ok
>
> Keith: It's helped me learn a lot about how things are and [slight pause] it's, it's sometimes true [pause] like sometimes, just because I'm black like someone might not think that I'm doing well or something like that

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However, unlike Julie, Keith described strong connections with white and black students, and his participation in higher level classes and college preparatory classes provided him with friendships and social contacts with students in both racial groups. He saw himself as being "smart," and noted social norms among black students precluded his "acting smart." Nevertheless, it did not appear to be problematic in his relationship with his friends who were African American; it actually proved to be very useful in his having the subject area knowledge and skills to help his friends.

Keith told me what racial equality meant to him: "everyone's treated equally, like looked at the same and not stereotype the kids or something like that, or just like, don't just like say something about someone if you know nothing about him, talk to him about it, get to know the person or something like that." He felt that the high school was a setting in which black and white kids could get to know each other. However, he narrated a concern about programs that focused entirely on African American students, noting that it had the potential to reinforce the stereotype of black students not as academically skilled as white students.

> ...the only thing is just that a little, like [slight pause], they acknowledge it a little bit too much, just by like, just by making like, like, it's just like it's normally that most of the white kids get the higher GPA's and stuff like that, so it seems like they make like programs for black kids for like, just like, who's getting the higher achievement within the black kids, not just like within the whole school, like, they make this, sometimes they make special programs for just African Americans...

While Keith narrated racial inequality in the high school and wider society, he did not make a link between his withdrawing from advanced classes or the small number of African American males in these classes. Unlike Lynne, Stephen, Nika and to some extent Julie, who narrated an encounter of competing subjectivities as "student," Keith did not narrate exclusion and dissonance. At the same time he was conscious of

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difference in the extent to which white and black students accessed educational opportunities, produced academic outcomes, and engendered social power.

In summary, Keith's narrative reflects a comfort level he had in the high school, but it left me uncertain as to the extent that he was fully benefiting from sites of educational privilege, which created some questions for me in terms of where his narrative would be best positioned in this analysis. While his narrative was clearly not one of marginality, it did not suggest centrality either. As a result, I located his narrative within the social psychological space of "encounter." His own admission "I stayed with the college prep science, I should have went up...I still got good grades" reflects too closely the pattern of exit among African American students, particularly male students, from the higher level classes in middle school. Nika expressed this pattern vividly when she told me, "they tried to *suck* the black males out, at, in the middle school...so they want them out, before they even get to the high school." While Keith did not refer to a "they" or narrate a specific encounter with exclusion, neither did he narrate a counselor or teacher raising questions or concerns about his withdrawal from the higher level science and English classes.

White Students Experience of "Encounter"

The European American students who narrated an experience of encounter and dissonance experienced competing subjectivities of "self" as "white." Their experience of competing subjectivities and the accompanying dissonance emerged from some form of encounter that was "startling" or "shocking." Helms (1990) describes the development

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of a "healthy White identity" as involving moments of encounter and dissonance. She defines this identity as involving the following:

> ...he or she must accept his or her own Whiteness, the cultural implications of being White, and define a view of Self as a racial being that does not depend on the perceived superiority of one racial group over another (Helms, 1990, page 49)

Helms notes there are two major stages of developing this identity: first, there is the "abandonment of racism" and second, the "development of a non-racist White identity" (page 49). Within the first stage, or set of processes, there is an individual's "conscious, though conflicted, acknowledgement of Whiteness" (page 50). Referencing Rogers' work (1951) on "incongruence" in self-actualization personality theory and Festinger's work (1957) on "dissonance," she theorizes that a way in which white individuals attempt to reduce the conflict of encountering one's "Whiteness" is by the following: "(a) avoiding further contact with Blacks (changing a behavior), (b) attempting to convince significant others in her or his environment that Blacks are not so inferior (changing an environmental belief), or (c) seeking information from Blacks and Whites to the effect that either racism is not the White person's fault or does not really exist (adding new beliefs)" (page 59).[274]

For the white students who narrated encounter and dissonance within sites of educational privilege that were desegregated, it was this dissonance that made it more

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[274] While some white students positioned in the social psychological space of centrality narrated a brief encounter with dissonance, their participation in educational structures that were predominantly white provided settings in which they could achieve the first response (a) that Helms describes as reducing their contact with black students. Additionally, the argument that educational opportunity exists in the school system as a result of the desegregation of the buildings and the "open" enrollment of the levels system provided a discourse in which Helms' third response (c) of narrating racism as no longer present or no longer the fault of white people could be achieved. Aspects of these responses are reflected in some, but not all, of the narratives of white students' experience as located in this analysis in the "segregated space of centrality."

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likely they were able to move into her second stage, which is "defining a non-racist White identity." One of the processes within this stage includes an "encounter" that is "personally jarring" or several encounters that Helms characterizes as "painful or insightful" (page 60), including changes in the "environmental racial climate" (page 65), such as the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's, or as narrated by a teacher and a student in this study, the Rodney King decision in 1992. Helms wrote that within this stage there are shifts in an individual's thinking and beliefs. Early on there may still be a tendency to look "to Black rather than White people to explain racism and [seek] solutions for it in hypothetical Black cultural dysfunctionalities" (page 61). Later on there is a shift in objectives, where "[c]hanging Black people is no longer the focus...but rather the goal of changing white people becomes salient" (Helms, 1990, page 62). April Burns (2003) theorizes this as moving from "privilege to responsibility."[275] Although there was great variation in the extent to which white students in a desegregated space of "encounter" narrated this focus, there was evidence in their narratives of some understanding of the privilege accorded to whites and approaching some level of responsibility as a white person to engage in thinking and behavior that no longer preserved this privilege.

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[275] April Burns, a graduate student at the City University of New York Graduate Center, social personality psychology program, is conducting focus group sessions with white students from middle class and affluent backgrounds in her study of white students' views on race, schooling, privilege and exclusion. Among the many important findings is the emergence of a narration of privilege by white students with varying degrees of understanding the implications of that privilege in terms of racial equality. This is part of a project led by Michelle Fine, involving graduate students who are currently working with white, black, multi-racial, and Latino high school students from diverse economic and school experiences (urban and suburban, segregated and desegregated, tracked and untracked) in a participatory research project on the gap between students of color and white students in terms of test scores, grade point average, and participation in high level academic work. The high school students developed the research questions and data collection methods and are involved in the collecting and analyzing of the data as well as the reporting of the findings (Fine, M., Ayala, J., Bloom, J., Burns, A., Chajet, L., Guishard, M., Payne, Y., Perkins-Munn, T., Smith, K., & Torre, M. E., 2003).

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The white participants who narrated experiences of encounter and dissonance within desegregated sites of educational privilege described a competing sense of self as "white" where they viewed themselves as "just" and the educational structures in which they participated also as "just." This view of self was incompatible with that of the black peers they encountered, who viewed the white students and the educational structures in which the white students participated as privileged. In this respect, these white students exhibited to varying degrees an awareness of the fallacy of "deservedness" and "competence" as it was promulgated in the mutually exclusive racial stereotypes influencing how people thought about race, achievement, and motivation. These students experienced a sense of racial equality that was very agitated, in that they were uncomfortable with the segregated classes and the exclusive nature of the educational structures in which they participated. It is important to note, however, that unlike the black students' experience of competing subjectivities of self as "student," white students' experience of competing subjectivities as "white" *did not* interfere with their inclusion at the sites of educational privilege nor did it jeopardize their sense of self as "student" or their academic status.

Participants whom I positioned in this category experienced compatibility in their sense of self as "student," and experienced enactments of inclusion from educators and other students in their classes (which were mostly higher level classes). At the same time, they narrated an "encounter" (Cross, 1991; Helms 1990) that shattered a view of the broader society as racially equal and in some way implicated them in the privilege accorded to whites. As a result, they were less certain of seeing themselves as situated in a just system of educational opportunity. These students expressed some level of struggle

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with their sense of self as "white," as a consequence of their ability to see the contradictions in the desegregated school system and the ways in which access to sites of educational privilege was impeded for black students while these sites were very accessible for themselves as white students.

"I knew where the line was drawn"

Judith, who is white, attended Shaker Heights High School, moving to the city from nearby Cleveland Heights and graduating in the middle 1960's. Judith responded positively on expectations ("a good amount," or 3), less affirmatively on opportunities ("some," or 2), and positively on information and assistance ("a good amount," or 3). She encountered social distance and dissonance upon her arrival to the city in her junior high years, as she tried unsuccessfully to adjust to her transition in social status from her many friendships and shared economic background with students at Cleveland Heights, compared to her less certain social status among more affluent students in Shaker Heights. Judith told me that in high school, "I wanted to be in a lot of different clubs, but I didn't have the courage to do it, and I never, I never really connected to Shaker. My heart was back in Cleveland Heights."

Judith also narrated some level of dissonance with self as "student," as related to her family's expectations of her schooling. When I asked what her parents' expectations of her in high school, she responded:

> ...to do well in life, in, academically, to, um [pause] um, to go to college, to get into a college. But sometimes my, you know when I didn't do well, I felt like they, you know, under, they put the goal down, well, then just go to secretarial school, you know, so, it was a mixed goal, which didn't help me...

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Judith narrated her high school years as academically a struggle for her. While she told me, "I came into my own in college," she noted that in high school, "you know, I wasn't, you know, your top academic student, so it wasn't something for me that the counselor is going to say, 'Oh we've got to get you into this top school,' and my parents were just hoping I'd go to school [she laughs]." Judith took college preparatory classes, and she told me she was well educated in these classes:

> I mean Shaker was very good, I mean they taught me how to write, they taught you the five paragraph essay, you know, how to do that, and um, how to do a term paper, you know they taught you that stuff, so you know, they were very good at that, how to diagram sentences, and all that [pause] but that was sort of an average, I think I was av—you know I don't remember what I'm, I know I had bright kids in my classes, like my English class and all that, but I don't think, I think it was only 3 levels, and I think I was on the average level...

For one subject, however, she was enrolled in a low level class, which was called "terminal," as in "terminal history." Judith told me, "It doesn't help one to know that you're sitting in a class called "terminal anything," you would say, "Ok, forget it, why bother anyway, if I'm terminal, I'm terminal, you know, then why study?" And I know I got a D in [subject area], so, that was not helpful, and then I had a tutor..."

Additionally, Judith narrated her awareness of "the color line" (Du Bois, 1903) as a social-psychological boundary limiting the extent of contact and affiliation she had with black students. When I asked Judith how similar or dissimilar her experience as a student in the high school was to African American students, she responded immediately, "very dissimilar." In Judith's selection of her strength of connections to white students, she selected high connections for white students (six on the IIS scale) and low on her connections with black students (three on the IIS scale) during her high school years. Judith herself talked extensively of the class distinctions in power between the wealthy

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white students at the high school and herself. Nevertheless, she still saw her experience as "very similar" to white students. She told me that the black students "were definitely the minority in the school." Her narrative suggested that "minority" did not simply mean fewer in number or in representation, but an unequal relationship of power between whites and blacks.

Judith narrated an encounter that appeared to produce a re-examination of self in relation to other and a level of dissonance, eliciting an awareness of racial exclusion. She told me she was invited for a date by an African American male student from one of her classes. He called her on the phone. Judith said, "He was a nice guy, you know, and I was definitely friends with him." Nevertheless, she told me, "I turned him down, because I knew where the line was drawn, and I just made up an excuse, like I'm sorry, I couldn't, I was busy." Judith said her parents, particularly her father, reacted strongly to her telling them about the invitation. She noted, "and my, we—you know, [laughs a little] I, I, I was in 10th grade when this happened...you know, so my *father*, who was definitely prejudiced, hit the ceiling, I mean he said, 'We're moving!' I said, 'Dad, I didn't accept. I'm not going out with him.' I mean he was just so angry."

Judith's view of herself in relation to the black student who asked her out appeared to be very straightforward early in her narrative. However, she noted later on that an event occurred that had the effect of making her question her views.

> I remember going to a party a few weeks later, and [name]—he asked me to dance, to a fast dance, we were dancing, and I was like, you know, "I probably shouldn't be doing this, but agh! You know, who cares?" I was having a good time, so [slight pause]. There was that *definite* barrier, you didn't cross the line. I don't know anybody who was white who dated anybody who was that, who was black, I mean I don't remember that going on...

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The "barrier" as narrated by Judith, and other's relationships across race was not just of difference but one of unequal power relations. Judith brought up the experience again later in the interview, in response to my asking her to identify some concrete experience that she felt was an instance of racial equality or inequality. She immediately responded,

> Well, I remember thinking, you know, with that incident that I told you with, when he asked me out, I thought that was very sad, I remember feeling badly, and, you know, not because I wasn't interested in him, dating, even if he were white, I didn't want to date him, but just because it is – it's sad, that was on my own personal level.

In this analysis, the sadness Judith articulates was personal but also appears to be a brush with her awareness of inequality. The ramifications of the "color line" were much broader, enough to cause her to narrate this experience over thirty years later, within the context of talking about racial inequality.

Judith returned to Shaker some time after college and raised her family here. Her son, Samuel, attended the high school approximately 25 years later. A graduate in the late 1980's, early 1990's, Samuel was also a participant in this study. Judith responded more positively about her son's experience of educational opportunities and racial diversity than her own experience. At the same time, Judith (like her son) noted that African American students did not necessarily experience the same positive academic and racially diverse experience. Judith compared her experience as a parent as "similar" to other white parents, but "very dissimilar" to black parents. She noted the experience of a friend who was African American who enrolled her son in a private school because "she said that um, he wasn't, in order to stay in Shaker and have friends, he could no longer study." She also told me about the loss of black students in the higher level

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classes as the students got older, noting the Special Projects program at Ludlow had several black students who did not remain in the high level "track."

> It was at Ludlow, when they were putting in magnet schools, and um, I remember a couple of the kids were in it, um, African American kids were in it, in the gifted program, but by 7th grade [slight pause] once they got to the junior high, they split—and they were friends with all the, you know, the white kids, and they, they started splitting off. And their grades dropped. When all the kids were AP tracked [coughs] they weren't in the AP track. They were in, like really average.

Judith did not elaborate on what kind of influences contributed to the "splitting" between high tracked white students and high tracked black students who began in junior high school to enroll in college preparatory or "average" classes, although her statement about her friend's son suggests pressure among black males to abandon study habits. For white parents with children in the high level classes, Judith felt they were very satisfied with their children's experience, telling me that for them, and for her as well, "There's no school like Shaker." However, she noted that white parents with children in the college preparatory classes were likely dissatisfied because their children were in predominantly black classes, and "white people don't want to be in the minority."

In terms of racial equality, Judith told me that to her it meant "that all children should have the same opportunity, they should be, you know, um encouraged, think that they can achieve." She felt where children were "held back" was in their families. She noted that "parents need to be educated," particular in terms of "how important reading is, how important it is to turn the TV off, how important it its to talk about issues, you know, to talk period. How important it is to role model, like what influences they have over their children." She told me,

> I, I, I find that the inequality, and, of, of our system, a major inequality of our system today...the children of poorly educated parents are already at a disadvantage before they even get to school and will continue to be because,

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parents are so poorly educated, and I don't know how to break those walls down...

Judith felt that her children encountered a different social world than her experience when she was a student in Shaker Heights High School. She was hopeful. She told me, "It's made them very different from us, you know, both my husband and I were much more sheltered as kids, much more, the lines were drawn. They, they didn't grow up with the same lines." Her son, Samuel, spoke powerfully also about the value of racial diversity and the impact it had on his view of himself and others. At the same time, Samuel was more critical of the educational structures of the school, and troubled over the way in which the mostly white educators in the high school, particularly in the high level classes, related with an ease to white students but not black students. In Samuel's narrative, the transformative nature of the school system was tethered to a "split" in educational consequences, producing substantially different academic consequences for black and white students.

Judith's narrative reveals much less contact and affiliation with black students. Judith did not narrate competing subjectivities of self as "white," nor did she experience exclusion from black students, which I theorize as influencing white students experience of "encounter." I have positioned her narrative in the social-psychological framework of a desegregated "space" of encounter because of her narration of the "color line," and how her personal *encounter* with the high school student who asked her out caused her to rethink the validity of the social psychological boundaries that had seemed so impermeable to her. Through a combination of circumstances, such as her unhappiness over the move to Shaker Heights from Cleveland Heights, her family's concern over her academics and their ambivalence over the direction of her post-secondary education, as

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well as a run-in with a low-level class, Judith narrated competing subjectivities of self as "student." However, she did attend college, where she told me she "found herself" and returned to Shaker Heights, where her son experienced inclusion and a high level of engagement in sites of educational privilege.

"complicat[ing] my views on racial equality"

Matt is a white student who graduated in the mid to late 1970's. Matt narrated a complex mix of positive and negative experiences he had encountered in the Shaker schools. He responded with variation to the questions about his experience, with a low response to expectations ("a little," or 1), and also to opportunities ("some," or 2) and more positive toward information and help ("a good amount," or 3). In Matt's selection of his strength of connections to white students, he selected high connections for white students (five on the IIS scale) and lower on his connections with black students (four on the IIS scale) during his high school years. In this analysis, Matt's narrative suggests his experience as one of *a desegregated space of encounter*. He told me he was a "very good" student but his involvement with extra-curricular activities was limited due to his interests in activities outside of school, so he was somewhat less connected to sites of educational privilege outside of the classroom. While he took mostly advanced placement courses, he told me that "one of the few classes that I remember from high school, so it was probably the most impactful one" was a class called Flex, which he said was "an attempt to integrate the, the levels – as well as the disciplines" including English, history and humanities. Matt went on after high school to a four year competitive college and later on completed a professional degree.

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A critical experience that influenced Matt's view of racial equality in the school system was his participation in the busing program at Moreland, the Shaker Schools Plan, in the early 1970's. Matt told me that his mother stressed the importance of his participating in the plan, that he knew this was what she wanted him to do, and that he went reluctantly because he wanted to stay with his friends who were in his predominantly white school. His first year at Moreland was one of isolation and disconnection. He told me he was one of two white boys and a few white girls, and "I remember [that year] as being, as feeling very isolated and unhappy, not, um, not really, not myself feeling integrated into the Moreland School." Matt described a tense conflict between himself and several African American boys in his grade, playing kickball in the playground at Moreland School, his first year being bused there.

> There were some problems on the playground, um, that, I remember one particular problem... I was in a kick ball game, on the playground...and got into an argument about something and, I used the word "bitch" in a, in a heated argument with another black boy, and he thought it was a racial slur and, all of a sudden I was surrounded and the target of um, you know, violent posturing and a little bit of um, pushing and shoving, you know, but it wasn't just he and I anymore, it was me, against the community, with the community around me...

Matt told me he was surprised and alarmed by the way the African American boys interpreted his expletive to be racially offensive. He told me, "I didn't—I had no *idea* that it wasn't [was] going to be taken as a racial issue, I didn't intend it that way." In his narration of this encounter, Matt suggested the African American boys did not understand the immediate setting to be equal: they saw Matt as one of many other whites they had already, even at that young age, encountered or observed a family member encounter, in situations of racial discrimination. The geographical and social-psychological distance did not allow for another interpretation on their part and it precluded Matt's ability to

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anticipate their reaction. In this moment of competing subjectivities, the African American boys exhibited what I am calling an *enactment of exclusion* toward another student by accessing stereotypes of whites as racist. Matt's sense of self in relation to the other was suddenly one of fear and confusion. At the same time, he was distressed at that gap between his own sense of self as "white" and fair and their sense of him as "white" and antagonistic.

In his narrative, Matt encountered the shock of being viewed by others in his racial outgroup as contrary to his understanding of self. Matt was seen by the African American students as behaving in a way they predicted a white person might behave: as disparaging to blacks. This was contrary to Matt's understanding of himself, since his family was supportive of the desegregation of the school system and facilitated experiences for Matt that involved inter-racial friendships, including hosting extended summer visits for an African American child from Cleveland over many years, around the late 1960's, early 1970's. Matt told me that it was through his family's participation in this summer program that he as a child first experienced racism among whites toward blacks.

> ...the street included some very hostile parents who would not let their kids cross the street and play with us, um, they were concerned about, you know, bugs and lice and don't let their girls touch or play —or do anything with them and—so that was my first real exposure to um, that sort of ah, racism. And it was a great lesson for me as a young kid because I loved this guy, we were, we, we played together, and, but, there was a nice of group of boys on our side of the street that just had a great time all summer long, and it was clear that that was the right thing and that what [some of the neighbors] were doing, was the was the wrong thing.

The encounter of competing subjectivities of self as "white" resulted in Matt's experiencing a great deal of dissonance in terms of his relationship with the African American boys with whom he experienced the playground conflict. He disconnected

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himself from them. It also made the social setting he found himself in to be somewhat unpredictable, and he told me,

> Matt: but I learned quickly that I had to be more careful, and I think, it encouraged me to be less – out there
>
> Anne: ummmmm – um, you mean – spontaneous?
>
> Matt: yeah
>
> Anne: ok, more, more cautious
>
> Matt: yes, very much so

Matt told me that the experience also complicated his view of racial equality as a child, which he described as "very clear, black and white" before this encounter at Moreland. Before attending Moreland, he told me, "I became sort of, a staunch supporter, early in my life [laughs a little] of the benefits of integration, at least treating people equally..." His encounter at Moreland unsettled his view of himself in relation to the African American students, particularly boys. The enactment of exclusion on the part of the boys toward him complicated his understanding of racial equality.

> ...and so then to go...and feel like because I was white I was being treated differently in a community that was, that was black, was—did complicate my views of racial equality, and, ah, and I found, interestingly, that, [sighs] the way I reacted to that was to surround myself with other white kids as my peer group, and there were, like, there were five of us – white boys, and—not all of us were bused there, but, the five of us became an inseparable clique...

As a result, Matt was cautious and basically disengaged from African American boys. It is interesting to note, however, that the critical member of his group of white friends was a boy who lived in the Moreland area. He told me that "one of the guys, was, from Mor—from the Moreland community, so he, he knew more people, and he was respected as being sort of a – tough guy, so he was our protector." He may have also

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served as an interpreter, someone who had a bicultural sense of what was acceptable and what was taboo for both whites and blacks. I asked Matt if there was an adult, such as a teacher, who tried to bridge the distance he felt between himself and the black students. He told me that he was not aware of such efforts, but he recalled a privilege he and his group of white friends had in the school: "We delivered milk together, that was, a, a—that was, that was, sort of our job, we get released for lunch 15 minutes early and go down and deliver milk...that fact that we were all allowed to leave for lunch early and do this milk thing...there may have been some adult engineering going on."

Matt told me that while his first year experience at Moreland was one of isolation and misunderstanding, his later years got progressively more satisfying and productive, with his comfort level increasing so much so that one year while he was at Moreland he ran for office for the student council and was elected.

> ...I felt comfortable enough to run for student council...and they felt comfortable enough to elect me, and that, there was—I, I think that says more, ah, as much, certainly, about my comfort level at the school um, but as well, you know, a, a, a general feeling of acceptance, um, and being willing to risk, and bring my identity into a leadership role, in a school where [before], I felt, it was the last place I ever wanted to be, um, it, I mean, I think it's a real testament to the, to what um, familiarity and exposure, and um, you know, the benefits of integrating, ah, stretching yourself in your, in areas where you're uncomfortable, um, long enough, and sticking it out long enough, to be, to become integrated into that – environment.

As a result of this experience, Matt found in Moreland, analyzed in this study as a site of educational privilege, the opportunity to contradict the stereotype he felt was imposed (Cross, 1991) upon him by the African American boys in the playground. Although he initially experienced discomfort and dissonance, the educational structure at Moreland eventually allowed for him to find a level of comfort and to flourish there. His

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experience, then, was one of inclusion, where mutually exclusive racial stereotypes were rejected.

Matt's later years at Moreland, then, were very satisfying, academically and socially. He described his teachers in favorable ways, such as "always very understanding." He also appeared to have done well academically while he was there. He told me, "math and science I did with 6th graders while I was in 5th grade" noting "there was some fluidity" in the classroom structure. Initially, he could not remember if the accelerated group was racially identifiable but he noted about the white students, "I can remember that some of them were identifiably gifted in certain areas, and some of them were clearly not." About the black students he noted, "there were also the—some black kids, particularly some black girls who were always in my gifted programs with us, um, so that I think there were—actually I don't remember black boys being in that group."

Matt's narration of isolation as a white student in a predominantly black school is not unlike the isolation black students have narrated in predominantly white settings—schools and levels (in the early phase) and levels (in the current phase). Matt and the black students who narrated isolation were reluctant to leave their ingroup setting for a setting where they would isolated from their racial ingroup. In these cases, the students crossed racial boundaries and encountered competing subjectivities between themselves and others from their racial outgroup. In Matt's case, the competing subjectivities occurred with his peers from his racial outgroup, and were focused on his view of himself as "white" and their view of him as "white." While he experienced exclusion from his black male peers, he was able to connect with white peers, possibly through the

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intervention of adults in the school. In terms of educators and other peers, then, Matt experienced inclusion. In the accelerated work that he did with other students, there were black girls but the black boys were absent. In his narrative, then, there are traces of a parallel process of educational exclusion for some blacks, particularly black males alongside a process of inclusion for most whites, males and females. As a result, his competing view of self as "white" was not with his teachers, did not occur in the academic life of the classroom, and did not interfere with his sense of self as "student."

Additionally, in the supportive environment provided at Moreland, particularly with the district invested in the satisfaction and success of the white students whose parents had volunteered them and bused them to Moreland,[276] encounters such as Matt's may have been carefully monitored by adults in the building. Matt himself noted that the "privilege" accorded the white boys in delivering milk may have been established as a result of educators creating an opportunity for ingroup bonding among the small group of white boys attending Moreland. These "interventions" on behalf of white students are characteristic of actions taken by those in a position of authority and are done without having to justify them or argue deficit, unlike programs established as interventions for black students in desegregated settings.[277]

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[276] Measures of the achievement of white students in the first three years of their busing to Moreland through the Shaker Schools Plan, which were received cautiously because of the very small sample of children involved, revealed standardized test scores significantly above the district-wide scores. The early measures for African American students transferred from Moreland to predominantly white schools, a larger group initially than the group of white students, reflected expected yearly gains while African American students who remained in Moreland performed with slight but not statistically significant gains. *The Third Evaluation Report of the Shaker Schools Plan.* Shaker Heights, OH: Shaker Heights City School District. Pages 2-3.

[277] See the topic of "resegregation" in the section on the early phase of the district's desegregation in the history chapter.

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Matt narrated an experience, then, that was ultimately very positive. It is also likely that his family influenced his experience, in that they were supportive of desegregation and also wanted to see the program at Moreland succeed. While the experience was destabilizing, it did not jeopardize Matt's academic success. This was not the case for several African American students who encountered exclusion and competing subjectivities of self as "student."

Later in junior high school, Matt told me he had similar encounters with African American peers. He narrated these experiences when I asked him to give me an example of an experience of racial equality or inequality. He told me he was "targeted" because of his race by black students. He described these events as experiences of racial inequality. At the same time, he told me that he felt the black students acted in such a manner because they were in a setting that they did not perceive as racially equal. In his narration of black's discrimination of him, he located their actions in a larger setting of racial inequality and their, and his, emerging understanding of the privilege accorded to most white and some black students, but clearly not to them.

> Anne: was the Shaker Schools Program an experience of racial equality for you?
>
> Matt: um, that's, that's an interesting question because if you look at racial equality, which, I interpret as equal treatment of – people, regardless of race, I'm not sure that—that it was that, um
>
> [pause]
>
> Anne: because, um, of the difficulties that you encountered?
>
> Matt: [slight pause] um, I, I guess so, um, there were incidents in junior high as well, where um, well, there was a group response to something I did, where I felt again like I was being targeted because I was white, where I wouldn't have been targeted if I was, if I was black, and that sort of group response [pause] I think, was probably a reaction to their perception that it was *not* a racially equal environment, and certainly influenced my belief that we're not in a racially

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> *neutral* environment. I think, you know, the, the make-up of upper level classes suggests that it's not a racially *equal* environment, um, but not necessarily, I mean it could be racially *neutral*, um, but not racially equal

It was this narration of inequality as it exists in the larger society and how it influenced school structures and interactions in school that created some distance for Matt between himself and sites of educational privilege. The distance was largely due to his experience of dissonance about being included within these sites but aware that the inclusion accorded him was not equally accorded to black students. Matt did point to a difference in "motivation" between himself and some other students, some of whom were black. He observed these differences in a class called Flex that he took in high school, which he noted had a strong positive impact on him in terms of his engagement with the content and the learning process.

Matt distinguished his experience as a student at the high school as more distant from sites of educational privilege than other white students, responding "somewhat similar" and noting "I think there were a lot of students who got a lot more out of high school than I did, who were white, and the white students who took advantage of more of the high school's opp—opportunities." He noted that he felt his experience was similar to some African American students, telling me, "It was very similar to some, of the African American students, I mean some paralleled with mine pretty closely." However, he noted that it was different from most, responding "somewhat dissimilar," and telling me "I think for the majority of African Americans it was probably a different experience...because they were in different levels of classes primarily, that they were in different social groups, different extra-curricular activities, um, they may not have felt like Shaker was helping them prepare for college."

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Matt returned to Shaker Heights many years later to raise his family. He was one of the three intergenerational participants in the study, which meant I interviewed his son on another occasion and as a result, gained additional perspectives from a participant in the same family but the next generation. Later in this chapter I discuss the narrative of Matt's son, Mark, a student of the early 2000's.

As a parent, then, Matt narrated his experience of the school system some 25 years or so later. In comparing his experience to white and black parents, he noted that he felt teachers were likely to give white parents and their children more "leeway" than black parents and their children. He responded to the question comparing his experience to other white parents' experience as "somewhat similar" and to black parents' experience as "somewhat dissimilar." He spoke about educators perceiving similar behaviors among black and white students differently and responding to their parents in different ways due to the educators' interpretation of student behavior:

> Matt: we get a lot of leeway because I think people's general sense that Mark is a good kid, um, I think, we would have had a very different reception if people didn't trust that Mark was ah, generally pointed in the right direction
>
> Anne: um-hmm, ok, um, how about your experience as a parent compared to African American parents in the district?
>
> Matt: well, I guess my concern would be that, that African American parents would be more likely to get less leeway, as a result of how educators would view their kids, in a very—you know, very generally...this crosses racial boundaries if the kid is identified as someone who lacks motivation, they're gonna get less leeway, um, than someone who is motivated, but having difficulty. But I think there are still, I know, stereotypes and cultural prejudices out there even among the enlightened Shaker Heights faculty, that black kids probably get less leeway, and maybe the presumptions are that it's a motivation problem, as opposed to something else.

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Matt was very positive about his experience of the school system and his son's experience. He expressed an appreciation for the racial diversity in the schools, as he noted when I asked him to define racial equality. He told me,

> Um, [pause] well [slight pause], I, I believe that it enhances a public school environment to have kids from widely different perspectives including different racial backgrounds, different economic backgrounds, different religious and spiritual backgrounds, and I think we're blessed in Shaker to have...[a] mix of kids at the high school, and people in the community, um, so I think racial equality in public education, I mean that's the model, you know, I think, that you, you have some intentional efforts to celebrate the diversity...

Matt narrated the experience of encountering competing subjectivities as "white" between himself and the black students with whom he interacted in the desegregated settings of Moreland School and Woodbury Junior High School. He talked about the "shocking" nature of the encounter, telling me "I had no idea" when he spoke about the black students' interpretation of Matt's use of the word "bitch" as a racial expletive. While Matt narrated discomfort and dissonance as a result of this encounter, he also narrated an understanding, likely over time, of the racial inequalities in the broader society that influenced how his black peers "read" Matt's behavior. He noted that within the supportive environment of Moreland his view of self in relation to other was "stretched." Later in the interview he talked about self in relation to educational structures and his view of white students as more likely to benefit from inclusion in sites of educational privilege than black students.

"that's how I felt, you know, I—'what do you mean, I?' you know, 'how could you accuse me?'"

John, a white student who graduated between 1985 and 1990, narrated a very positive experience in the Shaker schools and at the high school. He responded high on

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the questions about expectations ("very much," or 4), opportunities ("a great deal," or 4), and information and help ("a good amount," or 3). As an elementary student, he attended Moreland in the mid to late 1970's. John talked about the value he placed on his experience at Moreland. He noted that he was very much in the minority, "I was one of only a few white kids in the class," and he told me that he felt the experience changed the way he looked at himself and others during his years at Shaker and subsequent to them. He felt that he was fortunate to have had this experience in that many white students at Shaker did not.

> I think it gave me, um, an understanding for what it's like to be a minority, and I think that carried with me, you know, even though it was a young age...I think, as I progressed to the junior high and the schools came together...it became easier to have relationships with kids that – didn't look like...there were situations that would come up, that I think ultimately as I look back on it now, were influenced because I had that experience as a minority...

John also told me his experience at Moreland fostered a sense of identification with African Americans, noting, "the experience at Moreland helped me identify with, um, I mean, I think with – black people in particular." He felt that being able to identify with blacks had impacted his career choice and his preference to socialize with others who themselves value racial diversity. He also noted that class diversity was important and deserving of more attention. When I asked him what he meant when he said the experience of "being a minority," he told me that he felt he could "empathize and identify with minorities" as a result of his experience at Moreland. He also said that "it influenced me, I think, in my outlook in life" in that he was comfortable entering work related or social settings where he was the only white person, or one of only a few. He suggested that an all-white situation was more likely to cause him discomfort or generate less interest on his part than a situation that was in some way diverse.

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> Well, I think, this might be an unfair generalization but I think for a lot of people that you meet growing up um you know in a middle or upper income family, and a neighborhood...get very comfortable affiliating and having relationships with and being around people like them, and I think the experience at Moreland forced me um, to [slight pause] do just the opposite. And without that experience, I mean had I just gone to [predominantly white school] and made friends with kids, you know, that looked like—[me] ...but this, I think, really forced me, um – and I think—well, it – it forced me at an age when you're uncomfortable anyway, in that kind of, you know, social situation, to befriend people like that...therefore going to people's houses and, and getting to know families and parents, and brothers and sisters, um, you know, your exposure is much different, and therefore, I think – you know, I think you can understand um – I just find it limiting, um, you know, getting to know, um, those people that haven't had those experiences. And I don't mean that in a condescending way, I just, you can, you can ah, grow up in Shaker Heights and like many people, end up going to a private college for four years, and get a job after college, and you can go through those experiences, and, without taking risks, you can in a society [drops pen cap or pen] um stick around people just like you.

At Woodbury and at the high school, John was in advanced classes, which he told me were "predominantly white." When I asked him what class he liked best, he had trouble choosing, telling me, "Um, I really took a liking to journalism in high school, um, and, got very involved in the school paper, and also, excuse me, um, you know, there was a very good government teacher, a good English teacher there I liked, um, I loved math..."

John was clearly immersed in the academic and social worlds of Woodbury Junior High School and then the high school. He noted that he was able to continue "some" of the friendships he developed in Moreland while he was at Woodbury, but "not as many as um, as I had hoped." He also told me, "I remember at Woodbury to go back, and also at the high school, there was a lot of racial segregation there [that I] wasn't aware of in—that I wasn't aware of at the elementary school level," and he noted that the segregation was social and academic. When John developed the "map" of student groups in the high school, he labeled all of the groups (extra-curricular activities and major interests) as

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"racially mixed but predominantly white" except basketball, which he said was African American, and football, which he said was predominantly black. As we were finishing the "map," he said, "You're gonna say, 'well, was this an integrated school? Where are all the black people?'" When I asked what activities or classes that were particularly good about bringing different groups of students together, he told me SGORR, and also football, and "in retrospect, theater probably." John selected five (high connections) on the IIS for the strength of his connections to other whites, and four (low connections) for the strength of his connections to blacks.

In his responding to the question about where his connections to whites were strong, he began to talk about his experience with the newspaper when the newspaper staff was trying to bring attention to "what we perceived to be an academic achievement gap." In their efforts, the Shakerite staff published articles on the different levels of classes, the racial imbalance in classes, and a racial imbalance in the high school's faculty.

> ...like with the *Shakerite*, it was predominantly white, and yet...one of the things we tried to do was cover, some of the things you're talking about, like um, um, racial issues, or, you know, underachievement for black students, and I remember, there, you know, there's one incident...and there was a horrible reaction to the, our coverage of it, and people objected um, to, the tone, the content and the fact that the *Shakerite* staff has very few, um, you know, very few blacks on the staff, and you know I remember, thinking, you know, as you hear those horrible people say "but I have friends who are black" or "my best friend's Jewish," or you know those horrible comments but, it, it, that's how I felt, you know, I—[reacted the same way, like] "*what do you mean, I*," you know, "how could you accuse me?" And yet there were all these angry people and making shots and accusations...

About this experience, John noted the chasm between intentions and consequences and the shock of experiencing that gap. An element in the pattern of this group of white students' narratives was their encounter of "shock" in their interactions

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with African American students who the participants narrated as having misinterpreted something that the white participants said or did. In this encounter, the white participants felt that the black students viewed them in a different manner than the white students viewed themselves. While the white students saw their behavior as neutral, the black students reacted strongly against the particular words used, framing of data, or action taken in the white students' interactions with black students. The white students who viewed themselves as open-minded and "just," were very distraught over these experiences.

The "jolt" of these encounters, then, was not dissimilar from that described by black students in their encounter of a discrepancy between how they viewed themselves as "students" and how a white educator or student viewed them. However, there was one critical difference. The experience by the white students of competing subjectivities as "white" did not jeopardize their academic standing nor their inclusion within sites of educational privilege. As destabilizing as the experiences they narrated were, they did not have the same kind of academic consequence as competing subjectivities of self as "student" had for black students. As a result, it was unlikely that such an encounter would lead to a lower grade in a class or their decision not to enroll in a higher level class.

At the same time, the experience of competing sense of self as "white" did have other consequences. In terms of the participant's view of self, it introduced some level of *dissonance* in that the encounter produced a *competing* view of the self. John notes this when he says that the experience of being viewed as insensitive toward the position and experience of black students was difficult for him because "my own self image was

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empathetic toward the black experience." In this sense, I have analyzed John's narrative as within a desegregated social-psychological space of encounter.

Additionally, for John and the other white participants experiencing similar contradictions of self as "white," the encounter introduced an element of caution into these participants' relationships with black students and a feeling of uncertainty and discomfort in their relationships that did not exist before. In the case of Matt, the encounter made him aware of the contradictions of efforts to achieve racial equality that are situated within a larger societal context of inequality. In John's narrative, there is the possibility that an awareness of the contradictions in the first place may have generated the newspaper staff's interest in publishing discrepancies by race. However, the context of inequality in the high school was such that raising these questions, particularly through an organization that was viewed by black students as distant, disconnected, and all white, delegitimized their presentation of the information, and more significantly, led to deep suspicions regarding the intentions underlying the *Shakerite's* focus on black students' test scores, grades, and participation in the levels.

Like the other four students whose narratives position them at the desegregated space of encounter, but still within sites of educational privilege, John shared connections with African American students, but still saw his experience as a student in the high school as different from them. He told me his experience was "somewhat similar" to whites and "similar" to blacks, indicating a small degree of more similarity with whites than blacks (with the range being the following: very similar, somewhat similar, similar, somewhat dissimilar, and very dissimilar). I asked him to talk about the difference. He told me that the "activities were different" and that "in spite of school being racially

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balanced, [there was] segregation in certain activities, cliques, and academically most of the African Americans in academics were in lower level classes." When I asked John what racial equality in public education meant to him, he told me, that diversity was important, "it's critical because it's the world you live in" and that one needs to "learn to live with people who are different" in race, class, and culture. He said that this diversity "goes toward learning and outside of the classroom" and that a racial mix "contributes to the learning."

In his response on equality, John focused on the value of diversity in an educational setting. The focus on the value of diversity was more frequent among white students than black students. Although John had mentioned in other parts of his narrative the absence of black students in the higher levels and their presence in the lower level classes as well as the attention the newspaper had given to gaps in achievement between European American and African American students, he did not in his definition of equality address these issues or move into a narrative of injustice. The dissonance from the encounter of competing subjectivities of self as "white" may have resulted in a hesitation to move beyond the value of diversity and consider the patterns of exclusion and injustice that persisted for black students, not as a particularity of Shaker Heights, but as a general outcome of unequal power relations ascribed to race and class. In this way, his narrative resembles Kate's; however, his experience of an encounter with exclusion is what led me to position him within a desegregated space of "encounter."

Additionally, when I asked John about the extent to which the school system was transforming its schools, and interrupting a history of unequal education, he responded that "As I listen to that question, racial equality on its own may not do that [be

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transformative]." He told me this was because students and parents needed to be involved – and that this happened when people in the school and the community were learning. When I asked him what could happen to make it more transformative, he told me that he did not think things could be tidied up in a box like that, that "the thing that I liked in Shaker was always [its] striving for perfection" and that it was "willing to take risks." John's response concerning racial equality and transformation appeared to be contradictory to his earlier narration that included fairly critical observations of segregation in the high school.

It appeared, then, that while John narrated segregation of black and white students, he did not necessarily narrate exclusion of black students from educational opportunities. In this sense, the experience of encounter while in high school did not appear to contribute to a view of inequality now as an adult that questioned the neutrality of educational structures or viewed persistent racial stereotypes as influencing students experience of inclusion and exclusion in the classroom. In this sense, the absence in his narrative of unequal educational opportunities or academic outcomes was in direct contradiction to nine out of ten of the black student participants, placing his notion of empathy and connection with black students in serious question. In this sense, John's focus on racial diversity with respect to my question on racial equality differs from the narratives by other whites in this "space" of encounter and competing subjectivities as "white." Other white students in this "space" were more likely to narrate education in the school system as not equally available to white and black students. Unlike the other white students within this social psychological space of "encounter," who pointed out the structural and social psychological factors they saw operating in the high school and

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which they viewed as impeding equality, John narrated "encounter" with competing subjectivity as "white," but did not narrate a re-examination of self in relation to "other" or to the educational structures in which he participated. Additionally, while John narrated absence of black students from educational opportunities, he did not pursue the possibility of racial exclusion. In this sense, he did not complicate racial diversity with a narration of the exclusion of African American students nor of inequality of opportunities and outcomes for black students.

"...ultimately saw it as an opportunity"

Another student whom I have positioned in the same category is Samuel, a white student who graduated in the early 1990's. He is the son of Judith, also a participant in the study. I have positioned Samuel within the sites of academic privilege but more distant from the center. He took mostly advanced placement classes and was active in a number of student activities. Samuel responded very positively to the questions on expectations (4), opportunities (4), and information and help (3). He was immersed in the opportunities in the high school and yet at the same time he felt a gap between what he felt he had been exposed to as an elementary student in a racially diverse educational setting and how he spent his high school years in a racially segregated setting of the higher level classes. Samuel told me that his experience as a student in the high school was somewhat similar to other white students and was "somewhere between similar and somewhat dissimilar" to black students. Samuel selected high connections with white students (6 on the IIS scale) and high connections with black students (5 on the IIS scale).

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Samuel attended Mercer Elementary School, and narrated a vibrant academic and social setting provided through the Shaker Schools Plan and the busing of African American students from the Moreland area to Mercer. He told me "I was used to black culture in America," and he noted, "I knew the slang, I loved the slang." He told me that his parents would say to him about his affinity for black culture, what did he want to grow up to be – black or Jewish? He told me that his experience with SGORR in sixth grade and then later in high school was very effective in providing a means for interpreting racial differences in an non-evaluative manner.

I asked Samuel to describe the high school and the first thing he told me was that the "level system [was] so stratified." He told me that as an advanced placement student he saw the same group of about twenty students for four years. He also told me there were about ten or fifteen other students who were in some but not all of the advanced placement classes. He told me this was very frustrating and that "I was definitely friends with kids outside AP." Samuel noted, in looking back at his high school experience compared to his college and graduate school experience that although he sought out diverse educational and work settings after leaving Shaker Heights, "the 20% minority populations in each of those places pales in comparison to the rich African-American/Black population at Shaker Heights High School."

When I asked Samuel how his friendships were broader than just advanced placement, he said that he "knew a lot of students through elementary school" and that he had played sports and was active in SGORR and other activities, including the newspaper. About the newspaper, he told me that the segregation in the high school influenced the staffing on the paper, so that very few black students were on the staff and

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the paper had difficulties in "covering black student life." Samuel noted that the consequence of few black staff members and the feeling among staff that black student life should be covered resulted in a pattern of reporting on inequities in the high school and racial discrepancies, a process he described as where "good liberals...explain to you why it's bad, but won't tell you what's positive about black student life." He told me he felt that the late 1980's and early 1990's was a time during which African American students expressed a lot of dissatisfaction with the high school and anger over persistent inequalities in the system. He encountered that in his newspaper work in particular, telling me that there was a "lot of anger and negativity in the high school."[278]

Samuel described his experience of being on the *Shakerite* when a piece was printed that was viewed by many black students as racially offensive. He narrated the kind of "shock" that Matt and John described in having actions they took or were involved in being viewed by black students as stereotypically white—culturally insensitive at best and racist at worst. In this sense, the black students appeared to view the actions themselves as a form of exclusion on the part of the white students toward the black students. In my analysis, I have positioned these experiences, then, in a desegregated social psychological space of "encounter." I analyze these *encounters* as emerging from enactments of exclusion by black students toward white students for their failure to see themselves as accorded privileges in the school system that black students

[278] There is a long and contentious relationship between the largely white-staffed student newspaper and the black students in the high school. One of the requirements for a staff position on the Shakerite is enrollment in two journalism classes. While some viewed this as a necessity for standards in reporting and writing, others saw it as a way of credentialing some students and excluding others. Events related to coverage in the *Shakerite* of unequal academic outcomes between black and white students are discussed in the chapter on the history of the district's desegregation.

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did not experience. Additionally, I analyze them as "shocking" to white students as a result of their lack of understanding of their privileged status.

Samuel told me the reaction of black students toward the *Shakerite* piece was a total surprise to him, and it caused him great distress. He said he was in tears over the whole thing. I asked him to whom did he turn to help him understand this experience—his family, friends? He told me he "went to [his] family" and he "went to [his] girlfriend. He said his girlfriend was especially helpful. "I learned both about black people's sensitivity to white people's statements [and also] non-Jewish people's sensitivity of Jewish people's statements." He said he "talked to everybody in the newspaper about it. Some people said, 'Fuck it, we're doing the right thing.'" He told me others felt the reaction warranted a change in the newspaper's approach and a greater effort in recruiting black staff. Samuel told me that while he was very upset over the experience, he ultimately saw it as an opportunity. The newspaper staff, he said, expanded "the breadth of [the] newspaper and doubled efforts in recruiting and covering black student life." He added that he did not think (while he was in the high school) that the newspaper staff was able to change that much. But he felt there was a change in consciousness among some of the staff.

In Samuel's narrative as well as Matt and John's, the source of the "shock" was the exclusion by black students toward them, producing competing subjectivities for these students in terms of self as "white." In this study, I analyze Samuel's inability to anticipate the reaction of black students as a consequence of Samuel's experience with self and other and his experience within educational structures. For the most part, Samuel narrated through his years of schooling *enactments of inclusion* and a *compatible*

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subjectivity as "student," which limited his capacity to understand exclusion, as narrated by many black students in the study. Additionally, Samuel and the other white students did not encounter the power of a stereotype to exclude them from an educational opportunity. On the contrary, the power of the stereotype of white students as more competent and deserving than black students, reinforced by the patterns of enrollment by race at the different levels, contributed to the white students' experience of inclusion. What appears to have happened to Samuel and the others was that their view of themselves as white and "just," particularly as a result of their attending a desegregated school, was contested by the black students' view of them as white and privileged. In the encounter, however, and their emerging conceptualization of racial exclusion, these students narrated their awareness of the relations of power ascribed to race in their high school and the wider society.

Samuel narrated an important juncture that is characteristic of the social psychological experience of students experiencing "encounter." He talked about the choices that white students on the *Shakerite* had before them in responding to the reaction of African American students to the *Shakerite* piece: persist with notions of white as "just" and write off their reaction of black students, or take the reaction seriously. The former Samuel narrated in fairly strong terms as an attitude among some white students of "Fuck it, we're doing the right thing." Another articulation of this view was narrated by Jill when she was commenting on the response by black students in her Woodbury homeroom who were hostile toward the white students taken out of class for advanced classes. Jill first considered the possibility that the black students might have resented the privilege accorded the white students, when she reflected "probably, it was sort of

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like, 'well, why are the white kids getting the opportunity to pull out and take other classes?'" However, she ultimately finished her narration with a form of distance and unwillingness to explore their views in relation to her and the educational structures in which she participated, saying "And honestly, I don't know what was going on in their minds." The other option Samuel narrated in response to the Shakerite incident was to take the reaction of black students seriously, explore the roots of white as privileged, and aim to understand it. This is a route that he ultimately narrated that Jill did not.

Samuel narrated a view of racial equality in the school system that was impeded by structural and social psychological barriers. He told me the "faculty needed some diversity training, that was necessary" and that teachers and school administrators needed to "honestly believe that every student can achieve." Samuel told me that in the high school there were white teachers who acted as "surrogate mothers" and friends to him and other white students. He said that did not happen to black students. These were white teachers, he told me, and this kind of ease and comfort level among them was with the white students, not the black students. He noted that the district needed to hire "teachers who are not overly comfortable with white students."

On the low representation of black students in the upper level classes, Samuel narrated the necessity for the school system to use a form of "affirmative action in placing African American students in advanced courses" and that such a policy was critical to "challenge minorities so they're used to being challenged." He told me that the junior high school "need[s] to push minority students into positions of challenge" and that there needed to be an "expectation that they can do very well." I asked him if he thought Shaker educators and the community would support affirmative action at the

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advanced levels. He told me he thought so. When I asked Samuel about the extent to which his experience in the high school was transformative in that it paid attention to racial equality, he told me, "It was paying [attention] to racial equality [by its] sponsorship of SGORR for example." Finally, he connected the school system's need to facilitate racial equality with the necessity to correct racial inequalities in the broader society. When I asked Samuel if he could tell me what racial equality in public education meant to him, he told me that it was "a never ending struggle," and one that was "necessary in America" in order for it to achieve its full strength.

"a lot of times you can't do as well in that class... if you're feeling like you may not belong"

Mark, a white student of the early 2000's, narrated an experience that reflected the patterns of distance from the center of sites of academic privilege. Mark's father is Matt, also a participant in the study. Mark responded very positively to the questions on expectations ("very much," or 4) and opportunities ("a good amount," or 3) but not nearly so high for information and help ("some," or 2). Mark was a transfer student, coming from a district that was majority black. He enjoyed his years in the previous system, and told me he felt more comfortable among black students in sports in Shaker Heights than the white students in the high level classes in which he was enrolled.[279] His closest social group, with whom he spent his free time, was white. Mark attributed his close

[279] Mark did not select from the IIS scale. It does not appear that he was opposed to selecting from the scale, as some participants have been. Instead, he spent a considerable time narrating how he was most comfortable and felt most connected to whites when they were with him in a position of being a minority in a setting, but not when they were a majority (as in an advanced placement class). When whites were in a majority, he appeared to feel the least connected with them. He appeared to be the most connected with blacks when he was in a minority position with them or felt equal with them, as when he was playing a sport or in SGORR.

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connection with black students in the high school because of his previous school experience in a majority black system, his feeling of distance from some of the higher level white students, and a sense of precariousness he seems to have felt in the higher level classes. His vulnerability, as he explained it, was that he required a longer time to get through classwork than many of the other high level students. He worried about whether or not others in the class viewed him as "belonging." He narrated this uncertainty of "belonging" as an experience of black students in the higher level classes, and a commonality he shared with them. He told me

> ...and a lot of times you can't do as well in that class if you feel that bad, if you're feeling like you may not belong if people are looking at you, people are *looking* for you to—you have to, you know, you have to prove your, your worth, cause, you know, people will judge you. If you feel like that, then you, you probably won't be able to – succeed...I see that a lot actually in the higher level classes, some of the black kids who I know are like, like smart, they get A—straight A's and stuff. Sometimes in the higher level classes, they'll, I don't know, I guess, eh, be getting, you know, B's and C's, where they could probably be getting A's if they were, if they were in the same class with more of their peers, probably. I mean I, in the higher classes I took I also, I had a uncomfortable level, because of, I guess because of my, you know, I work a little slower than people, and, sometimes, you know, even though I know I can do it, you know everybody around me I feel like, you know that they, that I'm kind of behind all of the time, you know, people are looking, people judge you by what you're going to say...

Mark narrated the influence of racial stereotypes about achievement and motivation that students absorb. In talking about his own choice of classes, he told me, "there's also the pressure like ah sometimes, you know, there's black-white stuff" and this "stuff" is tied to "like a judgmental, you know, assumption, when they find out what class you're taking...it's like your class, is almost is like your skin color, you know people will judge you first, because of what class you're taking." If a student were white, he told me, the assumption was that the student took honors or advanced placement. And if a student were enrolled in advanced placement classes, others assumed that student to

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be a good student. Hence, white students were good students: "even if you haven't proved yourself to be." Mark did note that he felt that being in an advanced placement level class did indicate that a student was "challenging yourself and you're making yourself work harder, so I guess, I guess whether you're succeeding in that class or not, it makes you a better student to be in those classes, I guess, that's the assumption, so, you know..." Mark reported that the racial composition of an advanced placement class looked something like 18 out of 20 students were white and in an honors class approximately 14 out of 20 were white. He was talking about his honors biology class labs, and I asked him about the racial composition of the lab groups:

> Anne: ok, and then, um, eh, in terms of the groups also, how did that fall out in terms of, um, ah, black and white students?
>
> Mark: well actually in my biology class this year, there was not one black student...I mean, I, I was like, in the first couple of weeks, I didn't really notice, and then I just looked around, and there really were—there wasn't, there wasn't one. There was a couple Asian kids, and—but there was not one black kid

When asked about the assumptions attached to students who take college preparatory classes, he noted that how students viewed another student's enrollment in these classes depended on the student's race:

> I think the general judgment is, if you're in, if you're a white kid in CP classes, you're lazy, and if you're a black kid in CP classes – [tap] it's expected...I guess that's it, if you're a white kid in CP classes, they assume you're lazy or you don't, you don't want to try hard. But if you're a black kid, they won't really judge you because they don't, you know, people really don't – they don't want to get in that battle or whatever it is...

Here he most clearly articulated the difficulty of resisting a racial stereotype that was reinforced by the enrollment patterns by race evident in an "open" enrollment system. He told me that whites, "don't want to get in that battle" over the "why" in terms of blacks not accessing educational opportunities by taking higher level courses. He did

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lean toward one form of reasoning when he told me, immediately afterwards, "Anybody could do the work in the AP classes. It's just the attitude that you approach it with. If you're brought up with the attitude, that you know, get a D and you pass and you graduate sort of thing, or if you're brought up with that attitude, you know, strive for that A, it just, all depends on, I guess your, the culture, the cultural attitude you're brought up with." At this comment I raised the possibility that assumptions (including his) could be contradicted, and he immediately responded to this, noting that this was part of his experience in crossing racial lines in SGORR and in sports, activities of which he was a part, where black kids contradicted his assumptions about blacks and he contradicted their assumptions about whites. About this he noted, "that's how you stand out," which I think is what has attracted him to being in situations where he was a minority.

Mark told me he connected best with other white people who were, like him, comfortable being in minority situations. He told me that he liked to experience difference—his own and others'—and he was not threatened by it; on the contrary it appeared to have given him a level of knowledge, understanding, and confidence in being the minority white among black students. He liked being "the white kid." Additionally, he noted that desegregated experiences, as in an athletic team, created a dynamic that he found especially appealing. He told me about himself and a few white friends among mostly black students in a team: "but like we all have, are like around black people a lot and have sort of the different attitude – is sort of come together, and creates a whole diff—'nother attitude." At the same time, like Samuel, Mark's enjoyment of hip hop culture was the cause for discussion at home. He told me,

> Sometimes my mom assumes that, you know, I mean, like ah, like I listen to like hip hop, rap and stuff, and she, some of it you know, she—well both of my

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> parents are pretty accepting of the music I listen to, but, and ah, and because of that, I'm accepting of the music they listen to...I've become accustomed to hip hop and rap and pop music, and stuff like that, and I mean, you know, my mom, she, she disagrees with the style of sagging your pants or whatever, and that kind of thing, which is around a lot and which has become black/white at our school...

Like Matt, John, and Samuel, Mark indicated that the experience of being in the minority meant being in some way at a disadvantage. It meant encountering boundaries that were impermeable, as in finding oneself one of two or three in a class, as Matt and John did at Moreland. For Mark it meant being different from the kind of student expected to be taking high level courses, and therefore at some distance from the segregated space of centrality within sites of educational privilege. Mark did not really feel comfortable in the higher level classes because he felt he did not fit in. He knew he was not the kind of student the teacher expected to have in that class. However distant he felt from the center, however, his narrative did not suggest he experienced enactments of exclusion in terms of self as "student." While he encountered *incongruence* in self as "white," in the desegregated settings, he had the advantage in that he fulfilled the racial stereotypes as a white student in the higher level courses. According to the stereotype, he was viewed as more competent and deserving than the African American students who elected or did not elect to be in high level class. He noticed this in his comparison of his experience as a student in the high school compared to other white and black students.

Mark said "similar" in comparing his experience to other white students. However, he was not sure of the answer in comparing his experience black students, but he felt it would be more at the dissimilar end. He told me "[I'm] not really [sure I] know why." He told me that "relative to African American students [the score is] more [in the] dissimilar range because in asking for help, or [a] missed assignment, me being a white

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student, it's a little different—the [educators] approach to me, listening to me, with more of an open mind. Because I've had to ask for extra time and when I go in [to] talk about it, they're more open-minded." He added, "Black students [are] intimidated in general—something different [is] going on," and he said he felt that white teachers did "not put forth greater effort to do it" in terms of helping black students, in the same way they did to white students. He noted that he had observed that the teachers' approach in helping African American students appeared to be guided by a "preconceived notion that they haven't worked as hard." He felt "just because I'm white," there was more effort extended on the part of the teachers toward helping him. He noted "I feel pretty confident because I can win the respect of teachers, [I] ask a lot of questions, I approach with confidence. I've seen an African American student more intimidated by a teacher in honors [classes]" and he noted that they often exhibited "less of a confidence, especially if [it is with] a white teacher."

Mark also noted that sometimes in an interaction between an African American student and a teacher, there appeared to be an assumption about the kind of grades with which the student would be satisfied. He noted that while a teacher might assume a B is good for a white student, that same teacher might assume a C is good for an African American student. He also noted that a teacher is more likely to say to the white student "I'm sure you can [do] better" while this would not be a case with a black student, "[I've] seen it happen [that a teacher says to a black student] a C is good." He told me, "Teachers, whether conscious or not, [do] not hold [their] expectations as high" and African American students are "not really pushed to succeed." He told me "[In] all my

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honors classes [the] few African Americans [in those classes] get a C or B at best." He added, "They're pretty satisfied [with those grades]."

In terms of racial equality, Mark told me,

> I think ah, my definition of racial equality in public education is equal opportunity and if you have equal opportunity and understanding, like open minded people at both ends, black or white, if you have people who understand that I mean that there *is* equal opportunity and that everybody, like in the...staff in public education is trying in every way possible to listen to people and try to make it as equal—the opportunities as equal as possible and so I guess if you have open minded equal opportunity, um, I think that's racial equality...

Mark noted that the conditions he described as constituting racial equality did not exist, and that it was impeded by a lack of open mindedness among whites and blacks that was interdependent, where black students encountered racial discrimination and then became distant or resistant to whites, who represented the majority of teachers at the high school, and then white students and teachers interpreted the resistance among the black students as a general lack of interest in pursuing the hard work and high content at the higher levels. As a result, the racial stereotypes were reinforced through this circular and interdependent back and forth of encounters and responses, distancing blacks from whites. Mark contrasted the impediments to racial equality with the structure of SGORR where "it's as equal as I think it can possibly be."

In terms of Mark's narrative, even more so than those of John, Matt, and Samuel, the contradictions appear to be legion. In a school that was desegregated, he saw unchecked segregation, where black and white students under the same roof enter various sites, some of educational privilege and some of educational exclusion. At the same time, Mark was aware of a larger unequal world, where a high school like Shaker Heights, even in the early 2000's, was unfathomable. He told me,

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> ...everybody's like we're so lucky, we're so lucky to have this, and then somebody will speak up and say, but yeah within this community we're still all segregated, we need to sort of come together and [tap] be like that. I mean, we need to come together, but, but I mean, I bet, I, like, I think everybody in here in Shaker is in a bubble, you know, we feel like still within our school it's segregated, but our school is so integrated that you can't like, compare it, you can't say, I mean like if, in terms of like, other schools that are just all white, or all black. We're lucky just to have the diverse, I mean, the, everybody coming togetherness...

"the CP is for mostly blacks and honors is for mostly – white"

Karan is a white student who attended Lomond Elementary School and entered the high school in the early 2000's. In my analysis of Karan's experience, I found her narrative to suggest her experience as located in desegregated spaces of encounter, although in a very different manner from Mark, John, Samuel, or Matt. Karan's narrative, more than the other white students in this space of encounter, reflects an experience of contradiction without educational structures to support that experience. Karan responded high for the three questions on her experience in the high school: expectations ("very much," or 4), opportunities ("a good amount," or 3), and information and assistance (also "a good amount," or 3). Karan felt that her experience was "somewhat similar" to other white students and also "somewhat similar" to black students. Karan's courses were at the college preparatory level, where she was in the minority. When I asked Karan what classes or activities she felt brought groups of students together, she told me student council and SGORR. When I asked what set them apart, she responded,

> Karan: [sighs] just I think the AP and honors, those kind of classes – just the CP is for mostly blacks and honors is for mostly – white
>
> Anne: ok, and [sigh] what about kids who – who contradict that?

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Karan: what do you mean, who go against, like the odd kind of—

Anne: yeah or who are, who are not, you know like – the black kids who go into the honors and the AP classes, the white kids who go into the CP classes

Karan: what do you mean "what about them" – what groups they belong?

Anne: well, no, what, what experiences do they have? Like if, if, I mean, you may not know what a black student feels going into an honors or an AP class

Karan: no [sighs]

Anne: but um—

Karan: I think – I'm a white student in the CP classes, and it's – it's – the sammmmme, I think, I mean, yeah, I don't think it really matters, I mean you might not have as many friends, but, you're fine

While many white students cited "relationship with teachers" as an educational opportunity that the school provides, Karan was more mixed in her response concerning her teachers:

Anne: would you distinguish educators as being [sighs] different or are they pretty much just a group of educators?

Karan: I think it's just some are understanding and some aren't, I really think that's the major thing

Anne: that's how you distinguish

Karan: there can be mean understanding teachers, but they're still understanding, there can be – they like under—I think some teachers are just so out there and they frustrate every single student, and they don't do as well with their students

Karan selected high connections (seven on the IIS scale) for the strength of her connections to other whites, which is the highest level of connections. For her connections with blacks, she selected high connections (somewhere between 5 and 6 on the IIS scale). For educational opportunities she felt she benefited from, she told me that she had a class, one period a day with a tutor in the subject she has the most difficulty.

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Karan told me she "loved" her tutor and the tutor was extremely helpful. An opportunity that she said she did not benefit from but would like to take advantage of was the tutoring center provided by the high school during after school hours into the early evening. She noted that her strength was in the arts, and that was where she was taking her honors level classes.

When I asked Karan about her thinking on racial equality in public education, she was very straightforward on her conviction that the playing field had been leveled. I asked her to define racial equality in public education, and her first response was "like teachers are a hundred percent fair. Teachers, counselors, they're, I think they're so fair. They don't care about race, I don't think at all." She noted that when teachers disciplined African American students, it was a result of the students' negative behavior and not of teachers' favoring white students. On her social map of the high school, she included a group which she labeled as "misbehaving students" and which she identified as predominantly African American. She told me that if you went into the assistant principal's office, "It's mostly African Americans in there. I think that if you give yourself that name in a classroom, then the teacher maybe starts to, to watch you more, but I think that if a white student was doing it, they'd watch them more too. I don't think because they're African American."

I asked Karan if she can talk about a time she experienced racial equality or inequality, she tells me, "Ok, I think that African American students can push around the white people a little bit more, but I don't know, like..." While she did not say so, other responses in her interview suggested that her example was an experience of inequality to white students in general. Shortly after, when I ask if she had ever witnessed racial

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discrimination, she spoke further on her feelings of blacks not being disadvantaged by inequality, but quite the opposite: they were advantaged by a power they wielded in the social landscape of the school. We talked about this:

> Anne: uh-huh, ok, right, have you ever been in a situation with an African American friend where the African American friend was discriminated against?
>
> Karan: no—*not at all*, African Americans are not discriminated *at all* in our school [thud]. They, basically, they are, they don't like run the school, but no one [voice drops] messes with them, no one messes with them, it's something you don't do
>
> Anne: ok, what about outside of school, like when you're out of school, going into stores and stuff like that
>
> Karan: no, no

Although she would not likely agree with Karan's view on the absence of discrimination toward blacks, Nika, an African American student in the mid 1990's taking classes at the advanced placement level, relayed a similar terrain in terms of social relations at the high school while she was attending. The "black" door, the Cru, the "power" ascribed to African American students, were raised in a number of interviews, whether it be in the form of discomfort in a college prep class on the part of white students and some black students, walking through the "black" door, the "socialization" pressure raised by Nika that was pressed upon black students and that discouraged black students from taking higher level courses, or the fears of black and white parents that what was so visible to them—the power of young people to sustain social psychological boundaries, and reinforce stereotypes, albeit created before their time—would jeopardize the educational future of other students.

While Karan narrated a school without racial prejudice, she also straightforwardly talked about prevailing stereotypes in the high school, as when she told me, "the CP is for

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mostly blacks and honors is for mostly – white." Karan herself, also, narrated exclusion from one of several educational structures that I describe as counteracting mechanisms of inclusion, whereby educators work with African American students to increase study and content area skills or to provide support for black students in terms of improving their grade point average. Karan, encountering her own need for skill development and study skills, was seeking a place of belonging also, but she was excluded from one of these sites, which also had an explicit black identity component.[280] Karan described the exclusion as "unfair" because "I'm not allowed to go [because] I'm white." As a white student encountering exclusion, she was adamant about its unfairness. She told me,

> ...black people, yes, were enslaved, but like, I had no control of that, no one in our school had control of it, like, you can't hold that against us, like, Jewish people it had happ—it has happened to almost every race, just because yours is more publicized and more like serious, I mean yes, it's a very serious thing, and I feel extremely sorry for everything, but like, it's not my fault, it's not anyone else's fault, it's not anyone else's fault that's still living, like the least – I mean, minorities don't achieve as well as white students, but still for the white students who don't achieve as well as the other white students, why can't *we* have something like that, or why can't we all be together?

Karan, who told me in the interview "I think white and blacks have equal opportunity depending on how much they want it" and that "African Americans are not discriminated *at all* in our school," did not see the utility in any efforts on the part of the students themselves or the institution of the school to offer black students additional support. Karan saw the distant history of slavery and the not-so-distant history of segregation as happening in the past and the responsibility of other white people, and therefore not an acceptable justification for educational efforts designed to facilitate

[280] Karan told me that a student who was involved in this site indicated that she could not participate. Karan did not follow up with any educator who was supervising the site.

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racial equality, because in her eyes equality existed. While Karan benefited from the use of a tutor, she felt the additional support of the group would be helpful to her as well.

Karan's view is similar to Jill, a white student in the advanced placement classes in the mid to late 1990's. Like Karan, Jill saw only race, when she said, "race was a huge issue that year because the students made it so known, and made it such an issue," and did not see how the existence of advanced class pull-outs contributed to black students' understanding of racial exclusion and reinforced stereotypes for students, aligning race, achievement and motivation. Karan did not see the purpose in providing a space and a means for students, whose skin color and cultural expressions "marked" them as excluded, to understand and to contradict the stereotype. Like Jill, Karan saw race but not racial exclusion.

> But I really do not see that anyone – has ever gotten discriminated against, like that's just something that people don't do, like it's—you don't do that anymore, like it's, it's something that you don't do, and I don't—I've never, ever—I think white and blacks have equal opportunity depending on how much they want it.

However, unlike Jill, Karan's academic and social experience in the high school contradicted the racial stereotypes. Like the black students in the higher level classes, Karan was in the same position of isolation from her racial ingroup because of the enrollment patterns in the levels system. Similarly, she experienced isolation from her racial outgroup because of cultural distance and because she felt shut out of structures in which they participated, which were established specifically to help black students respond to their experience of exclusion in the higher levels.

Karan did not present her experience this way to me. She spoke of being grounded in a life outside the school of family and friends. She had friendships through extracurricular activities that drew black and white students together. Nevertheless,

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within the educational structures of the high school, she was "stuck between a rock and a hard place" as a black parent told me about her son in an advanced placement class. In her experience of a form of encounter, Karan struggled to find a space to "fit in" within the tightly constructed social and academic boundaries in the high school. Additionally, because she did not "see" the boundaries that African American students narrated nor understand the enactments of exclusion they narrated, the counteracting mechanisms of inclusion established for black students appeared to be exclusionary to her and other white students. Where she hoped to come together with black students in terms of peer support program, she experienced exclusion. She did not see the inequality that created the need for the program, but she did see the program as unequally available to blacks and whites.

Karan narrated an unconvincing neutrality to her experience as a minority while a student in the majority black college preparatory classes when she told me, "and it's – it's – the sammmmme, I think, I mean, yeah, I don't think it really matters, I mean you might not have as many friends, but, you're fine." We talked about the stereotypes concerning race, achievement, and the levels system:

> Anne: ok, um, has there ever been a time in your—you know when you were going to school where—it may be even in your classes, discussing social studies, stuff like that, where people, where kids in your class have talked about what is fair, and what's right and what's wrong—you know, like sometimes, you—you know
>
> Karan: no, I mean, no, not that I can think of, I mean
>
> Anne: right, does the issue ever get raised, like you know, the CP classes being – predominantly black, does that ever get raised in the school as an issue?
>
> Karan: um-hmm
>
> [slight pause]

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Anne: and, and how does it get raised, I mean how is it talked about?

Karan: like maybe a African American student will say, "oh, us like black people always have to be in the dumb classes" or like – things like that, "all those smart white kids"

Anne: um-hmm – ok, do

Karan: ah
Anne: teachers

Anne: respond to that?

Karan: no they usually don't hear

Like the black students in the higher level classes, Karan's narrative suggested her maneuvering her way through her high school years, exhibiting a mix of non-chalance and vulnerability. In her position she conveyed two contradictory messages: her personal experience defined the first: the levels system separated students and the separation cut along racial lines; her view of racial equality defined the second: there is no racial discrimination. In between those two contradictory messages was a phenomenon she struggled with later on in the interview, which had to do with the question of why African American students did not participate in the higher levels classes in the same numbers as the white students do.

Anne: is that because black kids just don't want to be in those classes, I mean

Karan: [sighs] I don't know, I really do not know

Anne: um – ok [slight pause]

Karan: it really, I could not—I think maybe it's because they don't m—I don't know maybe because they don't think they will succeed in it – I don't know, cause I think there's a lot of African American students that could do well in it, but they don't, for some reason, either that's just the way they think it is, that's just the way it has to be, but – I think more and more, every year African Americans step up and say, "hey I'll be in a honors class"

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While Karan felt the black students with whom she was in college prep could participate in the higher level classes, she puzzled over why they do not enroll in these classes. She felt that either they thought they could not succeed or that "that's just the way they think it is, that's just the way it has to be," reflecting the same statement she made earlier about her own views of the levels system as a practice that separated students: "just the CP is for mostly blacks and honors is for mostly – white." Here she explored alternative explanations for the absence of black students in the higher levels. However, from what she said in the interview, she did not see this phenomenon of underrepresentation of African American students in the advanced placement classes as related to racial inequality.[281]

Karan narrated the isolating experience of contradicting stereotypes. She is white and she was in the college preparatory level, which defied the pattern of enrollment by race in the levels system. Like the African American students in the minority in high level classes, Karan narrated the reinforcement of mutually exclusive racial stereotypes through enrollment patterns in the levels system and the social psychological enactments of exclusion on the part of educators and students. However, unlike settings narrated by students as providing space for students to contradict racial stereotypes, Karan did not find in the predominantly black college preparatory classes support for contradiction.

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[281] It is interesting that I do not pursue the question of underrepresentation of whites in the college prep classes. In all of my interviews with students still in high school, I was particularly concerned about probing the issues while at the same time not pressing in areas where students might feel particularly vulnerable. Given that I bring my own insecurities and anxieties to the research, it is hard to determine if I really achieved this goal. I believe the question of underrepresentation of whites in college prep classes is harder for whites to address in general because it speaks to whites' discomfort in being a racial minority, white flight, and white superiority. As a result, there may have been other reasons why I skirted the issue with this student. In my effort to protecting her vulnerability, I may have been seeking to protect my own.

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She encountered isolation and to some extent racial exclusion, not from educators but from some of the black students with whom she was in classes. On the other hand, Karan did not narrate competing subjectivities as "white," or a dissonance over realizing the privilege accorded whites more than blacks in the school system. Her experience was less one of privilege or centrality in her minority position. Additionally, the unevenness in quality of the college preparatory classes makes it difficult to analyze her position as fully within sites of educational privilege. At a result, my analysis of Karan's narrative as in a desegregated space of encounter is somewhat problematic. Because her narrative does not suggest privilege but instead struggle and contradiction, it is unlikely that her experience would produce a re-examination of self in relation to other that has the capacity to underscore the privilege accorded white students in the school system. Instead, her narrative illustrates in a compelling manner the powerful influence of the levels system on students' views of themselves and of the classes in which they feel they do or do not belong.

Encounter for Biracial Students

"I didn't quite fit in, um, I was everywhere because I, I, I refused to be stereotyped"

Deborah identified herself as a biracial student. She graduated in the middle to late 1970's. She attended Moreland and then transferred to a predominantly white school in they early years of the Shaker Schools Plan. Deborah told me that her connections with whites were stronger growing up than her connections with African Americans. She grew up in the Moreland area with her white mother and African American father who

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lived together. Deborah's "extended" family consisted of a close circle of white women friends of her mother's, nearly all of who were married or partnered with black men.

Deborah told me that as a biracial young person in the company of her white mother, she found the stares of others particularly unnerving. As she got older, she became more familiar with racial stereotypes, which she and her parents defied. Knowing this, she experiences the thrill and power of shocking people:

> ...I don't remember anytime, problems in school, I just know at malls, we would go like to Randall Mall, and I would say, at first, at first I was embarrassed but then after a while I got used to it and I would know people were staring at us and I would—or they wouldn't, and so, she'd be across the thing and like, and I'd say "Hey, Mom!" purposefully, and people would be doing double takes, and I would just love it, and I'd be just like, "You – people"...but at first, I was, I remember being embarrassed and I'm like, ok, I'll play with their minds a little.

Deborah narrated experiences with exclusion. These were moments when her sense of how she saw herself and how she understood others to see her were seriously challenged, but not frequently enough, she told me, to cause her to change her thinking about self in relation to other and in relation to educational structures at that time in her life. When Deborah's mother "volunteered" Deborah for the Shaker Schools Plan, Deborah left Moreland Elementary School and was bused to a predominantly white school in another neighborhood. In her new school, Deborah told me she was comfortable. She described it as "definitely – mostly white." Deborah told me, "I didn't feel weird there, so it wasn't uncomfortable, in *my* perspective."

When Deborah was in elementary school, the proximity of the neighborhood schools and the economic background of most of the families in the school to which she transferred meant many women were at home and children could return home for lunch. Those children who were transferred to the school ate in the school. Deborah told me she

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did not feel stigmatized by having to stay at school for lunch. She said, "that did not make me feel any separate—I had no—you're a *kid*, do you really notice that stuff?" Deborah talked about her experience having lunch in the home of a white classmate, an informal arrangement encouraged by the PTA of some of the predominantly white schools to which African American students were bused:

> ...and ah, she took me home to ah, for lunch...and – somehow, *not then*, and it was fun, I had a great—but – while we were there, and of course it wasn't her mom [cooking lunch]...it was her *housekeeper*, and while—I remember there was a comment given when I was there, in something to the tune of – you never have a hot, cooked meal, yeah, something like that, but again as a kid, it didn't sink in, but later, and I mean *much later* I realized that...they were...thinking they were taking care of this poor little black kid who can't have a hot cooked meal. I could care a less. And – I have had plenty of hot cooked lunches...so it was just, you know, people saw things a lot differently than—you're a kid, you don't, you know? So—that kind of stuff, kind of, as an *adult* I've learned, and I didn't know that kind of stuff was going on...

The educational structures in place through the desegregation placed the children within a setting designed to provide equal educational opportunity. The social-psychological experience, however, was subject to the persistent stereotypes that sustained unequal power relations ascribed to race and class. Within this social-psychological "space" created as a result of the desegregation of the elementary schools, black and biracial children encountered competing subjectivities, including competing views about their family life and such matters as the kind of food prepared for them at home. While Deborah's narrative locates her within sites of educational privilege, she is positioned in my analysis as within a social-psychological space of "encounter." This is largely because of her experiences with exclusion on the part of other educators or students.

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Deborah's narration of growing up among mostly whites created a subjectivity that contradicted the view of others toward her. She may have felt troubled or hurt by what an individual said or assumed, but she told me that she did not understand racism until she was older. While Deborah recalled her experience in the predominantly white school to which she transferred in the Shaker Schools Plan as being positive and productive, she did remember additional incidents that "shocked" her.

Deborah told me that she forgot an assignment and her mother drove her back to the school around five in the evening to pick the assignment up from her classroom, since the schools were open after school and she could get into her classroom. On her way into the building she ran into some children her own age, whom she did not know. She told me that she believed they lived in the neighborhood but did not attend the public school:

> ...I was going to side door and there were these kids who didn't go to school there, they were my age, but they didn't go to school, I said, prob—my thought was they probably went to the private schools or something, and they said, "What are you doing here?" And I'm like, "Well, this is where I go to school" or I said, "I have to get something." And they said, "What are you the *janitor's* kid?" And I went, "No, I go to school here." And I was just dumbfounded.

Deborah's experience reflects the pattern of experiences among those students I have situated in the desegregated space of encounter and contradiction. She told me that she was "dumbfounded," not dissimilar from the "shock" expressed by Lynne when her teacher told her she would never earn above a grade of B on her papers, or Lynne's daughter Nika when she and all the black students in her advanced level class were told to leave the class by an educator. In each of these desegregated spaces, the inclusion of students of color was contested. Deborah told me this experience "was the only incident I ever had, that um, was blatant," but she acknowledged "I'm sure there were other things that I never noticed, but there was nothing else that I remember." At the same time, she

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pointed out to me that the students she had encountered before entering the building "weren't even kids in the school, they were outside" – using language that positioned herself as an insider to the school, located within the sites of educational privilege. In this experience, however, she encountered the contradictions as a child from outside the neighborhood but inside the school.

It was only later in life, through her connections with colleagues in her workplace, who were predominantly African American, and her experience as a parent navigating new permutations of exclusion that attempted to disqualify her from the equal treatment she expected to receive in the school system, that Deborah understood these childhood experiences within the context of unequal racial relations. However, Deborah had warned me early on in the interview, "Now make sure you let me—cause, as I'm thinking of this, I'm, like I have to remember, not my perception now, [but] what it was back then, and there's definitely, there's definitely differences, I have to remember that, have to keep reminding myself." She made it clear later in the interview that the "differences" in perception were not due to time or general maturity but were instead a result of specific personal experiences that she had, experiencing racial inequality in the school system more recently as a parent, coupled with having developed stronger connections with other African Americans through her profession.

Deborah narrated another experience of encounter in the predominantly white school to which she had transferred:

> Ah, I broke my leg on the, the playground, and I, you know, the kids carried me into the nurse's office. No one knew it was broken at the time, and the nurse looked at it, and she felt – it was not – there was nothing wrong with—you know, I "just bruised it"...and so, she said, she called my mom, and, and at work, and said, you know, "She's fallen, um, I, I'm, I'm pretty sure...I'm sure it's ok"... she presented it to my mother as, "She's ok, ah, she's just whining," so I proceeded

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> to—I had to walk—go up the steps to my classroom, and, this talks about my *neighbors* because we took a school bus, and when we got to the school bus, um, dropped us off at the corner, *I couldn't walk*, and I was crying, I had—I don't know, I just knew it hurt and I couldn't walk on it, and um, the neighbor's kids, a couple of them, went and got their mom...and they came and they carried me to her house, and then my mom, and they called my mom and um, my mom came home...

Deborah told me she did not realize her leg was broken. She only knew she was in great pain. Those in authority, the nurse, her teacher, and every adult who must have seen her struggle through the afternoon, and onto the bus, had indicated to her that this injury did not require medical attention. Though in pain, Deborah trusted the assessments, as did her mother, who when she arrived home put ice on the injury and went out briefly to pick up some groceries. However, what Deborah underscored in her narration was the disturbance as a child that the nurse did not accept her self-report of pain. Deborah said that when she returned to school, one week later with her leg in a cast, she went to see the nurse:

> I remember I had to stay home for a week and I remember and I was, I was one of the, I was one of those goody-two-shoe kids, I never caused any problem, and I remember going to the nurse that day I had to go back, which was a week later, and I said, "I," and I said to her, "I *told* you my leg hurt—why didn't you believe me?" And she kept saying "I'm sorry, I'm sorry," but, you know, I *remember* – I'm like, "You let me—you're my *nurse!*"

Deborah's narration of the event touched upon a theme of betrayal raised by a number of black students in the study. Often times betrayal characterized the "encounter" experience for black students, particularly when an educator appeared to the student to be guided more by a racial stereotype of them than by an informed understanding of them as a student. Participants often narrated a pattern of interactions reflecting institutional racism. One parent described the social psychological boundaries that often shaped institutional racism as the following:

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> ...perceptions that people held deeply, that—they were not racist, they were just, um, attitudes that they often turned out to, to have that effect, so, ah, because I know even – I mean, you *know* that people are not um, [slight pause] um, deliberately mean or vicious, but [fast again] they have just for so long held these opi—opinions, and it's so prevalent in the – um – society, that it colors the way they respond, and that was difficult for people to admit to.

Students of color narrated experiences of teacher suspicion or disbelief over students' reporting that they did not get a homework assignment done, or reasons for being late for class, being sick at home, or having a teacher question their authorship of an exceptional paper that they completed. They narrated an encounter with a betrayal of trust that the students had hoped to have in their teacher. Often African American parents told me that they would intervene by contacting the teacher, affirming their child's story, assuaging the sense of betrayal. But this required that the child came home and reported back to the parent what had happened. It also involved the parent having the time, access, and sense of entitlement to correct an educator and advocate on their children's behalf.

Deborah responded very positively to the questions on expectations ("very much" or 4), opportunities ("great deal," or 3), and information and assistance ("a lot," or 4). When I asked Deborah to compare her experience as a student in the high school[282] to other African Americans, she told me it was "somewhat dissimilar," while her comparison with whites "somewhat similar." Deborah reported that the strength of her

[282] Despite the fact that Deborah narrated her experience of being raised by her black father and white mother, I continued to "see" Deborah as black. It is only much later in the interview, when I ask participants for their racial identity did I understand how I had far afield I was from understanding the strength of her connections with whites and her lack of identity and connection with blacks at that point in her life. See my own narrative in the "speedbumps" section in the research design chapter.

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connections to whites was very high (seven on the IIS scale) and her connections to blacks as very low (one on the IIS scale) during her high school years.[283]

In high school, Deborah noted that she sought out the "liberal, PC people" as her friends, as did a number of black students she also knew. Within the high school, there were students who fit that category and there was an environment that fostered interracial friendships. Deborah's immediate social group was a space that allowed contradiction. While Deborah did not narrate dissonance within this desegregated space of encounter, she noted that she struggled to "fit in." She told me "and there were black kids in there, but they were like me...and that's why I never really, high school was kind of weird, I didn't quite fit in, um, I was kind of everywhere, because I, I, I *refused* to be *stereotyped.*"

Deborah returned to Shaker Heights many years after college. In our interview, she talked about her child's experience in the Shaker schools. Deborah told me that her child has a skin color such that the child may be perceived as biracial or white. In her child's school, Deborah found that educators were accessing racial stereotypes about her child and the family, and in the classroom she felt her child was encountering exclusion. She noted, "and, I, I did at first question why I moved back here because of that...um, that was one of my realities...I told you I'm in this – [kind of laughs] growing—thing, of not being too naïve ...and um – I realized that – kids are, the kids are treated differently

[283] As indicated later, Deborah noted that about ten or so years ago, particularly when she began her work in an organization that was predominantly black, her strength of connections to whites and blacks have changed, noting that it would now be a 3 on the IIS scale (still viewed within the "low" strength) for her relationship with African Americans and 4 on the IIS scale (also viewed within the "low" strength) for her strength of connections to whites. A number of former students talked about changes in their selections after high school—in college or as an adult. I cite Deborah's narrative here because they relate to her child's experience of exclusion and Deborah's dissonance over persistent racial stereotypes that have influenced her experience as a parent in the school system.

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depending on what race they think they are. And they were assuming [my child] was African American, and I didn't think [my child] was being treated, I think the way that the white kids were being treated. They made assumptions, um, about who I was, assumptions who [my child] was, assumptions where I *lived*."

Deborah told me, "I was *furious*" – furious about the teacher's accessing racial stereotypes that resulted in her child's "second-class citizen" treatment. Deborah's narration of her child's experience illustrates the experience of "encounter." It was a shock and it caused her to re-examine her experience of self in relation to other in a desegregated setting. She said this experience really shook her up, that it "was the first time, I can say I've blatantly seen ah, ah, a distinction [made] between races," in the school system. Deborah told me that based on her personal experience with her child, she believed that teachers' expectations of African American students were lower than for white students. She noted that these lowered expectations were based on "some old school thoughts" but not necessarily by older teachers, noting the age of the teacher was not the influencing factor, but, instead, the belief systems of the teacher. The consequences for students, she noted, were grave: "I, I have a feeling that – the kids are only going to do what you expect them to do." This was a belief Deborah felt so strongly that it she sent her husband, who is white, to the open house meeting early in the year.

> I think there's some old school thoughts that the black kids, well "they're not going to college anyway, so"—or whatever their thinking is, "so I don't *expect* that much from them," [or] "they come from a single family home, I don't expect that much from them," [or] "they came from another district, I" – you know, and I think, I think that ties into a—that's my gut, it ties into a lot of this, you know, so much so that I was very happy that on curriculum night, or whatever it's called, the open house...[my husband] went, as the "white" parent – cause I don't want my kid's teacher to have this lowered expectation of [my child] because [my child] is African American, and I—they do that, so it worked out great, I didn't have to go...but, this first impression was she was a white kid and that's what's

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gonna stick with them. It may be wrong, but it's, that's what happens...you've got to think about this...

Deborah's narrative is a disturbing reminder of how people of color in the school system have had to strategize to bypass racial stereotypes and "pass" in some way as within the category of "white" that elicits stereotypes of greater competence and deservedness than for black students. At the same time, however, like a number of black parents whom I interviewed, Deborah did not experience exclusion in a complete sense. This was because she raised these and other problems with educators in the school system, and she found a receptivity on the part of the educators toward her concerns. Deborah narrated a willingness that she observed on the part of educators with whom she discussed her concerns to re-examine the "encounter" with her. She suggested their reflection and acknowledgement indicated their willingness to respond to the racial exclusion she or her child had experienced due to another educator's acceptance of mutually exclusive racial stereotypes. A number of black parents narrated this responsiveness on the part of the administrators and teachers, once a concern was brought to their attention. The frequency of these "encounters" and level of dissonance they produced were common to the narratives of black parents. At the same time, while Deborah and other parents of color narrated satisfaction with the response of educators toward the education of *their child*, achieved through constant parental vigilance, they continued to narrate dissatisfaction *for other children* of color, and sometimes engaged in activism on behalf of all students of color within the district.

I have analyzed Deborah's narrative as within a desegregated social-psychological experience of encounter because as a student and as a parent, she encountered competing subjectivities in the "other's" view of her, and as a result

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experienced exclusion. Deborah narrated participation as a student within sites of educational privilege. As a parent, she narrated parental vigilance to ensure her child's participation in sites of educational privilege. This experience of "encounter" with exclusion, then, has shaped her view of educational opportunities, academic outcomes, and social power as not equally available to white and blacks in the school system. She told me that her experience has resulted in making her more vigilant about teacher expectations for her child and it has made her more cognizant of the impediments to equality in schooling for black students. She attributed the need for her vigilance to be a result of the continued influence of stereotypes on educators' view of her child in the classroom. The "wearying" effect, as narrated by an African American parent, was the frequency of the exclusion and the necessity of engaging an educator in a discussion about the impact of their enactments of exclusion. This discussion, then, sometimes became the educator's "encounter" and "shock" as they came to understand their participation in institutional racism. Similarly, it sometimes became an opportunity for reflection and change of practice.

Summary of Desegregated Space of Encounter

The white students whose narratives I have positioned within the desegregated space of encounter experienced compatibility in their sense of self as "student," and experienced enactments of inclusion from educators and other students in their classes (which were mostly higher level classes). At the same time, they narrated an "encounter" (Cross, 1991; Helms 1990) that undermined their view of the broader society as racially equal and in some way implicated them in the privilege accorded to whites. For example,

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Matt, John, and Samuel narrated the chasm between intentions and consequences and the "shock" of experiencing that gap. While the white students saw their behavior as neutral, the black students reacted strongly against the particular words used, framing of data, or action taken in the white students' interactions with black students. In Samuel's narrative as well as Matt and John's, the source of the "shock" was the exclusion by black students toward them, producing competing subjectivities for these students in terms of self as "white."

In this study, I analyze these students' inability to anticipate the reaction of black students as a consequence of their experience with *enactments of inclusion* and a *compatible subjectivity* as "student," which limited their capacity to understand exclusion, as narrated by many black students in the study. Additionally, these students did not encounter the power of a stereotype to exclude them from an educational opportunity. On the contrary, the power of the stereotype of white students as more competent and deserving than black students, reinforced by the patterns of enrollment by race at the different levels, contributed to the white students' experience of inclusion.

As a result of the "encounter," the students narrated less certainty in seeing themselves as situated in a just system of educational opportunity. These students expressed some level of struggle with their sense of self as "white," as a consequence of their ability to see the contradictions in the desegregated school system and the ways in which access to sites of educational privilege was impeded for black students while these sites were very accessible for themselves as white students. In this study, then, I theorize that it is this re-examination of self in relation to other and to educational structures in the

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schools, resulting from an "encounter" in a desegregated setting, that contributed to these students' narration of racial inequality in the school system.

It is likely that this re-examination of self, and the subsequent complication of students' views on racial equality, was additionally facilitated by adults in these students' lives. Samuel spoke about his parents, his girlfriend, and several educators who were instrumental in helping him understand his experience of encounter. Matt narrated his family's support for the desegregation of the schools as it was carried out in the Shaker Schools Plan. Mark narrated an awareness of his parents' support for racial equality and his grandparents' support of the desegregation plan in the early 1970's. Among the African American students, this was true of Nika also, and her mother, Lynne, although Lynne narrated having these conversations later in life, when her children were in the school system. Deborah, a biracial student, narrated the influence of African American colleagues in her increasing awareness of racial inequality in the school system. Some of the students whose narratives I have analyzed in a segregated space of centrality, particularly Kate and Lorraine, narrated the influence of their parents' support for racial equality. Although Kate and Lorraine did not narrate encounters with exclusion, their narratives suggest that their family's support of desegregation likely resulted in discussions of the ways in which racial equality was impeded and facilitated in the school system.[284]

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[284] In addition to the likely influence of an adult family member or educator to support and critique the students' emerging understanding of self in relation to other and in relation to educational structures, shaping their conceptualization of racial equality in public education, other factors may have also been influential. These include educational structures that were heterogeneous and allowed for the examination, contradiction, and rejection of racial stereotypes. Students also mentioned the role of educators in their interactions with themselves and with other students and their effectiveness as teachers. Students' age appeared to be most influential in the articulation of point of views and additional life experience that confirmed or contradicted their

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Karan narrated the isolating experience of a student who contradicted mutually exclusive racial stereotypes in the levels system, with enrollment patterns that reinforce those stereotypes. She is white and she was in the college preparatory level. Like the African American students in the minority in high level classes, Karan did not find support for her contradiction of a racial stereotype in the levels system. She encountered isolation and to some extent racial exclusion, not from educators but from some of the black students with whom she was in classes. On the other hand, Karan's experience was less one of centrality in her minority position in the college preparatory classes. While some college preparatory classes would be analyzed in this study as sites of educational privilege, others would not. In this sense, Karan was less likely to understand her position as a white student in the school system as "privileged." While the reinforcement of racial stereotypes through the levels system benefited white students in general, who were viewed as competent and deserving, they created problems for Karan, who contradicted them.

I have analyzed Deborah's narrative as within a desegregated social-psychological experience of encounter because as a student and as a parent, she encountered competing subjectivities and as a result experienced exclusion. A biracial student, Deborah narrated participation as a student within sites of educational privilege. As a parent, she narrated parental vigilance to ensure her child's participation in sites of educational privilege. Nevertheless, Deborah's experience of "encounter" with exclusion as a parent in the system, coupled with her increased connections with African Americans

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school experience. Finally, the larger social context and history at the time they were students and as they grew older may have also played a role in students' conceptualizations of racial equality in public education.

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in her workplace, shaped her view of educational opportunities, academic outcomes, and social power as not equally available to white and blacks in the school system.

In terms of the black students whose narratives I have positioned in a desegregated space of encounter, these students experienced incompatibility in their sense of self as "student" and enactments of exclusion from educators and other students in their classes. These students narrated encounters with enactments of exclusion on the part of educators who accepted mutually exclusive stereotypes of white students as more competent and deserving than black students, privileging one group and marginalizing the other (Apfelbaum, 1979). Some of them described encounters as "shocking," while others narrated less "shock" but still spoke of the experience of exclusion. The students varied in the extent to which they viewed their experience as similar to other black students and white students. Those who viewed their experience as dissimilar to black and white students narrated the greatest racial isolation. Most of the students responded fairly positively to the questions about expectations, opportunities, and information and assistance. Nevertheless their narratives of some form of encounter with exclusion influenced their views on racial equality in public education. In this study, then, I theorize that it is this re-examination of self in relation to other and to educational structures in the schools, resulting from an "encounter" with exclusion in a desegregated setting, that contributed to these students' narration of racial inequality in the school system. While they varied in the strength of their perspectives, all of these students narrated a view that racial equality did not exist in the Shaker schools, nor in the larger society.

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All of these African American students were within the boundaries of sites of educational privilege, which had assured their academic success and social mobility but had also isolated them from many of their black peers and for some, from their white peers. Some of these students had experienced transition out of and then back into sites of educational privilege during their years in the Shaker schools. Keith narrated movement farther out to the perimeter of these sites. Stephen narrated early participation in sites of educational privilege, then withdrawal, later followed by a movement back into these sites, particularly with the facilitation of several educators. Julie narrated movement more closely towards the center, without the facilitation of educators or educational structures—in her case, she persisted despite the discouragement of educators. Lynne and her daughter Nika narrated participation in sites of educational privilege. While both narrated an experience where their place in advanced classes was contested, Nika's sense of entitlement to equal educational opportunities and academic outcomes was more evident in her narration than that of her mother's (Lynne).

Conclusion

As a result of my analysis of the students' conceptualizations and experience of racial equality in public education, I found students narrated particular social psychological experiences within certain educational structures. By social psychological experiences, I mean the experience of interpersonal and intergroup relations and the perceptions and beliefs about self and other that guide those relations. I developed an analytical framework based on students' view of themselves in relation to others, and their experience of the educational structures in which they participated. These two

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aspects of the narratives, *self in relation to other* and *in relation to educational structures*, informed the analysis of data concerning the extent to which participants have thought about and experienced racial equality, particularly in terms of equal educational opportunities, equal academic outcomes, equal social power.

In analyzing student narratives within the three social-psychological "spaces" of *centrality*, *marginality*, and *encounter*, it is evident that the students' narratives suggested vastly different experiences of schooling. These narratives also suggest that discrepant experiences of schooling contributed to the gap between white and black students in terms of accessing educational opportunities, producing academic outcomes, and experiencing social power. Discrepant experiences in schooling also appear to play a role in influencing students' views on racial equality in the school system.

Finally, in the arrangement of educational structures, such as the "open" enrollment policy of the levels system, educational opportunity *appeared* to be equally available to white and black students. An analysis of the student narratives suggests that should the educational structure in the levels system be deemed unjust in some way, it would call into question the inclusion of those students, predominantly white, at the high levels and the inclusion of predominantly African American students at the college preparatory and general levels. It would place in jeopardy an argument about deservingness or merit, or lack of it. This process has been largely avoided by the system's adherence to the levels system as an educationally sound approach and its assurances that an "open" enrollment policy facilitates equal educational opportunity. While school officials concede a more nuanced view of just how "open" enrollment is, students who are centrally located within sites of academic privilege, and those

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marginally located, were least likely to "grapple" with these nuances. Those students who were positioned somewhere at a distance from the center of these sites of academic privilege, or on the edge of their boundaries, whose narratives I have analyzed as characterized by a social psychological experience of "encounter," were more likely to understand the fallacy of "open" system and the racial stereotypes reinforced through students' rate or participation by race.

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CHAPTER V:

UNDER THE SAME ROOF, THROUGH MANY DOORS

The purpose of this study was to better understand how parents, students, and educators in the context of school desegregation have conceptualized and experienced racial equality in public education. To do this, I studied archival materials related to the desegregation of the school system and the educational policies and practices related to desegregation. I also studied the narratives of parents, students, and educators concerning schooling, race, and equality, providing a glimpse into patterns of experiences over time, particularly when coupled with the analysis of archival data. These patterns reflect students' social and academic desegregation experience in other parts of the country as documented in the literature (Cohen, 1972, 1975, 1984; Cook, 1985; Fine, Weis, & Powell, 1997; Fine, Anand, Jordan, & Sherman, 2000; Fine et al., 2003; Mickelson, 2001; Wells & Crain, 1994, 1997).

Porous Geographical Boundaries and Impermeable Educational Structures

In the history of the desegregation of the school system, the district established permeable geographical boundaries through the implementation of desegregation efforts, such as the change in boundaries for feeder elementary schools to the junior high schools in the 1966-67 school year, the desegregation of the elementary schools through voluntary busing in the 1970-71 school year, which expanded to the junior high schools in the 1977-78 school year, and the reorganization of the school system in the 1987-88 school year. Since residential segregation persisted to some extent, the geographical metaphor "the other side of the tracks" and "deep Shaker" continued to be relevant.

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Nevertheless, as geographical boundaries became more permeable to the racial outgroup they formerly excluded, structural boundaries (policies and practices) emerged over time. In the establishment of the levels system, the likelihood of heterogeneity decreased: most clearly heterogeneity in achievement but additionally, as a result of structural and social psychological boundaries, race and class heterogeneity. Hence, the "other side of the tracks" and "deep Shaker" found their expression in the academic tracking of the major subject areas in the high school, where academic tracks, or levels, predicted homogeneous groups of students not only by achievement level but also by race and class. As a result, the significance of these metaphors persisted through the structural boundaries established in the levels system.

Critical to its reputation of excellence and its commitment to racial equality has been the school system's preservation and equal distribution of sites of educational privilege. By sites of educational privilege, I mean educational settings characterized by high teacher expectations leading to high academic outcomes; a rigorous and meaningful curriculum; opportunities to study and discuss academic work with peers; and relationships between students and educators that result in strong and productive connections inside and outside the classroom. Sites of educational privilege include but are not limited to classes. Extra-curricular offerings that result in deeper connections with peers and adults in the school, opportunities to perform, debate, write, compete athletically, and provide community service are also sites of educational privilege. Educational structures that cannot be categorized by these criteria are referred to in this study as sites of educational exclusion. An analysis of archival and interview data indicate that within the levels system, sites of educational privilege were preserved but

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not distributed equally at each level nor were they equally available to white and black students or accessed with the same frequency.

Certain educational structures appeared more likely to make these structural boundaries permeable to African American students. Because they provided the space for movement into sites of educational privilege, they are referred to in this analysis as *counteracting mechanisms of inclusion*. They were inclusive in that they opened sites of educational privilege to a broader, more expansive group of students. Examples of these counteracting mechanisms were educational structures put in place primarily in the current phase, the MAC Scholars and more recently the Study Circles program, along with a program put in place much earlier but continuing into the current phase: the extensive and no-fee tutoring service. These mechanisms facilitated inclusion. They made up for deficient skills; built communities of learners for intellectual engagement and support; improved study strategies; and reduced impediments due to explicit subject area prerequisites. They also thwarted implicit social psychological enactments of exclusion, such as, low teacher expectations, hostile learning environments, and racial isolation. At the same time, these counteracting mechanisms of inclusion focused on the students and not the educational structures, and therefore did not transform the institution. These mechanisms "cause[d] a minimum of disruption to the school system," an early criterion in planning desegregation efforts.

Educational structures that directly affected other structures (policies and practices) of the school system are analyzed in this study as *transformative educational structures*. These structures facilitated the provision of equal educational opportunities, production of equal academic outcomes, and the engendering of equal social power,

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which I define in this study as facilitating racial equality. They were transformative structures in that they directly impacted the classroom and changed the nature of relations of power ascribed to race and class within the school system. These structures included the following: the Shaker Schools (busing) Plan, the Teacher Expectations Lead to Student Achievement (TESA) program designed for facilitating equality in the classroom, the reorganization of the school district, and the Lomond math reform effort that focused on teaching and learning that narrowed the achievement gap between black and white students in math on the statewide Proficiency Tests.

Certain educational structures did not provide equal educational opportunities, produce equal academic outcomes, or engender equal social power. These structures were more likely to make the boundaries around sites of educational privilege *im*permeable. They led to stasis, not change. Because they did not allow for any change in relations of power ascribed to race, these structures are analyzed as *replicative educational structures*. The primary educational structure that makes these boundaries impermeable was the tracking system, a common practice in schools throughout the country, particularly desegregated school systems.

The findings of this study illustrate that as geographical boundaries became permeable to African American students entering the system, structural boundaries (the policies and practices of the school system) became impermeable. These structural boundaries were sustained through the expansion in scope and number of classes that were homogeneously grouped, with an elaborate levels system established in the 1964-1965 school year. Embedded in the logic of "modern" education, the argument for the levels system was based on it serving students best by grouping them by past subject area

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performance, standardized test scores, and teacher recommendations. It also allowed the district to argue that since students were grouped by "ability," the high standards of academic excellence, for which the school system was known, would be preserved. More crudely, "high achievers" would not be impeded by the "underachieving students" or students with the skill levels but lacking in "motivation." These terms formed a common language among educators and parents, and absorbed by children, they carved out spaces in which opportunities were differentially accessed and the gap in outcomes widened instead of narrowed.

An additional and compelling argument for the levels systems has been the recognition colleges and universities give to the high level classes, particularly advanced placement classes, which are seen as successfully producing highly qualified applicants to some of the most competitive colleges. This argument reveals the fundamental phenomenon of education as a "property of power" (Ng, 1979). In this argument, schools are a setting for academic competition. Parents who have the access to educators and the understanding of how the system works are more successful in ensuring their children's possession of this "property" and their use of it to secure admission to a competitive college. This argument is compelling, particularly in a desegregated school, where the potential for African American students to participate in high level classes enhanced their competitiveness in the college admission process and their economic mobility upon completion of college. Consequently, the demand for advanced placement classes is increasing across the country, as are the numbers of students electing to enroll in these classes, with more recent increases at the national level in the numbers of students of color. At the same time, African American parents in the study narrated the

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impermeability of boundaries at the advanced levels for black students, underscoring discrepancies in the experience of inclusion by race in sites of educational privilege.

Social Psychological Boundaries: Self in Relation to Other and to Educational Structures

In addition to geographical and structural boundaries impacting students' access to sites of educational privilege, there were also social-psychological boundaries that were narrated by students in particular. By social-psychological I mean the interpersonal and intergroup relations, and the perceptions and beliefs about self and other that guide those relations. The notion of social psychological boundaries emerged in students' narration of inclusion (permeable boundaries) or exclusion (impermeable boundaries) within sites of educational privilege.

Students narrated their school experience, from elementary to high school, but with a particular focus on the high school years. I studied the extent to which students viewed the school system as providing equal educational opportunities, producing equal academic outcomes, and engendering equal relations of power. I also studied the extent to which the narratives revealed evidence of the student experiencing equality according to this formula. I found that at a very fundamental level, students' narratives of equality within a desegregated school system emerged from their experience of self in relation to other and were deeply influenced by their position in relation to sites of educational privilege.

When students' experience of self in relation to other was characterized by *compatible* subjectivities, that is a view of the student by the other that is congruent with the student's view of self, the result was a sense of *inclusion*. When students' experience

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of self in relation to other was characterized by *incompatible or competing* subjectivities, that is a view of the student by the other that is incongruent with the participant's view of self, the result was a sense of *exclusion*. Competing subjectivities involved contestation over self as "student," narrated by African American students, and self as "white" narrated by white students. Another consequence of exclusion was an experience of *dissonance* for students who persisted in settings where they experienced competing subjectivities. The competing nature of the relation between self and other is indicative of the relations of power ascribed to race and class in the classroom and in the schools. The source of the power struggle was the contestation over the other as accepting a racial stereotype of the student and the student attempting to contradict that stereotype.

The frequency with which black students encountered exclusion from educators and the impact of that exclusion on their taking advantage of educational opportunities, producing academic outcomes, and experiencing social power was vastly different from that of white students. The persistence of mutually exclusive racial stereotypes that view white students as more competent and deserving than black students was most poignantly expressed by an African American educator summarizing the reaction on the part of white students of "See we always knew" to the February 1997 *Shakerite* issue on the gap in student academic performance between whites and blacks. Black students narrated how these stereotypes were accepted by educators and influenced teachers' enactments of exclusion.

Despite the policy of "open" enrollment, then, the structural boundaries established through the levels system reinforced the social-psychological boundaries, resulting in educational opportunity for African American students in isolation from

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black and sometimes white peers. Efforts to facilitate racial equality were thwarted by efforts to preserve privilege. While white students narrated equal opportunity, black students narrated exclusion.

In this narration of a very different experience is reflected the interdependence of unequal relations of power. Based on the experience of white students whose narratives reflect "encounter," the opening up of some sites of educational privilege (such as the Shaker Schools Plan at Moreland) to a critical mass of black students and some white students allowed some of the white students to come face to face with the privilege accorded their skin color and its culture. While this did not jeopardize their academic standing, it did cause a great deal of dissonance. This was contrary to the students whose narratives reflected centrality or marginality. These students did not substantially engage with students outside their racial group in the classroom, because there were few black students in the higher level classrooms and few white students in many college preparatory and general classes in which the black students were enrolled.

Student narratives in this study suggest that the view of racial equality was most positive among students least likely to have experienced exclusion (predominantly white students), while those students who experienced exclusion (black students predominantly and some white students) were more likely to narrate a critical view of racial inequality in the school system. However, among those who narrated the greatest degree of exclusion from sites of privilege, their critique of the system was often followed by a statement that turned back into a critique of self, such as "maybe it was just me" or narratives of achievement through merit, such as "it's all about what the individual gets out of it" or "black kids can get the same education a white kid gets..."

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A Split of Institutional Prerogatives: The Conundrum for Desegregated Schools

In the study of archival and interview data over the nearly forty years of desegregation efforts, two competing and interdependent district prerogatives are evident. As the district has endeavored to retain those parents who keep the system racially and economically balanced through its cultivation of sites of educational privilege, it also has worked intensively, particularly in the current phase, to draw African American students into these sites. In its split of institutional prerogatives is reflected the commitment to academic excellence in a desegregated setting. At the same time, also reflected are the relations of power accorded to race in the larger society, in which loss of white students portends the loss of resources and reputation for academic excellence.

It is the relations of power ascribed to race that were narrated in the experiences of students in their view of self in relation to other and in relation to educational structures. As a white student graduating in the early 1980's noted about her participation in the busing plan at Moreland, she was aware of both the significance of her presence there as a white student but also of a contingency in her presence, which she narrated as "Hey, I'm doing you a favor—I could go back to my elementary school." This provocative and introspective statement underscores the privilege of those who have social mobility, facilitated by race, class and educational background, and the privilege of "choice" or as an educator narrated, the ability to "control your own destiny." Implicit, then, in the relationship between the white community, in particular, and its desegregated school system is the power of "the favor."

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Plying Apart Privilege and Exclusion

Hence the history of desegregation as documented in the archives and narrated in the experience of students, parents, and educators is a history of competing initiatives. While the district endeavored to sustain the educational structures that assured white parents of preserved academic standards, it worked to create access for black students to these structures. Each action taken by the district toward one goal precipitated action toward the other goal. These entangled efforts at replication and transformation have produced a "knot" of privilege and exclusion that Powell (1997) notes must be unwound at the same time, in order to ensure both sets of "strands" are no longer interdependent and are substantially changed. Powell writes,

> There are tiny intermediate twists which have been in place for many years and are hard and tight. Some of the twists are brand new and have been tied over the old. The black strands and the white operate like a hoist, holding each other in place. Pulling at the black strands alone will not untie the knot, and may actually tighten it. The white strands must loosen as well. (Powell, 1997, page 10)

This study illustrates over time how relations of power ascribed to race relinquished access at the perimeter of sites of educational privilege, but not at their center, a "property of power" (Ng, 1979). In this sense, the study provides a social psychological case study of Apfelbaum's theory of relations of power (1979). While transformative educational structures and acts of inclusion made sites of educational privilege more permeable, replicative structures and exclusion resulted in decreasing permeability from perimeter to center, strengthening the rigidity of the center and foiling the achievement of racial equality in public education. This is evident in the racial gap that continues to exist in terms of students accessing equal educational opportunity, producing equal academic outcomes, and exercising equal relations of power.

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As the narratives of some of the student participants in particular suggest, there is the desire to interrupt the interdependent patterns of inclusion and exclusion by changing structures and social-psychological influences for the sake of transformative change. An African American student, Nika, noted that alongside the tradition of support for racial equality in education there was a level of resistance and fear within the institution:

> I think they try very hard, but I think that the problem is – they're not willing to admit that there are flaws because I think it will – not put the school to shame, but kind of bring the truth out, that you're not as great as you – are cracked up to be and what you put off to people, that whole presence that you give. But they don't, they don't want that to be flawed or tainted, they don't want, they want to still lift that up, that "We're this great institution of learning and we have all this diversity, there's all this equity," but there isn't—and I think that they're afraid of what could happen if the truth comes out, and I think nobody wants to deal with it, because it will be a mess...

In Nika's landscape of social relations within a desegregated school, the consequences of years of participation in educational structures and encounters with inclusion or exclusion have vastly different influences on the formation of young people's understanding of self in relation to other, those within one's racial group and those outside it. Socially and academically these influences position students in very different places in relation to sites of educational privilege and inform their understanding of racial equality in vastly different ways.

Policy Recommendations

In considering the district's history and its continued efforts to provide equal educational opportunities, produce equal academic outcomes, and engender equal relations of power, it is useful to propose several policy recommendations:

O Capitalize on the trust and inter-racial relations developed over a bumpy but nevertheless forward moving history. Build on this history and explore existing areas of

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mistrust, particularly the structural and social psychological boundaries that continue to impede racial equality.

O Protect the gains of the district by documenting efforts and learnings and engaging educators in the process.

O Position the critique and struggles within the context of progress thus far and the difficult nature of dismantling inequality in public education.

O Provide more white and black students with the experience of encounter in a desegregated setting, but facilitate the process so they are supported.

O Provide educators with the opportunity to experience and facilitate encounter through increased opportunities, and support, to teach heterogeneous classes; hire white teachers and teachers of color who are committed to and comfortable in heterogeneous classes and are willing to engage in self-reflective practice in order to effectively facilitate racial equality.

O Insist on teaching as a reflective endeavor that is subject to peer exchange on curriculum and instruction and the delivery of rigorous content in a manner that is intentional about facilitating racial equality in the classroom

O Support race-attentive efforts within the classroom that acknowledge existing relations of power ascribed to race and class in the classroom

O Pursue heterogeneity in rigorous academic settings: build on the district's reputation in advancing pedagogy through a willingness to develop new avenues for better education. Establish a "track" of heterogeneously grouped children through the system, a new form of Shaker Schools Plan and document and learn from the experience. Give parents and educators the option to elect heterogeneity instead of homogeneity. Use methods of enrolling students in this "track" that are attentive to racial and economic diversity to ensure full heterogeneity. Do this with the serious commitment that the ongoing results of this program be studied as a means of transforming the current level system.

While national trends and judicial precedence suggest sobering conditions for a desegregated school system, it also underscores the imperative to further the work of facilitating racial equality in public education. The narratives of educators, parents, and students who described their experience over the past 40 years situate this school system as uniquely qualified to document and further develop the foundations established through the endeavors of classroom teachers, parents, and student and community

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leaders, under the leadership of the John Lawson, Jack Taylor, Peter Horoschak, and currently Mark Freeman.

In conclusion, the methods used in this study, particularly the use of oral histories of parents, students, educators, and community leaders, have provided a deeply textured portrait as to how members of a racially and economically diverse community both raised and resisted questions about race and power as they struggled to make integrated education a possibility. This study provides a useful alternative to the current discourse that fails to acknowledge the interdependent relations of power accorded to race in society and in public education, and the entanglement of efforts to preserve power relations even as these efforts are disrupted. This research underscores the insightful statement of Justice John Marshall Harlan, which has resonance in our current times, when as the only *Plessy* dissenter, Harlan noted "The destinies of the two races, in this country, are indissolubly linked together" (*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 1896).

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Appendices

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Appendix A: Sample Matrices

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Sample: Proportion by Race and Ethnicity for Sample of Parents & Students

Race/Ethnicity	Proportion[a]	Participant Number and Proportion[b]
Black/African American	51%	20 (57%)
White/European American	41%	14 (40%)
Multi-Racial	4%	1 (3%)
Asian or Pacific Islander[c]	3%	--
Latino	1%	--
American Indian	--	--
Total		35

[a] Number of students in the Shaker Heights City School District by race and ethnicity was obtained from the *Shaker Heights City School District 2002-2003 School Year Report Card*, indicating the following student enrollment: 50.7% African American, 3.2% Asian or Pacific Islander, 1.3% Hispanic, 4.2% Multi-racial, and 40.6% White. Total enrollment was 5,529.

[b] "Participant Number" is the actual number of individuals who self-identified themselves as a member of that racial group. In parentheses is the proportion out of the total number of participants represented in each number for each racial/ethnic group. (Actual percentages to the hundredth are as follows: African American: 57.14%; European American: 40%; Multi-Racial: 2.86%.

[c] In keeping with the focus of the study on racial equality within the context of the racial integration of African Americans into a former exclusively white inner-ring suburb, the sample does not include representation from all racial and ethnic groups that comprise the student body. Future, more extensive studies would clearly benefit from the inclusion of all of the racial and ethnic groups within the school system.

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Sample by Study Phase and Race

	Educators	Parents	Students/Alumni
Early Phase (1965-1987)	**4**[a]	**11**	**8**[b]
	2 black	7 black	3 black
	2 white	4 white	4 white
			1 biracial
Current Phase (1988-2003)	**5**	**10**	**12**
	2 black	5 black	7 black
	3 white	4 white	5 white
		1 biracial	
Subtotal	**9**	**21**	**20**
	[c]	(13 females, 8 males)	(12 females, 8 males)
Total	**9**	**21**	**20 = 50**
Students who became a parent or educator, providing 2 perspectives:			- 7
Actual total			**43**

[a] Educators include teachers and administrators. Some of the educators interviewed had experience in both phases.

[b] The study provides 50 perspectives of students, parents, and educators. Because 7 students later became parents or educators, and are repeated in the total number of 50, they are subtracted to provide an actual count of number of participants, totaling 43.

[c] For reasons of confidentiality, gender of educators is not provided.

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Sample: By Constituency

Constituency	**# of Study Participants**
Parents	21
Students/Alumni	20
Educators	9
Total	**50**
Students who became a parent or teacher, providing 2 perspectives:	- 7
Actual total	**43**

Note. The study provides 50 perspectives of students, parents, and educators. Because 7 students later became parents or educators, and are repeated in the total number of 50, they are subtracted to provide an actual count of number of participants.

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Conversation Participants[a]

	African American	European American	Total
Educators (includes teachers, administrators, superintendents)	2	10	12
Board of Ed Members	1	2	3
Active Parents	2	0	2
Members of Community Org's & Agencies	1	1	2
Clergy	1	1	2
Other	1	0	1
Total	8	14	**22**[b]

[a] In addition to the 43 semi-structured interviews for the oral histories, the study design required informal, periodic meetings with individuals who had or have been critically involved with the history of the desegregation of the school system. These informal sessions, or "conversations," included current or past superintendents, members of the board of education, elected officials, community and religious leaders, and educators in addition to those in the study sample. These conversations provided additional data, particularly in filling in gaps in the archival materials, clarifying educational policies and practices, accessing additional data, and, in a few cases, identifying possible candidates for the pool of participants from which the sample is drawn for the semi-structured interviews.

[b] Gender breakdown: 8 females, 14 males

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Map of Elementary School Enrollment Zones, Current Phase

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Appendix B: Sample Interview Protocols

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Appendix B-1: Sample Student Interview Protocol

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Sample Protocol: Recent Phase Student

I. Context: Relation of Self to Community and School System

1. Community Context

Broad Community

Were you born in Shaker Heights?

If not born in SH, where moved from and what year?

How would you describe the community of Shaker Heights?

2.School Context

History

Elementary School

What elementary school did you attend? How would you describe your elementary school?

How would you describe Woodbury?

How did kids from the different elementary schools get to know each other?

Did you have different teachers for different subjects?

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Change classes? Extra help class or advanced class?

What classes did you like? Dislike?

Middle School

How would you describe the Middle School?

Did you find that friendships changed from Woodbury?

Did they have houses when you were in the Middle School? If so, what did you think about the school having houses?

Did you find you got closer to the students and teachers in your house?

How did the different levels of classes influence friendships?

How did the different levels of classes influence what you were learning?

What class did you like most? Least? Why do you think this was so?

Houses? Levels?

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High School

How would you describe the high school?

Did you find that friendships changed from the middle school?

How did you like the teachers?

How helpful was your counselor?

How did the different levels of classes influence friendships?

How did the different levels of classes influence what you were learning?

What class did you like most? Least? Why do you think this was so?

If you were to talk about the different groups of kids that come together in the high school, what groups would they be—how would you describe them:

by friendship;

by particular classes or clubs;

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by student interests, such as sports, music, academic interests;

by their neighborhoods; or

by another activity or other influence that helped to form groups in the high school.

Relationships between Groups

What kind of relationships did these groups have to each other:

Did some have more contact with each other during the school day?

Were some more socially close to each other?

Were there any particular classes or extracurricular activities that brought these different student groups together?

Were there any particular classes or extracurricular activities that set these different student groups apart?

Were there any groups that were more isolated than others?

Relation of Self to Other Groups in School

What groups were you a part of in the high school?

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Influence

In looking at this map of the high school, could you talk about what kind of ***influence*** you think **some or all of these groups of students, educators, and parents** had in the high school at the time you attended it.

> *By influence I mean the strength of their voice or opinion in the decision making of the school. While all of these groups made up the school, some of them were likely to exert more influence in school activities, policy decisions, the way the school was presented to the larger public, and the overall direction of the school.*

Could you indicate which groups among the groups you've depicted here were very influential?

- *in terms of policy decisions and the activities/direction of the school?*
- *in terms of influencing their peers? [use alternative color ring here]*

Racial Makeup

What can you tell me about the racial makeup of these groups of the different groups you've mentioned—were they predominantly African American? White? Racially mixed?

3. Strength of Racial Group Connections

Part of my interest is in the relationship between groups of people and how strongly connected people feel to each other.

Before we move into the section of the interview on the high school, I'd like to now ask you a bit about yourself <u>now</u>, and your relationship to other groups <u>now</u>.

***<u>ASK</u>*: Could you tell me what racial group would you identify yourself as belonging to?**

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*[Show participant sheet of paper with Inclusion of Ingroup in the Self measure (IIS) for the racial group for which the participant **did identify** him/herself as a member.]*

Using these sets of circles depicted here on this paper:

What set of circles would you select that best represents the strength of your own sense of connection with this group?

Where are these connections the strongest in school?

4. Sense of Connection to Other Racial Group

*[Show participant sheet of paper with Inclusion of Ingroup in the Self measure (IIS) for racial group for which participant **did not identify** him/herself as a member.]*

Using these sets of circles depicted here on this paper,

What set of circles would you select that best represents the strength of your own sense of connection with _____ [name other racial group].

Where are these connections the strongest in school?

II. *Experience as a Student in the High School and the School System*

O.K. Let's talk a little more specifically about your experience as a student in the high school, class of _____.

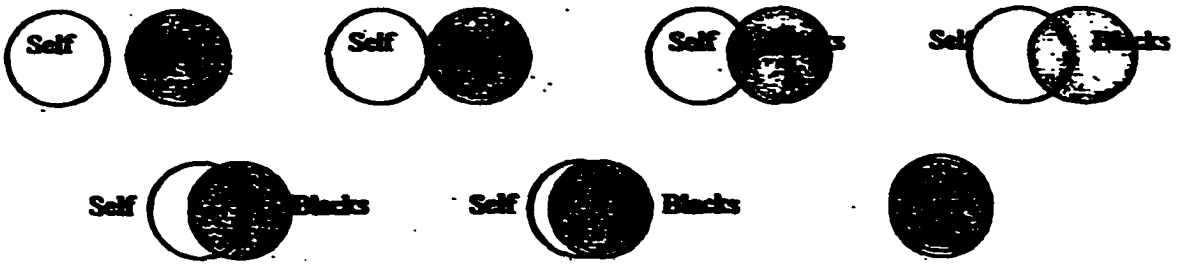
Think about your parents' expectations for you as a student in the high school. What goals do they expect you to have reached by the time you graduate?

How much do you think that the high school shares the same expectations as your parents did for you?

O very much O a good amount O some O a little O none

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Please circle the pair of circles below that best represents your own sense of connection with African Americans/Blacks.

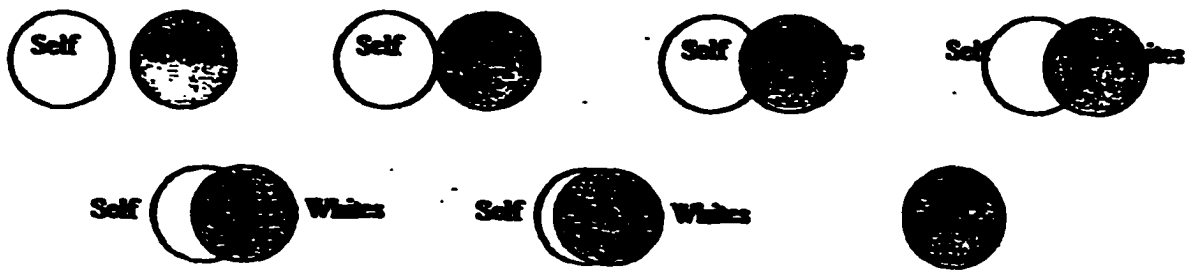


Where were these connections strongest in school—in what class, activity, or physical space in the school were they the strongest?

Tropp, L. R. & Wright, S. C. (in press). Ingroup identification as the inclusion of ingroup in the self. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin.

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Please circle the pair of circles below that best represents your own sense of connection with European Americans/Whites.



Where were these connections strongest in school—in what class, activity, or physical space in the school were they the strongest?

Tropp, L. R. & Wright, S. C. (in press). Ingroup identification as the inclusion of ingroup in the self. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin.

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Educational Opportunities

I want to ask you about educational opportunities for you in the high school.

> *Educational opportunities provide students with the kind of teaching, courses, and opportunities to study and discuss academic work with their peers that is necessary to prepare them, academically and socially, for college and a career. Educational opportunities include academic classes and extra-curricular activities.*

How much have you benefited from the opportunities available in school?

O a great deal O a good amount O some O a little O none

Could tell me what educational opportunities in particular you have benefited from and in what way?

Are there opportunities you would like to benefit from that you did not? What would have to happen to make this possible?

Are there additional educational opportunities you take advantage of outside your school, such as private tutoring, music lessons, dance, or athletics?

Students are more likely to take advantage of educational opportunities when they know about them and get help in choosing classes and participating in activities, such as:

> *learning about the kinds of classes needed to be accepted into a competitive college; getting extra help in a class; changing from a college prep class to an honors or advanced class or from an honors or advanced class to a college prep class.*

Given this, how much *information and help do you feel you have in* terms of *learning about and taking advantage of the educational opportunities* that are available?

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O a lot O a good amount O some O a little O none

How often in one year would you say you went to your guidance counselor?

Academic outcomes

How well do you do in terms of academic achievement?

O excellent O very good O good/average O needing improvement O failing

What level of coursework do you generally take classes in?

How do the use of different course levels influence your educational opportunities and achievement?

Did they enhance your learning?

Did they impede your learning?

What, if anything, would be necessary for you to achieve at a higher academic level?

Parent Sense of Control over Child's Education

If your parents are dissatisfied or concerned, what would they do to see to it that the high school, or the school system, responded to their dissatisfaction?

Do you have an example of a time they felt concern and sought a response from the school system?

What were the different steps your parents took to ensure that action was taken by the school system on behalf of their children?

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parent's and/or student's use of individual face to face response with teacher or administrator;

appeal to higher authority (BOE or district office);

group response;

exit or resignation.

Given what you've just spoken about, how much control do you think your parents have over your education?

O a lot O a good amount O some O a little O none

Experiences within and across Racial Group

How *similar or dissimilar* would you say **your experience as a student in the high school** was to the experience of other _____ *(indicate person's self-identified race here)* students?

O very similar O somewhat similar O similar O somewhat dissimilar O very dissimilar

What about _____ *[indicate other major racial group (white or African American) here]* students? How *similar or dissimilar* would you say your experience was to the experience of _____ *[identify other group]* parents?

O very similar O somewhat similar O similar O somewhat dissimilar O very dissimilar

And *biracial* students? How similar or dissimilar would you say your experience was to the experience of biracial students?

O very similar O somewhat similar O similar O somewhat dissimilar O very dissimilar

III. Conceptualizations and Experience of Racial Equality [20-30]

In 1954, the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of the Supreme Court ruled that public schools that were racially segregated and operated under

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a "separate but equal" premise were unconstitutional and "had no place in public education" (Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 1954.

Can you tell me, thinking now in the present, what racial equality in public education means to you?

1. Experience of Racial Equality

Racial Equality and its Facilitators

In thinking about **your experience as a student,** is there a particular story that comes to your mind of an experience you might have had—either one of racial equality or inequality?

What helped this experience take place?

If an experience or racial inequality:

What do you think got in the way of the facilitation of racial equality in this situation?

Engendering/Fostering Equal Power Relations

*An additional area in making racial equality possible is in bringing about equal social influence, or power, between whites and African Americans. By this I mean that people in the community and the school system, white and black, recognize the historical advantage whites have had in education. Also, the community and school system try not to sustain this advantage within its schools.

In what way would you say the high school has paid attention to bringing about equal social influence or equal power between blacks and whites?

Ex: switching SSP from 1-way mandatory busing of African American students to 2-way voluntary busing for whites and blacks

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In what way has the system not paid attention to this?

IV. Extent to Which Participants Have Experienced Transformative Educational Change

When a school system pays attention to racial equality, it creates the possibility of transforming its schools, that is: interrupting a history of unequal education and making schools a very different place for white and black students.

To what extent have you experienced the high school as a place that pays attention to racial equality?

What else would have to happen for it to be a place that pays attention to racial equality?

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Appendix B-2: Sample Early Phase Student/ Current Phase Parent Protocol

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Sample Protocol: Early Phase Student/Current Phase Parent

I. Context: Relation of Self to Community and School System

1. Community Context

Broad Community

Were you born in Shaker Heights?

Where in Shaker did you grow up?

If you were not born in SH, could you talk briefly about where you grew up and where you lived before coming to SH?

Could you talk more about when you moved to Shaker Heights?

The year you arrived,

Where you moved from,

What brought your family here,

And what you found once you arrived here?

How would you describe Shaker Heights at the time you were high school age?

Year left Shaker?

Year returned?

What brought you back to SH?

Where do you currently live in Shaker Heights?

Formation of Groups

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When you were growing up in SH, think about the various groups of people, or smaller communities, that made up your neighborhood and the broader communities of Cleveland and Shaker Heights.

Who would these groups be?

Neighborhood groups—community associations?

or blocks within a neighborhood,

or groups of people organized by recreational activities: soccer teams, skating, golf

or their civic affiliation—League of Women Voters, Shaker Citizens Committee, boy scouts, girl scouts, Dad's Club

or groups formed through religious affiliation, such as certain churches or synagogues

or groups formed through political affiliation, such as the Republican Club or Democratic Club

[Use yellow circles.]

Neighborhood

If you were to think less broadly about Shaker Heights, and more about your immediate neighborhood, what can you tell me about your **neighborhood?**

2.School Context

History

What elementary school did you attend?

How would you describe your elementary school?

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Who was principal at the time you attended?

Are you familiar with the Shaker Schools Plan or the magnet programs the district implemented in order to desegregate the district?

Did you or any of your family members or friends participate in the busing or magnet programs?

Can you talk about their experience?

Your junior high school?

Your high school?

High School Context

The remaining questions in this interview will deal with your high school experience. However, if you have an experience at the elementary school level or junior high school level that relates to any of these questions, please bring it up. It's not a digression and it will likely contribute to the wide range of experiences you talk about during the interview.

We'll use the same materials to create a visual image of the high school at the time when your child was a student there.

Broad School Community of Students

Formation of Groups

Within the high school, could you use these bright green circles here to show the various groups, or small communities, of **students** that you think made up your school?

For example, you could depict various groups

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by friendship;

by particular classes or clubs;

by student interests, such as sports, music, academic interests;

by their neighborhoods; or

by another activity or other influence that helped to form groups in the high school.

Relationships between Groups

What kind of relationships did these groups have to each other:

Did some have more contact with each other during the school day?

Were some more socially close to each other?

Were there any particular classes or extracurricular activities that brought these different student groups together?

Were there any particular classes or extracurricular activities that set these different student groups apart?

Were there any groups that were more isolated than others?

For example, I have heard some mention of an alternative school program in the basement of the high school? What do you recall about this program?

Relation of Self to Other Groups in School

Think about your own experience in school. Are there groups of students already on this map that you had *contact* with and/or *socially affiliated* with?

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Use these bright orange circles labeled SELF and put these circles on the map near the groups you had contact with or with whom you socially affiliated.

Are there *additional groups of students, which are not already on this map, that* ***you*** *had contact with* and/or *socially affiliated* with?

[Add groups.]

[Place SELF label beside groups in relationship with self.]

Influence

In looking at this map of the high school, could you talk about what kind of ***influence*** you think **some or all of these groups of students** had in the high school at the time you attended it.

By influence I mean the strength of their voice or opinion in the decision making of the school. While all of these groups made up the school, some of them were likely to exert more influence in school activities, policy decisions, the way the school was presented to the larger public, and the overall direction of the school.

Could you indicate which groups among the groups you've depicted here were very influential?

To do this, I have a ring that can be placed around these individual groups of students. This ring indicates that the group is influential in the school.

- *in terms of policy decisions and the activities/direction of the school?*
- *in terms of influencing their peers? [use alternative color ring here]*

Racial Makeup

In looking at this map of the high school, and the student groups that you have identified, what can you tell me about the racial makeup of these groups—were they predominantly African American? White? Racially mixed?

[Apply stickers to circles to identify groups' racial makeup.]

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4. Strength of Racial Group Connections

Part of my interest is in the relationship between groups of people and how strongly connected people feel to each other.

Before we move into the section of the interview on the high school, I'd like to now ask you a bit about yourself <u>now</u>, and your relationship to other groups <u>now</u>.

***<u>ASK</u>*: Could you tell me what racial group would you identify yourself as belonging to?**

*[Show participant sheet of paper with Inclusion of Ingroup in the Self measure (IIS) for the racial group for which the participant **did identify** him/herself as a member.]*

Using these sets of circles depicted here on this paper:

What set of circles would you select that best represents the strength of your own sense of connection with this group?

5. Sense of Connection to Other Racial Group

*[Show participant sheet of paper with Inclusion of Ingroup in the Self measure (IIS) for racial group for which participant **did not identify** him/herself as a member.]*

Using these sets of circles depicted here on this paper,

What set of circles would you select that best represents the strength of your own sense of connection with _____ [name other racial group].

6.Sense of Change Over Time in Terms of Connections to Racial Groups

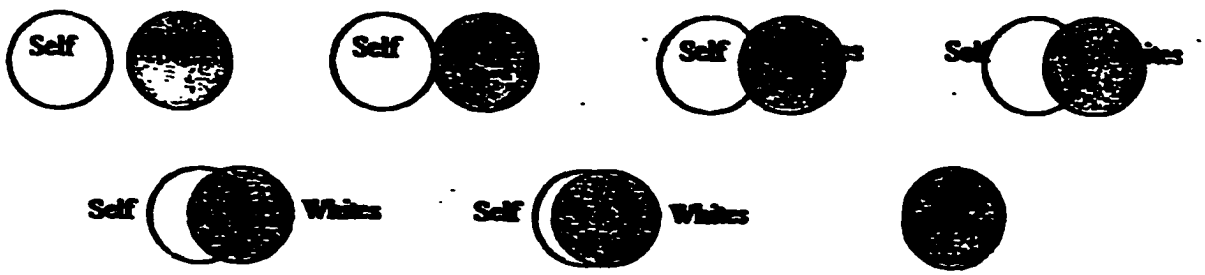
These choices of circles best represent your connections <u>now</u> to African Americans and to whites as a group and describes your current experience.

Would these choices be different for you in the '60's and '70's?

Where were these connections the strongest in school?

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Please circle the pair of circles below that best represents your own sense of connection with European Americans/Whites.

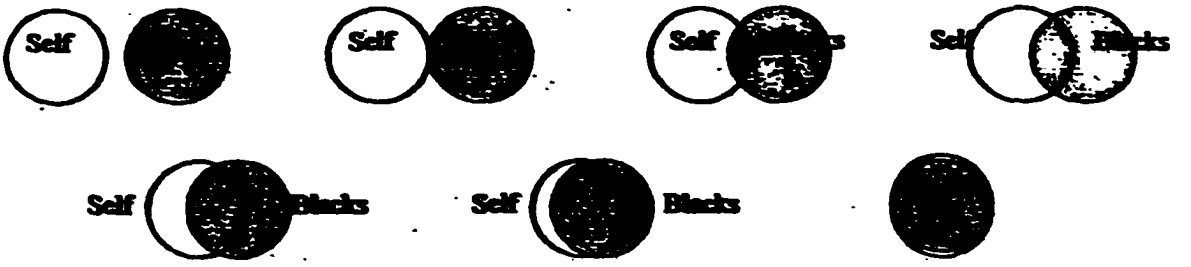


Where were these connections strongest in school—in what class, activity, or physical space in the school were they the strongest?

Tropp, L. R. & Wright, S. C. (in press). Ingroup identification as the inclusion of ingroup in the self. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin.

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Please circle the pair of circles below that best represents your own sense of connection with African Americans/Blacks.



Where were these connections strongest in school—in what class, activity, or physical space in the school were they the strongest?

Tropp, L. R. & Wright, S. C. (in press). Ingroup identification as the inclusion of ingroup in the self. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin.

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II. *Experience as a Student in the High School and the School System*

O.K. Let's talk a little more specifically about your experience as a student in the high school, class of _____.

Think about your parents' expectations for you as a student in the high school. What goals did they expect you to have reached by the time you graduated?

How much do you think that the high school shared the same expectations as your parents did for you?

O very much O a good amount O some O a little O none

Educational Opportunities

I want to ask you about educational opportunities for you in the high school.

> *Educational opportunities provide students with the kind of teaching, courses, and opportunities to study and discuss academic work with their peers that is necessary to prepare them, academically and socially, for college and a career. Educational opportunities include academic classes and extra-curricular activities.*

How much did you benefit from the opportunities available in school?

O a great deal O a good amount O some O a little O none

Could tell me what educational opportunities in particular you benefited from and in what way?

Were there opportunities you would have liked to benefit from that you did not? What would have had to happen to make this possible?

Were there additional educational opportunities you took advantage of outside your school, such as private tutoring, music lessons, dance, or athletics?

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Students are more likely to take advantage of educational opportunities when they know about them and get help in choosing classes and participating in activities, such as:

> *learning about the kinds of classes needed to be accepted into a competitive college; getting extra help in a class; changing from a college prep class to an honors or advanced class or from an honors or advanced class to a college prep class.*

Given this, how much *information and help do you feel you had in* terms of *learning about and taking advantage of the educational opportunities* that were available?

O a lot O a good amount O some O a little O none

Academic outcomes

How well did you do in terms of academic achievement?

O excellent O very good O good/average O needing improvement O failing

What level of coursework did you generally take classes in?

O remedial O college prep o honors o advanced placement

Other: _____

How did the use of different course levels influence your educational opportunities and achievement?

> *Did they enhance your learning?*
>
> *Did they impede your learning?*

What, if anything, would have been necessary for you to achieve at a higher academic level?

Parent Sense of Control over Child's Education

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If your parents were dissatisfied or concerned, what would they do to see to it that the high school, or the school system, responded to their dissatisfaction?

Do you have an example of a time they felt concern and sought a response from the school system?

What were the different steps your parents took to ensure that action was taken by the school system on behalf of their children?

parent's and/or student's use of individual face to face response with teacher or administrator;

appeal to higher authority (BOE or district office);

group response;

exit or resignation.

Given what you've just spoken about, how much control do you think your parents had over your education?

O a lot O a good amount O some O a little O none

Experiences within and across Racial Group

How *similar or dissimilar* would you say **your experience as a student in the high school** was to the experience of other _____ *(indicate person's <u>self-identified race</u> here)* students?

O very similar O somewhat similar O similar O somewhat dissimilar O very dissimilar

What about _____ *[indicate other major racial group (white or African American) here]* students? How *similar or dissimilar* would you say your experience was to the experience of _____ *[identify other group]* parents?

O very similar O somewhat similar O similar O somewhat dissimilar O very dissimilar

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And *biracial* students? How similar or dissimilar would you say your experience was to the experience of biracial students?

O very similar O somewhat similar O similar O somewhat dissimilar O very dissimilar

Parents' Expectations of their Child as Student

O.K. Let's talk a little more specifically about the experience of _____ [name], while he is a student in the high school. While we are focusing on one child at the high school, feel free to include pertinent experiences with this child at the other schools, or experiences with your other children; these will likely contribute to the overall interview.

Think about your own expectations for your child as a student. What goals do you expect your child to have reached by the time she or he graduates from the high school?

How much do you think that the high school shares the same expectations as you do for your child?

O very much O a good amount O some O a little O none

Educational Opportunities

I want to ask you about educational opportunities for your child.

> *Educational opportunities provide students with the kind of teaching, courses, and opportunities to study and discuss academic work with their peers that is necessary to prepare them, academically and socially, for college and a career. Educational opportunities include academic classes and extra-curricular activities.*

How much has your child benefited from the opportunities available in school?

O a great deal O a good amount O some O a little O none

Could tell me what educational opportunities in particular he or she has benefited from and in what way?

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Are there opportunities you would have like your child to benefit from that she or he has not? What would have to happen to make this possible?

Are there additional educational opportunities your child takes advantage of outside his or her school, such as private tutoring, music lessons, dance, or athletics?

Students are more likely to take advantage of educational opportunities when they know about them and get help in choosing classes and participating in activities, such as:

> *learning about the kinds of classes needed to be accepted into a competitive college; getting extra help in a class; changing from a college prep class to an honors or advanced class or from an honors or advanced class to a college prep class.*

How much *information and help do you feel your child has had in* terms of *learning about and taking advantage of the educational opportunities* that are available?

O a lot O a good amount O some O a little O none

Academic outcomes

How well has your child done in _____ the high school in terms of academic achievement?

O excellent O very good O good/average O needing improvement
O failing

What level of coursework does she or he generally take classes in?

O remedial O college prep o honors o advanced placement

Other: _____

How has the use of different course levels influenced your child's learning?

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Have they enhanced his learning?

Have they impeded his learning?

What, if anything, would be necessary for your child to achieve at a higher academic level?

Parent Sense of Control over Child's Education

If you were dissatisfied with or concerned about some aspect of your child's education, what could you do to see to it that the school, or the school system, responded to your dissatisfaction?

Do you have an example of a time you felt concern and sought a response from the school system?

What were the different steps you took to ensure that action?

parent's and/or student's use of individual face to face response with teacher or administrator;

appeal to higher authority (BOE or district office);

group response;

exit or resignation.

Given what you've just spoken about, how much control do you feel you had as a parent over your child's education?

O a lot O a good amount O some O a little O none

Experiences within and across Racial Group

How *similar or dissimilar* would you say **your experience as a parent** of a student in the high school has been to the experience of other _____ *(indicate person's <u>self-identified race</u> here)* parents?

O very similar O somewhat similar O similar O somewhat dissimilar O very dissimilar

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What about _____ *[indicate other major racial group (white or African American) here]* parents? How *similar or dissimilar* would you say your experience as a parent has been to the experience of _____ *[identify other group]* parents?

O very similar O somewhat similar O similar O somewhat dissimilar O very dissimilar

III. Conceptualizations and Experience of Racial Equality

In 1954, the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of the Supreme Court ruled that public schools that were racially segregated and operated under a "separate but equal" premise were unconstitutional and "had no place in public education" (Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 1954.

Can you tell me, thinking now in the present, what racial equality in public education means to you?

In what way, if any, has your thinking on racial equality in public education when you first began teaching in the Shaker Heights system changed from your thinking about it now?

1. Experience of Racial Equality

Racial Equality and its Facilitators

In thinking about your experience as a student or as a teacher with **your students**, is there a particular story that comes to your mind of an experience one of them or a group of them may have had—either one of racial equality or inequality? Or perhaps something that happened to you as an educator that is related—a moment that might have made you pause and think about racial equality in the schools?

What helped this experience take place?

****Was the **Shaker Schools Program** an experience of racial equality for you? For others?

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****Was the **magnet school program** an experience of racial equality for you? For others?

****Was the **reorganization of the school system** in 1987, or any part of it, an experience of racial equality to you? For others?

2. Local and National Achievement Data by Race

*****One way to look at racial equality in education is through <u>equal educational opportunities</u>. Another way is through <u>equal academic outcomes</u>.**

Here are two sets of student data—national data and local data on student performance. The national data covers a long period of time and is from the NAEP, which has tested students and collected data on their performance for over thirty years, and the local data is a snapshot—a summary of reading scores in the '91-'92 school year presented with national and local scores and with scores locally disaggregated by race.

It is important to note that what you're looking at indicates performance by a <u>group</u> of students and can be misleading in that while students from a particular group may fit a pattern as a group, there are also individual students who do not fit that pattern.

For example, there are students who excel in school while their racial <u>group</u> patterns show underachievement. Likewise there are students who do poorly while their racial <u>group</u> patterns show high achievement. However, data disaggregated by particular groups are useful in pointing to trends and patterns reflected in the performance of the group, as a group.

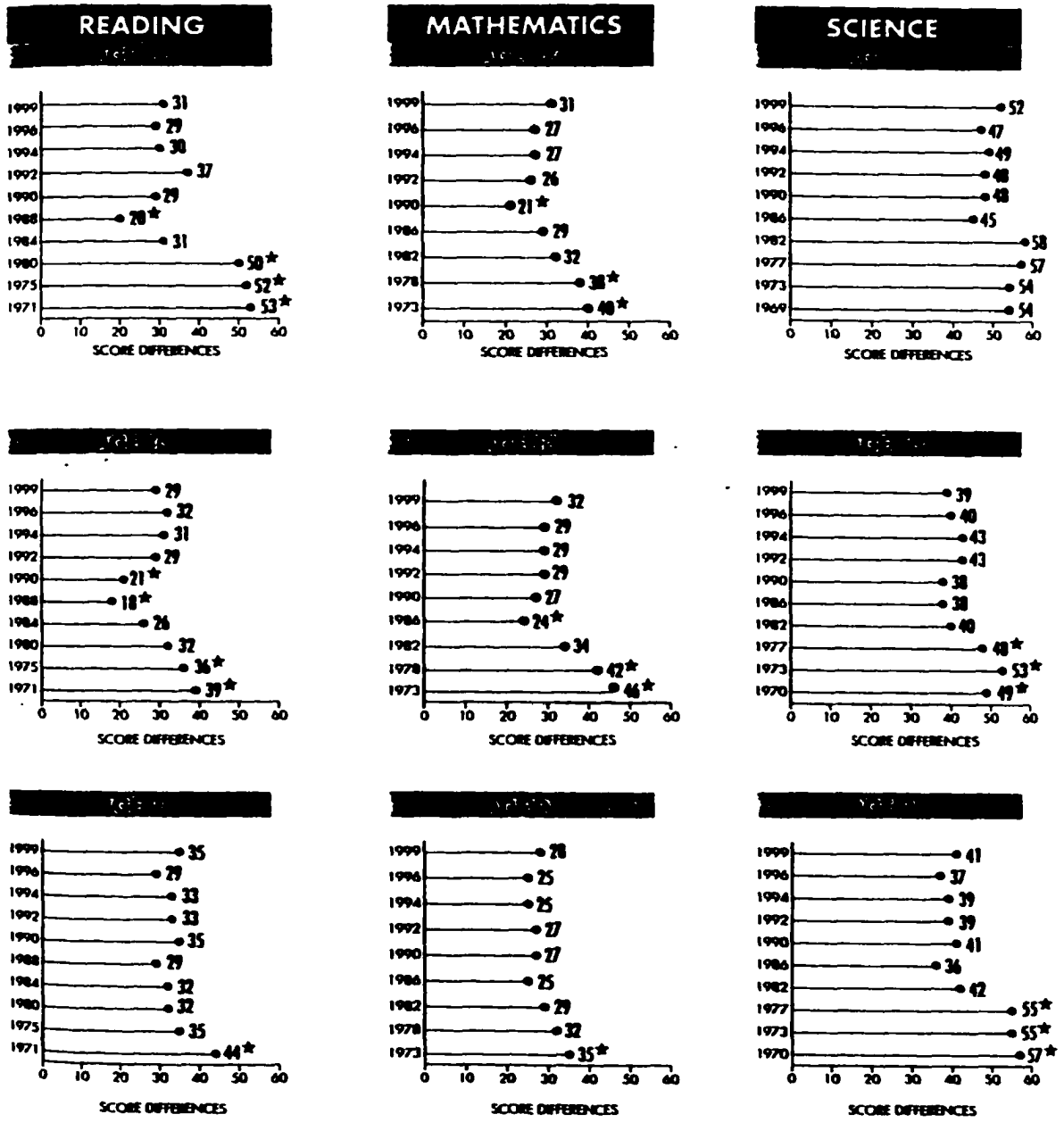
In looking at these data, what comes to your mind?

What kinds of questions do these data raise?

How do you think other educators would view these data?

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Figure 2.4
Trends in Differences Between White and Black Students' Average Scores Across Years (White Minus Black)



*Significantly different from 1999.

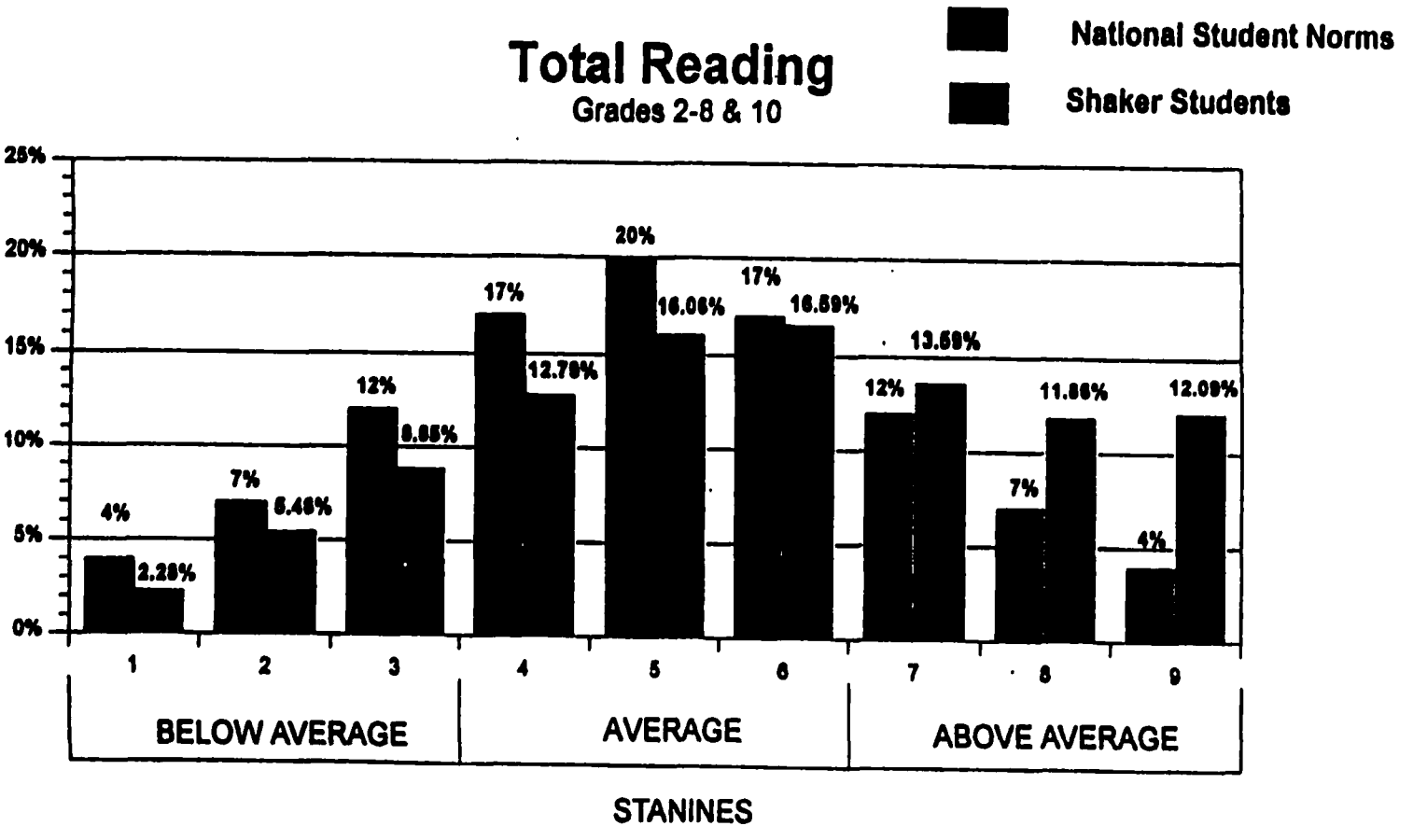
SOURCE: National Center for Education Statistics, National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), 1999 Long-Term Trend Assessment.

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Shaker Heights City School District
Shaker Heights, Ohio

1991-92
Stanford Achievement Test Results

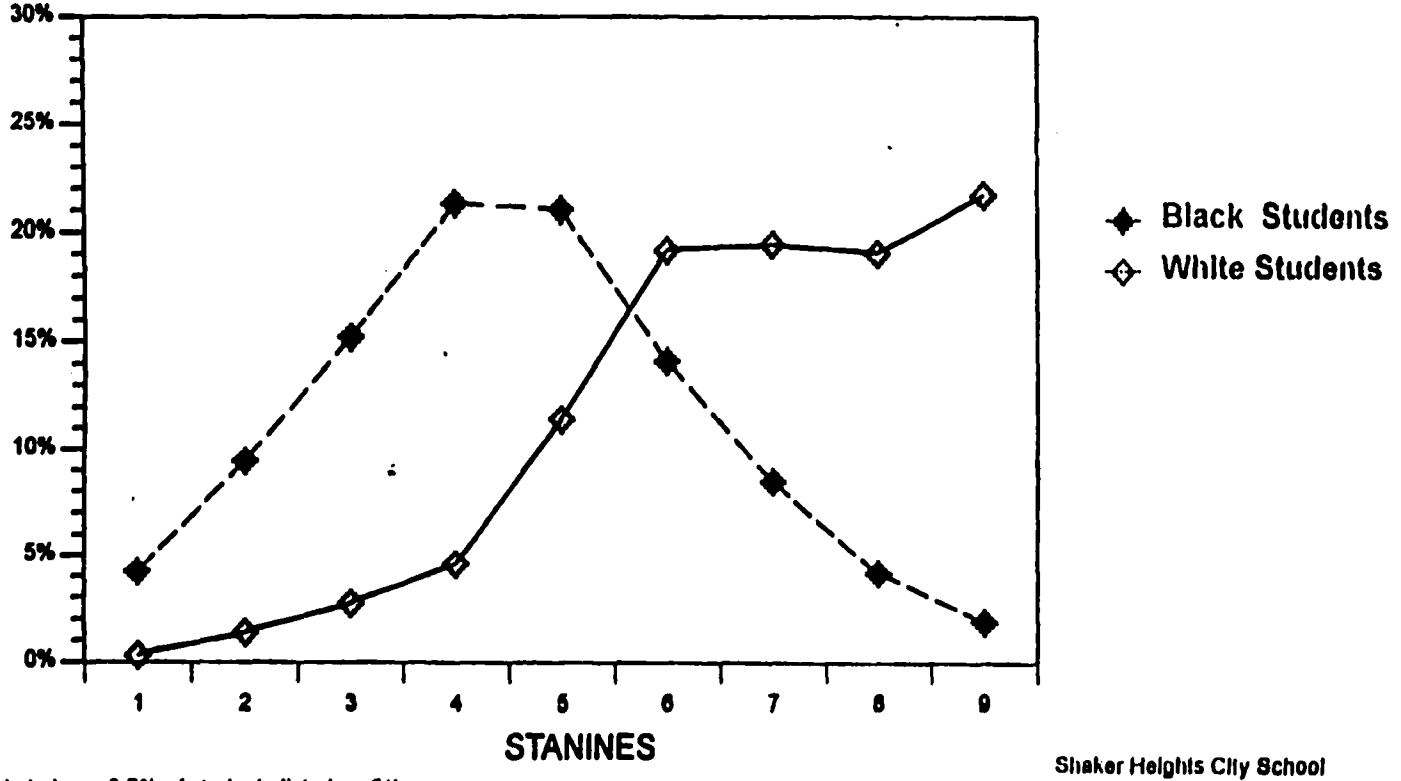


Stupay, Diane S. (1993). The Shaker Heights City Schools: An Overview. Shaker Heights, OH: Shaker Heights City School District.

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1991-92
Stanford Achievement Test Results
By Race*

Total Reading
Grades 2-8 & 10



* Not included are 3.7% of students listed as Other

Shaker Heights City School District
Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120

Stupay, Diane S. (1993). The Shaker Heights City Schools: An Overview. Shaker Heights, OH: Shaker Heights City School District.

How do you think people in the community would view these data?

Were there instances where individuals or groups in the school or in the community expressed concern about disparities in student achievement between black and white students?

Can you describe what happened?

Specific Events

When the school district in the late 1960's changed the junior high school that several elementary schools fed into (Fernway to Woodbury; Lomond and Sussex to Byron) to create more racially balanced junior high schools?

Also in the late '60's, when the BOE approved money to equalize the junior high schools, in terms of building resources (build a pool in Woodbury—Byron already had one; expand gym at Woodbury to match Byron's in size).

When the BOE decided in 1970 to begin a two-way voluntary desegregation program, the Shaker Schools Plan, and the time period during which the Shaker Schools Plan was carried out?

The magnet programs, when some of the elementary schools offered magnet programs in their effort to attract parents to enroll their students in a particular school, particularly white parents to Ludlow, Moreland, and Lomond schools?

When the district responded in September 1980 to questions raised by the Urban League about the small numbers of African American students in the advanced courses and the weighting policy for the "levels" system, and then established the Study Committee on Improving Student Achievement to examine these issues?

When the district reorganized, in 1987, closing several elementary schools, and changing Woodbury into a 5th/6th grade school district wide and Byron into a 7th/8th middle school district wide?

When the Shakerite article published student achievement data in 1997 that showed a gap between the performance of African American students and white students?

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Engendering/Fostering Equal Power Relations

*An additional area in making racial equality possible is in bringing about equal social influence, or power, between whites and African Americans. By this I mean that people in the community and the school system, white and black, recognize the historical advantage whites have had in education. Also, the community and school system try not to sustain this advantage within its schools.

In what way would you say the school system has made efforts to create more of a balance between blacks and whites in terms of social influence or power?

> *Ex: switching SSP from 1-way mandatory busing of African American students to 2-way voluntary busing for whites and blacks*

In what way has the system not made efforts in this area?

IV. Extent to Which Participants Have Experienced Transformative Educational Change

When a school system pays attention to racial equality, it creates the possibility of transforming its schools, that is: interrupting a history of unequal education and making schools a very different place for white and black students.

To what extent has your child experienced the Shaker schools as a setting that is transforming education for white and black students?

What else would have to happen to transform it more?

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Appendix C: Research Design Summary and Consent Forms

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Ph.D. Program in Psychology
Subprogram in Social-Personality Psychology

IRB
Approved
6-15-02-02
Approved: Expires:
6/15/03 To 3/10/03
Graduate School & University Center / CUNY

The Graduate School and University Center
The City University of New York
365 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10016-4309
TEL 212.817.8749/8751 FAX 212.817.1533

Participant Consent Form and Introduction to the Study

My name is Anne Galletta and I am a student in the Social-Personality Psychology Department at the City University of New York (CUNY) Graduate Center. For my dissertation, I am conducting a study entitled *Towards Racial Equality in Public Education: A Case Study of A Community's Experience Over Time*. The purpose of this study is described on the other side of this form.

I would like permission to interview you about your experience. The interview will take approximately two hours. With your permission, I would like to audiotape the interview so I can record the details accurately. The tapes will only be heard by myself and my advisor. Information from the tapes will be kept strictly confidential, and will be stored in a locked file cabinet, to which only I, and my advisor, will have access. Your name will not be used in written reports on the study, which include my dissertation and any possible professional writing subsequent to my dissertation.

At any point during the interview, if you are not comfortable having your response taped, feel free to turn off the tape recorder. You can also choose not to answer any question with which you are not comfortable responding. Finally, you should know that you can end the interview at any point if you feel it is necessary.

While the foremost benefit of this study is to deepen our understanding of how parents, educators, and students from a racially and economically diverse community have thought about and experienced racial equality in public schools, there may also be personal benefits as well as risks for you as an individual. For example, a personal risk may include some level of stress in talking in an interview situation about yourself and your family's experience or in discussing the topic of the study.

If you have any questions about this study, you can call me at 216-751-8455 or my advisor, Dr. Michelle Fine, professor in the Social-Personality Psychology program at the City University of New York Graduate Center at 212-817-8710. If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this study, you can contact Hilry Fisher, Sponsored Research, Graduate School/City University of New York, at 212-817-7523, or through her email address, hfisher@gc.cuny.edu.

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this study. I will give you a copy of this form to take with you. Please sign below if you agree to be interviewed.

I agree to have this interview audio-taped: ___ Yes ___ No

_____	_____
Participant's Signature	Researcher's Signature
Date _____	Date _____

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Ph.D. Program in Psychology
Subprogram in Social-Personality Psychology

IRB
Approved
6-15-02-02
Approval Expires
7/1/02 To 3/1/03
Graduate School / City University Center / CUNY

The Graduate School and University Center
The City University of New York
365 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10016-4309
Tel. 212-817-8749/8751 Fax 212-817-1531

Parent/Guardian Consent Form and Introduction to the Study

Dear Parent or Guardian,

My name is Anne Galletta and I am a student in the Social-Personality Psychology Department at the City University of New York (CUNY) Graduate Center. For my dissertation, I am conducting a study entitled *Towards Racial Equality in Public Education: A Case Study of A Community's Experience Over Time.* The purpose of this study is described in the other side of this form.

I would like permission to interview your child about his/her experience. The interview will take approximately two hours. With your permission, I would like to audiotape the interview so I can record the details accurately. The tapes will only be heard by myself and my advisor. Information from the tapes will be kept strictly confidential, and will be stored in a locked file cabinet, to which only I, and my advisor, will have access. Your child's name will not be used in written reports on the study, which include my dissertation and any possible professional writing subsequent to my dissertation. I will also request that your child read and sign the attached participant consent form. Agreement to participate in the interview must from come from both the parent/guardian and the child.

At any point during the interview, if your child is not comfortable having his/her response taped, he/she can turn off the tape recorder. Your child can also choose not to answer any question with which he/she is not comfortable responding. Finally, your child can end the interview at any point if he/she feels it is necessary. Your child is informed of these rights in the attached student consent form. In addition, he/she will be reminded of these at the beginning of the interview.

While the foremost benefit of this study is to deepen our understanding of how parents, educators, and students from a racially and economically diverse community have thought about and experienced racial equality in public schools, there may also be personal benefits as well as risks for your child. For example, a personal risk may include some level of stress for your child while talking in an interview situation about his or her individual and family experience or in discussing the topic of the study.

If you have any questions about this study, you can call me at 216-751-8455 or my advisor, Dr. Michelle Fine, professor in the Social-Personality Psychology program at the City University of New York Graduate Center at 212-817-8710. If you have questions about your child's rights as a participant in this study, you can contact Hilry Fisher, Sponsored Research, Graduate School/City University of New York, at 212-817-7523, or through her email address, hfisher@gc.cuny.edu.

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this study. I will give you a copy of this form to take with you. Please sign below if you agree to allow your child to be interviewed:

I agree to have this interview audio-taped: ___ Yes ___ No

_____	_____
Parent/Guardian's Signature	Researcher's Signature
Date _____	Date _____

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Ph.D Program in Psychology
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The Graduate School and University Center
The City University of New York
365 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10016-4309
Tel. 212 817 8748 8751 Fax 212 817 1561

Student Assent Form and Introduction to the Study

Dear Student,

My name is Anne Galletta and I am a student in the Social-Personality Psychology Department at the City University of New York (CUNY) Graduate Center. For my dissertation, I am conducting a study entitled *Towards Racial Equality in Public Education: A Case Study of A Community's Experience Over Time.* The purpose of this study is described on the other side of this form.

I would like permission to interview you about your experience in your school and community. The interview will take approximately two hours. With your permission, I would like to audiotape the interview so I can record the details accurately. The tapes will only be heard by myself and my advisor. Information from the tapes will be kept strictly confidential, and will be stored in a locked file cabinet, to which only I, and my advisor, will have access. Your name will not be used in written reports on the study, which include my dissertation and any possible professional writing subsequent to my dissertation. I will also request that your parent/guardian read and sign the attached participant consent form. Agreement to participate in the interview must from come from both you and your parent or guardian.

At any point during the interview, if you are not comfortable having your response taped, you should feel free to turn off the tape recorder. You can also choose not to answer any question with which you are not comfortable responding. Finally, you should know that you can end the interview at any point if you feel it is necessary.

While the foremost benefit of this study is to deepen our understanding of how parents, educators, and students from a racially and economically diverse community have thought about and experienced racial equality in public schools, there may also be personal benefits as well as risks for you as an individual. For example, a personal risk may include some level of stress in talking in an interview situation about yourself and your family's experience or in discussing the topic of the study.

If you have any questions about this study, you can call me at 216-751-8455 or my advisor, Dr. Michelle Fine, professor in the Social-Personality Psychology program at the City University of New York Graduate Center at 212-817-8710. If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this study, you can contact Hilry Fisher, Sponsored Research, Graduate School/City University of New York, at 212-817-7523, or through her email address, hfisher@gc.cuny.edu.

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in this study. I will give you a copy of this form to take with you. Please sign below if you agree to be interviewed.

****

I agree to have this interview audio-taped: ___ Yes ___ No

_____	_____
Student Participant's Signature	Researcher's Signature
Date _____	Date _____

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Towards Racial Equality in Public Education:
A Case Study of A Community's Experience Over Time

The purpose of this study is to collect oral histories of a diverse sample of students, parents, and educators regarding their experience of the desegregation of their school system from the mid-1960's, when the school system began its study and subsequent two-way voluntary desegregation plan, through the present. A particular interest of the study is how parents, students, and educators within the school system have thought about racial equality and what their experience of racial equality has been in the school system, as a public institution within the larger social context of the community. The primary method of data collection will be interviews with parents, students, and educators. Additional methods include a review of archival materials and a review of student enrollment patterns and academic outcomes. The major research question that this study will address is as follows:

> *In the context of school desegregation, how have parents, students, and educators thought about and experienced racial equality?*

The study sample for the interviews will be drawn through a review of archival materials; initial conversations with educators, alumni, and parents who are familiar with the history of the school system; and through "network sampling" (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999), whereby recommendations are elicited from study participants as they are interviewed. The criterion is that the sample is racially balanced and represents a range of experiences and perspectives. Jones (1998) notes that the "social significance of race" in the United States has produced very divergent experiences between blacks and whites. The study will take special care that the sample is diverse in its racial composition, reflecting the student demographics of the school system. The sample also will be diverse in terms of constituencies, including individuals who were/are students, parents who were actively involved in the school system and those who were moderately involved or not at all involved, and educators. Attention in sampling will also be given to gender and class diversity. Finally, the sample will be representative of parents, students, and educators across the grades (and within the grades are representative of special education, general and advanced classes) as well as within the different schools in the school system. It will also include some individuals who are fairly new to the system and some who have had children in the district for a long period of time.

This study will contribute to a broader research endeavor in the educational field and the social sciences on racial integration in education. It will also complement parallel research efforts on the local history of this community. Questions about the study can be directed to Anne Galletta at 216-751-8455, or Dr. Michelle Fine, Professor in the Social-Personality Psychology Program, the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, at 212-817-8710.

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Appendix D: District Enrollment Forms

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Appendix D-1

District Enrollment Figures
1988-89 to 1997-98

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REPORT OF THE REGISTRAR
1988-89 TO 1997-98

with supporting data

Shaker Heights City School District
15600 Parkland Drive
Shaker Heights, Ohio 44120
Submitted by:
Lisa Payne Jones, Registrar
December, 1997

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REPORT OF THE REGISTRAR

1988-89 to 1997-98

Introduction

The Shaker Heights City School District has a national reputation for educational excellence based upon its strong academic and co-curricular programs, outstanding faculty and support staff, and innovative curriculum development. The district is particularly proud of its cultural, racial and ethnic diversity. The district includes eight school buildings, educates over 5,500 students annually, employs over 650 people and enjoys the success of its more than 28,500 graduates.

The Registration Office is most often a family's first point of contact with the school district. Special efforts are made to welcome new families and ease the transition process.

Presented within this report is a summary of the key functions of the Registration Office as well as statistical data on the student population.

Background

The mission of the Shaker Heights City School District is to nurture, educate, and graduate students who are civic-minded and prepared to make ethical decisions; who are confident, competent communicators, skillful in problem solving, capable of creative thinking; who have a career motivation and a knowledge of our global and multicultural society.

As a result of the district's commitment to excellence and diversity, families from virtually every economic, racial and religious background seek homes within the district's boundaries to enable their children to benefit from the Shaker Heights City School District's educational programs. Their common interest--the pursuit of excellence in education--is the thread which binds them together. To that end, the Shaker Heights City School District has experienced the unique challenges of a multicultural school population for more than 30 years. The district's staff constantly strives to meet the needs of its diverse student population.

The first Shaker Heights school opened in 1912. From that moment to the present, the Shaker community has not wavered from its commitment to provide strong academic and cultural programs. With the belief that superior individual scholastic achievement should be the rule rather than the exception, an educational program has been developed over the years that challenges each student to the fullest of his or her abilities.

An evaluator from the Ohio Department of Education made the following comment about the Shaker schools: "Building on a rich tradition of solid commitment and high expectations for students, the community has maintained this high level of educational quality through changes in the ethnographic character of the district."

Registration

All new or returning students must enroll at the Registration Office. Registration was centralized in the early 1980's to concentrate efforts on enrolling only those students who are legally entitled to attend the Shaker schools.

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In the 1996-97 school year, 1,036 students (including incoming kindergartners) were welcomed into the district. These new students moved to Shaker Heights from more than 25 countries and 27 states. Obtaining prompt transportation assignments and appointments with principals, guidance counselors, and/or teachers is an important part of making new families feel welcome. Information on the schools and the community is distributed and eligible families are invited to register to vote.

During this same period, 819 students were withdrawn. Most student withdrawals are completed at the student's school. As can be seen, there is a considerable amount of student mobility within the district.

Kindergarten Outreach and Registration

Parents are encouraged to register their incoming kindergartners as early as possible. Outreach to kindergartners begins each Spring. Potential students are identified through local preschool and daycare providers, mailings and posters, and by accessing the district's current family database to identify siblings approaching school-entry age.

Each K-4 building holds an evening Kindergarten Open House each Spring. Registration packets are mailed with the invitations to the Open House to encourage early onsite registration. Kindergarten registration week in April is also designed to encourage early registration.

Constant monitoring and updating of the potential kindergarten list aids in the district's planning process. For example, staffing needs at the Kindergarten level, facilities planning, and transportation assignments are all affected by the accuracy and timeliness of this information.

Residency Investigations

The Shaker Heights City School District borders several other school districts and must ensure that only those children who legally reside in the Shaker Heights City School District are permitted to enroll in and attend classes. During the 1996-97 school year, 475 students were investigated and 104 were withdrawn for non-residence.

In most instances, the post office made a mistake, the family did not report its new Shaker address to the schools, or the family's child care arrangements, lifestyle, or personal situation resulted in actions which raised the issue of illegal entry into the school district. In the remaining cases, the students who were found to be illegally enrolled were immediately withdrawn. In most of these cases, the students were not illegally enrolled during their entire education here.

Parents who illegally enrolled their children in the Shaker Heights City School District were billed for tuition as determined by the Ohio State Board of Education. The Treasurer's Office works with the local courts and a collection agency when necessary.

In January, 1997, Peat Marwick, LLP, was commissioned to evaluate the student registration process as it relates to the legal eligibility of students. While auditors from this firm found that "the overall results of inquiries and observations indicated that the procedures performed by the district appeared to be more extensive than those at the other districts interviewed," they also made recommendations for improvement which are currently being implemented.

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Illegal student enrollment is a growing concern in the metropolitan Cleveland area and across the country. The registrar and district investigator attend a bi-monthly meeting of registrars, investigators and attendance personnel to examine and discuss methods to address this area of growing concern for public school districts. In addition, Metroscan, a state-of-the-art database of properties and owners in Cuyahoga County, was installed in the Registration Office this fall to assist in the investigation process.

Guardianships

According to Ohio law, only students whose parents or legal guardians reside within the district are entitled to attend schools tuition free. Some families attempt to mislead school officials by seeking to have a Shaker resident named as guardian for non-resident children. Each year, the Registrar is notified of an increasing number of guardianship hearings, especially in August.

Legal guardianships, by definition, cannot be granted for school purposes only. To better enforce this requirement, the schools now employ a law firm that monitors these hearings, objecting when suspicions arise. In addition, the Probate Court files of students enrolled by "guardians" are reviewed and those enrolled illegally are withdrawn.

Racial Composition of the Student Body

Like all public school districts in Ohio, the Shaker Heights City School District is required to provide statistical information on the racial composition of its student population. Statistical data for the current school year with comparison data from the last decade is presented in the exhibits following this report.

It is easy to make faulty generalizations when discussing the racial composition of a school district; therefore, it is important to note some limitations of the data included here. In all the data presented, the reader must be careful not to assume that the numbers are precise. Each student's race is reported by their parents and/or legal guardians. Moreover, the statistics change constantly as families move in and out of the school district.

When the school district reports data to the state and federal governments, six racial categories are listed. They are as follows: Black (non-Hispanic), White (non-Hispanic), Hispanic, American Indian or Alaskan Native, Asian or Pacific Islander, or Multiracial/other. Parents of biracial children may select the category multiracial/other for this report, but often select the category most reflective of the child's lifestyle and environment.

Because the racial composition of the school district is of great interest to many people, individuals tend to compare and contrast statistics taken at various points in time. The racial composition of a small school can vary significantly when one family moves in or out of the community. Therefore, it is important to view statistics as expressing the student composition within a general range rather than a specific figure.

It should also be noted that these statistics include the Pre-Kindergarten class at Onaway School as these students are officially registered in the Shaker Heights City School District.

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Exhibit #1 shows the percentage of students enrolled in the individual Shaker schools by race, as well as districtwide statistics for the 1997-98 school year.

Exhibit #2 shows the total enrollment and the enrollment by race on a grade-by-grade basis for the 1997-98 school year.

Exhibit #3 shows the racial composition of the entire school district from 1988-89 to 1997-98.

NOTE: All racial data contained in this report is based on a student enrollment count as of October 1, 1997, by the District's Data Processing Department.

Summary

The Registration Office performs a wide variety of functions to aid in the management and planning of the school district. Welcoming new students and parents is the primary focus of the office. Identifying, assisting, and enrolling incoming kindergarten families are major responsibilities of the office that create a source of data for the schools' decision makers. At all times, however, the Registrar strictly enforces the residency laws of the State. As the American family continues to evolve, the staff must be aware of the changing rules, regulations, and laws which impact custody and enrollment.

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Shaker Heights City School District
Racial Composition of Each School Building
Exhibit 1
October 1997

School	Black		White		Hispanic		American Indian/ Alaskan Native		Asian/Pacific Islander		Multiracial		Total
	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	
Boulevard	49.20	217	37.64	166	.68	3			9.07	40	3.40	15	441
Fernway	49.25	165	42.98	144	1.19	4			1.19	4	5.37	18	335
Lomond	55.36	284	37.42	192	.97	5			1.55	8	4.67	24	513
Mercer	49.36	234	43.67	207	.21	1			4.43	21	2.32	11	474
Onaway	47.75	223	46.68	218	1.71	8			1.07	5	2.78	13	467
Woodbury	52.05	444	42.79	365	.23	2	.11	1	2.69	23	2.11	18	853
Middle School	51.18	432	42.53	359	.59	5			2.96	25	2.72	23	844
High School	51.87	856	42.78	706	.96	16	.06	1	2.42	40	1.87	31	1650
Districtwide	51.19	2855	42.26	2357	.78	44	.03	2	2.97	166	2.74	153	5577

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Shaker Heights City School District
Racial Composition of Students by Grade
Exhibit 2
October 1997

Grade	Black		White		Hispanic		American Indian/ Alaskan Native		Asian/Pacific Islander		Multiracial		Total
	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	
PreKindergarten	60.00	9	20.00	3	6.66	1			6.66	1	6.66	1	15
Kindergarten	46.19	194	43.33	182	.95	4			4.52	19	5.00	21	420
First	53.56	248	38.87	180	.43	2			2.59	12	4.53	21	463
Second	51.01	227	42.47	189	1.34	6			2.69	12	2.47	11	445
Third	48.01	218	44.05	200	.88	4			4.40	20	2.64	12	454
Fourth	52.42	227	39.95	173	.92	4			3.23	14	3.46	15	433
Fifth	50.34	217	45.01	194	.46	2	.23	1	2.32	10	1.62	7	431
Sixth	53.79	227	40.52	171					3.08	13	2.60	11	422
Seventh	50.25	200	41.20	164	.75	3			4.27	17	3.51	14	398
Eighth	52.01	232	43.72	195	.44	2			1.79	8	2.01	9	446
Ninth	57.32	270	37.15	175	1.06	5			2.33	11	2.12	10	471
Tenth	52.39	230	41.68	183	.68	3			3.18	14	2.05	9	439
Eleventh	55.05	207	39.89	150	1.32	5	.26	1	2.12	8	1.32	5	376
Twelfth	40.93	149	54.39	198	.82	3			1.92	7	1.92	7	364
Districtwide	51.19	2855	42.26	2357	.78	44	03	2	2 97	166	2.74	153	5577

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Shaker Heights City School District
Racial Composition of District by School Year
1987-88 through 1997-1998
Exhibit 3
October, 1997

Year	Total Number	Black		White		Hispanic		American Indian/ Alaskan Native		Asian/Pacific Islander		Multiracial	
		%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number
1988-89	4814	47.40	2282	49.45	2381	.76	37	.08	4	2.28	110		
1989-90	4887	47.92	2342	48.80	2385	.71	35	.10	5	2.35	115	.10	5
1990-91	4879	47.71	2328	48.51	2367	.63	31	.14	7	2.56	125	.43	21
1991-92	4935	48.14	2376	47.94	2366	.50	2	.10	5	2.81	139	.48	24
1992-93	4958	49.55	2457	46.34	2298	.60	30	.08	4	2.58	128	.82	41
1993-94	5081	50.22	2552	45.28	2301	.41	21	.09	5	2.83	144	1.14	58
1994-95	5343	50.73	2711	44.13	2358	.61	33	.03	2	2.82	151	1.64	88
1995-96	5441	50.22	2733	44.31	2411	.69	38	.01	1	2.66	145	2.07	13
1996-97	5623	51.23	2881	42.98	2417	.65	37	.03	2	2.86	161	2.22	125
997-98	5577	51.19	2855	42.26	2357	.78	44	.03	2	2.97	166	2.74	153

Appendix D-2

District Enrollment Figures
1978-79 to 1987-88

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RACIAL ETHNIC REPORT

1978-79 to 1987-88

With Supporting Data

Shaker Heights City School District

Peter P. Horoschak, Ed.D., Superintendent

Submitted by:

Mark Freeman, Assistant Superintendent
Beverly Mason, Registrar

November, 1987

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Racial Ethnic Report
1978-79 to 1987-88
With Supporting Data

The school district provides the following racial/ethnic statistics because many people and groups in the community often request the information. The district is required to provide the information to the State of Ohio, along with other statistical information about the schools. This report provides information for the 1987-88 school year and statistics for the prior nine years.

In reviewing the following data, readers are cautioned to take care in interpreting the data. When discussing the racial/ethnic composition of a school district, some people make faulty generalizations. Therefore, it is important to note some limitations of the data being presented.

Racial statistics when discussed by educators, politicians, and the general public often refer to the minority population. For example, in Shaker Heights, we say Mercer School is 45% minority (black population plus the other minorities) rather than the reverse, saying the school is 55% majority. In the interest of consistent communication, statistics will be expressed in the context of minority enrollment. This is not to imply a value judgment is being made by listing one group of persons when expressing a statistic.

In all the data presented, the reader must be careful in relying too heavily on the exactness of the numbers. An effort has been made to gather the data in a conscientious manner. However, human error is inevitable, because many persons are involved in providing the information and racial ethnic data is by self declaration. Moreover, the data changes constantly with the movement of families in and out of the school district.

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There also may be some confusion or misunderstanding about the term "minority" in these statistics. When the school district reports data to the state and federal government, there are several categories of minority children which are listed. They are as follows: Black, American Indian, Spanish-surnamed, Asian, Portuguese, Hawaiian Natives, Alaskan natives, and other. However, in the Shaker Heights City School District, the largest minority is black. For reporting purposes, a total minority figure is often used. It is realistic to project that the number of minority children other than black is 3% of the school population; therefore, it is not unrealistic in the case of Shaker Heights to state that the only substantial minority is black.

Because the issue of the racial composition of the school district is of great interest to many people, individuals tend to compare and contrast statistics taken at various points in time. The minority composition of a school of 300 children can vary when one family moves in or out of the community. Therefore, it is important to view statistics as expressing the student composition within a general range rather than a specific figure.

Exhibit #1 shows the percentage of students by race enrolled in the individual Shaker Schools as well as overall district statistics for the 1987-88 school year.

Exhibit #2 shows the total enrollment and the enrollment by race on a grade by grade basis for the 1987-88 school year.

Exhibit #3 shows the racial/ethnic report by school district from 1981-82 to 1987-88.

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Exhibit #4 is a bar chart showing the number of minority and majority students enrolled in the entire school district for the years 1978-79 through 1987-88.

NOTE: All data which is the subject of this report was ascertained from a student count as of 10/12/87 reported by the District's Data Processing Department.

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SHAKER HEIGHTS CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT
SHAKER HEIGHTS, OHIO

RACIAL ETHNIC REPORT, FALL 1987
BY SCHOOL BUILDING

EXHIBIT 1

SCHOOL	Black %	Number	White %	Number	Hispanic %	Number	Am.Indian/Alaskan %	Number	Asian/Pacific %	Number	Total
BOULEVARD	43.95	120	50.18	137	1.83	5	0	0	4.02	11	273
FERNWAY	45.74	129	51.77	146	1.06	3	0	0	1.41	4	282
LOMOND	36.72	166	57.96	262	.66	3	.22	1	4.42	20	452
MERCER	43.16	183	54.95	233	.70	3	0	0	1.17	5	424
ONAWAY	48.98	145	48.64	144	1.68	5	0	0	.67	2	296
WOODBURY	47.03	317	50.00	337	.74	5	0	0	2.22	15	674
MIDDLE SCHOOL	44.38	308	52.88	367	.57	4	0	0	2.16	15	694
HIGH SCHOOL	49.60	880	48.30	857	.73	13	0	0	1.35	24	1774
DISTRICT	46.16	2248	50.99	2483	.84	41	.02	1	1.97	96	4869

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SHAKER HEIGHTS, OHIO

RACIAL ETHNIC REPORT, FALL 1987
BY GRADE

EXHIBIT 2

SCHOOL	Black %	Number	White %	Number	Hispanic %	Number	Am. Indian/Alaskan %	Number	Asian/Pacific %	Number	Total
KINDERGARTEN	40.11	134	54.49	182	1.79	6	0	0	3.59	12	334
FIRST	41.89	137	54.12	177	1.22	4	0	0	2.75	9	327
SECOND	42.62	159	53.35	199	.80	3	0	0	3.21	12	373
THIRD	46.62	166	51.12	182	.84	3	.28	1	1.12	4	356
FOURTH	43.62	147	54.00	182	.89	3	0	0	1:48	5	337
FIFTH	46.66	154	50.90	168	1.21	4	0	0	1.21	4	330
SIXTH	47.38	163	49.12	169	.29	1	0	0	3.19	11	344
SEVENTH	45.67	153	50.74	170	.89	3	0	0	2.68	5	335
EIGHTH	43.17	155	54.87	197	.27	1	0	0	1.67	6	359
NINTH	54.20	200	44.17	163	.54	2	0	0	1.08	4	369
TENTH	53.17	243	44.42	203	.87	4	0	0	1.53	7	457
ELEVENTH	50.96	237	48.17	224	.64	3	0	0	.21	1	465
TWELFTH	41.40	200	55.27	267	.82	4	0	0	2.48	12	483
DISTRICT	46.16	2248	50.99	2483	.84	41	.02	1	1.97	96	4869

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SHAKER HEIGHTS CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT
SHAKER HEIGHTS, OHIO

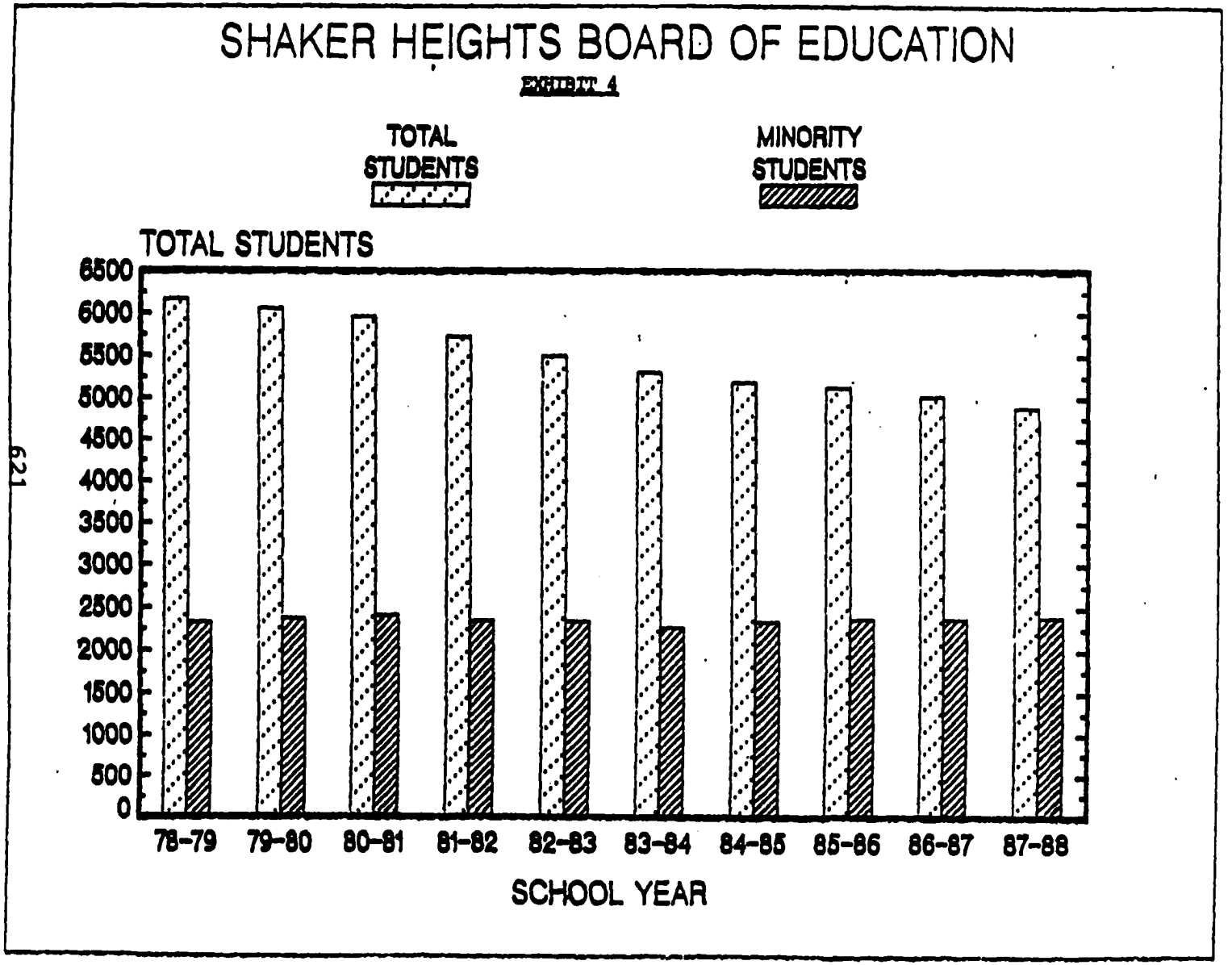
RACIAL ETHNIC REPORT by SCHOOL DISTRICT 1981-82 to 1987-88

EXHIBIT 3

YEAR	TOTAL	WHITE		BLACK		HISPANIC		AM.INDIAN/ALASKAN		ASIAN/PACIFIC	
		%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER
1981-82	5759	58.51	3370	39.60	2281	.41	24	.05	3	1.40	81
1982-83	5489	57.25	3143	40.53	2225	.49	27	.05	3	1.65	91
1983-84	5307	56.73	3011	41.17	2185	.56	30	0	0	1.52	81
1984-85	5193	54.86	2849	42.80	2223	.57	30	0	0	1.75	91
1985-86	5125	53.65	2750	43.66	2283	.74	38	0	0	1.93	99
1986-87	5013	52.64	2639	44.50	2231	.77	39	.02	1	2.05	103
1987-88	4869	50.99	2483	46.16	2248	.84	41	.02	1	1.97	96

** Statistics reported in this exhibit are not available prior to 1981

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Appendix D-3

District Enrollment Figures
1964-1978

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RACIAL/ETHNIC REPORT
1964-1978
With Supporting Data

SHAKER HEIGHTS CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT

Dr. Jack P. Taylor, Superintendent

Presented by
Dr. Mark Freeman

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Members of the Board, Dr. Taylor, and guests:

My task this evening is a most difficult one, because the information being presented or the language I use in my presentation can be easily misinterpreted. When one discusses the racial/ethnic composition of a school district, too often people become emotional or make faulty generalizations. Therefore, I think it is important that I mention some limitations of the data being presented.

First let me say that racial statistics when discussed by educators, politicians, and the general public often refer to the minority population first, then the majority population. For example, in Shaker Heights, we say Sussex School is 32% black or 32% minority rather than the reverse, saying the school is 68% majority. In the interests of consistent communication, I will express the statistics in the context of minority enrollment. This is not to imply a value judgment is made by listing one group of persons first when expressing a statistic.

In all the data presented, one must be careful in relying too heavily on the exactness of the numbers. An effort has been made to gather the data in a conscientious manner. However, human error is inevitable, because many persons are involved in accumulating the data. Moreover, the data changes constantly with the movement of families in and out of the school district.

There is also some confusion or misunderstanding of the term "minority" in these statistics. When the school district reports data to the state and federal government, there are several categories of minority children which are listed.

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They are as follows: Black, American Indian, Spanish-surnamed, Oriental, Portuguese, Hawaiian Natives, Alaskan Natives, Other. However, in the Shaker Heights City School District, the only substantial minority is black. For reporting purposes, a total minority figure is often used. It is realistic to project that the number of minority children other than black is 2-3% of the school population, so it is not unrealistic in the case of Shaker Heights to state that the only substantial minority is black.

Because the issue of the racial composition of the school district is of great interest to many persons, they tend to compare and contrast statistics taken at various points in time. Please remember that the minority composition of a school of 300 children can vary substantially when one family moves in or out of the community. Therefore, it is important to view statistics as expressing the student composition within a general range rather than a specific figure. It is also important to note that data available starting in 1964 indicates only the number of black students in attendance and not the total minority composition. In recent years, you would find both statistics presented.

A question that comes into the mind of many is what is the ideal ratio between minority and majority children. One must be careful not to draw the conclusion that, because a school has the exact overall district average of minority/majority enrollment, the school is integrated. We would all hope that every school reflects the overall district average of 37% minority. The focus of the district

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has been to work with those schools which deviate greatly from the district average. By drawing horizontal lines across the appropriate, accompanying exhibits, one can see the overall racial/ethnic composition of the district. I think that it has long been the policy of the Board of Education to offer integrated education to all children and not merely to attain a desegregated school system based on a student count.

Of interest to members of the Board and the audience is that through the Shaker Schools Plan we have been able to change the racial composition of several elementary schools quite substantially. For example, if it were not for the Shaker Schools Plan, Malvern School would have virtually no black children, but this year, through the Plan, the school has approximately 16% minority students. Moreland Elementary School would be almost totally black in student composition if it were not for the Plan. Because of this intervention, the schools is now 70% minority in composition.

Exhibit #1 shows the percentage of minority students enrolled in the entire school district for the years 1964-78. It is evident that in recent years there has been a stabilization of the ratio between black and white children in the district. Exhibit #2 indicates by number the total district enrollment and the minority enrollment for the same years.

Exhibit #3 indicates the projected racial composition of the school district for 1977-78 if the Shaker Schools Plan were not used as an intervention strategy in changing the racial balance of the schools.

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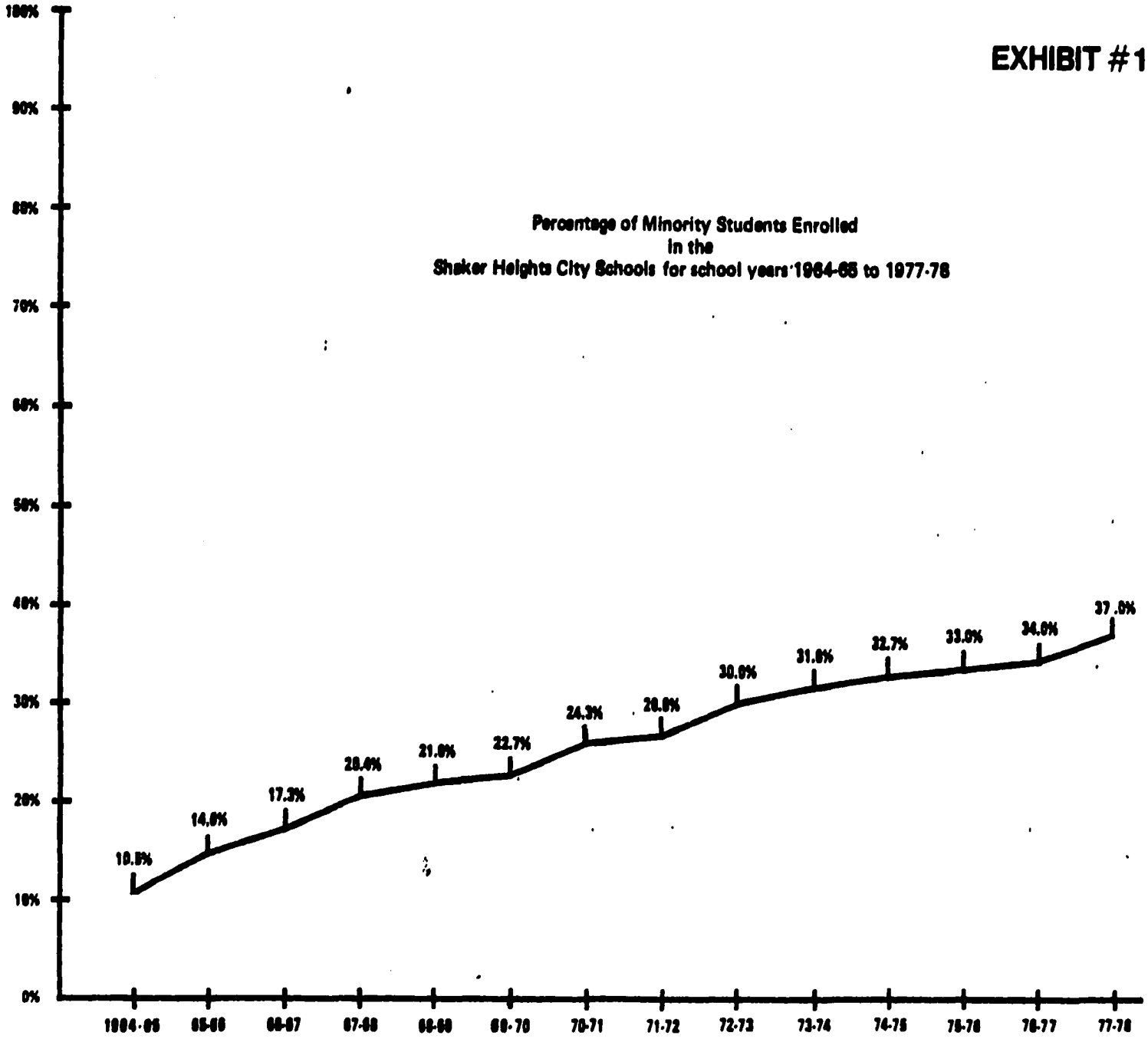
Exhibit #4 shows the percentage of minority students enrolled in the individual Shaker Schools for this school year. This data, however, does not reflect classroom by classroom data. It is hoped that a classroom by classroom survey will be conducted in the spring of every year and will include secondary classes. Exhibit #5 shows the total enrollment and the minority enrollment school by school for the current year.

Also included in the materials presented to the Board is data gleaned from the last three years concerning the number of children by racial/ethnic composition in special classes and the number of all minority or all majority classes by school building.

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EXHIBIT #1

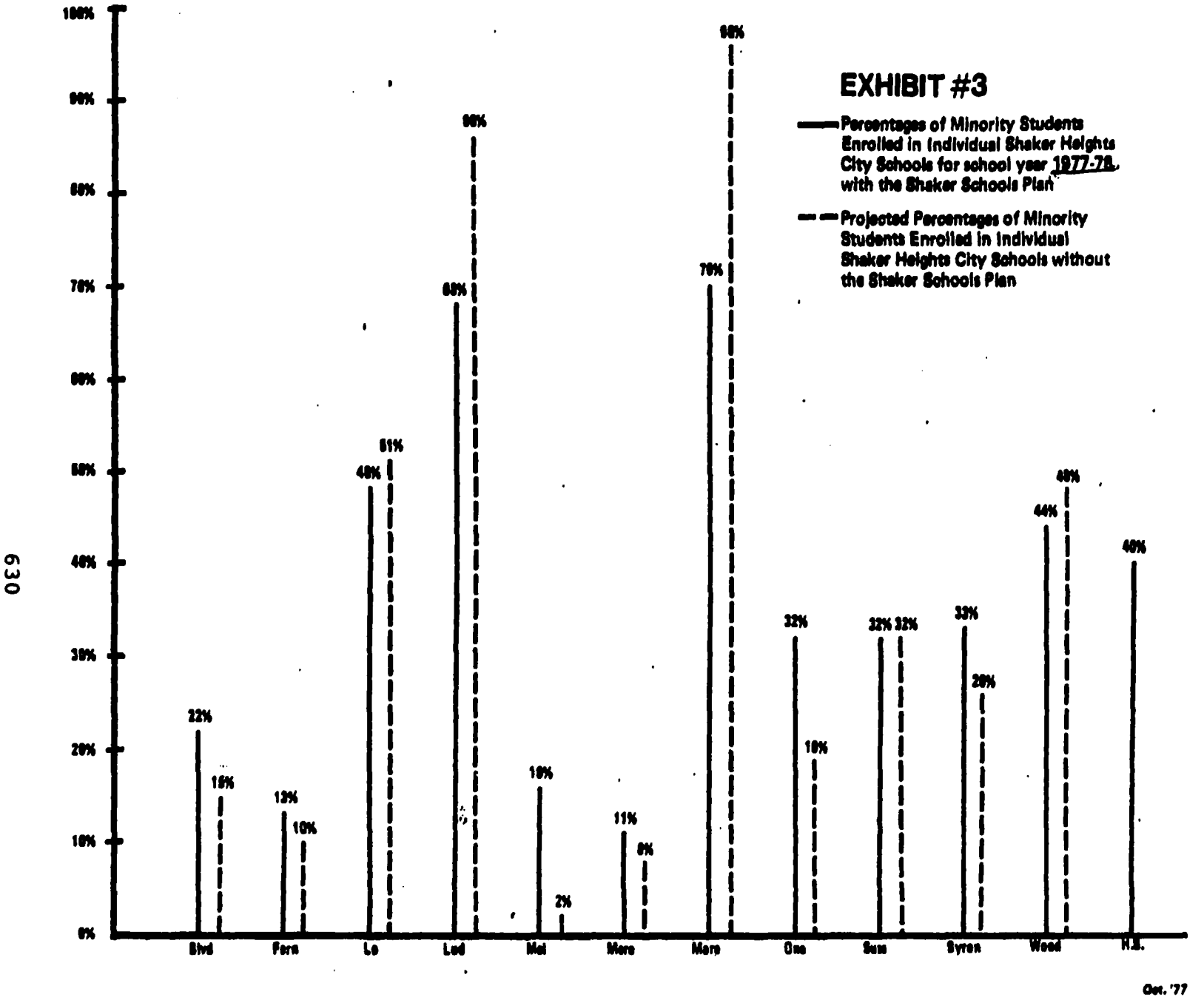


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Minority Students Enrolled in the Shaker Heights City Schools

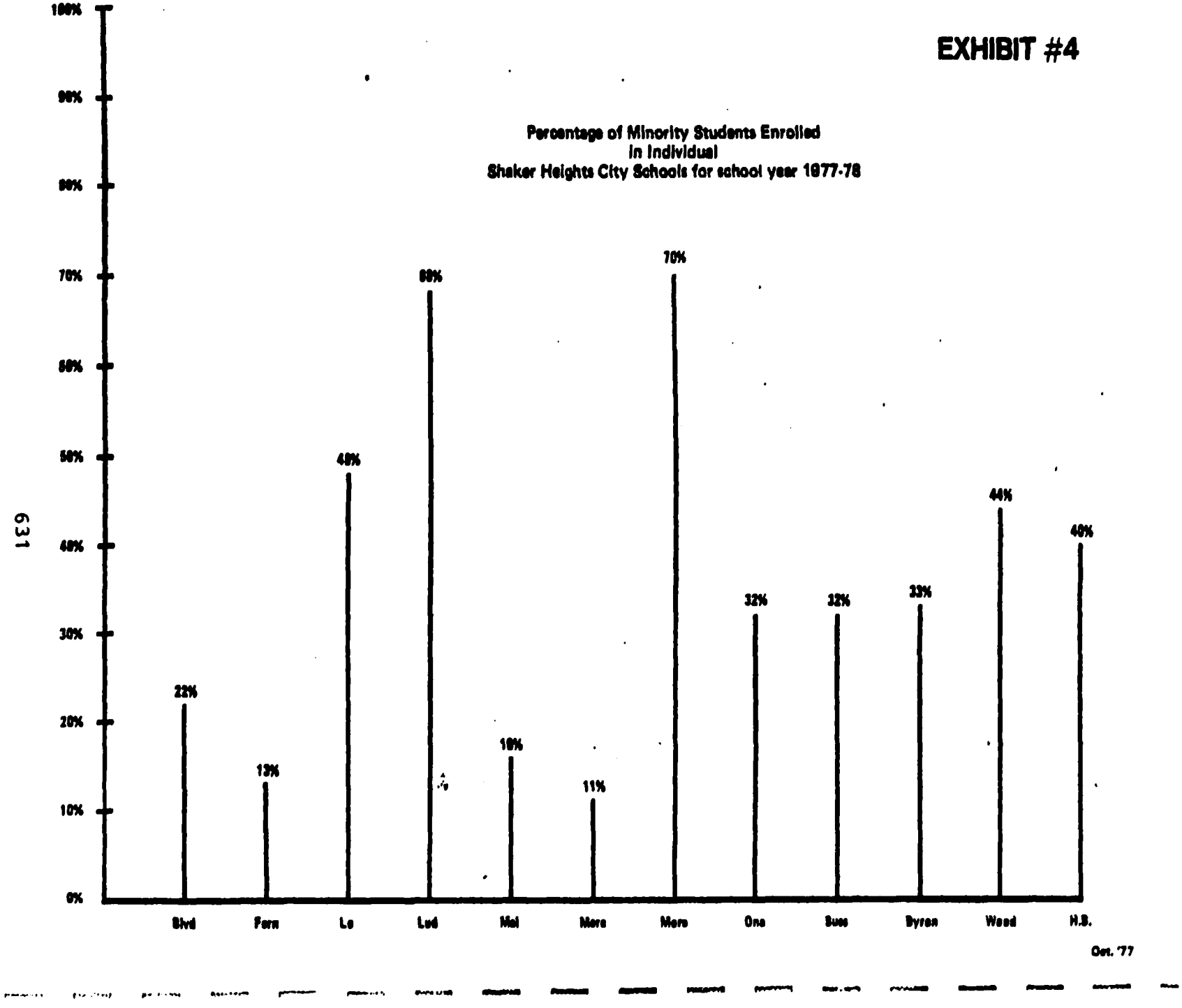
	Total Enrollment	Minority Enrollment
1964-65	7737	814
1965-66	7990	1158
1966-67	8079	1400
1967-68	7978	1598
1968-69	7872	1704
1969-70	7745	1764
1970-71	7459	1815
1971-72	7332	1967
1972-73	7111	2135
1973-74	6980	2206
1974-75	6810	2227
1975-76	6732	2227
1976-77	6727	2293
1977-78	6428	2278

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EXHIBIT #4



Appendix D-4

Table 1:7. Public, Private, and Total School Enrollment by School Year: 1966-67 to 1981-82. Shaker Heights. *A Special Report on Data and Data Needs Related to School and Housing Integration*. Prepared by Susan C. Kaesner, Citizens' Council for Ohio Schools, and Principal Investigator Mark Freeman, Shaker Heights City School District Project Director.

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From: A Special Report on Data & Data Needs related to School&Housing Integration. Prepared by Susan C. Kaesner, Citizens' Council for Ohio Schools, Principal Investigator & Mark Freeman, SHCSD Project Director. Page 14

TABLE 1:2

PUBLIC, PRIVATE, AND TOTAL SCHOOL ENROLLMENT BY SCHOOL YEAR: 1966-67 to 1981-82

SHAKER HEIGHTS

Year	Total Public Enrollment	Total Private Enrollment	Total Public and Private	Private as a % of Public and Private
1966-67	8,079	1,444	9,823	18.2%
1967-68	7,978	1,443	9,421	18.3%
1968-69	7,872	1,441	9,313	18.4%
1969-70	7,745	1,404	9,149	18.3%
1970-71	7,459	1,394	8,853	18.7%
1971-72	7,332	1,497	8,829	16.9%
1972-73	7,111	1,456	8,567	17.0%
1973-74	6,980	1,442	8,422	17.1%
1974-75	6,810	1,486	8,296	17.9%
1975-76	6,732	1,471	8,203	17.9%
1976-77	6,727	1,497	8,224	18.2%
1977-78	6,428	---------- NOT AVAILABLE ----------		
1978-79	6,166	1,375	7,631	18.3%
1979-80	6,049	1,347	7,398	18.4%
1980-81	5,951	1,236	7,187	17.2%
1981-82	5,759	1,224	6,983	17.8%

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Appendix D-5

Shaker Heights City School District:
Public, Private, and Total Enrollment by School Year,
Fiscal Years 1979 to 1998.

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Shaker Heights City School District

Public, Private, and Total School Enrollment by School Year
Fiscal Years 1979 to 1998

Fiscal Year	Total Public Enrollment (1)	Total Private Enrollment (2)	Total Public and Private	Private as a Percent of Public and Private
1979	6,156	1,375	7,531	18.3%
1980	6,049	1,355	7,404	18.3
1981	5,951	1,236	7,187	17.2
1982	5,759	1,249	7,008	17.8
1983	5,490	1,216	6,706	18.1
1984	5,294	1,200	6,494	18.5
1985	5,187	1,160	6,347	18.3
1986	5,125	1,047	6,172	17.0
1987	5,013	996	6,009	16.5
1988	4,869	1,021	5,890	17.3
1989	4,830	966	5,796	16.6
1990	4,887	921	5,808	15.8
1991	4,874	842	5,716	17.3
1992	4,933	878	5,811	15.1
1993	4,959	867	5,826	14.8
1994	5,081	909	5,990	15.1
1995	5,371	966	6,337	15.2
1996	5,485	1,063	6,548	16.2
1997	5,634	1,071	6,705	15.9
1998	5,592	983	6,575	15.0

Source: Shaker Heights City School District Records

(1) Figures for fiscal year 1979 through 1982 are based on Shaker Heights City School District Racial Ethnic Reports. Figures for 1983 through 1998 are based on first full week of Shaker Heights City School District October enrollment report.

(2) Estimated from State of Ohio Transportation Report (T-1) and/or a telephone and mail survey of private and parochial schools

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Appendix D-6
Shaker School Plan Enrollment
1970-1971 through 1977-1978

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TABLE 2

TOTAL NUMBER OF STUDENTS INVOLVED IN THE SHAKER SCHOOLS PLAN

	1970-1971	1971-1972	1972-1973	1973-1974	1974-1975	1975-1976	1976-1977	1977-1978*
Reassigned White Students	67	89	93	72	61	80	99	161
Reassigned Black Students	149	135	104	80	47	82	94	211

*This is the expanded Shaker Schools Plan enrollment which includes all elementary schools and the two junior high schools.

Source: Beverly Mason. A personal interview with Mrs. Mason, Coordinator of The Shaker Schools Plan, November 10, 1977.

From: Svec, L. V. (1978). Desegregation and social integration in the Shaker Heights School District: A descriptive case study emphasizing a junior high school. Dissertation presented for the Doctor of Education Degree, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville.

Appendix E: Student Achievement Data

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Appendix E-1

Analyses show growth in minority achievement. (2003, Spring). *The Shaker School Review*, p. 4.

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Analyses Show Growth in Minority Achievement

A number of indicators point to improvement in the academic performance of African-American students in the Shaker Heights schools, recent analyses show. Although black students' achievement in the aggregate remains lower than that of white students, the recent improvements in many areas suggest that the District's intensified efforts are yielding benefits.

Among the encouraging signs:

- Shaker's passing rates on most Ohio proficiency tests have improved steadily, leading to higher ratings on the State Report Card, due primarily to improved performance by African-American students.
- The number of African-American students taking Honors and Advanced classes at the High School has increased by nearly 50 percent in the past three years, with the largest increase coming in mathematics.
- Data from the Stanford Achievement Test, a nationally normed assessment, confirm that the black-white achievement gap in reading is narrowing between grades 5 and 8.

"Taken together, these and other data make a strong case that various efforts to boost achievement are making an impact," said Dale Whittington, Ph.D., the District's Director of Research and Evaluation.

While Shaker's African-American students outperform their peers statewide and nationally in areas including test scores and college attendance, and many are top achievers, Shaker, like many other districts, has experienced an aggregate gap between black and white achievement.

Efforts to address the achievement gap date back well over two decades in Shaker Heights. In recent years, the gap has attracted the attention of policymakers and researchers all over the country. This has led to several scholarly studies and to the formation of the Minority Student Achievement Network, a nationwide coalition of school districts of which Shaker was an original member.

This increased national interest has also brought more attention to Shaker Heights, including a much-publicized study by University of California anthropologist John Ogbu. Shaker is serving as the pilot site for a professional development program under the direction of Ronald Ferguson of Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. Dubbed "the Tripod Project," the program seeks to improve student achievement by helping teachers refine their classroom techniques, boost their knowledge of content, and build trusting relationships with students.

Other key initiatives include:

- **Early intervention.** The Kindergarten Resource Program was created five years ago to provide intensive, structured support to students in the bottom quartile of the kindergarten class in preliteracy skills. The program has resulted in significant and lasting gains for the participants who have remained in Shaker.
- **Parent involvement.** A retired teacher serves as the District's parent liaison. She works with parents individually and in groups to enhance parenting for student success. Workshops have also been offered on how parents can help reinforce the curriculum and help students prepare for high-stakes tests.
- **Expansion of the MAC (Minority Achievement Committee) program.** This highly regarded peer-mentoring program, initiated about 12 years ago for African-American males at Shaker Heights High School, has now been expanded to include female students and adapted to grades 5-8. The program has also been better publicized in the community and through national networks and media exposure.
- **Extended learning time.** Students who need additional time to master the curriculum are invited to participate in sessions after school, on Saturdays, and/or during the summer. Extended time is also being used to provide enriched mathematics to highly able students.
- **Focus on study skills.** The High School has instituted sessions on improving study habits and organizational skills. Students may self-refer or be referred by a teacher or counselor to these after-school sessions. Additionally, printed materials on study and test-taking skills have been distributed to students.
- **Study groups.** Following up on research demonstrating that students who study together experience greater success, the District has helped African-American students form study circles with teachers as advisors and facilitators.

To support its efforts to improve achievement among African-American students, the District has received grants totaling $646,560 over four years from The Cleveland Foundation and The George Gund Foundation.

"We don't have all the answers by a long shot, but the progress we are making gives us reason for optimism," said Superintendent of Schools Mark Freeman. "The key to this has been working in partnership with the community, with researchers, and with other schools around the nation to develop programs and monitor the results."



SGORR Celebrates Its 20th Birthday

In celebration of its 20th [illegible] Shaker Heights High School [illegible] Group on Race Relations [illegible] is holding a reunion from [illegible] 8 p.m. on May 31 at the [illegible] All former SGORR members [illegible] welcome; former Core members [illegible] particularly encouraged to [illegible] For information, contact [illegible] Gladden at (216) 378-061[illegible] *cassg11@hotmail.com.*

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E-2

Memorandum from Chris Sheridan to Dale Whittington, director of research and evaluation office for the Shaker Heights City School District. (2002, July 2).

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To: Chris Sheridan

From: Dale Whittington

Subject: Requested Data Relating to Enrollment and Academic Performance

Date: July 2, 2002

I have been able to track down the information you requested regarding African-American course enrollment and academic performance.

1. **What percent of students in Advanced Placement classes is African American?**

Annual spring analyses prepared by our data processing head over the past three years reveal that anywhere from 13% to 16% of students in AP classes in Shaker Heights High School have been African American. The percentage of African American students in Honors courses has ranged between 31% and 32%. Note that typically students do not begin enrolling in AP classes until the 11th grade, whereas Honors course enrollment begins in 9th grader.

2. **What percent of the year-end D's and F's earned by students are earned by African American students?**

Using readily available data, I generated median GPA's by grade level based on Fall 2001 grades. Note that in Shaker, grades in the fall and in the spring represent semester work only. There are no grades that are based on the entire academic year's work.

Comparison of African American and European American Fall Semester GPA's by Grade Level

Grade Level	Median African American GPA	Median European American GPA	Median GPA for all Students
9	1.9	3.3	2.6
10	2.3	3.6	2.9
11	2.3	3.8	3.0
12	2.5	3.7	3.3

3. **What are the SAT scores for African American and European American students?**

Mean SAT Verbal and Math Scores--A Comparison of National, State and District Data for All Students and by Race/Ethnicity: Class of 2001

	All students, 2001 Verb/Math	Blacks, 2001 Verb/ Math	Whites, 2001 Verb/Math
Shaker Mean Score	559 584	466 471	611 617
Number of Shaker Students	265	90	158
Ohio Mean Score	534 539	451 435	543 547
National Mean Score	506 514	433 426	529 531

Note that this year there were 6 National Achievement Scholars, among the highest number for any high school in the state.

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Appendix E-3

Shaker Heights High School 2002-2003 School Year Report Card. (2003, August). Columbus, OH: Ohio Department of Education.

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IRN: 034108

Shaker Heights High School

2002–03 SCHOOL YEAR REPORT CARD

15911 Aldersyde Dr, Shaker Heights, OH 44120-2505 - (216) 295-4200, Grades 9-12, Shaker Heights City School District - Cuyahoga County

CURRENT PRINCIPAL:
Michael D. Griffith
(216) 295-4200

CURRENT SUPERINTENDENT:
Mark Freeman
(216) 295-4000

Your School's Rating*: Effective

Number of State Indicators Met Out of 12	11
Performance Index Score (0 – 120 points)	—
Adequate Yearly Progress	Not Met
Years in School Improvement Status[3]	—
Students Eligible for School Choice?	No

Ohio's report cards have been revised to include requirements in the federal No Child Left Behind Act, such as Adequate Yearly Progress (presented on page two) and the inclusion of all students with disabilities and Limited English Proficient students. In addition to the federal requirements, there are state indicators, which are shown in the table below. Any results at and above the state standard are shown in bold.

4th Grade Proficiency		*The state requirement is 75 percent*	
1. Citizenship	–	75.1%	72.6%
2. Math	–	81.7%	71.2%
3. Reading	–	83.5%	77.1%
4. Writing	–	92.6%	86.5%
5. Science	–	75.1%	69.8%
6th Grade Proficiency		*The state requirement is 75 percent*	
6. Citizenship	–	75.6%	80.8%
7. Math	–	56.1%	65.8%
8. Reading	–	70.5%	74.1%
9. Writing	–	80.5%	88.5%
10. Science	–	66.5%	75.1%
9th Grade Proficiency[1]		*The state requirement is 75 percent*	
11. Citizenship	82.6%	82.1%	87.8%
12. Math	74.6%	74.0%	80.1%
13. Reading	89.6%	89.5%	92.3%
14. Writing	90.9%	91.0%	93.5%
15. Science	80.3%	79.8%	82.4%
9th Grade Proficiency[2]		*The state requirement is 85 percent*	
16. Citizenship	93.0%	92.8%	93.1%
17. Math	85.3%	85.1%	88.5%
18. Reading	96.3%	96.3%	96.5%
19. Writing	97.1%	96.9%	96.9%
20. Science	91.4%	91.4%	90.9%
Attendance Rate		*The state requirement is 93 percent*	
21. All Grades	95.6%	96.5%	95.5%
Graduation Rate		*The state requirement is 90 percent*	
22. School	99.7%	99.4%	92.9%

[1] *Results for 9th grade students who took the test as 6th and 8th graders* [2] *Results for 10th grade students who took the test as 6th, 8th and 10th graders*
[3] *A school enters School Improvement Status after missing AYP for two consecutive years.*

Visit www.ode.state.oh.us/reportcard/ or call 1-877-644-6338 for more detailed information on the performance of your school and district.

Financial information will be posted on the web in mid-October after districts have completed year-end reports.

Ohio Department of Education

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ADEQUATE YEARLY PROGRESS (AYP) FOR SCHOOL YEAR 2002–03

The table below shows the percentage of students proficient or above in your school in all tested grades based on federal AYP requirements. To meet AYP for the year, all applicable goals must be met. Each goal met is shown in bold.

AYP Goals Met in Your School for the 2002–03 School Year						
	Reading		Mathematics		Attendance Rate	Graduation Rate
Student Group	% Tested (Goal: 95%)	% Proficient or above	% Tested (Goal: 95%)	% Proficient or above	Goal: 93%	Goal: 73.6%
African American	**97.1**	**83.7**	**96.8**	**59.3**	93.6	99.3
American Indian/Native Alaskan	--	--	--	--	--	--
Asian/Pacific Islander	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Hispanic	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Multi-Racial	NR	NR	NR	NR	**94.5**	NR
White	**99.4**	**97.6**	**99.4**	**96.4**	**96.6**	**100.0**
Economically Disadvantaged	**96.4**	73.7	**94.0**	48.7	**91.6**	NR
Limited English Proficient	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
Students with Disabilities	**100.0**	64.0	**97.4**	42.5	**94.4**	NR
All Students	**97.9**	**89.6**	**97.5**	**74.6**	**95.0**	**99.7**

NR: Not required for AYP due to student group is below the minimum number for statistical reliability. -- = No data reported

Performance Index Score Over Time	2002–2003	2001–2002	2000–2001
	--	--	--

Glossary:

Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP): *The federal mandate that holds schools accountable for the performance of subgroups, as well as all students. The goal is to have 100% of all students at and above proficient by 2013–14 in reading and math.*

NC: *Not Calculated. Based on federal and state privacy laws, NC is used when there are fewer than 10 members in a subgroup to protect the identity of those individuals. Data is received on all students. All students are included in the report of overall proficiency levels for the school and district.*

NR: *Not Required for AYP due to subgroup size below minimum number for statistical reliability. 30 is minimum for all student groups, except for student with disabilities the minimum is 45.*

Performance Index Score: *Your number is determined by a weighted average of performance levels (basic, below basic, proficient, and advanced) across each subject and each tested grade. The Performance Index is on a scale of 0 to 120 points and 100 is the goal. For more detail about the performance index calculation and formula or to see the data from your school, please visit the ODE website at www.ode.state.oh.us/reportcard.*

Proficient Level: *Score on test at which students meet or exceed expectations for proficiency on each assessment.*

School Rating: *The 2002–03 School Year Report Card is the first to rate district's based on the higher of the percentage of report card indicators met or the performance index score and whether the AYP goals were met for the year. The ratings are Excellent, Effective, Continuous Improvement, Academic Watch or Academic Emergency.*

Similar Districts: *School districts similar to yours based on comparing district size, poverty levels, socioeconomic status (family income, education levels, professions) and factors related to urban or rural location and overall property wealth.*

State Indicator: *The State Board of Education minimum requirement is that 75% of students in 4th, 6th and 9th grades are at and above the proficient level on statewide assessments. The standard increases to 85% of students at the proficient level for the results on the 9th-grade proficiency test at the end of 10th grade. The non-test standards are a 90% graduation rate and a 93% attendance rate.*

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STATE AND FEDERALLY REQUIRED SCHOOL INFORMATION

YOUR SCHOOL'S PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS AT AND ABOVE THE PROFICIENT LEVEL

	African American	American Indian or Native Alaskan	Asian or Pacific Islander	Hispanic	Multi-racial	White	Nondisabled Students	Students with Disabilities	Non-Economically Disadvantaged	Economically Disadvantaged	Limited English Proficient
8th GRADE PROFICIENCY [illegible]											
Citizenship	72.5	–	NC	NC	86.7	97.0	88.8	50.0	86.3	64.6	NC
Mathematics	59.3	–	NC	NC	85.7	96.4	80.6	42.5	79.8	48.7	NC
Reading	83.7	–	NC	NC	100.0	97.6	94.6	64.0	92.9	73.8	NC
Writing	85.9	–	NC	NC	93.3	98.2	95.9	65.3	93.4	78.8	NC
Science	68.3	–	NC	NC	80.0	97.6	85.4	52.8	83.9	61.8	NC
10th GRADE PROFICIENCY [illegible]											
Citizenship	88.8	–	NC	NC	90.9	98.5	97.0	66.7	93.9	84.4	NC
Mathematics	76.3	–	NC	NC	63.6	98.0	88.4	65.0	88.6	55.6	NC
Reading	94.2	–	NC	NC	90.9	99.0	99.2	76.7	97.3	86.7	NC
Writing	95.0	–	NC	NC	100.0	99.5	100.0	78.3	97.8	91.1	NC
Science	85.8	–	NC	NC	81.8	99.0	95.2	66.1	93.2	75.6	NC

NC = Not calculated. Used if <10 students in subgroup – = No data reported

YOUR SCHOOL'S STUDENTS [illegible]

Student Enrollment	African American	American Indian or Native Alaskan	Asian or Pacific Islander	Hispanic	Multi-racial	White	Economically Disadvantaged	Limited English Proficient	Students with Disabilities
1,717	51.1%	NC	1.5%	1.7%	3.1%	42.6%	11.1%	0.9%	13.2%

FEDERALLY REQUIRED SCHOOL TEACHER INFORMATION

Total Number of Teachers	African American	American Indian or Native Alaskan	Asian or Pacific Islander	Hispanic	Multi-Racial	White
128	11.8%	–	0.8%	2.3%	–	85.9%

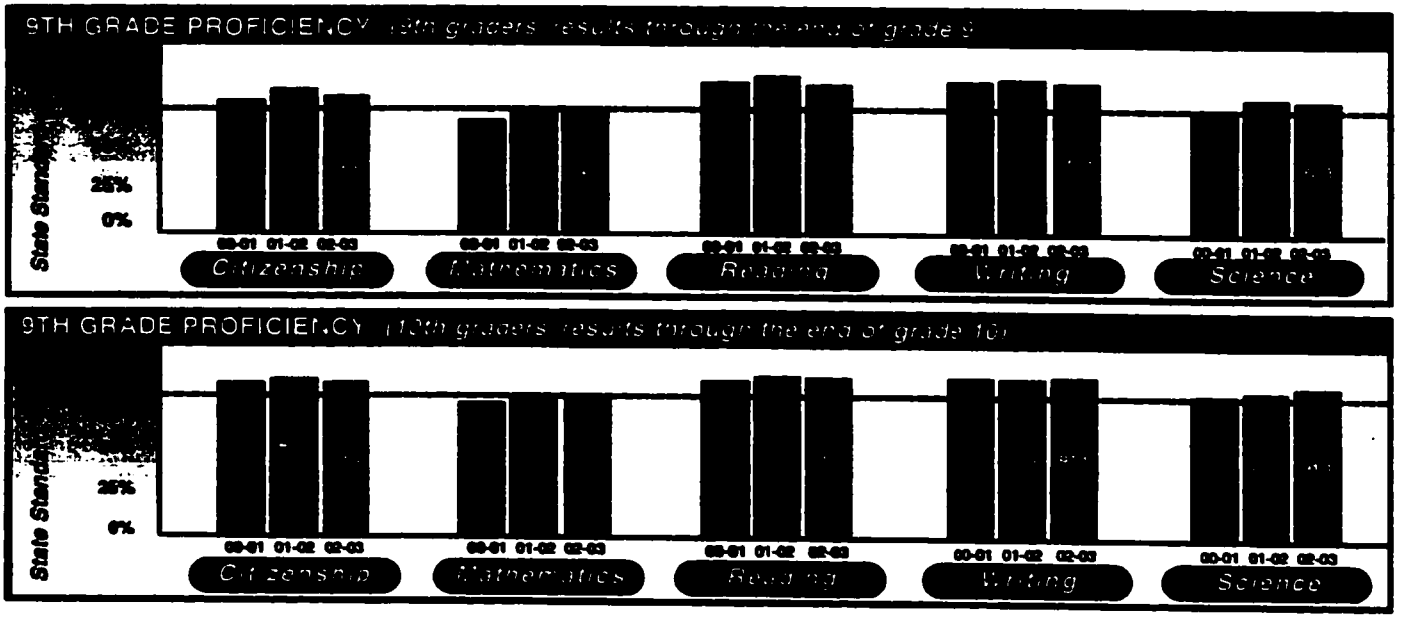
Courses Taught by Teachers with State Authorized Certification or Licensure	K-8	–	98.3%	98.5%
	9-12	98.1%	98.1%	98.4%
Average Years of Teaching Experience		18	17	14

Highly qualified teacher information as required in the *No Child Left Behind* Act will be released during the 2003-04 school year. State authorized certified or licensed teachers may not meet the federal definition of highly qualified.

Shaker Heights High School, Shaker Heights City School District, Cuyahoga County

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YOUR SCHOOL'S ASSESSMENT RESULTS OVER TIME



Previous years' data have been adjusted to include all students in the percentage proficient for the school. In prior years, some students with disabilities were exempted from the accountability calculations. All students enrolled in the school for 120 consecutive school days are included this year.

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Appendix E-4

2001 Results by Gender and Ethnic Group, Shaker Heights City School District, Cuyahoga County. Results of Performance Standards as Established by the Ohio General Assembly, with Results for State Proficiency Tests

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TRN: 0447

2001 Results by Gender and Ethnic Group

All data are for the 1999-2000 school year

Shaker Heights City School District, Cuyahoga County

Breaking down your school district's overall performance record to show how different groups of students have performed offers a more complete picture of how well your district is doing. It also helps to ensure that no group of students is overlooked because the district as a whole is doing well. As you review the data provided in this report, consider these questions: How does each individual group's performance results compare to your district's overall results for all students? Are there differences in the performance results of different groups of students? If yes, what factors might be contributing to those differences? What can be done to address the differences and to raise all students' performance to satisfactory levels?

	State Performance Standard[1]	District Average (all)	State Average (all)	GENDER: MALE Your Dist.	GENDER: MALE State Avg.	GENDER: FEMALE Your Dist.	GENDER: FEMALE State Avg.	ETHNIC GROUP: AFR.-AMER. Your Dist.	ETHNIC GROUP: AFR.-AMER. State Avg.	ETHNIC GROUP: HISPANIC Your Dist.	ETHNIC GROUP: HISPANIC State Avg.	ETHNIC GROUP: WHITE Your Dist.	ETHNIC GROUP: WHITE State Avg.	ETHNIC GROUP: OTHER Your Dist.	ETHNIC GROUP: OTHER State Avg.
Student Attendance Rate	93%	95.5	93.6	95.5	93.7	95.5	93.6	95.1	90.5	95.0	91.4	96.1	94.6	95.6	89.5
Percentage of Students Suspended	NS	6.7	9.1	9.1	12.1	4.3	6.0	10.9	21.4	1.7	10.8	2.1	7.0	1.9	9.0
Average Length of Student Suspensions (days)	NS	4.4	2.8	4.4	2.8	4.3	2.7	4.6	2.9	NC	2.9	3.7	2.6	2.7	3.6
Percentage of 4th Graders Promoted to 5th Grade	NS	100.0	94.6	100.0	94.7	100.0	95.0	100.0	97.3	NC	97.6	100.0	99.1	100.0	97.6
Percentage of 6th Graders Promoted to 7th Grade	NS	100.0	94.3	100.0	93.6	100.0	95.0	100.0	92.9	NC	97.3	100.0	98.6	100.0	96.0
High School Graduation Rate	90%	98.2	80.7	97.9	77.2	98.6	84.1	98.4	66.3	NC	80.7	98.3	84.2	98.6	89.4
Percentage of Graduates With Honors Diploma	NS	30.7	16.6	32.2	13.0	29.4	20.1	3.8	3.7	NC	4.4	56.9	18.0	46.4	14.5

[1] *27 State performance Standards* have been established by the Ohio General Assembly, including Ohio Proficiency test results and attendance and graduation rates.

NR = Not Reported NS = No Standard
NC = Not Calculated

rev. 09-28-01

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2001 Results by Gender and Ethnic Group (continued)

IRN: 044750

All data are for the 1999-2000 school year

Shaker Heights City School District, Cuyahoga County

State Proficiency Tests		State Performance Standard[1]	District Average (all)	State Average (all)	GENDER: MALE Your Dist.	GENDER: MALE State Avg.	GENDER: FEMALE Your Dist.	GENDER: FEMALE State Avg.	ETHNIC GROUP: AFR-AMER Your Dist.	AFR-AMER State Avg.	HISPANIC Your Dist.	HISPANIC State Avg.	WHITE Your Dist.	WHITE State Avg.	OTHER Your Dist.	OTHER State Avg.
4th Grade	Citizenship	75%	73.6	61.3	69.2	61.4	77.5	61.2	54.9	33.1	NC	45.0	94.9	67.2	77.8	51.0
	Mathematics	75%	72.5	48.9	71.9	48.6	72.9	49.2	51.4	19.1	NC	32.9	95.6	54.6	83.3	42.0
	Reading	75%	70.0	56.2	68.0	57.0	71.7	55.4	49.5	29.7	NC	43.8	93.0	64.3	77.8	44.6
	Writing	75%	85.5	77.9	81.5	72.6	89.9	83.2	77.3	60.5	NC	69.4	95.5	81.6	94.4	70.7
	Science	75%	61.7	47.7	62.8	50.4	60.7	45.0	37.9	18.6	NC	30.0	86.7	53.6	83.3	36.3
	All Tests	NS	48.1	30.8	49.4	30.8	46.9	30.9	20.3	8.7	NC	16.2	80.6	35.4	44.4	23.5
6th Grade	Citizenship	75%	85.3	70.1	83.7	68.3	87.1	71.9	74.5	42.9	NC	59.1	98.1	76.4	100.0	45.9
	Mathematics	75%	69.3	54.4	66.3	54.3	72.6	54.4	50.5	22.3	NC	40.5	93.6	61.3	78.3	31.8
	Reading	75%	71.4	53.2	70.3	50.3	72.6	56.1	52.0	24.4	NC	39.5	94.3	59.6	91.3	31.1
	Writing	75%	89.9	79.1	87.1	73.5	93.0	84.6	82.4	65.5	NC	71.9	98.7	82.3	95.7	65.7
	Science	75%	68.0	54.6	69.5	57.0	66.1	52.1	47.1	21.6	NC	38.0	93.6	61.6	82.6	30.0
	All Tests	NS	64.1	36.2	64.0	34.2	64.3	38.3	28.4	9.9	NC	22.3	87.9	40.7	66.5	18.2
8th Grade	Citizenship	75%	81.6	60.7	77.8	61.1	85.1	60.2	67.5	36.6	NC	56.3	98.9	69.0	88.9	61.6
	Mathematics	75%	68.5	70.4	69.7	72.7	70.2	68.0	49.6	36.4	NC	51.0	96.0	77.7	77.8	47.3
	Reading	75%	89.7	89.1	86.0	87.3	93.0	91.1	82.5	72.9	NC	78.5	98.9	92.6	88.9	75.1
	Writing	75%	94.0	91.4	90.8	87.7	96.5	95.2	90.2	81.7	NC	85.3	98.9	93.6	94.4	82.5
	Science	75%	72.9	76.2	71.0	78.4	74.6	74.0	53.4	43.8	NC	60.3	97.7	83.3	77.8	51.6
	All Tests	NS	61.7	63.1	57.1	64.2	65.5	61.8	34.5	26.9	NC	42.5	95.6	70.6	72.2	36.1
9th Grade 10th grade students	Citizenship	65%	92.3	89.1	91.5	89.7	93.0	88.6	87.2	73.2	NC	78.0	98.9	92.2	100.0	74.5
	Mathematics	65%	81.6	81.3	81.3	83.7	81.8	78.8	67.1	53.1	NC	66.7	98.9	88.2	100.0	61.4
	Reading	65%	95.5	95.0	91.5	93.6	98.7	96.1	92.0	86.8	NC	89.7	99.4	98.6	100.0	88.0
	Writing	65%	97.1	96.4	95.2	94.6	98.7	98.3	94.7	91.6	NC	92.5	100.0	97.3	100.0	91.8
	Science	65%	88.3	85.5	85.6	87.1	87.0	83.9	75.8	60.6	NC	72.2	98.9	89.9	100.0	66.3
	All Tests	NS	76.8	75.9	77.6	77.7	79.2	74.1	62.1	44.6	NC	58.1	98.3	81.5	100.0	52.6
12th Grade	Citizenship	60%	83.2	68.1	84.7	70.3	82.1	65.8	70.8	46.5	NC	64.7	98.3	70.4	83.3	57.3
	Mathematics	60%	69.1	59.0	73.3	61.7	65.6	56.2	45.6	33.0	NC	45.6	88.3	61.5	91.3	53.0
	Reading	60%	74.8	65.9	76.6	63.3	73.8	68.4	53.4	43.9	NC	55.6	92.4	68.2	91.7	57.5
	Writing	60%	90.2	82.9	87.1	78.2	92.8	89.3	85.7	74.2	NC	75.8	94.2	83.8	91.7	80.5
	Science	60%	73.2	60.9	76.1	61.9	70.8	59.8	50.9	35.4	NC	49.4	91.8	63.5	87.5	51.6
	All Tests	NS	59.5	42.3	63.8	43.3	56.4	41.3	31.1	17.7	NC	29.7	83.6	44.6	83.3	35.2

[1] ***27 State performance Standards*** have been established by the Ohio General Assembly, including Ohio Proficiency test results and attendance and graduation rates.

NR = Not Reported
NC = Not Calculated

NS = No Standard

Appendix E-5

Shaker Heights High School's results in the National Merit/National Achievement/National Hispanic Scholarship Programs: 1955-56 through 1996-1997. (1996, November). *The Shaker School Review*.

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Shaker Heights High School's Results in the National Merit/National Achievement/National Hispanic Scholarship Programs 1955-56 through 1996-97

School Year	National Merit Semifinalists	National Merit Commended	National Achievement Semifinalists	National Achievement Commended	National Hispanic Scholars	Total as % of Senior Class****
1955-56	13	N/A	*	**	***	4%
1956-57	16	N/A				5%
1957-58	14	N/A	**	**	***	4%
1958-59	22	N/A				6%
1959-60	27	40	**	**	***	13%
1960-61	22	39				11%
1961-62	28	39	**	**	***	13%
1962-63	29	51				13%
1963-64	31	49	**	**	***	13%
1964-65	22	53				9%
1965-66	35	56	5	5	***	16%
1966-67	27	46				12%
1967-68	34	49	6	1	***	14%
1968-69	28	50				12%
1969-70	29	41	7	4	***	13%
1970-71	36	52				16%
1971-72	37	36	8	7	***	15%
1972-73	41	50				16%
1973-74	18	30	8	9	***	12%
1974-75	20	36				12%
1975-76	26	28	10	18	***	16%
1976-77	29	30				11%
1977-78	22	25	8	18	***	14%
1978-79	26	27				12%
1979-80	21	27	8	10	***	13%
1980-81	20	28				10%
1981-82	21	26	7	12	***	12%
1982-83	20	28				13%
1983-84	19	23	2	15	0	12%
1984-85	21	25				12%
1985-86	15	19	2	3	0	8%
1986-87	20	24				12%
1987-88	23	23	1	7	0	11%
1988-89	17	21				9%
1989-90	23	20	3	3	0	13%
1990-91	21	21				7%
1991-92	24	13	3	0	0	11%
1992-93	22	21				19%
1993-94	15	20	4	7	0	15%
1994-95	19	21				12%
1995-96	18	18	2	6	1	15%
1996-97	22	24				17%

* = Not Available

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** From 1956-59, the Merit Scholarship Program Corporation winners were named "Certificate of Merit Winners" and for the first four years, information on Commended Students was not available.

** The National Achievement Program for top African American students began in 1964-65.

***The National Hispanic Scholars Program began in 1983-84.

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Appendix E-6

Whittingon, D. (1996). *Achievement in Shaker 1995-96: A Comparison of Outcomes and Inputs for the District, the State, and the Nation.* Table 9 (page 13), Table 11 (page 16), Table 23 (page 29).

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Table 9. Mean SAT Verbal and Math Scores--A Comparison of National, State, and District Data for All Students, by Race/Ethnicity and by Gender

Location	All students Verbal/Math	Males Verbal/Math	Females Verbal/Math	Blacks Verbal/Math	Whites Verbal/Math
Shaker Heights Class of 1996 Mean Score	566 560	573 578	570 545	485 471	600 598
Number of Students	299	141	158	90	196
Ohio[1] Mean Score	536 535	540 556	533 517	464 441	543 542
Number of Students	28,071	13,064	15,007	2,172	22,985
Nation[2] Mean Score	505 508	507 527	503 492	434 422	526 523
Number of Students	1,084,725	504,598	580,127	106,573	681,053

From: Achievement in Shaker 1995-1996: A Comparison of Outcomes and Inputs for the District, the State and the Nation.
Prepared by Dale Whittington. February 1997.
Page thirteen.

[1] Source: College Bound Seniors. 1996 Profile of SAT Program Test Takers. Ohio Report. The College Board. Data are reported for the Class of 1996 who took the SAT any time while in high school. The most recent score is reported (not the highest).

[2] Source: College Bound Seniors. 1996 Profile of SAT Program Test Takers. National Report, The College Board. Data are reported for the Class of 1996 who took the SAT any time while in high school. The most recent score is reported (not the highest).

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Table 11. Number of AP Exams Taken and Percent Passed (score of 3 or above)) by Graduates of The Shaker Heights City School District (1995-96)[1] and 11th and 12th Grade U.S. High School Students (1992)[2]

	Social Studies No. /%	English No. /%	Foreign Language No. /%	Calculus No. /%	Science No. /%
All students					
Shaker	109/ 92	55/85	34/73	64/80	83/84
U.S.	21[3]/57	20/65	6/67	12/67	12/58
Males					
Shaker	56/ 91	21/86	19/79	31/94	61/92
U.S.	20/65	15/66	4/75	14/71	13/69
Females					
Shaker	53/92	34/85	15/67	33/67	22/64
U.S.	22/55	25/64	7/71	11/64	10/80
African Americans					
Shaker					
U.S.	5/100	3/33	0 taken	7/43	3/33
	5/40	29/55	1/0	3/33	2/50
European Americans					
Shaker					
U.S.	53/90	41/87	24/63	50/83	73/84
	22/59	21/71	4/75	12/67	11/64

From: Achievement in Shaker 1995-1996: A Comparison of Outcomes and Inputs for the District, the State and the Nation. Prepared by Dale Whittington, February 1997. Page sixteen.

[1] Source: Shaker Heights City School District, Graduating Class of 1996 AP Test Summary. These data pool the exams taken by any graduate of the class of 1996 while in 10th, 11th or 12 grade.
[2] Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. *The Condition of Education, 1993*. Tables 27.1 & 27.2. These tables report for the 11th and 12 graders taking AP exams in a give year.
[3] National figures are reported as number of students per 1,000 public school 11th and 12th graders.

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Table 23. Percent of Students in Various Math Courses: Graduates from The Shaker Heights City District (1995-96), and the U.S. (1992)

Subject	Shaker[1]	United States[2]
Any Math		
All public school students	100	99.6
Males	100	99.3
Females	100	99.9
White/European American	100	99.7
Black/African American	100	99.1
Algebra II & Geometry		
All public school students	74.3	48.7
Males	67.7	48.6
Females	75.2	51.6
White/European American	95.5	47.0
Black/African American	49.3	28.6
Trigonometry & Calculus		
All public school students	28.6	2.8
Males	25.1	2.6
Females	35.5	2.8
White/European American	50.1	2.3
Black/African American	10.6	1.2

From: Achievement in Shaker 1995-1996: A Comparison of Outcomes and Inputs for the District, the State and the Nation. Prepared by Dale Whittington. Page 29.

[1] Source: Shaker Heights High School Program Planning Guide 1994-95; Shaker Heights City School District Course Enrollment for Seniors. 6/13/96. Note: There were 35 students not listed as enrolled in a math course their senior year. It was assumed for this analysis that none of these students had completed Algebra II and Geometry. If any did, the percentages reported in this analysis are underestimates.

[2] Source: National Center for Education Statistics. *The Condition of Education 1995.* Tables 26.1, 26.2 and 26.3.

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Appendix E-7

Stupay, D. S. (1993). *The Shaker Heights City Schools: An Overview*. Shaker Heights, OH: Shaker Heights City School District. Table 6: Course selection by level and race. Excerpt from page 23.

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Table 6. 1993-1994 Course selection by level and race

LEVEL	% of Total	RACE (%) Black	White	Other
General Educ	4.2	3.9	0.2	0.0
College Prep	70.3	43.1	25.3	1.8
Honors	17.3	4.3	12.3	.6
AP	8.1	1.1	6.4	.4

As indicated in Table 6, course requests by Black students make up slightly more than half of all course requests. Black students are strongly represented at the College Preparatory level. However, Black students are underrepresented in course requests at the Honors and Advanced Placement levels. Of the small proportion of course requests at the General Education level, the vast majority are made by Black students.

Stupay, Diane S. (1993). *The Shaker Heights City Schools: An Overview.* Shaker Heights, OH: Shaker Heights City School District. Excerpt from page 23.

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