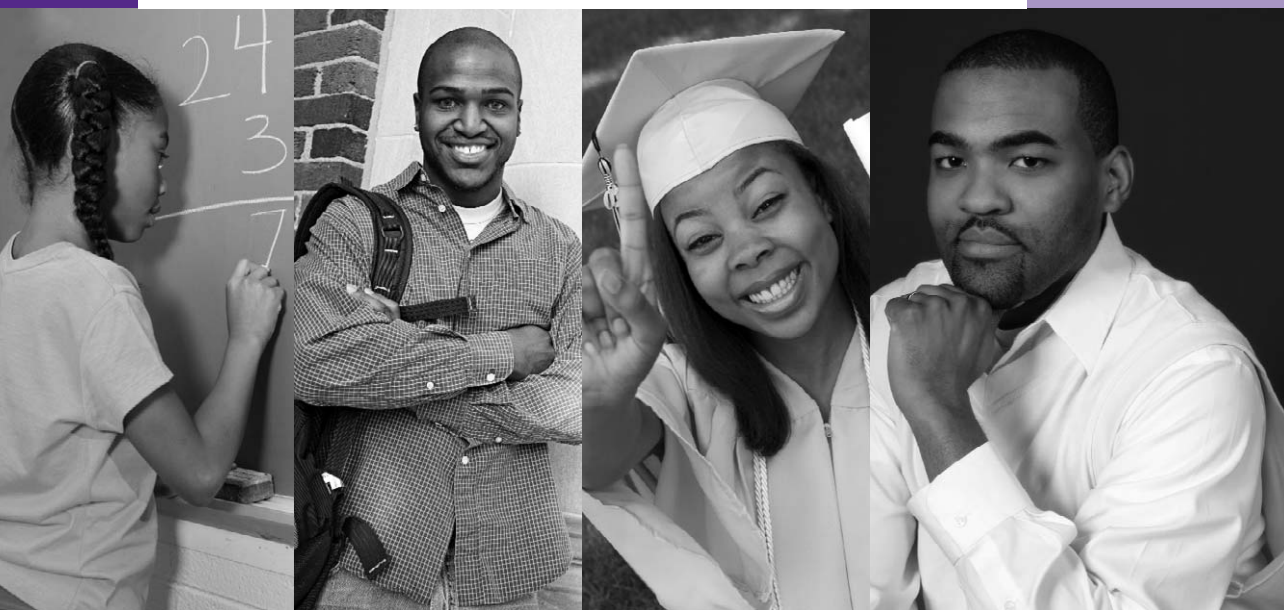


STRENGTHENING THE AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL PIPELINE

INFORMING RESEARCH, POLICY, AND PRACTICE



JERLANDO F. L. JACKSON, EDITOR
WITH A FOREWORD BY GLORIA LADSON-BILLINGS

Strengthening the African American Educational Pipeline

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Strengthening the African American Educational Pipeline

Informing Research, Policy, and Practice

Edited by
Jerlando F. L. Jackson

Foreword by
Gloria Ladson-Billings

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Acknowledgments

FROM THE PECAN ORCHARDS TO THE IVORY TOWERS: ACKNOWLEDGMENTS OF THOSE WHO STRENGTHENED MY EDUCATIONAL PIPELINE

The journey from Ashburn, GA, to Madison, WI, is a long road. These two places are worlds apart, not only with regards to the approximate 17-hour drive by car totaling 1,031 miles but also in regards to opportunity as it relates to education and social mobility. Ashburn, also known as the Peanut Capital of the World, has an estimated population of 4,435 compared to the population of the Madison area, which is approaching approximately 400,000 people. Ashburn's small population is comprised of 65.2% African Americans, compared to 5.8% in Madison. The average income for residents in Ashburn is \$18,702, while Madison has an average income of \$41,941. Approximately 38% of Ashburn residents have a high school diploma or equivalent, 15.8% with some college or an associate's degree, 5.4% with a bachelor's degree, and 5.3% with a graduate degree. In contrast, Madison's residents collectively have more bachelor's (27.3%) and graduate degrees (20.9%) than Ashburn residents with high school diplomas. Lastly, the racial thermometer and social climate of Ashburn nicely registers within the conservative beliefs and ethos of the Deep South. Though Madison sits squarely in the Heartland of America, it refreshingly has cultivated a liberal community of thoughts, beliefs, and actions. Needless to say, these two worlds are in stark contrast.

My traversing these worlds was made possible by a community of committed individuals, those who unselfishly gave of themselves to give me an opportunity at success broadly defined. I would first like to thank Berta Mae and Minor Louis (Sonny Boy) Cushion who fought to desegregate the Turner County

School District for my mother (Dorothy Jackson). She became the first African American student to attend the Turner County School District and later became the first African American cheerleader. I would be remiss if I did not thank Queen Ester Hudson and Lucious Cushion for raising my mother to be a committed and caring person, who in turn did the same for me. Also, I would like to thank Aretha and Will Jackson for working diligently with my father (Jerry Jackson) to make sure he graduated from high school so he could join the army. My father joining the army represented the turning point for my family, which led to a life that presented more opportunities for success. After my father's basic training, we relocated temporarily to Germany and finally to the Fort Benning/Columbus, GA, area where I lived until leaving for college.

I would like to thank the following individuals who took special interests in my development: McBride Elementary School (Mrs. Brownloe); E. A. White Elementary School (Mr. Ingram); Faith Middle School (Mrs. Hildebrand, who unintentionally participated in strengthening my educational pipeline because she scheduled a meeting with my mother to tell her that I would not graduate from high school. That meeting changed my life—from that point forward, I took my education serious. In fact, it motivated me to prove her wrong. As a result, not only did I receive the college preparatory diploma but went on to eventually receive a Ph.D.); W. H. Spencer High School (Vincent K. Rosse, Dr. Linda Skinner, Mrs. Janet Patressek, and Mrs. Dorothy Aniton); Edgewood Baptist Church (Reverend Dr. Howell); University of Southern Mississippi (Drs. Hong, Wooten, Fraschillo, and the Kappa Iota Chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity Incorporated); Auburn University (Dr. James C. Brown, who shaped my understanding of the field of higher education); and Iowa State University (Drs. George A. Jackson, Larry H. Ebbers, Daniel C. Robinson, Walter H. Gmlech, John H. Schuh, and Mack Shelley). I also would like to thank the following individuals for their support throughout my educational process: LaShonda Irby, Chuck and Christie Odum, Larry Nelson, Linda Collier, Charlotte and Ronnie Jordan, and Tometta Walker. Lastly, as certainly not least, I would like to thank my Lord and savior—Jesus Christ.

For the many others who strengthened my educational pipeline, I thank you as well. It is because of the individuals mentioned above that I have been afforded the opportunity to work as a professor at one of America's most elite institutions, the University of Wisconsin-Madison. As I drive home from work every day to the suburbs of Madison, I cannot help but think how far I have come from the trailer home on the side of a dirt road that leads to the Pecan Orchards in Ashburn, GA. *I do hope that I too one day can serve to strengthen the education pipeline for someone else.*

Foreword

ENTERING THE PIPELINE: THE PRE-K–12 CHALLENGE TO EQUALLY PREPARE STUDENTS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

An interesting exercise to perform with undergraduate students in a diverse classroom is to ask them to describe how they got their first job. More often than not, middle-income students relate an experience where a family member or family friend helped them get a job. “My dad is a manager at such-and-such firm, and he got me a job filing,” or, “My uncle owns a business, and he has hired me every summer since high school.” On the other hand, working-class students—often students of color—report that their first job came as a result of answering “help wanted” signs in windows, perusing the newspaper want ads, or walking into an establishment and filling out an application. The point of the exercise is to demonstrate that even with something as simple as a first job, some people are already advantaged by birth. The same thing applies to accessing a college or university education.

My own journey to college was very serendipitous. No one in my immediate family had ever attended college, and I was entirely dependent on the “kindness of strangers.” My high school college guidance counselor and members of my church provided me with some ideas, but for the most part I was making selections in the dark. I chose two local schools (that I did not really want to attend) and two historically Black colleges. Additionally, because of my grades, I was being offered admittance to a number of schools that seemed desperate to increase their diversity. I ultimately chose one of the historically Black schools without realizing that I had been admitted to an Ivy League school (I still do not think I would have chosen that school). However, my point is that

I did not know enough about the differences in schools to make an informed decision. I was more eager to go away to school than I was to consider what schools had to offer.

I do not think my experience was particularly different from those of most working-class, first-generation African American students who were considering college. Many of my classmates went to a local historically Black college. Another group commuted uptown to a large, state-affiliated university. But a significant number did not attend college at all. Many of the male students were drafted and sent off to Southeast Asia to fight in the Vietnam War. Still another group found its way to the workforce to fill the many retail, entry-level clerical, and civil service jobs that a major metropolitan area could provide. In the mid 1960s, it was possible to have a decent life without a college education.

Fast-forward to 2007. Even entry-level jobs that lead to a career require some postsecondary education or training. Most of the newly created jobs are in the service industry. These are minimum-wage jobs with few if any fringe benefits. These are the jobs that far too many African American youths find themselves competing for—jobs that rarely lead to real careers or provide a living wage. With these prospects, it would seem only logical that more African American youths would choose to attend college.

The facts that stand in the way of the logic of a college education deal with the failure of many African American students to complete high school. Although the graduation rate seems to be improving, graduation rates from traditional comprehensive high schools are flat. The improvement in graduation rates comes from the increasing number of students completing high school via the general equivalency diploma (GED) and other alternatives.

The problem in the pipeline for African American students is the failure of many of them to receive an adequate secondary education that will prepare them for college. Plenty of attention has been focused on the failure of high-profile Division IA colleges and universities to provide football and basketball scholarship athletes with a real education and the likely chance to graduate. African Americans comprise a large proportion of these student athletes. The unspoken problem is that at far too many Division IA colleges and universities, the graduation rate of African American student athletes exceeds that of African American students in the general student population.

Another pipeline issue is financial. Many African American students are likely to economize on a college education by starting out in two-year community or technical colleges. Unfortunately, what looks like a good strategy can become a trap for many students. Instead of transitioning to a four-year college, far too many students move into two-year terminal programs such as dental hygiene, physician's assistant, or accounting. While there is nothing wrong with these fields, they rarely provide the flexibility that graduates will need if the job market is saturated with people in these fields. Unlike a college degree that may provide multiple pathways to a variety of careers, many two-year degrees close off career possibilities.

In *Strengthening the African American Educational Pipeline*, Jerlando F. L. Jackson has brought together outstanding scholars who, through empirical evidence, explore the challenges of recruiting more African American youths to postsecondary education that results in the four-year degree. These scholars examine the multiple factors that thwart African American youths from pursuing, four-year college and university education. They also look at individual, institutional, and social forces that in turn help us understand what the numbers really mean.

Colleges and universities that bemoan the fact that fewer African American students apply to and gain acceptance on their campuses would be wise to look at this volume as part of a systematic attempt to reverse the trend of shrinking numbers of African American collegians (particularly on predominantly White campuses). To prime the pump of the pipeline it will be necessary to look further than the local high school. African American students' middle-income White counterparts begin their college planning early. By being born into families where the adults are college graduates, White middle-income students have a set of resources that makes the question of college not one of "if" but of "when." Their parents' resources are both social and material capital. They know how to ensure that they enroll in college preparatory courses, attend higher-quality high schools, and avail themselves of enrichment opportunities that prepare them for the collegiate experience.

Most of this discussion has focused on those African American students who might be headed for postsecondary education. However, another source of the pipeline problem for students who desire a college education, but find themselves woefully underprepared, resides in the juvenile justice system. Increasing numbers of African American youths are finding themselves removed from the educational pipeline because they are serving time in prison. These youths rarely figure in our calculations, but I believe it is important for us to look carefully at the way many young adults have become "throwaway" people.

If creating a strong democracy relies on maintaining a viable economic infrastructure, then we must commit ourselves to preparing all students to take advantage of postsecondary education that enhances their economic, social, and civic opportunities. This means that whether or not students decide to go to college, they are *prepared* to go to college. Precollegiate education should be about opening opportunities, not closing them off.

This volume provides an important window to the pipeline problem. It also offers some viable solutions. If we do the work it challenges us to do, then we hope that the next generation will have no need for a book that calls for strengthening the pipeline.

Gloria Ladson-Billings
University of Wisconsin

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Preface

Maximizing Higher Education Attainment

The Critical Factor to Improving African American Communities

About a year ago, I assumed the responsibility for organizing a national meeting that examined issues faced by women of color in the higher education arena. As preparation for the meeting, I had the extraordinary pleasure of finding myself involved in a three-way discussion with Ruth Simmons and Johnnetta Cole, the preeminent African American higher education administrators in the nation. As might be expected, both of these insightful leaders expressed serious concern about the status of African American men and women in the academy, and they heartily proclaimed the need to dramatically increase their representation throughout the matrix of colleges and universities—from Brown to Bennett—and at all levels, from students to presidents.

Their observations take on increasing salience with each passing day. Even though there have been substantial and heartening overall increases in the total enrollment of African American students in institutions of higher education over the past three decades, the rate at which they complete high school and subsequently enroll in college continues to lag behind that of White students. African American faculty representation in predominantly White colleges and universities continues to be pitifully small, and in those institutions, appointments of African Americans at the top levels of academic administration remain rare and noteworthy events.

Strengthening the African American Educational Pipeline is a must read, because the contributors present a vivid analysis of the situation that African Americans are facing in the educational realm. The section of the book particularly focused on higher and postsecondary education will hopefully inspire creative approaches to resolve some of the problematic conditions that African Americans confront as they negotiate their way through the nation's postsecondary institutions.

For students, college and university campuses are incubating environments and developmental laboratories—or at least they should be. Thus student involvement is a necessary, but not sufficient, condition for student

success. Just like their counterparts from other races, African American students have tended to achieve at a higher rate academically and fare better emotionally when they have operated in settings where their sense of identity and self-concept has been affirmed.

It is important to recognize that there are three distinct kinds of institutions that enroll African American students as they pursue higher education. According to 2001 data, there were 1,756,864 African American students enrolled in the nation's colleges and universities, and the nation's two-year community colleges had the largest concentration with 763,432. In the four-year predominantly White institutions, enrollment figures for African American students were 754,614, while 238,638 students matriculated in the historically Black colleges and universities. The good news is that the number of students enrolled is at an all-time high. The not-so-good news is that far too many of these students are leaving their chosen institutions without completing their selected academic programs and earning degrees.

There are several potentially problematic implications to having a plurality of African American postsecondary students enrolled in two-year colleges. First, students who begin their careers at these institutions are less likely to earn a baccalaureate degree than those who start their postsecondary education at a four-year college or university. Second, the spectrum of institutional supports and resources available, such as the student affairs professionals to whom Lamont Flowers refers in his chapter, is probably not as broad in the two-year college settings as in the four-year institutions. Third, substantial numbers of the African American students in two-year institutions are the first in their families to attend college, and students of all races who are in that category have more difficulty earning a degree than do students whose parents have attended college.

These observations are not intended to diminish but rather to emphasize the significance of developing and maintaining a supportive campus climate at all institutions of higher learning. An environment that is nurturing and facilitative, whether a two- or four-year setting, is certainly more likely to enhance student participation and performance than one that is debilitating and contentious. However, Flowers's proposition that student affairs professionals assume sole, or even primary, responsibility for improving the campus climate, to my mind places an inappropriate amount of the burden on one group of academic professionals.

Clearly, student affairs professionals play an important role in the higher education arena. Indeed, in a previous publication, I have referred to them as the "conscience" of the campus. But while they are an appropriate subgroup to lead the efforts to make the atmosphere at their respective institutions a welcoming one for all students, discussions regarding these matters *must* include appropriate and relevant persons from a variety of departments and units. Faculty and academic administrators also have major responsibilities to make ap-

propriate contributions and modifications to the campus environment so that it promotes not only access but also success for African American students.

To that end, increasing the numbers of African American faculty at both the predominantly White two- and four-year institutions remains a critical and frustrating concern. During the period 1993–2001, the percentage of African American faculty in colleges and universities across the country increased by only one-half of 1%, from 4.7 to 5.2%. During that time frame, when the number of faculty positions available increased by over 65,000, just over 6,000 African Americans were hired into these positions, a slightly smaller figure than that for Hispanics and less than half the number of Asian Americans hired. The relative significance of these puny figures is further highlighted by the realization that over half of the African American faculty are employed at the nation's historically Black colleges and universities.

Barbara J. Johnson and Henrietta Pichon offer a cogent exploration of the circumstances of African American faculty in the academy. They point out the debilitating aspects of the culture in predominantly White institutions that must be faced and overcome in order for African American faculty to be successful in these settings. Certainly the numbers of African Americans in the graduate school pipelines need to be substantially increased, but the continued underrepresentation of African American faculty in predominantly White institutions cannot be attributed solely to the availability of candidates. Even in fields where there is a reasonable pool of potential African American faculty from which to select, they are usually conspicuous by their absence in the professorial ranks of predominantly White colleges and universities.

Both structural and attitudinal impediments can be identified within the academic workplace that can result in African Americans not receiving faculty appointments. The subjective manifestations of the search process, where committee members frequently seek to “clone” themselves via the new hires, and the imprecise and relative value given to particular research areas of interest, are examples of factors that result in African Americans being screened out of the pool of finalists for positions. It should come as no surprise then that there are some African American faculty who choose to work in the historically Black colleges and universities, both to avoid racism as well as to make a contribution to their communities. Nevertheless, in order to dispel lingering racist stereotypes regarding the intellectual aptitude of African Americans, to enrich the learning experiences of students of all races, to enhance the depth and quality of the institutions, and to broaden the leadership pool of the larger society, it is imperative that significant increases occur in the numbers of African American faculty in the nation's predominantly White colleges and universities.

The underrepresentation of African American faculty is echoed at the top administrative levels of postsecondary institutions. In 2004, only 157 of the

nation's 2,474 four-year colleges and universities had an African American as president or chancellor. When the 102 historically Black colleges and universities are subtracted from this number, the resulting figure of 55 means that African Americans occupy the top administrative position in slightly more than 2% of the predominantly White institutions around the country. The situation is somewhat better at the two-year college level, where 101 out of 1,422 chief executive officers, or about 7%, are African Americans.

At 9.4%, the figure for African Americans holding full-time administrative appointments in positions other than president or chancellor appears more encouraging than in other areas in the academy, but in this particular cohort, there is no differentiation by title and level of authority. As a result, the catchall nature of such a broad categorical grouping masks the disturbingly small representation of African Americans in the senior or management levels of the administrative structures. Further, those African Americans who do hold administrative appointments are more likely to be found in the student services sector of the institutions than in academic units, research administration, or fiscal affairs, areas that usually have more power and influence.

Jerlando F. L. Jackson and Brandon D. Daniels, in their examination of the African American administrative workforce in higher education, offer an engagement, retention, and advancement model that should assist colleges and universities in their quest to increase their representation in this category of employees. The model identifies a number of steps that institutions of higher education can take to increase their representation of African Americans in colleges and universities. The actions that they propose are positioned against the backdrop of a changing set of demographics that will result in increasing numbers of African Americans in the overall population, and hopefully in the academy as well, as we move further into the twenty-first century.

Even as a small number of African Americans move to new heights in the economic and political sectors of the society, the vast majority of folks in our community continue to struggle, and struggle to continue. Educational attainment has certainly been the most significant of the few avenues that have been available to us that point toward the prospect of a better life. However, the current hard-edged and mean-spirited nature of the political climate in the nation should be sending a warning message to African Americans about the critical importance of ensuring that the individuals who are moving through the educational pipeline are receiving quality instruction and future-oriented content, as well as a meaningful social and historical perspective.

There is much to be done. It is critical that we identify gaps in the instructional process, and then act collectively to see that they are being filled. We must use the benefits of technology to recreate the sense of connectedness of the "village," even without its physical boundaries, so that our children can be motivated, encouraged, and inspired to reach the apex of their talents and abil-

ities. Above all else, we must mobilize all of the resources within our community to celebrate, rather than denigrate, academic achievement. At a time when a four-year degree is becoming the prerequisite for reaching middle-class status, this level of achievement should be seen as the rule, not the exception.

At this moment in time, African Americans have reached the highest level of academic and intellectual attainment since our arrival on these shores. What a tragedy and a travesty it would be if we do not take advantage of those achievements for our collective betterment. From the pre-K to postgraduate experiences, our needs are great—but so are our talents. It is time to put them to use.

William B. Harvey
University of Virginia

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Introduction

A Systematic Analysis of the African American Educational Pipeline to Inform Research, Policy, and Practice

Jerlando F. L. Jackson

Inequality, disparate representation, and denied access to opportunity are key challenges that have long plagued African Americans in their pursuit of education in the United States. These challenges have been well documented in the annals of history, chronicling the less than desired treatments in K–12 schools and universities. These three challenges have not been limited to African American students but African American professionals as well. Although African Americans constituted 33.5 million or 12% of the U.S. population in 2000, they participate in education at a lower rate. For example, of the students attending higher education institutions in 2000, 11% were African Americans. While the disparity in participation has narrowed to 1% for African Americans in higher education, the attainment gap remains a substantial challenge. In turn, most of the discussions in education focused on research and policy are hard pressed not to have a major agenda item centered on improving the conditions for African Americans.

Decades of research have described the dismal educational conditions for African Americans (e.g., Hoffman, Llagas, & Snyder, 2003; Nettles & Perna, 1997), coupled with federal legislation targeted at improving these conditions (e.g., TRIO Programs), however, the results have been slow and insignificant. Now we are operating in an era when affirmative action is losing support, targeted and preferential programs are under attack, and federal support for specific groups is being downsized. The key question remains: What systemic set of strategies is necessary to improve the conditions for African Americans throughout the educational pipeline? In this book we attempted to address this question by examining the status and recent progress of African Americans at critical stages in the educational pipeline. In addition, our goal was to provide appropriate implications for consideration by policy makers charged with addressing these issues, to advance the knowledge base for researchers concerned about African American education, and to provide praxis-based information to improve educational practice.

In the early 1960s, Coleman's *Equality of Educational Opportunity* provided large-scale empirical evidence of the underachievement of African Americans in education. *Equality of Educational Opportunity*, also known as the Coleman Report, resulted from Section 402 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964:

The Commissioner shall conduct a survey and make a report to the President and the Congress, within two years of the enactment of this title, concerning the lack of availability of equal opportunities for individuals by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin in public educational institutions at all levels in the United States, its territories and possessions, and the District of Columbia. (Coleman, Campbell, Hobson, McPartland, Mood, Weinfield, & York, 1966, p. 548)

The product became the second largest social science research project in history, with Project Talent being the largest. Approximately 570,000 K–12 students in America were tested, along with 60,000 school teachers, and detailed information on 4,000 schools was collected.

Reactions to the report were less than settled, with supporters arguing that “it is the most important source of American education ever produced” (Mosteller & Moynihan, 1972, p. 4). Meanwhile, critics (e.g., Bowles & Levin, 1968) noted that it was not methodologically sound, thus raising more questions than it answered. While these findings were potentially flawed, they were relevant to African Americans’ participation in education. Several key findings prefaced perennial challenges for the education of African Americans. Nationwide median test scores in 1965 for first- and twelfth-grade students described and documented the achievement gap between African Americans and Whites. In addition, the report documented that the absence of key educational tools and interventions in homes and communities for African American students contributed greatly to their underachievement in schools.

Moreover, findings of the Coleman Report indicated that African American students were more likely to be taught by African American teachers. In conjunction, the report noted that teachers who instruct African American students tended to be less well credentialed than those who instruct White students. School counselors for African American students were less involved in their professional association, thus lagging behind in current knowledge compared to the school counselors for White students. Lastly, the disparate enrollment of African American students in higher education institutions was well documented in the report. Of the African American students enrolled at institutions of higher education, they were largely concentrated at institutions with

less prestige and fewer resources. It is difficult to understand the current status of African Americans in education without examining their historical struggle over access to education.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT FOR THE EDUCATION OF AFRICAN AMERICANS: FROM SLAVERY TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

African Americans' plight regarding education in the United States has been a unique journey (Anderson, 1988). African Americans represent the only immigrant group to be legally denied access to education. Their conspicuous journey in education began prior to their ancestors being brought to America. Slave masters deliberated over the type and scope of training that Africans would need to be adequate slaves in America (Woodson, 1919). These slave masters believed that the slaves could not be enlightened without developing a thirst for liberation, which would make it far more difficult to exploit these new people. The majority of southern slaveholders adopted this philosophy and decided that African Americans should not be educated.

In 1661, slavery was legalized in Virginia, with other southern colonies to follow soon thereafter. Accordingly, teaching slaves to read or write was deemed illegal because it was thought to be a deterrent to slavery. While the Quakers were the first settlers of the American colonies to offer African Americans the same educational and religious opportunities as Whites, many Catholic churches were instrumental in providing education for African Americans, even within the confines of slavery (Woodson, 1919). In addition, many African American slaves were astute enough to teach themselves how to read and write. For instance, Phillis Wheatley in 1761 taught herself how to read in 16 months around age 8 (Nott, 1993).

The first African Free School was founded in New York City by the Manumission Society in 1787. By 1824, seven African Free Schools were funded by the city, such that free education for all African American children was available in New York City. In 1834, White students at Oberlin College (Ohio) voted to admit African American and women students. Lincoln University (Pennsylvania) was founded in 1854, making it the first historically Black institution specifically for college-level education. By 1870, 21% of newly freed African Americans were literate. Edward A. Bouchet received his Ph.D. in physics from Yale University in 1876, thus becoming the first African American to be awarded a doctoral degree from an American university.

Alexander Crummel established the American Negro Academy, the first national association of African American intellectual leaders in 1897. In 1907,

the Jeanes Foundation, the Negro Rural School Fund (later known as the Anna T. Jeanes Fund), was established, making it the first fund with the sole purpose of improving rural public education for African American children in the South. Atlanta University was established in 1929 as the first African American institution solely for graduate and professional education. While not a complete history, the previous section does provide a description of the initial years for African Americans in education.

KEY POLICY TOOLS FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATION

In order to understand the level of participation that African Americans currently have in education, policy tools require attention. Policy tools are critical, because they are the elements in policy design that cause individuals to do something they would not otherwise do with the intention of modifying behaviors to solve public problems or attain policy goals (Baker, 2001; Fastrup, 1997). Moreover, policy tools have implications in public policy designs because they direct the ways in which individuals are treated. These tools are designed to change behavior through several distinct mechanisms, each of which carries significant symbolic and instrumental connotations. The authoritative perspective on policy tools assumes that without the explicit or even implicit threat of other sanctions, individuals will not treat all groups equitably. Accordingly, what follows are policy tools, broadly defined, that affected African American education.

In 1865, the U.S. Freedman Bureau was established by Congress to assist newly freed slaves with food, medicine, jobs, contracts, legal matters, and education. The bureau subsequently established over 4,000 schools for African Americans. The U.S. Congress passed the Morrill Act II in 1890, which led to the founding of historically Black land-grant institutions. The *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision in 1896 upheld that states have the constitutional authority to provide “separate but equal” accommodations for African Americans. One of the more significant early admission cases that forced states to establish separate professional programs for African Americans occurred in 1938, *Missouri ex rel. Gains v. Canada*.

Frederick D. Patterson, president of Tuskegee Institute, conceived of the United Negro College Fund (UNCF), which was incorporated in 1944. The UNCF’s purpose was to enhance the quality of education for historically Black colleges and universities (HBCU) students, provide scholarships, raise operating funds, and provide technical assistance for member institutions. In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education* (1950), the courts found that the state must treat students of color equal to or the same as White students in

all aspects of education and services provided. Subsequently, the Supreme Court, in *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), made it clear that when programs are not equal, it is a violation of the Equal Protection Clause. This decision was based on an evaluation of whether the legal education program at Texas State University for Negroes (TSUN) School of Law (later relocated to Texas Southern University) was equal to the program at the University of Texas Law School.

Thurgood Marshall, who was at the time special council of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), argued the *Brown v. Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas*, case in front of the Supreme Court in 1954. The Supreme Court concluded that racial segregation in public schools violates the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. The decision ultimately forbids racial segregation in public schools, thus providing students of color with the opportunity to attend the same public schools as White students. On the higher education level, *Frasier v. UNC Board of Trustees* (1955) represented a significant victory for African American students who were denied admission to colleges and universities on the basis of admission policies that admitted Whites only. Subsequently, in *Cooper v. Aaron* (1958), the Supreme Court ruled, based on constitutional rights, that children are not to be discriminated against in schools' admissions because of race or color.

In 1964, affirmative action policies were instituted based on the Civil Rights Act. In accordance, President Lyndon B. Johnson signed Executive Order 11246 supporting affirmative action policies and practices. The Civil Rights Act specifically exempted higher education from its jurisdiction. In the following year, Title III of the Higher Education Act stipulated aid for "strengthening developing institutions." Historically Black colleges and universities were well positioned to take advantage of these additional federal resources. The same year, the Office of Economic Opportunity started the Head Start programs, designed to address the education, health and nutrition, and social needs of low-income children and their families. As result of Title IV, Section 402, of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, James Coleman's study *Equality of Education Opportunity*, often referred to as the "Coleman Report," was conducted. Policy implications from these findings resulted in busing as a means for addressing segregation, and tracking, which inadvertently led to re-segregation.

The National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education (NAFEO) was founded in 1969 primarily as a public policy advocate to address the interests of HBCUs. Due to the *Adams v. Richardson* (1973) case, the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) was established with an affirmative obligation to enforce its duties under the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with respect to education programs that receive federal funds. The Black Mississippians' Council of Higher Education filed a class action suit, *Ayers v. Waller* (later known as *Ayers v. Fordice*), in 1975. The group requested that the state enforce Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. When the suit was filed