

**CULTURAL
RESPONSIVENESS,
RACIAL IDENTITY
AND ACADEMIC
SUCCESS: A REVIEW
OF LITERATURE**

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Executive Summary

Culture, Racial Identity and Success: A Report to The Heinz Endowments

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In June 2007, The Heinz Endowments asked Drs. Hanley and Noblit, faculty and scholars in curriculum and instruction and educational foundations, to conduct a review of the literature on a set of concepts and the connections among them: culturally responsive pedagogy, positive ethnic socialization, resilience and academic success, with some emphasis on arts programming. The Endowments has a growing interest in working closely with the Pittsburgh Public Schools to better serve students, especially African American students. As part of this interest, the Endowments wanted an assessment of what was known about education using the cultures of the students and the role of ethnic identity in promoting resilience and academic success. The review was to focus largely on empirical studies and/or documentation of program experiences relevant to the concepts above, and to be primarily concerned with African American students, while including relevant studies of Latin, Asian and Native American students. We will refer to these groups in this report collectively as ALANA students. We used standard library search engines and surveyed 119 experts to ascertain the best sources to be included. **The literature review was extensive with 2,808 sources reviewed at one level or another. This executive summary is based on the final set of 146 resources cited in the full report.**

There is a long history of research on the schooling of ALANA children. For many years this research was flawed by what the literature refers to as an “assimilation logic.” That is, it was assumed that once ALANA students were assimilated into White society, academic success would follow. It was assumed that what would serve students best was to give up their culture as part of being schooled. More recently, the research

literature has come to regard this logic as subtractive. When schools work on this assumption, they negate the students' cultures, denying the students the key resource that they bring to education.

Research now regards culture as a set of tools, perspectives and capabilities that students can deploy in the pursuit of learning. When these tools, perspectives and capabilities are suppressed or denied, students are educationally disempowered. They find it hard to use their culture to learn. A student receives from his or her culture a racial identity, and for ALANA children and youth, their racial identity can connect them to a wider project of racial uplift. This project is reminiscent of countless anecdotes of schooling prior to *Brown v. Board of Education*, where students' learning was connected to an "educational mission," as in "I must learn so that my community can benefit." Studies of segregated education have shown that when these institutions were a part of a project of racial uplift, strong, positive racial identities led to high achievement. Researchers have built on the research that uncovered the flaw in assimilation logic, and now have generated a substantial body of research that demonstrates ALANA students learn best in culturally familiar settings and when they have strong positive racial identities.

We reviewed studies that examined the connections between culturally responsive approaches, racial identity, resilience and achievement. Several studies included all the concepts, and researchers found that ALANA students performed best in settings that built on their culture and promoted their racial identities. We also located many studies that examined how pairs of the concepts were empirically related. Most of this research is relatively recent and focuses largely on explaining academic success. There was less research on the connection of culturally responsive approaches and racial identity and on connections between the other three concepts and resilience. In part, we concluded the lack of research in these areas is largely due to the fact that both culturally responsive pedagogy and resilience are complex concepts that subsume elements of the other concepts under each, making separate analyses of the connections we sought unnecessary. Some 36 studies lead us to conclude that **culturally responsive pedagogy and positive racial identity can play major roles in promoting academic achievement and resilience for ALANA youth.**

The review process led us to better understand the concepts. In the end, **culturally responsive pedagogy** refers to a set of concepts (culturally relevant, congruent, appropriate) that have subtle distinctions, but for the purposes here can be treated as one concept. Culture is understood in research as ways of being, doing and sense making. Culture, in one sense, is a tool or set of tools that are produced through human activity and in turn produce new ways of being, doing and sense making across generations and social contexts. In the United States, there are many cultures. There is a White culture

which is dominant, and many cultures of those who are subject to that dominance. The African American culture, for example, emerges from the history of both Africa and the Americas and is communal, spiritual, resilient and humanistic. It also incorporates verbal expressiveness, personal style, emotional vitality, musicality and an emphasis on facing life without pretense. It also is intimately connected to the economic and political conditions existing in a society dominated by European cultural norms that centers on individualism, competition, and emotional restraint as examples of guiding ideologies and practices.

A culturally responsive pedagogy would use these cultural attributes in curricular and instructional planning, instructional processes, classroom organization, motivational strategies and discipline, and assessment. In culturally responsive pedagogy, these are all used as means to engage student interest, develop ownership of learning, and inspire achievement. In the literature we reviewed, the researchers studied the concepts of **racial socialization and racial identity**. Racial socialization and identity includes the acknowledgement of racism and racial oppression as a way to help students think critically as they achieve academic and other successes through content and pedagogical means. **Resilience** refers to the remarkable ability of humans to recover from adversity, and resiliency is a highly desirable state for children and youth in the direst of circumstances. **Academic success** is a multifaceted concept, but the research tends to focus on grades, achievement test scores, and on learning the key concepts and strategies of a planned program of study, such as a literacy program successfully teaching students how to de-code texts.

We cited 146 studies in the review. Ninety studies addressed the definition of key concepts, the history of research in this area, and issues of curriculum and pedagogy. Fifty-three studies, represented in Table 1 by a triangle [▲], explicitly addressed the connections between the key concepts among African, Latina/o, Asian and Native American (ALANA) youth. Of these 53, five qualitative studies addressed most of the concepts at once, revealing both how they interact as a set and documenting their salience in schooling. Most of the studies about culturally responsive pedagogy are those that concentrate on connections between pairs of key concepts, such as culturally responsive pedagogy and achievement (21 studies) and racial socialization/identity and achievement (10 studies). We included a total of eight studies specifically examining the key concepts in the arts, represented in Table 1 by a rectangle [■]. The asterisk [*] represents those studies which were not directly about CRP as a key concept, but were culturally responsive in form and intent. Hence, all of the studies were culturally responsive. The following table should be viewed as a matrix showing how many studies addressed the relationships between the various concepts. For example, in row three, one can see there were two studies that addressed the relationship between Culturally Responsive Pedagogy and Resilience.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

TABLE 1. Research Studies of Key Concepts

Number of Studies	CRP	Arts	Achievement	Positive Racial Socialization Identity Development	Resilience
5	▲	▲	▲	▲	▲
2	▲			▲	
2	▲				▲
21	▲		▲		
4	▲*			▲	▲
10	▲*		▲	▲	
1	▲*		▲		▲
1	■	■	■	■	■
4	■*	■	■	■	
2	■*	■	■		
1	■*	■			■

Total: 53

- ▲ = studies that explicitly addressed the connections between the key concepts among African, Latina/o, Asian and Native American [ALANA] youth
- = studies that specifically examined the key concepts in the arts
- * = studies which were not directly about CRP as a key concept, but were culturally responsive in form and intent

While we would encourage more research, we conclude that designing programs based on the existing literature is warranted, especially if they are designed so they can be rigorously assessed. There are nine themes to consider in designing culturally responsive pedagogy and seven recommendations concerning grant making we would offer The Heinz Endowments and others in the philanthropic community.

Themes for Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

In our review, we also were looking for themes or lessons that should be taken from the literature in designing culturally responsive pedagogy to promote racial identity, resilience and achievement. Several of these themes deserve special attention:

- 1. INVOLVE THE COMMUNITY.** Culturally responsive pedagogy and programs must have the active participation of the community. Culture is constantly changing and varied even within a racial group, and community and family members can be valuable in informing educators about the needs and resources of the children and youth whom they know in ways that educators cannot. The challenge for some professionals is to design programming and/or pedagogy for a culture that is not their own. Thus professional staff will need a better understanding of culture(s) and an awareness of how to use culture effectively. They also need skills in inquiry and the ability to listen to children and families.
- 2. USE CULTURE TO PROMOTE RACIAL IDENTITY.** Culturally responsive pedagogy in education requires adaptations in instructional practice, classroom organization and motivational management, as well as in curricula and espoused values. In educational and non-educational programs, the rule of thumb involves having the program involve key aspects of the home culture and focus on developing strategies to use the culture to construct a positive racial identity that promotes resilience and success in social institutions.
- 3. USE CULTURE AND RACIAL IDENTITY AS AN ASSET.** Race in culturally responsive programming is to be an asset in learning and development. Programs should be designed so the student's culture is a strength to be deployed in learning. Programs should not be stigmatizing but rather affirmative of the students and their cultures. Culturally responsive programming has to insure that students trust that racial stereotypes will not be used against them.
- 4. EDUCATE ABOUT RACISM AND RACIAL UPLIFT.** Programs should provide accurate information about racial oppression and racism as they promote awareness of strategies to use racial identity in service of high achievement and resilience in the face of racial oppression. This also will likely include advancing a project of racial uplift.
- 5. DEVELOP CARING RELATIONSHIPS.** There should be a focus on developing caring relations, with the caution that caring relations are themselves culturally defined. Students then interpret what is caring from their culture, not from the culture of the person offering a caring relationship.

6. **ASSUME SUCCESS.** Programs all too often are designed to deal with problems and deficiencies. This type of program has severe obstacles to overcome to be successful. It is much preferable to have programs that recognize the wealth of culture and experience that every student brings and are geared to build on academic, cultural, and racial strengths.

7. **PROMOTE ACTIVE LEARNING, PROBLEM-BASED INSTRUCTION AND STUDENT INVOLVEMENT.** Culturally responsive pedagogy in education requires adaptations in instructional practice, classroom organization and motivational management, as well as in curricula and espoused values. Culturally responsive pedagogy involves active learning, curricular integration, problem-based and project-based instruction that apply to real world situations, student participation in decision-making, critical thinking, and a respect for difference. High expectations should be the rule for educators, parents, and students.

8. **EMPLOY THE ARTS.** The arts, as cultural productions themselves, are ideal vehicles for culturally responsive programming. The literature indicates that arts programs that engage a student's culture and racial identity will likely result in the learning of a wide range of competencies.

9. **ACKNOWLEDGE THE CHALLENGES.** Culturally responsive work requires many educators to change their frames of reference about the culture of ALANA children and families and all children from low-income socioeconomic backgrounds. The notion of cultural deficiency as the source of academic deficiencies is rooted in notions of the cultural supremacy of a middle-class, Anglocentric ethos that permeates every aspect of society and the institutions of education—kindergarten through 12th grade and beyond. Teacher education should be a place to begin to unravel this way of thinking, but there are few comprehensive multicultural teacher education programs. Expect the change to be challenging and difficult, to require courage and tenacity, and to be rewarding.

Recommendations for Grant Making

Philanthropy plays an increasingly large role in education and education reform. We address the findings below to The Heinz Endowments, but we believe this agenda needs to be widely shared across the wider philanthropic community nationally.

First, the Endowments may wish to convene some of the authors cited in this report to develop a set of white papers to inform well-designed demonstration projects.

Second, the Endowments could seek to commission studies of existing programs that are designed to strengthen the connections between culturally responsive

pedagogy, racial identity, resilience and achievement. This should include examining African-centered programs.

Third, an education campaign is well worth funding. Much of what we have discussed in this paper is not common knowledge and challenges existing beliefs of some. The first focus should be on raising awareness, but ultimately many resources need to be developed and made available to educators, social workers, artists, parents and students. The full range of media from web site to television coverage needs to be considered.

Fourth, the Endowments may consider funding new programs, either as part of a targeted grants solicitation or in collaboration with other agencies. For the former, the challenge is developing processes and criteria for selection that respect the community's culture while encouraging demonstrations of how the process of using culture and racial identity to promote resilience and academic success can be strengthened. The latter allows for more full-scale demonstrations but runs the threat of compromising what can be learned if the collaborating parties are not of one mind.

Fifth, it is often the case that new initiatives require extensive training and retraining of those who will be involved. This is where most new educational reforms fail. They do not invest in sufficient preliminary as well as ongoing training. Educators, artists, community members, parents and even students will need considerable development to make any program initiatives work effectively. Summer training camps, in-service workshops and university-based degree or certification programs can work together to effectively implement and sustain programs.

Sixth, it is important to think systemically. Existing beliefs and practices are based in a wider logic of White supremacy. Changes need to be made broadly across the board. Some questions to ask include: Who are the key stakeholders? What can bring them together and what resources can they bring? What institutional arrangements need cultivated? How can educators be prepared to teach culturally responsive pedagogy? What policies must be changed and created? What practices are needed? What belief systems are necessary and which need to be challenged? What do the children and youth need to be doing?

Seventh, given that there are concerns about the capability of existing agencies to create culturally responsive environments, the Endowments may consider funding communities, grassroots organizations, and/or organizations that represent ALANA groups rather than, or in conjunction with, schools or other public agencies directly. This would privilege the community in the planning and implementation of new programs, with the intent of making them more culturally responsive. Town meetings and other mechanisms may be needed to learn community views as well as to sponsor creative thinking.

Finally, to reiterate, the Endowments should focus its funding in this regard on initiatives that assume students will succeed rather than assuming ALANA children have deficits.

Summary

There is sufficient evidence to argue that both culturally responsive pedagogy and positive racial identity promote academic achievement and resilience. In-school and out-of-school programs can be designed to develop these linkages and to more generally promote the wider project of racial uplift in ALANA communities. The approach will need to be systemic and directly address issues of racism and deficit thinking. Designing programs based on recognizing and building capacity in students, communities, educators, and schools has been shown to lead to academic success for ALANA students. Yet, given that there is a widespread belief that students should give up their culture and identity in order to achieve, there will be many challenges to overcome. We see embracing these challenges as essential to the success of such initiatives.

How do I commit myself to achieve, to work hard over time in school, if I cannot predict (in school or out of school) when or under what circumstances this hard work will be acknowledged and recognized?

How do I commit myself to do work that is predicated on a belief in the power of the mind, when African American intellectual inferiority is so much a part of the taken-for-granted notions of the larger society that individuals in and out of school, even good and well-intentioned people, individuals who purport to be acting on my behalf, routinely register doubts about my intellectual competence?

How can I aspire to and work toward excellence when it is unclear whether or when evaluations of my work can or should be taken seriously?

Can I invest in and engage my full personhood, with all of my cultural formations, in my class, my work, my school if teachers and the adults in the building are both attracted to and repulsed by these cultural formations—the way I walk, the way I use language, my relationship to my body, my physicality, and so on?

Will I be willing to work hard over time, given the unpredictability of my teachers' responses to my work?

Can I commit myself to work hard over time if I know that, no matter what I or other members of my reference group accomplish, these accomplishments are not likely to change how I and other members of my group are viewed by the larger society, or to alter our caste-like position in the society? I still will not be able to get a cab. I still will be followed in department stores. I still will be stopped when I drive through certain neighborhoods. I still will be viewed as a criminal, a deviant, and an illiterate.

Can I commit myself to work hard, to achieve in a school, if cultural adaptation effectively functions as a prerequisite for skill acquisition, where “the price of the ticket” is separation from the culture of my reference group?

—Theresa Perry on the dilemmas of African American students (Perry, Steele and Hilliard, 2003)

Introduction

The dilemmas presented by Perry are daunting and faced by African, Latino, Asian and Native Americans (ALANA) as they negotiate racism and who nevertheless continue to provide evidence that it is possible to both live your cultural heritage and achieve in school, the community and work. In 2006 the American Council on Education reported that from 2002 to 2004, 47.3 percent of White high school graduates between the ages of 18 and 24 attended college compared with 41.1 percent of African Americans and 35.2 percent of Hispanics in the same age group. These figures are illustrative of what is being accomplished by ALANA children and also indicate the disparities that need to be addressed.

The traditional mainstream view is that achievement for racial minorities is dependent on assimilation into the White society. However, for racial minorities, assimilation has not worked in the way it did for earlier European immigrants such as the Irish (Rury, 2005). Assimilation for people of color implies a cultural superiority on the part of the assimilating culture that is used as the norm by which all others are measured, a relationship that often provokes subtle and overt alienation and resistance (Lauria and Miron, 2005). **We have learned from the literature we have reviewed for this report that ALANA children succeed *using* their racial identity and socialization in response to racism and oppression and as a means of knowledge production and self-actualization.**

The question then becomes: How do we create the conditions that will help more ALANA children succeed in school and society? It is clear that it will neither be

easy nor a direct solution to the racism of American society. Many people have been trying to grasp how we might best proceed by working on many fronts: in schools, in communities, and in academic research (cf. McClafferty, Torres and Mitchell, 2000). In this report, we will discuss what is now known about using culture and race as resources for success in school and life. Many children do this every day but usually their race, language, and culture is disparaged in the process. Imagine the possibilities if cultural, social service, and educational institutions actually worked with ALANA families and communities to facilitate the students' developing racial identities and enabled them to use these identities to achieve in whatever context that they may find themselves. Their culture would be a springboard to learn about the world, which would enable them to cross borders of knowledge and culture secure in knowing that their understanding and experience is valued.

The Endowments' Arts & Culture Program commissioned a literature review and preliminary assessment of culturally responsive education and service in the summer of 2007. The purpose was to learn more about the effectiveness of culturally responsive pedagogy (CRP) in the academic success of African American children and the ways in which positive ethnic socialization and resiliency connect to CRP in the contexts of school curricula, social services and non-school-hour programs (see Figure 1). The term pedagogy, in the context of this review, refers to a multifaceted project that includes both teachers and students. Simon (1987) describes pedagogy as the curriculum content, design, classroom strategies and techniques, assessment and evaluation, and purpose and methods. Wink (2005) identifies pedagogy as the dialectic relationship between teaching and learning. Pedagogy, as we use it here, is the choices made by teachers to influence their students' learning, and, as importantly, how their teaching is shaped by their students' responses to their curricular and instructional choices. Culturally responsive pedagogy acknowledges the dominance of Eurocentric ideologies and practices in the context of education, which can result in alienation and disinterest among ALANA students. **Therefore, for the purposes of this review, CRP is teaching and learning that incorporates the culture of ALANA students in curricular and instructional planning, instructional processes, classroom organization, motivational strategies, behavior and discipline, and assessment.** In culturally responsive pedagogy, these are all used as means to engage student interest, develop ownership of learning and inspire achievement.

The review was not intended to be exhaustive, but it was to seek out what we know about culturally responsive pedagogy, racial identity, resiliency, achievement, and the connections that exist between them. With an understanding of the connections, one may see what kinds of pedagogy are likely to lead to better educational and life chances for African American students. A study of the connections also has led to a

consideration of a contextual teaching and learning model that uses integrated instruction and student ownership of learning as a means to enable students to generate meaning through a curriculum that is connected to their cultural knowledge and experiences. This review also was to specifically address what is known in the area of the arts.

While the focus is on how African American culture is a key component in a program and its relationship to resiliency and academic success, the review itself examined a range of cultures, including Latino, Asian, and Native American, because the shared experiences of being from marginalized racial groups produces similar consequences for children in schools. If there are studies that apply to one of the ALANA groups, perhaps there is something to be learned to inform our understanding of African American children and youth.

We have conducted a review of literature and sought out programs that may help give guidance to the Endowments' efforts. We think the Endowments' interest in culturally responsive pedagogy that bolsters racial identity and academic achievement is quite timely. There has been a concerted effort by scholars of color and others to develop the ideas and practices that would enable youth of color to maintain their racial/cultural identity and be successful in school (See Ladson-Billings, 1994). There is considerable interest in these ideas, and many are working on theoretical and conceptual developments, on implications of these ideas for teacher education, and/or on critiques of current practice (Hughes, 2005). However, there are a fewer studies that methodologically couple culturally based pedagogy or teaching with identity, resiliency, and academic achievement. This is in part due to the particular history of social services and education in the United States. A brief overview of that history will help set the stage for the more substantive review.

The Historic Primacy of Racial Uplift

Historians noted the strong desire of the newly emancipated slaves for education following the Civil War (Anderson, 1988). Indeed, prior to emancipation, enslaved Blacks had developed clandestine schools because the education of Blacks was legally prohibited (Franklin and Moss, 2000; Zinn, 1980). After emancipation, African Americans created schools designed to advance their own agendas. Freedman Schools and missionary efforts were dependent on the largess of White philanthropists who were clear that they saw the goal of education as a means to educate the Freedmen as workers. Given this, African Americans learned how to manage the message they sent to White sponsors. At the Palmer Institute in Sedalia, North Carolina, for example, Hawkins Brown promised philanthropists that the school was preparing African American students for work while providing a classical education and finishing school

(Wadelington, 1999). It was not uncommon for African Americans to manage White interests in this way during Jim Crow (Noblit and Dempsey, 1996) in the South and in the urban centers in the North. **Segregated schools had all the problems of chronic underfunding and White racial dominance, but they also were places where African Americans educated other African Americans, and developed a set of strong values about education.** In these schools, education was more than learning, it was coupled to both racial uplift and religious faith (Perry, Steele, and Hilliard, 2003).

School desegregation was based on constitutional principles, and had many positive effects, including increased equalization of resources and the institutionalization of civil rights. Yet, school desegregation undercut the value of education for African Americans in numerous ways. (Dempsey and Noblit, 1993). First, the numbers of Black teachers declined, which meant that African American students were now increasingly taught by Whites, the dominant race. Second, in part because of the cultural change in the teaching force, racial uplift and religion were no longer central aspects in the education of Black children. Third, school desegregation meant that African Americans were now subject to a key historical logic of public education in the United States — an assimilation logic. This logic was developed early in the history of public schooling to deal with immigration from Europe, and was intended to “Americanize” the waves of European immigrants in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The logic argued that by rejecting one’s heritage and mimicking the cultural beliefs and practices of the dominant Anglocentric group, one would gain access to benefits of American society (Spring, 1997).

Schools were, and are, key mechanisms for assimilation, as were most public social services. Segregated schools were assimilative in some respects but also were able to communicate effectively that one could be Black (or Latino or Chinese) and be an educated person in spite of White supremacy — one did not have to choose between one’s race and being educated. In fact, education was necessary to achieve a better position in the world for the self, family, and race (Noblit and Dempsey, 1996).

Desegregated schools, working with an assimilative logic, are the contexts of the dilemmas with which we opened this report.

While it was evident that schools practiced a form of cultural genocide all along, it was in the 1980s that researchers began documenting what had been lost in the process of school desegregation (cf. Siddle Walker, 1996; Foster, 1995; Cecelski, 1994; Noblit and Dempsey, 1996). Siddle Walker’s book title is suggestive of what had been lost: “Their highest potential.” Whatever the issues with segregated schools, either de jure or de facto, segregated schools did promote high levels of academic learning for racial minorities. They did this through a combination of caring relationships and programs designed to serve the minority community and for racial uplift. This latter

point deserves some emphasis; racial identity and achievement in segregated schools were part of a racial project focused on uplift. Omi and Winant (1994) describe a racial project as “simultaneously... a discursive or cultural initiative, an attempt at racial signification and identity formation on the one hand; and a political initiative, an attempt at organization and redistribution on the other” (p. 24).

Seeing one’s efforts and frustrations in the context of a wider political struggle to uplift one’s race gives racial identity a salience that cannot be achieved in the absence of a racial project. **Perry (2003) also proposes that the narrative of racial uplift must be returned to the education of contemporary Black young people as a way to instill direction and purpose.**

The current assimilation model in education replaced ethnic identity and culture with the dominant White identity as the standard for all students to be successful in school. This effectively broke the link between the racial uplift project, culture and schooling. Researchers began to call for a multicultural and culturally responsive model that supported strong ethnic and racial identity as a key support in both resiliency and academic achievement.

Some of these studies (Siddle Walker, 1996; Foster, 1995; Cecelski, 1994; Noblit and Dempsey, 1996) also were reactions to research by John Ogbu (1978) and others that focused on the “coping strategies” of Black students during school desegregation. Fordham and Ogbu (1986) argued from ethnographic studies, that Black students ended up equating being good students with “acting White.” To be successful, by implication, African American students had to separate themselves from their race and behave more like Whites. There was much more to the Ogbu studies than this, but this finding would play into the hands of proponents of assimilation by suggesting that African Americans victimize themselves. Scholars of color castigated this argument both for placing the blame for school failure on Black students themselves and for ignoring the role schools play in academic failure.

The “acting White” thesis has had the effect of mobilizing studies that tried to better understand the role of racial socialization and ethnic identity in school success. These studies and the programs that have subsequently been developed are explicitly about trying to understand how best to link racial identity with resiliency and school success. These efforts have been embedded in various efforts at culturally explicit pedagogy. The literature we review below will show how far our knowledge has come. Indeed, Tyson, Darity and Castellino (2005) demonstrate that “acting White” is not the case in all schools and that there are parallel processes for White students implying that “acting White” is not what it seemed to be for Fordham and Ogbu.

Our point here is to highlight that a large part of the controversy around the issues undertaken in this review is due to the prevailing beliefs of the mainstream society that assimilation is required for academic achievement and success in life.

This brief historical note is to indicate that this belief in assimilation is more a myth based in White supremacy than reality. Promoting positive racial and ethnic identities can be linked to student resiliency and academic success. It has been so in the past, and the literature and programs reviewed below demonstrate that it is true now.

The key hurdle, of course, is that these efforts are always arrayed against the countervailing forces of racism, assimilation beliefs, and institutional logics that give racial beliefs structural force.

Student-Centered Contextual Teaching and Learning as CRP

The studies also point to the connection between culturally responsive pedagogy and constructivist contextual teaching and learning (Goldstein, 2004). Constructivist teaching calls for learning through problem solving; contextual learning emphasizes academic work connected to real world experiences. Both models are about active, experiential, integrated, and learner-centered pedagogy. Contextual and constructivist instruction aimed at the dreams and issues in the students' lives and communities enable students to use their home cultural knowledge for academic work and as a way to make sense of learning beyond their cultural experience. Contextual culturally responsive pedagogy for African American students that emphasizes the strength of their cultural birthright, positions Black students as powerful agents of change and the heirs of the rich and complex heritage of the African Diaspora rather than the deficient "others" needing to assimilate into a "superior" culture. These students then use that knowledge to learn academic content that includes problem solving in their communities, using curriculum models like inquiry learning and problem-based, project-based, or service-learning projects. Thus, they are empowered to learn and practice a contemporary version of racial uplift (Andrade and Hakim, 1995; Cammarota and Romero, 2006; Friedlander and Darling-Hammond, et al, 2007; Morrell, 2007).

Culturally responsive pedagogy is "good teaching"; for one thing, it acknowledges that teaching must begin with what the learner knows, rather than what teachers think she or he should know. Yet, it also is more. **While a "good teacher" or "good artist" or "good service provider" must be very knowledgeable about the forms and content of their work, they also must be able to walk the corridors of difference and equity, acknowledge his/her own biases and be ready to open any door that works for the students.** This is a true challenge considering the historical and contemporary racial, social class and gendered context of today's schools. Culturally responsive pedagogy is to be designed in ways that respect and bolster the cultures that children bring to school. CRP is explicitly geared to link culture and

ethnic identity to success in school and to develop resiliency given that schools socially and culturally reproduce the dominant culture. As Gay (2004) has argued:

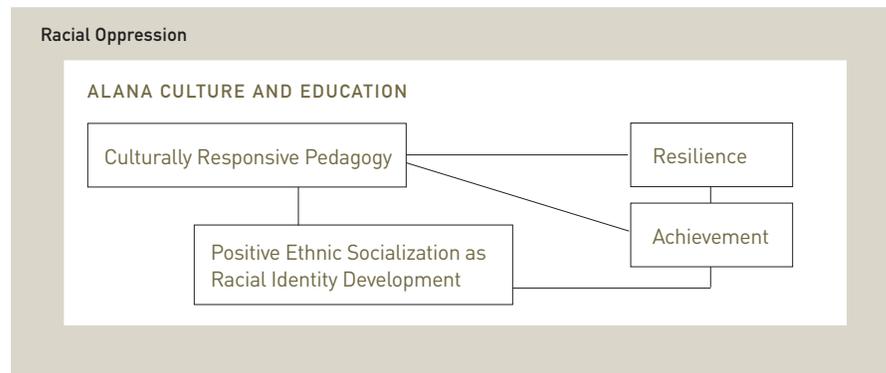
And this redefinition of educational equality means affirming that problems or shortcomings in learning are not so much in shortcomings in ethnic minority students as in inequalities in the schools they attend. It also means refocusing schools toward being more responsive to human variability, spending less time manipulating ethnic students to make them comply to institutional structures, and instituting programs and processes that empower students through access to high-quality knowledge and experiences. (p. 231)

Our working definition of CRP, presented above, includes curriculum and instructional planning, instructional processes, classroom organization, motivational strategies, behavior and discipline, and assessment situated in student culture. There are many terms used to describe culturally based approaches. There are differences between them worthy of considerable deliberation, but for the purposes of this paper, we will use the term culturally responsive to refer to the set of these approaches.

The Conceptual Model

We developed a conceptual framework to guide our detailed search of the literature. The model (see Figure 1) represents the relationships between ALANA culture and education, culturally responsive pedagogy, positive ethnic socialization as identity development, resilience, and achievement. These connected components are situated in the context of ongoing societal oppression based on race, which is significant to understand in order to imagine and implement solutions for the underachievement of ALANA students put at risk by educational institutions. We focused the literature review less on the detailed examination of each concept and more on the connections between these concepts. The Heinz Endowments was not interested in a review of theory, which simplified, but simultaneously limited our review. There is much more to know about all of the phenomena discussed here, and each is worthy of considerable exploration.

FIGURE 1: Conceptual Model for Literature Review



The Search Process

A literature review is a methodical process of seeking pieces that address the concepts of interest. In the conceptual model (see Figure 1), we placed the four central concepts: 1) CRP, 2) positive ethnic socialization and identity, 3) resilience, and 4) achievement at the center of our review. We chose key words for each of them and used the key words in various combinations to see if we could discern the connections between the concepts. We also examined the connections in a set of different contexts.

First, we examined the relations in different racial groups. **The Endowments' focus was explicitly on African Americans but with an interest in what could be learned from other groups as well.** So we looked explicitly at African, Latino, Asian, and Native Americans. Second, we explored the literature in different sites: schools, after-school programs and social services. Third, we looked at different disciplinary domains. While art was of particular interest, we sought to understand what we could learn for science, mathematics, social studies and literacy/ language arts. Finally, we reviewed some programs that are worth examining in more detail for what experience might teach where research has not. We have identified some that we believe are likely to be instructive. Figure 1 represents the multiple levels of concepts and practices we explored in the literature review. The key concepts were conceived to be connected in the context of various ALANA cultures. These cultures in turn are created within a larger context of racial oppression in our society.

Computer-based searches are highly dependent on correctly specifying the key words for the search. We began with the ones specified in the request for proposals and elaborated on these as we conducted the searches. We also focused on the conjunction of key words because we were interested in finding how the concepts were related to

one another and, most significantly, because we wanted to know how culturally responsive pedagogy and positive ethnic socialization are linked to resiliency and school success.

We experimented with many sets of key words, but in the end, we used the following: culturally responsive, culturally relevant, culturally congruent, culturally compatible, multicultural, Africentric, ethnic socialization, identity, resiliency, ownership of learning, empowerment, and achievement. We also coupled these with various subject domains, including dance, drama, visual arts, music, poetry, photography, popular culture, creative writing, math, science, social studies, language arts, and reading. We conducted a total of 134 keyword combination searches. The most productive conjunction was between identity and achievement with 897 hits. After reviewing these, this number was reduced to 157 pieces for further consideration. The literature searches in total yielded 2,808 hits. Of these, some 579 were carried forward for a detailed review with 146 cited in this report. The final cut was based on two questions:

1. Does the piece address the *connections* between the key concepts?
2. Is the piece based on either empirical evidence (broadly defined) or on direct experience?

These two questions eliminated the vast majority of the literature. Most studies were conceptual or theoretical. Empirical research studies by researchers and practitioners that apply to the connections between concepts in our conceptual framework are reported on in the “Connections between the Key Concepts” section below and in the “Arts” section that comes later. **We cited some 53 studies establishing connections between the key concepts** that are reflected in the “Defining Key Concepts” section below, and in the later arts section. Other literature we kept in our pool largely because it helped us define the concepts.

Some comment on the search seems in order. First, there is not much that addresses these issues in the arts. Much research needs to be done in this area. Second, there are several studies addressing the effects of ethnic and racial identity/socialization on resiliency and achievement, and a number of other studies that link some of the key concepts in particular curricular areas, most notably reading and science. However, few seem to have taken on tracing effects from culturally informed educational practice through ethnic identity to outcomes in either resiliency or achievement. Third, the term “multicultural” yielded more hits than any other keyword for the cultural pedagogy category. Multicultural may have the longest history and covers much wider areas of discourse and practice. There also are some political differences in that multicultural in its earliest formulations was made to be more compatible with mainstream educators, and cultural relevance has been more linked to more critical approaches. Having noted this, there also is a “critical multiculturalism” that is now well-established.

Seeking Expert Advice

In the proposal, we were going to contact experts after we had largely completed our computer searches. When our initial searches yielded so little that addressed the key concepts in the arts in particular, we decided we needed expert advice earlier in the process than we had imagined.

To that end, we created an e-mail that asked for input about sources, programs and ideas. We identified some 119 people who we believed had some knowledge of programs and research of interest to this project. This included people in the arts, arts education research and arts education programs; individuals who were knowledgeable of cultural approaches, race and ethnic identity, and socialization; and those in various subject area domains. As we wanted these busy people to respond personally to us, we personalized the e-mails and sent them out. Seventy-nine responded. They suggested 107 articles, book chapters and books on either culturally responsive arts research or culturally relevant teaching and learning. They recommended 48 in-school and out-of-school arts programs across the United States that are for Black, Latino/a, or Indigenous youth and children. They also named 48 people who work in this field as educators, program organizers, or artists. It is clear that this process has been productive, so productive that we had to be selective in pursuing the many leads offered.

The first draft of this paper was reviewed by a panel of eight experts. We cannot thank these reviewers enough. They were appropriately critical, and gave very useful guidance on our task here. They also, as did our e-mail responses, pointed out how much more can and should be done in this area, including reviews of definitions, theories, practices, pedagogies, race and racial formation, culture, identity, language, schooling, teacher education, and program design. We ask others to take on reviews of literature in these important areas.

Defining the Key Concepts

Culture

Culture is the contentious concept that is at the center of culturally responsive pedagogy. The concept of culture needs to be unpacked to clarify its complex role in teaching and learning. In the context of multicultural thinking in education and society, there is a spectrum of ideas about the meaning of culture that depends on your world view, which is “the way a people conceive the fundamental questions of existence and organization of the universe” (Carruthers, 1999, p. 21). Thus, in a general sense, culture is about meaning-making — the behaviors, beliefs, and symbols we use to explain and communicate our experience in the world. Theorists generally conclude that culture is a human process and product. Bruner (1996) emphasizes the cultural base of meaning-making when he states:

...mind could not exist without culture. For the evolution of the hominid mind is linked to the development of a way of life where ‘reality’ is represented by symbolism shared by members of a cultural community in which a technical-social way of life is both organized and construed in terms of that symbolism. This symbolic mode is not only shared by a community, but conserved, elaborated, and passed on to succeeding generations who, by virtue of this transmission, continue to maintain the culture’s identity and way of life. (p. 3)

The ways we walk and talk, our clothes, the foods we eat, our celebrations, values, and beliefs are the signs we have created as “the way of life and thought that we construct, negotiate, institutionalize, and finally...end up calling ‘reality’ to comfort ourselves” (Bruner, p. 87).

Cabral (1974) presents another aspect of culture as the interaction of politics and the economic basis of a society. He states that it is:

...the close interaction of dependence and complementarity existing between the cultural fact and the economic (and political) fact in the functioning of human societies. Indeed, culture is, at any moment in the life of a society...the more or less conscious result of economic and political activities, the more or less dynamic expression of the relationships prevailing in that society. On one hand, between man (considered individually or collectively) and nature, and on the other hand, between individuals, groups of individuals, social strata or classes (p. 45).

Hence, culture is constructed by the interaction of structures of power in a society. Another way of looking at this is that those with the most power determine the meanings, values, and practices that frame the society, and those who are subordinates develop cultures within that context. For ALANA peoples, culture is sometimes assimilated, acculturated, or oppositional. For example, African American culture is deeply rooted in African values and traditions, so much so that its beginnings, often lost in the shadows of centuries, were adapted to explain the “New” World experience. Baraka (1991) explains the changing nature of Black culture when he states, “The African-American culture comes to exist as the living historical experience and development of the African-American people, a Western hemisphere people whose history and heritage are African and the Americas” (p.101). Baraka describes the process of cultural production as “‘common psychological development’... based on experiencing common material conditions which are defined, ultimately, politically and economically” (p.101).

Erickson (2006) concurs with Baraka when he states that culture is a tool, and “a product of human activity that is...learned and transmitted from our elders and also invented (or incrementally transformed) through recurrent improvisation within current situations of practice” (p. 41). Erickson’s definition acknowledges the generative nature of culture through time, but also points to the changes possible in culture based on the context. As such, culture is a social construction that is passed through generations and is dynamic, changing because of alterations in the context of meaning-making. It is created through the dialectical interactions of individuals and groups. Erickson says:

Since what we see, know, and want — is culturally constructed, and since culture varies, persons really do not inhabit the same subjective worlds. Even though some of us show up at what seems to be the same event, how we experience it is never quite the same across the various individuals who have joined together in interaction. ...Individually and collectively, we make cultural worlds and they are multiple. (p. 41)

In this framework, African American culture consists of beliefs and practices passed through generations and rooted in the African cultures. Sefa Dai (1994) posits an Africentric perspective on culture and states, "...the concept of culture refer[s] to the inclusivity of life evolved by African peoples in their attempts to fashion a harmonious coexistence between themselves and the environment, a totality of life which gives order, meaning, and pleasure to social, political, economic, aesthetic, and religious norms" (p. 6). Thus, culture is shared meaning and meaning-making that for Africans crosses geography, age, era, ethnicity, social class, gender, and acculturation.

Sefa Dei later connects the centrality of an African-based communal way of relating to each other, the earth, and spirit to the aspects of African culture that have served as the basis of the survival of Africans in the hostile world of the Diaspora. Nobles (cited in Lee, 2005) represents the African American ways of knowing and, among other things, demonstrates the ancient African roots and subsequent responses to oppression. They are:

1. **SPIRITUALITY** is based on the belief that all elements of the universe are of one substance, or spirit.
2. **RESILIENCE** is the conscious need to bounce back from disappointment and disaster and to have tools of humor and joy to renew life's energy.
3. **HUMANISM** describes the African view that the whole world is vitalistic, or alive, and that this vitality is grounded in a sense of goodness.
4. **COMMUNALISM** denotes awareness of the interdependence of people. One acts in accordance with the notion that the duty to one's family and social group is more important than the individual privileges and rights.
5. **ORALITY AND VERBAL EXPRESSIVENESS** refer to the special importance attached to knowledge that is passed on through word of mouth and the cultivation of oral virtuosity.
6. **PERSONAL STYLE AND UNIQUENESS** refer to the cultivation of a unique or distinctive personality or essence and putting one's own brand on activity — a concern with style more than being correct or efficient. It implies approaching life as if it were an artistic endeavor.
7. **REALNESS** refers to the need to face life the way it is without pretense.
8. **EMOTIONAL VITALITY** expresses a sense of aliveness, animation and openness conveyed in the language, oral literature, song, dance, body language, folk poetry, and expressive thought.
9. **MUSICALITY / RHYTHM** demonstrates the connectedness of movement, music, dance, percussiveness and rhythm, personified through the musical beat. (p.95)

The culture of most Black people involves some or all of these aspects of African-centered culture. Communalism can be found among many who prefer to work collaboratively and can surely be found in extended family structures. Orality is alive in many places where Black speech is performed — in pulpits, political spaces and at open mics, for example. Resilience is apparent in African American folklore and is known as the *be* mentality — be there when trouble comes, be there when it's gone (Lester, 1969). Polyrhythmic musicality is clearly an aspect of the Black Diaspora. However, attention to the individual child's knowledge of the culture also is an important part of culturally responsive instruction. Gutierrez and Rogoff (2003) point out that not all children share equally in the funds of knowledge of their group. Assumptions about the cultural knowledge of any student based on predetermined cultural norms may lead to stereotyping and further alienation of learners.

Culturally relevant instruction requires research and reflection by educators. It necessitates an awareness of the various communities and contexts in which learners construct meaning and an understanding of them within that context. Variations of culture across class, gender, age, and region may make it difficult for educators to comprehend the moving target of cultural knowledge. Researchers Landrine and Klonoff (1996) assert that variations in the cultural beliefs of African Americans can be understood through the perspectives of acculturation. They suggest that **African American patterns of acculturation range from a traditional cultural stance, which incorporates little of the mainstream culture, to bicultural, as the middle position, to being fully acculturated, which denotes assimilation.** The issues of group and individual culture become aspects of the process of acculturation. Another example of how social class and gender are a part of home culture that influences students' perspectives is studied by Burton, Allison, and Obeidallah (1995). They explain how low-income, African American adolescents who have taken on adult roles of caregivers and money earners in their homes might negatively view the demands of silence and the infantilizing control used in schools. Teachers must be open to learning from cultural insiders, including their students and their families.

Students bring a complex web of meaning to the classroom. By the time they enter kindergarten, they have learned to walk, talk, and think as individuals and to understand their group cultural norms. Culture and learning are inseparable. Hence, prior knowledge that educators acknowledge as necessary to access in learning and teaching is a larger concept than academic knowledge. It includes the signs, symbols, and meaning about the worlds that students bring to the task of learning. **Educators must use their knowledge about group culture to work with what each child brings to the classroom.** Consequently, teacher learning about

history and contemporary culture is essential, as is subject matter content, educational psychology, and pedagogical knowledge. **This is the life-long learning work of a professional educator.**

Culturally Responsive Pedagogy

Hale (1994) asserts that “our styles of instruction are so monocultural that far too many of these [African American, particularly the males] children achieve in this society *in spite of school*, instead of *because of school*” (p. 10). The claim of CRP is that the use of students’ cultural knowledge as the core of instruction is more likely to engage students in learning. Rather than being disparaged for their culture, they were empowered by their cultural knowledge, enabling ownership of learning, which stimulates curiosity and imagination. The negative self-image that accompanies the rejection of their experience is eliminated. An appreciation of what they already know can motivate further learning by validating the idea that the students are learners and always have been. In that context, Gay (2002) states, “Culturally responsive teaching can be defined as using the cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters more relevant and effective for them. It teaches *to and through* the strengths of these students. It is *validating and affirming*.” [Gay’s italics] (p. 29).

Africentrists point to the importance of teaching the culture and history of African and African American peoples for Black children. Shockley (2007) describes the importance of African-centered knowledge as the source of agency for Black children, sorely missing in Eurocentric schooling. He delineates six imperatives in the education of African American children: 1) identity, because without self knowledge a child cannot know his or her purpose; 2) Pan Africanism; 3) knowledge of Black culture; 4) the values that are a part of their tradition; and 5) Black nationalism that informs the Black child’s understanding of the need to take agency for 6.) building and controlling the institutions in the African American community. Further he states, “Finally, in order for the six imperatives to be transmitted, the African child must be educated, not schooled — the final imperative of African-centered education” (p. 106).

The Africentric project is that children who are taught to love themselves and their people are people who will embrace learning because they are empowered and their purpose as change agents in society is clear. In the same vein, Asante (1991) asserts that African American children who learn about their history, culture, possibilities, and achievements are “better students, more disciplined, and have greater motivation” (p. 30). He writes that, while children who are forced to learn only the

information about the majority culture are culturally dislocated and prone to feelings of low self-worth, children can be empowered learners when teachers establish a cultural relevancy in the methods and content of instruction.

Shade (1981) also stressed the need for active student participation in the socio-political work of building community, and the African American historical drive for group survival. This orientation to the needs of the group involves a communal and person-oriented perspective that reflects the need to consider African American cultural proclivities in learning. Shade suggests teachers need to be affective-oriented rather than task-oriented, and that instruction needs to be child-oriented. In examining studies of cognitive, perceptual, conceptual, and personality styles, she determined that significant differences exist between the learning styles of African American students and the demands of schooling. She asserts that the successful teachers of African American students use non-traditional approaches to teaching and learning. They tend to use:

...an intense, group, rather interpersonal approach, which differs significantly from the traditional individually oriented seat work, quiet-room teaching usually advocated. It thus seems that the group consciousness, cooperative, sociocentric, and affective orientation that seem to underlie Afro-American culture has an effect on learning the presented material. (p. 238)

Shade (1992) later outlined learning style preferences for African American learners. The learning style of African American students includes:

1. Learning best through observation and modeling of activity, not being told.
2. Having a high energy level and needing a variety of tasks and much movement.
3. Functioning best if the material is contextualized.
4. Preferring to process material through kinesthetic activities, visual images, auditory material, interactive processes and finally through print-oriented approaches.
5. Preferring to demonstrate their knowledge in performance rather than to demonstrate in tests. They are always and foremost performers.
6. Being highly creative and imaginative, and they demonstrate excellent physical coordination, which suggest that art and physical education must become integrated aspects of the cognitive curriculum, not just frills. (p. 42)

Shade's and Shockley's (2007) work clearly tie together Noble's description of African American culture. For pedagogy to be culturally responsive for African American students, these concepts and practices must be included.

Culturally responsive pedagogy from the perspective of students can inform our thinking about its value. A study by Wyngaard (2007) about culturally responsive teaching points to the importance of respect and relationships for African American students. Wyngaard asked African American high school students from a Midwest urban school district to define and express their perspectives on culturally responsive pedagogy and its impact on teachers and students. The students described culturally responsive pedagogy in terms of the Four Rs theory: Relationship, Respect, Responsibility, and Relevancy. Relationships between teachers and students were at the foundation of responsive pedagogy. Wyngaard summarizes that “the educator, whether the building administrator or teacher, [must] be personable, caring, trustworthy, and have an interest and understanding of the lives of their African-American students” (p. 122). Students perceived respect to be about how teachers built relationships with them. They also valued teacher responsibility as reflected in high expectations and a classroom in which student voice permeated the work of the class. Students thought that teachers who listened to them treated them like “adults,” and being treated like an adult signified respect at a time when independence is a key aspect of identity. Relevancy meant that teachers were able to connect the content of the curriculum to the students’ experience outside of the classroom. Students wanted to know how what they learned affected their lives and futures.

In “Wayside Attractions,” Martin (2003) presented a counter-example of a culturally responsive program. He examined how African American adolescent males negotiate aspirations in the context of an urban alternative school. Institutional rules were primary and relationships between students and educators were based on those rules. This was a “last chance” school for these young men as they had been expelled from their home schools, and reentry into their original school was dependent on responding to the incentive system in positive ways. This alternative school was for the “emotionally disturbed” (p. 4) and this stigmatized the students in many ways. The result was that the young men responded in a variety of ways, including some accomplishing reentry, some dropping out entirely or some “wallowing for years on end in the sort of purgatory that the Re-ED program represents” (p. 4).

Of the group of six African American adolescent males studied, only one could be argued to have successfully negotiated reentry into his home school. The stigma associated with this program shaped the futures of these young men in dramatic ways. It did re-educate them but not in ways that improved either the educational or life chances of these youth. Here culture and racial identity were ignored. Achievement was limited and there is no sense that the resilience of these youth has been improved. Martin argues that the program engages in “shaming” (p. 108) whereby the student is subject to claims that something is wrong with him. This in turn interferes with faculty developing caring and trusting relations with the students, and these are prerequisites

to developing an academic focus. Special education and alternative pedagogies that are based on shaming and stigma seem to promise little for children.

We acknowledge that it would be naïve to assume that attention to the culture of students [and teachers] is the panacea to cure all of the ills of an institution as complex as the educational system of the United States. The consideration of international, national, state, and local economics, teacher and administrator knowledge, the role of families, the multiple perspectives on the knowledge of most worth, and everything between is necessary to create schools of excellence and equity, places of joyful learning for all students. However, if we can agree that culture is the basis of prior knowledge, which holistically includes cognitive, affective, and psychomotor domains of learning, then we have to agree that culture is central to education. Hence, absence of attention to the culture of students is counterproductive, if not harmful.

Further, **if we agree that the culture of students is important to their learning, the question arises of why it is so difficult for educators and policymakers to understand and agree to curricula and instructional methods that embrace the cultures of students and their families.** As we have discussed above, we believe the answer to this question in part lies in a history of cultural and racial dominance and supremacy at the root of United States history and experience. In order to develop schools that address issues of equity, that engage all children in the love of learning, appreciation for the diversity of student cultural knowledge is crucial. For that same reason it is difficult to move some educational stakeholders. Over a half century after *Brown V. Board of Education*, many textbooks continue to marginalize the contributions that Africans and African Americans have made to world history and to United States culture, and many teachers continue to see no need to teach multiculturally. Even more insidious, many teachers view colorblindness as a means to promote equity when equity necessitates attention to difference. Further, all too few educators accept the fact that positive racial identity promotes school success.

There are, finally, at least two critiques of culturally responsive approaches that deserve attention. First, many detractors of CRP fear that it will stop the teaching of traditional content. This can be seen in the Ebonics debate in Oakland in the 1990s (Perry and Delpit, 1998). The response to this critique has been clear. The goal is to reinforce the cultural knowledge of the students, validate the African Diaspora story as a valued part of the human legacy, support positive racial identity, and enable African American students to master whatever the demands of the educational system might be.

As we will see in the literature below, CRP is connected to higher achievement. More worrisome is the critique that CRP is compromised because it is an accommodation to White supremacy. As Bell (1995) argues, programs that serve the interests of African Americans also must serve the interests of the dominant race, thus compromising

what they actually achieve. This is a serious critique that is worth full consideration. Although the studies in this review contradict or at least make that perspective more multi-faceted, it may be that the process of getting a culturally responsive program in place will nullify its positive effects for ALANA children. This means that any initiatives must be aware of this and work to serve ALANA children and to promote racial uplift as the primary goals.

Positive Ethnic Socialization

Part of any child's socialization is being incorporated into her or his "people" as defined by themselves and/or others. In the socialization that takes place in families, neighborhoods and communities, the meaning of belonging to that people is discussed and enacted in daily life, and part of this is learning one's ethnic identity. Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) explain, "Ethnicity refers to a characteristic of shared unique cultural traditions and a heritage that persists across generations" (p. 292). This includes learning the relative value put on your identity by outsiders, and how your identity can be used positively even if it is devalued in the wider society. Positive ethnic socialization then refers to learning one's ethnicity and learning how to use this socialization and identity to navigate life. In general use, the term "ethnic" includes various national origins, stratified by race. However, in many instances ethnic is conflated with race (Helms, 1990), and there is a literature on the specific effects of racial socialization and identity (Demo and Hughes, 1990; Helms, 1990; Helms and Talleyrand, 1997; Peters, 1985) that is directly relevant to our concern here with ALANA.

Racial socialization is a pivotal concept in teaching ALANA children because centuries of cultural supremacy and denigration have become internalized in the narratives that many construct. More than 75 years ago Woodson (1933) stated, "The thought of the inferiority of the Negro is drilled into him in almost every class he enters and in almost every book" (p. 2). In a period of virulent White supremacy, the pervasive notion was that Africans and African Americans were inferior and sub-human beings, in need of supervision, with no positive contributions to offer to culture and history. This racist ideology was instilled in all of the United States population, including African Americans.

Teachers have written about the internalized racism of the children they teach. Elrich (1994) described the self-destructive responses of students from a low socioeconomic backgrounds. African American children in his fourth-grade classroom as they reacted to school-wide diversity celebrations. He found that the children had developed their own stereotypes about Blacks and Whites. Most of the children agreed that "Blacks are poor and stay poor because they're dumber than Whites. Black people

don't like to work hard" (pp. 12-13). The students also believed that bosses are White and workers are Black, and Black people do not do important things. This was in spite of monthly multicultural celebrations. Elrich hypothesized that the contradictions between the reality of the children's lives and what they are taught in school needs to be addressed. He also thought the artificial celebrations of Black history month, or woman's history, had the effect of making success seem to be an unnatural event because White narratives still held the center of discourse. **Positive racial socialization is complex and necessary to achieve effective CRP, but it must permeate, not be added to an otherwise White-dominated, educational endeavor.**

RACIAL SOCIALIZATION

Racial socialization in the United States is a process of learning one's place in American society. As Olsen (1997) argues, to be Americanized one becomes raced. In its primary forms, racial socialization occurs in families and communities where the child learns to deal with the social institutions of the wider society. Peters (1985) defined racial socialization as "tasks Black parents share with all parents — providing for and raising children... but [they] include the responsibility of raising physically and emotionally healthy children who are Black in a society in which being Black has negative connotations" (p. 161). Peters' point is that White supremacy actively devalues African Americans. Thornton et al (1990) elaborate:

Broadly defined, racial socialization includes specific messages and practices that are relevant to and provide information concerning that nature of race status as it relates to: (1) personal and group identity, (2) intergroup and interindividual relationships, and (3) position in the social hierarchy. The forms of racial socialization include specific verbal behaviors (i.e., direct statements regarding race), modeling of behaviors, and exposure to specific objects, contexts, and environments (i.e., artifacts and settings). (pp. 401-2)

The social practices and meanings can act as a buffer for racial minorities from the degradations that accompany racism and the racial formations of our society (Stevenson, 1994). The process through which socialization occurs varies. Not all African American families are alike. Racial socialization is direct and indirect, verbal and nonverbal, overt and covert (Stevenson, 1994; Thornton et al., 1990). Yet, the essential messages persist, a child's race will affect his or her life, and ALANA children must prepare to navigate a world marked by racial oppression.

Comas-Diaz and Jacobsen (2001) discuss what is taught in racial socialization. They include: "cognitive skills in the accurate identification of racism, modeling of appropriate responses, and emotionally supporting the management of feelings of difference, rejection, and confusion generated by the racist experience" (p. 250).

Coll et al (1996) argue that parents have been largely responsible for racial socialization by teaching about racism and portraying a positive image of the race, and this has significant effects: **“The importance of racial socialization is emphasized by findings that relate these practices to the child’s motivation, achievement, prospects for upward mobility, and racial attitudes...”** (p. 1907).

RACIAL IDENTITY

Racial socialization also builds a racial identity, which Helms (1990) defines as “a sense of group or collective identity based on one’s *perception* that he or she shares a common racial heritage with a particular racial group” (p. 3). Fordham (1996) suggests that this identity is forged in a “fictive kinship” with other African Americans. While not actually family or kin, the sense of kinship unites African Americans in a project that is both egalitarian and reactive to wider racial oppression. Historically, Du Bois (1903) referred to this identity as a double consciousness of being both an American and a Negro.

For Demo and Hughes (1990), Black group identity is complex: “Black group identity is clearly multidimensional and includes not only in-group factors such as closeness to other Blacks and Black separatism, but also racial group evaluation” (p. 364). This evaluation of the racial group, of course, creates the context in which individual and group racial identity must be forged. Some members of minority groups may attempt to overcome challenges presented to them by the wider racialized society by developing a raceless identity (Arroyo & Zigler, 1995; Fordham, 1988; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986). However, Arroyo and Zigler (1995) found that racelessness is more characteristic of Whites than high-achieving African Americans. Racial minorities may distance themselves from other members of their group while seeking assimilation into the dominant group. In this, they suffer criticism from their own group while gaining only limited access to the dominant group. This leads to stress among successful African American high school students (Fordham, 1996). However, it is clear that having and using a racial identity to negotiate a racist society has positive impacts on senses of efficacy and self-understanding (Beardslee, 1989).

Resiliency

The rigid stage models of human development no longer seem tenable. Instead of students moving through defined stages, we now think of people having different trajectories and pathways (Compas, Hinden and Gerhardt, 1995). This distinction may seem minor but has led people to think with more complexity about the development of children and youth. In particular, it has led to studies that focus on factors that put

people at risk and those that serve a protective function. Unlike the narrower measure of achievement we discuss below, focusing on a concept like resiliency points to how risk and protective processes work together in fashioning a developmental trajectory that overcomes stresses and risks. “Stress-resistant” or resilient youth seem to have the stresses that characterize their lives balanced against social competencies (Luthar and Zigler, 1991). There also are a set of protective factors (Garmezy, 1985) including: a.) dispositional attributes; b.) family cohesion and warmth; and c.) access to, and use of, external support systems by the child and parents, both informal and formal, in school and out of school.

Resilient youth are often argued to have social competence, cognitive competence and positive self-perceptions (Meece and Daniels, 2007), but it is important to remember that it is the process not the traits that make the difference. Resiliency is a process, a trajectory that allows students to overcome challenges and stresses. Moreover, “resilience does not come from rare and special qualities, but from the everyday magic of ordinary, normative, human resources in the minds, brains and bodies of children in their families and relationships and in their communities” (Masten, 2001, p. 235). Educational programs can help in this by encouraging strong commitment and connections to school, setting and communicating high expectations, providing meaningful learning opportunities, and developing opportunities for participation in the programs and in the school (Meece and Daniels, 2007).

Clauss-Ehlers (2004) expands the definition of resilience to include “cultural resilience” – how the person’s “cultural background supports, values, and environmental experience help facilitate the process of overcoming adversity” (p. 28) towards a “culturally–focused resilient adaptation” (p. 28). In this, cultural values create the “child’s cultural script for resilience” (p. 36). This expansion of the definition of resilience moves beyond the more common approach that focuses on traits associated with resilience. It also posits that a key resource for children is their culture. Given this, then we should look to communities and families as the best source of cultural strategies to promote resilience.

Resiliency highlights the remarkable ability of humans to recover from adversity. The literature on resiliency is relatively uniform. Thus using the concept as its own keyword in online searches was effective. It also is noteworthy that Nobles (cited in Lee, 2005) description of African American culture includes resiliency. A question for educators might be how to tap into the narratives and aspects of the culture through which resiliency is formed and transmitted.

Achievement

Academic success is more than achievement. It includes doing well on school work (that is itself culturally biased) and a host of other accomplishments: having an academic identity, behaving according to the strictures of school, and developing the capability to create and use knowledge when faced with novel situations. Success is a many varied thing, so varied that the searches yielded too many possibilities to be reasonably investigated in ways sufficient for this project. We decided that it was best to start with a stringent definition of success, and see if that would yield a sufficient number of studies for us to discern a pattern of relations with the key words signifying other key concepts. This turned out to be true. The all-too-narrow concept of achievement did give us such studies and patterns.

We wish to be clear, however, that we use a much broader concept of success in our own research. We even decry the achievement fetish that has been brought on by No Child Left Behind. More importantly, we also know that testing itself produces racial disparities in the patterns of results. Claude Steele is probably the most prominent researcher in this area. His research has shown that because testing is understood by African Americans to be a discriminatory selection device, they must deal with “stereotype threat” — “the situational threat of being negatively stereotyped” (Steele, 2003, p. 117).

This threat is external to the person, so when you change the conditions of testing so that it no longer generates this threat, the achievement gap is all but gone. Similar patterns have been found in his studies of women (in mathematics) and African Americans. Stereotype threat also generalizes to other performance domains and can have most devastating effects on the higher achievers. Steele also concludes, “The success of Black students may depend less on expectations and motivations — things that are thought to drive academic performance — than on trust that stereotypes about their group will not have a limiting effect in their school world” (p. 122). Since his research actually involves changing testing circumstances and learning from this, he is able to say:

Our research bears a practical message: Even though the stereotypes held by the larger society may be difficult to change, it is possible to create niches in which negative stereotypes are not felt to apply. In specific classrooms, within specific programs, even in the climate of entire schools, it is possible to weaken a group’s sense of being threatened by negative stereotypes, to allow its members a trust what would be otherwise difficult to sustain. Thus when schools try to decide how important Black-White test score gaps are in determining the fate of Black students on their campuses, they should keep something in mind: For a great

portion of Black students, the degree of racial trust they feel in their campus life, rather than in a few ticks on a standardized test, may be the key to their success. (p. 130)

Focusing solely on achievement then can be problematic, but it also has some benefits, including that it speaks directly to the reservations of educators in schools and school districts about responding to the demands of high stakes testing, as well as to genuine concerns about teaching and learning. Given this, we think asking if cultural approaches and positive ethnic socialization or racial identity are related to the narrower concept of achievement addresses a limited “bottom line” of No Child Left Behind. It is a stringent test of the thesis that cultural approaches and racial identity promote academic success.

In the literature, achievement does not only mean test results, but this is clearly the predominant definition and measure. Tests vary widely, and it is not possible to know if the tests actually used in the research have validity in other arenas. Some studies focus on grades or on learning in rather specific domains as an indication of achievement as well. These measures are all too conventional and thus underestimate the accomplishments of students. Yet, we reasoned that if there is a pattern with these measures, it is likely to be convincing to a broad audience.

Connections Between the Key Concepts

In this section, we look at the studies that actually address the connections between the key concepts in the conceptual model we used for this work. We see these studies as indicating that it is possible in practice to create the connections between the key concepts. The challenge is to do so and to document these results so others can learn from them.

Our review unearthed a small set of studies that looked at many of the key concepts at once. These tended to be ethnographic studies that allow an examination of the complexity of the connections in which we are interested. We will review these studies first as they reveal how all the constructs work together in constructing achievement for ALANA students. Then we will explore the connections between concepts, largely as conceptual dyads as most studies examine them.

Ethnographies

It is probably no surprise that Ogbu found that African American students developed oppositional identities to schools. While he was studying schools in California, the public schools in the United States were being asked to integrate African American students in ways they never had before. In the mid to late 1970s when Ogbu began his studies, there also was a strong upsurge of Black power and pride movements that were reacting to the assimilative logic of the wider society and schools in particular. When researchers today disparage Ogbu's studies, they often ignore that Ogbu also argued these identities were in response to structural inequality. His term was "opportunity structure" (Ogbu, 1978). Regardless of how these studies are read today, Ogbu's work did spawn much of the work on racial identity of minority youth,

which pushed other scholars to examine how racial identity could be coupled to academic identity.

Signithia Fordham (1996) was a student of Ogbu's and moved beyond his model to examine the expressive dimension of the relationship between the dominant culture and Black Americans: "I also sought to explain African-American adolescents' academic success rather than their failure" (p. 71). In her studies in Washington, D.C., she found that Black identity worked through a "fictive kinship" — "the idea of brotherhood and sisterhood of *all* African-Americans," characterized by an "egalitarian ethos" (p. 72), amid considerable hybridity and racial subordination. Thus, being Black involves acting in ways that contribute to this fictive kinship and its egalitarian ethos. Schools and other public institutions, though, see these youths as "other" and incapable. Thus she argues:

For high achieving African-American adolescents at Capital High *warfare* is the appropriate term for academic achievement because they are resisting two competing yet similarly debilitating forces: the dominant society's minimal academic expectations for Black students and their classmates' internal policing for group solidarity. They resisted dominant expectations by imagining schooling as a kind of warfare they were fighting not only for themselves but for the larger, imagined Black community. ... (p. 235-6)

She elaborates:

Consequently, the academic performance of these high achieving students is characterized by conformity as resistance, ambivalence and stress. Nevertheless, their desire to reclaim what they imagine as the humanness of their ancestors and their lingering belief in the American Dream frequently overcome their doubts and fears, inspiring them to keep trying to do well in school despite the growing evidence around them ... (pp. 236-7)

The practical lesson she takes from this linking of culture, identity, and achievement for youth is clear. For social institutions to actively include African Americans, they "must accept as normal what is generally associated with African Americans and other peoples of color" (p. 344).

Some of these same themes have been picked up in studies of Latino/a students as well. One study that parallels Fordham's in scope and methods is Angela Valenzuela's "Subtractive Schooling." Looking in detail at Mexican American youth in Houston, Texas, Valenzuela (1999) argues that "schooling is a *subtractive* process. It divests these youth of important social and cultural resources, leaving them progressively vulnerable to academic failure" (p. 3). Her study of a high school reveals that first generation Mexican Americans perform better than those of later generations in part because they

maintain their identity as Mexicans and draw on that identity and culture, especially cultural understanding of *educacion* as a “moral, social and personal responsibility”... “to respect the dignity and individuality of others” (p. 23), to create a role of respectful student. This identity is constructed in large part through comparing educational and other opportunities in the United States with those in Mexico.

However, by the second generation, schooling has taken its toll. The active suppression of the Spanish language and a dismissal of Mexican culture as not relevant to success establishes a situation where students and educators misperceive caring about school. On the one hand, the teachers use the markers of peer identity — language use, clothing, stance, interaction patterns — as indications that the students have already chosen an outsider identity in the form of gangs. Teachers then see the second generation students as not caring about school. These same students, however, recognize that these educators, because of this preemptive judgment, do not care about them or their education. This misunderstanding has dire consequences, as she notes:

Misunderstanding about the meaning of caring thus subtracts resources from youth by impeding the development of authentic caring and by obliging students to participate in a non-neutral, power-evasive position of aesthetic, or superficial, caring. The widespread disaffection with schooling among U.S.-born youth should thus be attributed to their experience of schooling as subtractive or as an implicit threat to ethnic identity that accompanies the demand that youth care about school. Rather than building on students’ cultural and linguistic knowledge and heritage to create biculturally and bilingually competent youth, schools subtract these identifications from them to their social and academic detriment. (p. 25)

Valenzuela does point to specific teachers that did care for the students in ways recognized by the students. These teachers were likely to be foreign language and English as a Second Language teachers who understood the importance of language and culture in ways other teachers did not. The band teacher also is similarly identified. He realized that many of the students were malnourished, unable to buy even school lunches, and used his own money and evenings at home to prepare food for his students, “made with sincerity and love” (p. 113). However, Valenzuela also notes that these same teachers could do little beyond their own classrooms because the wider school and district was convinced subtractive assimilation was the approach to be pursued. In this context, student resistance also was culturally important:

...these diverse accounts of student resistance reveal how students’ *educacion* cultural model of schooling informs their critique of and expectations concerning schooling. Sequin (the school) students demand that which the school does not typically provide, namely trusting, respectful relations between student and the

adults who are there to teach and guide them. They further demand an inclusive curriculum responsive to their cultural identity as Mexicans. (p. 253)

Valenzuela concludes on two notes. First, authentic caring would work against efforts to subtract students' cultural identities and also would build bridges across division. She ends the book with a most provocative statement: "Perhaps the most heartening is the finding that the mainstream curriculum is demonstrably accessible through a route responsive to students' definition of caring" (p. 267).

Lew (2006) has a third parallel study of Korean American youth in high school. Her study challenges the "model minority" stereotype. Her study also found that racial identity was key to success in school. In the case of successful Korean-American students:

...students negotiated their racial and ethnic identities according the social and economic context. At the same time, racial minority students saw their racial identities ascribed to them in the form of exclusionary stereotypes and false constructs of homogeneity. Protected with strong social capital at home, communities and school, however, the...students learned to use education as a racial strategy. ...For the Korean-American students...the belief that education would pave the way for obtaining the *economic status* of middle-class Americans was strong; however, they nonetheless were keenly aware that despite their middle-class economic status they might not necessarily be accepted *racially* as Americans. (p. 85)

For Korean American dropouts though:

...the dropouts' experiences illustrate how they both internalized and resisted the dominant ideology that attributes "success" to Whites and Asians but "failure" to Blacks and Hispanics. ...That is, while they bought into the model minority stereotype by associating upwardly mobile Koreans with Whiteness, they resisted the dominant ideology by disassociating themselves from these same upwardly mobile Koreans and aligning with Blacks and Hispanics, whom they saw as monolithically poor and disenfranchised. (p. 102)

Lew also emphasizes the role of social capital in the difference between these two groups. When students can draw resources from other co-ethnic networks, families, and churches and when their peer networks can sponsor them in activities that lead to success in school, then they are more likely to be high achieving.

Finally, Hanley (1998) provides an example of how to use the arts to build on strengths. Her research on the knowledge construction of African American middle school students in a drama project demonstrates an interrelationship of context, culture,

affect, and creative processes. These, in turn, enable the development of intrinsic motivation, resilience, and positive ethnic identity.

Hanley discusses the importance of culturally responsive work gathered directly from the imaginations of the participants that provided a framework of the achievement of powerful performance presentations. The use of the students' **culture**, music, stories, games, issues and language as the basis for the dramatic work modeled a respect for their ways of knowing and lived experience, and the drive for **respect** was a major factor in their choices. Disrespect was a reason for anger at teachers and parents and for fighting to regain respect.

Respect also was gained by **risk-taking**, the bigger risks garnered more respect. Risk-taking also was connected to **resistance** as a means of gaining respect and to address the **alienation** they felt in schooling situations where they felt they had no control and little choice. The students could be motivated by feelings of alienation to use imagination and creativity to resist and take risks to gain respect and power. Hanley found students also could be motivated by the use of **imagination** and **creativity** to develop and perform works of art that expressed a vision of social change in their communities, and thus they found another route to reach transformative goals as a way to gain respect and empowerment. By engaging the imagination in artistic endeavors, artists can suspend what had become a habitual response, explore other possibilities, and create alternate realities (Greene, 1993).

Whether beginning with alienation or the empowerment of imagination and creativity, the young people sought and were impelled by **agency**, which Martin et al. (2003) state is "the freedom of human beings to make choices in ways that make a difference in their lives" (p. 15). Bruner (1996) posits agency as thinking for oneself in a problem solving and decision-making process, an orientation necessary for responsible and successful choices. As artists, the students were required to make hypotheses and choices, to try solutions, to transform the art medium, themselves, and the audiences. **Hanley states that the lack of attention to student agency invited resistance while acknowledgement of its importance supported intrinsic motivation.** She describes examples of humor and joyful curiosity, conceptualization, and expression as the students created new forms, and the sense of **community** that grew from relationships among the students and between students and teachers as they collaborated, increasing the sense of **empowerment** and further motivating student engagement. Empowerment grew from agency and affected all other elements of meaning and underscores the perspective that disempowered students search for the freedom to choose and to own their thinking, for better or for worse, by any means that they can find.

The students in this study also wanted to understand the world in order to protect themselves and those they loved and to construct possibilities for futures that included a healthy planet, a prosperous community, and an empowered African American people. However, Hanley (1998) states that initiating critical thinking, necessary to contest the challenges that they faced as African American youth, was not an easy process. Very little in the students' prior education had helped them to understand or evaluate the conditions in their world and their positions in it. Most of their responses to learning in school had been passive or resistant. Critical thinking required a change in their approach to learning to comprehend complex concepts, and the teachers of the drama program found it initially difficult to break through the students' perception of themselves as passive recipients of knowledge. The key was agency and respect given to the students as artists and learners.

Taken together, these studies demonstrate how racial identity is deeply embedded in the home culture of the students and that a racial identity that is coupled with an academic identity is always dual: based in a belief that schooling can benefit the youth and their race and at the same time schooling is always a threat to their racial identity and culture. These studies also point out that culture and identity are highly relational. It matters what networks you can access and what the nature of those relations are. Networks that can bring resources necessary for success are key, as are caring relationships with adults. When stigma is attached to a program and/or school, the resources of culture, language and identity are easily overwhelmed.

These ethnographies illustrate that there are empirical linkages between the key concepts of cultural responsiveness, racial identity, resiliency, and achievement in school for ALANA students. Ethnographies are ideal for showing complex relations between phenomena, while other studies, both quantitative and qualitative, focus more on sets of discrete relations between the concepts of interest to The Heinz Endowments. In the following, we will examine the literature that addresses specific connections between pairs of concepts, starting with cultural responsiveness with the other three. In this way, we can consider how well each set of connections seems to have been established in the literature.

Cultural Responsiveness — Identity

While there is a considerable literature on cultural responsive approaches, there is surprisingly little that connects such approaches to fostering positive racial identities. There are studies that confirm Valenzuela's notion of subtractive schooling (e.g. Lipman and Gutstein, 2001). Yet this is the negative case — that is, the usual ways of working with youth are not

seen as culturally responsive and identities of racial minorities are threatened. However, the affirmative case that being more culturally responsive will develop more positive racial identities needs more research.

Monzo and Rueda (2001) do not directly address identity formation, but their study of Latino educators and para-educators who interacted with students in ways that resembled home and community based interactions has important lessons. The use of CRP resulted in students initiating interactions that addressed both the instructional tasks and out-of-classroom experiences. They characterized the educators' approach as demonstrating *cariño* (caring), accepting the students' ways of being, using a relaxed instructional style, and validating of student resources and instructional needs. The last included incorporating students' knowledge into the instruction, employing a longer wait time, and recognizing community and family constraints. The educators also worked on building *continua* through shared experiences and reciprocal interactions. This study, like so many, put emphasis on building relationships with the students.

Belgrave et al. (2004) studied a Sisters of Nia intervention that employs *mzees*, respected elders; unity circles, explicit linking of struggles and progress; and *jamaas*, families composed of peers and staff, Kwanzaan principles, and African proverbs. This program was found to have significant effects on the girls' ethnic identity and somewhat less effects on gender roles and relational aggression. In short, a culturally responsive curriculum led to a stronger racial identity.

Culturally Responsiveness — Resiliency

Commonsensibly, there is a strong case to be made that working in a more culturally appropriate manner with youth would develop their resiliency. Helping students experience what is valued in their culture should lead to more confidence. Nevertheless, we found very few studies that directly addressed the connection between CRP and resiliency.

In a study about African American girls, Corneille, Ashcraft, and Belgrave (2005) examined the effect of culturally responsive pedagogy on the program recruitment and retention as well as the reduction of risk and prevention of negative health choices. They conducted a three-year, multi-site investigation using an Africentric cultural lens in the pedagogy, which meant attention to the values of spirituality, communalism, expressive communication/orality, and rhythm and verve.

To promote positive ethnic identity and resiliency, the researchers immersed the girls in an Africentric orientation. They emphasized cooperative and interdependent learning activities, and opened and closed each day with a unity circle, including time for spirituality in the circles. They incorporated dance, poetry, music, and discussions about African and African American history into the pedagogy as well. Attention

to the gender socialization of African American females included understanding that Black females have androgynous gender role orientations, which includes a balance of male/instrumental and female nurturance/expressiveness. An androgynous gender orientation “may serve as protection against certain risks” (p. 41) and is associated with increased levels of self-confidence and assertiveness.

In addition, the authors stated that African American girls also have a relational orientation, a value of interdependence and relationships, through which they develop identity, which can have positive and negative effects. The tendency to want to please others more than self can lead to dangerous health and life choices. The researchers instituted opportunities for the girls to meet and collaborate with other African American girls and women who served as role models. The programs involved the girls in gaining knowledge of their communities and its opportunities and challenges. It also helped them to set goals and make decisions about their futures.

There were three studies within the larger investigation involving 310 early adolescent girls. In sum, they demonstrated the validity of culturally responsive pedagogy in shaping identity, which facilitated learning. The participants in Project Naja (the subject of one of the studies), designed to increase resiliency factors such as self-concept, Africentric values, and ethnic identity, demonstrated a significant increase in self-concept in physical appearance. In the second study, girls showed a significantly higher drug refusal rate than did the comparison group. In a third study, the girls demonstrated a significant decrease in relational aggression and increase in ethnic identity. Corneille, Ashcraft, and Belgrave concluded that **culture has everything to do with attracting and retaining participants and with effective prevention work with African American adolescent girls.** This study speaks to resiliency, and also points to the connection of culturally responsive pedagogy to identity. Africentric values and experiences shaped their views of themselves as young women.

Hall (2007) conducted a qualitative investigation about the resiliency of Black and Latino adolescent males in an after-school City School Outreach youth program that offered a physically and psychologically safe environment to talk about issues they faced. The students of color who attended the program used various forms of creative written expression (i.e., poetry, spoken word, and hip hop) to document and share their lived realities as African American and Latino youth. Hall’s data sources included observations from sustained social interaction with participants, non-structured interviews with three participants, participatory data analysis, and interpretations of subjective meanings found within student commentary and writings of four participants. Through their poetry and comments on society and the experience of Black and Latino/a people and their own lives, the students revealed an understanding of race,

racism, stereotypes, and resistance. The research suggests that when adolescent males of color have a strong sense of cultural pride and awareness, they are able to construct healthy self-concepts that assist them in acts of agency and resistance against negative psychological forces.

Culturally Responsiveness — Achievement

Project KEEP — Kamehameha Elementary Education Project — has been well-researched, and seems to have established clearly that culturally responsive pedagogy leads to achievement gains (Vogt, Jordan and Tharp, 1987; Jordan, 1985; Hu-Pei Au, 1980). This project and the research on it demonstrated that developing a program that is culturally compatible requires adaptations in instructional practice, classroom organization and motivational management. However, as the first article above (in a comparison of the Hawaiian KEEP effort with another KEEP effort with Navajo students) demonstrated, **what works to improve achievement for one culture will not necessarily work for another**. KEEP also is clear that making a program culturally compatible is not replicating the home culture but rather:

...educational practices must mesh with the children's culture in ways that ensure the generation of academically important behaviors. It does not mean that all school practices need to be completely congruent with natal culture practices... (Jordan, 1985: p. 110)

There are several other studies that seemed to indicate that culturally responsive pedagogy has effects on achievement. However, it is important to think through all the program elements, and be very conscious of target culture. Smith-Maddox (1998) concluded there are many cultural factors that influence the achievement of African Americans:

Student's aspirations, homework habits, and participation in extracurricular activities as well as parents' socioeconomic status, parental involvement, expectations and regular communication with teachers about classroom activities were shown to have a positive effect. (p. 310)

Love (2003) studied 244 teachers from six urban schools serving predominately African American children. The teachers completed surveys related to teaching practices, knowledge and social relations. The only requirement for filling out survey was that participants be currently teaching or have experience teaching in the past. Five factors emerged from the data that explored teachers' beliefs about effective teaching of African American children including culturally congruent (beliefs about the importance of students' racial and cultural identity), poor learner support (teacher

strategies for helping low-achieving students), professional commitment (to urban education), self-determined (teach directed planning) and failure to connect (inability to relate to students). This study suggests that reading achievement of African American elementary students was related to teachers' belief about the importance of students' cultural identity, students' individual needs and strategies for low-achieving students.

In her now classic research on effective teachers of African American students, Ladsen-Billings (1992) revealed that teachers of high-performing African American students: a) legitimate African American culture, b) do not shy away from issues of race and culture, c) engage in physical contact with them such as hugging, d) incorporate non-standard English in verbal exchanges, and e.) banter with students and use code-switching. These same teachers spent time developing an academic environment but within a family model, and focus on identity and social issues. They were willing to share power with students, and to critically evaluate curriculum to exceed that which is required.

Bell and Clark (1998) examined the effects of racial imagery (Black and White characters) and cultural themes (Eurocentric and African American) on recall and comprehension of African American children in first-second-grade and third-fourth-grade reading. They found that racial imagery did not lead to recall of characters. That is, Black characters in the readings were not recalled significantly better than White characters. However, **“comprehension was significantly more efficient for stories depicting both Black imagery and culturally related themes than for stories depicting both White imagery and culturally distant themes”** (p. 470). There were age and gender effects as well. The older males were more affected by racial imagery while the females were more affected by themes in the stories. This study indicates that the use of culturally relevant materials is important for promoting achievement but that age and gender mediate these effects. Thus in CRP it is important to consider difference in myriad ways — gender and age as well as social class and race.

In the case of Puerto Rican students, one study (Antrop-Gonzalez et al, 2005) indicated the acquisition of social capital through church activities and participation in extracurricular activities, coupled with a strong Puerto Rican identity, the active support of mothers, and caring teachers were factors in high achievement. E. Herrero (2006) found that using culturally based literature and patterns of discourse in a project of researching, collecting and committing to memory a set of community narratives was effective in supporting literacy learning for low-achieving Dominican students.

Andrade and Hakim (1995) described the relationship of culture and achievement in The Educational and Community Change Project at Ochoa Elementary School in Arizona. This alternative school improvement program, which makes use of “play

learning” and real-world problem solving based on the children’s lives and experience, was developed to encourage teachers, parents, and students to use indigenous invention to create and implement curriculum, teaching practices, and classroom structures. The aim of the program was to keep students from the area — a predominantly Spanish-speaking, low-income community where students have traditionally achieved low scores on norm-referenced tests — interested in learning so that they will not become dropouts. The authors described an example of a first grade math lesson in which students learned data collection and analysis, problem solving, predictions, and patterns in a game developed and taught by a student. Cultural responsiveness and motivation were inherent in the pedagogy of the learners. The connections between cultural responsiveness, ownership of learning, motivation and achievement were evident.

Lee (2001) studied a group of African American high school freshmen. By all traditional criteria, they would be considered underachievers: disengaged from schooling and speaking variations of English. Lee posited that in the effort to teach students who speak varieties of English not valued by society, languages other than English, or students whose families live in poverty, it is very important to understand the intersections between the ways that students use language and reason in their homes, communities, and the in the routine practices of classrooms. This research was based on the premise that students bring to the language arts classroom a rich array of knowledge that is useful for learning generative concepts and strategies in reading and writing. This study was an analysis of a day of instruction in an English language arts classroom in an underachieving African American high school, Fairgate, which used the Cultural Modeling Project, or CMP. CMP is an instructional model which organizes classroom work that “allows students to carry out epistemological roles demanded by the subject matters while communicating in ways that are culturally familiar” (Lee, Spenser, and Harpalnai, 2003, p.7). CMP included the understanding that strategic knowledge of the ways that literary authors embed meaning in certain literary forms is necessary to negotiate rich literary texts.

The quality of response to literature that the project sought to develop goes beyond summaries of plot. An idealized response included a personal, empathetic response, as well as a response to issues of form and structure. The culturally responsive activities and artifacts used encouraged students to complete multiple readings of the same text or passage, consider multiple points of view, provide textual evidence to support claims, attend to unusual details in the text and link the text to life experiences. Lee described the ways in which the students’ cultural funds of knowledge were incorporated to support learning, revealing abstract thought and interpretive reasoning among the students who were supposedly far below grade level.

Also focusing on using culturally appropriate language forms, **Hollie (2001) reported that African American students in Los Angeles who have been part of a Language Affirmation Program have significantly better literacy outcomes than those who were not in such a program.**

The Language Affirmation Program included: second language methodology, building on learning styles and strengths, cultural awareness, balanced literacy, linguistic awareness and supportive classroom learning environments. The author argued that it is important to have all the elements of the program to achieve the outcomes desired. Systemic approaches seem more promising than piecemeal approaches.

Allen and Butler (1996) investigated two instructional approaches, one high movement expressive with music and the other low movement expressive without music. The results showed that African American students performed better on a multiple choice test of analogical reasoning under the high movement expressive conditions and white students performed better under the low movement expressive condition. This study shows that value of the arts, in this case music, and movement in raising the achievement of African American students.

Leonard and Smita (2002) described a culturally relevant mathematics activity that used photography as a basis for problem solving. The activity required African American children in grades two through five to take photographs of interesting sites and people as they toured their neighborhood around the church and to use the photographs to write word problems. The researchers posit that the children became excited and engaged in problem solving because the math was embedded in familiar cultural situations. The activity gave the students control of the task; embedded mathematics in a cultural context that mattered to them; and challenged their intellectual, emotional, and social skills.

With Haitian immigrant students, Hudicourt-Barnes (2003) used an indigenous argumentation form to explore science concepts. The form of argumentation allowed students to engage in “authentic scientific thinking and the discussion of science phenomena” (p. 91). She noted that in the dominant western argumentation form, these students could not have expressed as fully what they know or how they think scientifically. They also would not have been able to build on their scientific understanding.

Boykin et al (2004) conducted a quantitative study of the role of cultural assets in the cognitive performance of low-income African American students. They proposed that the difference between school culture and home culture created dissonance for Black students that affected school performance. The study is centered on “communalism,” which is defined as interdependence and sharing as a dimension of African American culture. Components of communalism included social orientation (social relations are valued), group duty (the needs of the group are more important than the

individual's needs), identity (the individual has a sense of belonging and selfhood based on group membership), and sharing ("exchange and mutual support" (p. 1) are intrinsically rewarding). The researchers designed the study to determine the effects of communal learning over time to ascertain its generalizability and application. They also wanted to discern if there was any relationship between communal-influenced pedagogy and the retention of classroom learning. In two studies, one on reading and the other on math, researchers investigated the effects of high communal learning versus low communal learning settings and found that students in the high communal context performed significantly better on the post test than the students in the low communal setting in both reading and math.

Other studies by Boykin and Bailey (2000) examine some of the nine dimensions of African American culture proposed by Allen and Boykin (1992). Boykin and Bailey studied the African American proclivity for movement, communalism, and physical stimulation/verve — variations in the intensity, variability, and density of stimulation. The findings of the series of studies with low-income African American and European American elementary children pointed to how these aspects of African American culture enhanced the learning of the Black children whose home culture included movement, communalism and verve. In fact, as a part of the study of physical stimulation/verve, the researchers found that greater preference for variability among African American students was related to lower performance on academic tests when Black students were taught in low variability contexts. Another finding was that in high movement contexts, African American children were more successful academically than European American children. In low movement contexts European American children were more successful.

In a study on communalism, Black students were randomly sorted into three sets to complete a learning task. They worked as individuals, peer tutoring groups of two or in communal dyads on a comprehension test. The children in the individual and peer tutoring contexts were told they would receive a reward for completing the test criterion. The students in the communal dyads were told to share, help, and work well together so they both could succeed at learning. No extrinsic rewards were offered to the communal dyad. **Comprehension was significantly higher for the students in the communal dyads, and they more often reported that they liked their peers and rated their learning higher than did the students in either the individual or peer tutoring contexts.**

A study by Lee (1995) looked at the effects of culturally based instruction on developing skills in literacy interpretation in an African American urban high school. This study is particularly interesting because it examined a particular a form of social discourse in the African American community, signifying, as a scaffold for teaching skills in literary interpretation. The researchers and teachers used the fact that African

American language usage includes the playful possibilities of language, a love of double entendre, valuing the manipulation of language for its own artistic merit rather than simply as a tool of literal communication, manipulation of the symbolic functions of language, the use of densely imagistic and figurative language to express complex ideas in a few words, all of which are involved in interpreting dense texts. Through discussion in small and large groups of complex questions about the meaning, characters and their relationships and social customs, and figurative language [metaphoric or proverbial talk including signifying] in such texts as *Their Eyes Are Watching God*, *The Color Purple*, and the short story “My Man Bovannen,” the students began to think about the act of interpreting fiction as expert readers do, to develop a taste for tackling the language of literary texts, and to support their responses to complex problems of interpretation with close textual analysis and by drawing on their knowledge of the social world of the texts. The quantitative results of the intervention were that the experimental group achieved a gain from pre- to posttest over the control group by a broad ratio of 2.28 to 1, which was statistically significant.

In another study examining the development of literacy skills, Tatum (2000) explored how to develop cultural competence in African American students in low-level reading tracks through culturally relevant pedagogy, particularly culturally relevant literature. In an eight month inquiry working with 29 eighth-grade students in a Chicago public school, she investigated literacy using a framework that included four aspects of reading development: fluency, word study, comprehension, and writing. Students and teachers developed a supportive community by eliminating competition and emphasizing cooperation and self-assessment. Students were taught decoding and vocabulary using popular culture songs, and culturally relevant historical and contemporary fiction, non-fiction, poetry and songs that emphasized physical and psychological survival against great odds. To increase oral fluency, they instituted cooperative and repetitive readings that also included speeches of Black people. Writing increased with reflection on the readings and discussions and the use of a “word wall.” As their skills increased, students became excited about reading and writing. The culturally relevant literature helped students to broaden their understanding of social conditions and their connection to them. At the beginning of the year, all of the students were several years below grade level. At the end, 25 of the 29 students went on to Chicago high schools, passing a raised standard set by Chicago schools wherein eighth-graders had to score the minimum equivalent of 7.9 on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills; many surpassed that minimum requirement.

Cammarota & Romero (2006) studied alternative social justice pedagogy in a Tucson high school with a cohort of 20 Latina/o junior and senior students. The pedagogy was consistent with the state’s social studies content requirements but also facilitated the students’ critical consciousness around racial inequalities affecting their

educational and general life experiences. The students participated in this social justice curriculum for two years and received credit for all high school graduation requirements in United States History and United States Government. By positioning the students' experiences with anti-bilingual language school policy as the centerpiece for knowledge acquisition, students shared the status of co-investigators — equal with the project coordinators. Students and coordinators become equal partners in the construction of knowledge. By focusing on language and cultural oppression, the students' education related to something that mattered to them: Anti-bilingual laws were regarded as an attempt to eradicate a language essential for the development and advancement of Latina/o communities. The students who had begun the course as unmotivated and silent actively participated in course work and engaged in social justice work by taking their concerns to policymakers.

Similarly, Nelson (2001) describes a writing workshop in which twenty 12- to 19-year-old students from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds participated. They were instructed to write stories about their lives and ownership of writing transformed the writing process. Nelson stated, "Because they were writing about their lives and their struggles (stories we are generally taught to hide, from ourselves and from each other), in a mere three weeks, these teenagers' writing became strong and, beyond that, they became a community" (p. 60).

There also is a literature on these topics in teacher research, but not much of this work makes into the journals. One example is Feger (2006) who presented a case study of her teaching and how culturally relevant literature and non-fiction texts transformed the level of engagement in reading for the English language learners in her ninth and 10th-grade second language classes. Stories about immigrants and the lives of Latinos/as sparked critical thinking skills and the motivation to read.

In summary, there is literature that suggests that culturally responsive approaches contribute to positive racial identity, resiliency and achievement. It is clear though that the focus has been on establishing the link between cultural responsiveness and achievement. Given the current press for higher achievement, this is understandable. This focus has been productive, and we can conclude that there is an established link between culturally responsive pedagogy and achievement for ALANA students. There is much less work establishing the link of culturally responsive pedagogy to either racial identity or resilience. We think that one reason for this is that CRP approaches are for students with racial identities. Thus it is assumed within the idea of culture rather than seen as a separate variable or concept. Below we will see that when racial identity is separated out it has been related to resiliency as well as achievement, leading us to conclude that there is important work to be done on how culturally responsive pedagogy, identity, and resiliency are connected.

Identity—Resiliency

We found four studies that examine the connection between racial identity and resiliency. Salazar and Carem (2004) discuss Chicano/Mexican students and what cultural beliefs fostered their resiliency. The key elements were *respeto* (respect), *confianza* (mutual trust), *consejos* (verbal teachings) and *buen ejemplos* (exemplary models). Like Valenzuela's study, the implication is that programs should work with students in ways that allow students to use attributes of their identity and culture.

A study by Henry (2001) makes the same point. She studied Black Caribbean immigrant girls who sat silently in language arts classrooms. Henry proposed that the girls were silenced because they were not able to speak about their worlds and experience in their mainstream American classrooms. She noted that, "These women and girls left behind traditions, friends, amulets, and family members. As adolescents, they were grappling with living a double life-being bicultural/bidialectal, required to code-switch between American and Caribbean linguistic, cultural, and social modes" (p. 185). The young women were shamed and ashamed of their language and lack of cultural capital even though they were articulate and arrived in the United States knowing how to read. Henry worked with eight girls from Jamaica with books and projects that reflected Jamaican and immigrant experiences. They slowly began to relate to the work and then to take ownership of the learning, then to co-construct the work. As importantly, they developed "transgressive speech," which Henry explains is language that challenges oppression. A culturally responsive curriculum helped the young women to think critically, to find voice, and to build resiliency in the context of stressful situations.

Self-concept and motivation as attributes of resilience among African American high school students is the subject of a study by Gordon (1995). She defines resilience as the "ability to thrive, mature, and increase competence in the face of adverse circumstances" (p. 236) using biological, psychological, and environmental resources. Self-concept consists of beliefs about one's own abilities, beliefs about environmental supportiveness, an emphasis on goals, and the perception of control over abilities and goals. Gordon studied 138 Black, 10th-grade, resilient and non-resilient students from low SES environments for stress and self-concept. She found that cognitively the resilient students have a "healthier self-concept" and believed more strongly in their ability, environmental support, control and importance. Strong self-concept supports strong motivations, which sustain healthy self-concepts. Thus, resiliency is a looping process, where positive self-concept fuels motivation which feeds positive self-concepts.

Wissman (2007) conducted a 10-month qualitative inquiry about the use of poetry as social expression and critique among 16 self-identified African American students and three students who identified as Puerto Rican, multiracial and Black/Grenadian, all of whom were females. The students ranged in age from 14 to 16.

Using practitioner inquiry and feminist research methodologies, Wissman analyzed the writing and photography produced by the young women. Data sources included an ethnographic teacher researcher journal in which she noted detailed descriptions of each class meeting, emerging questions, and reflections on her practice as a teacher and researcher, student writing and photography, class transcripts, and interviews with the students. The findings revealed that the young women demonstrated an emergent critical consciousness about their social power and social positions as young women of color through their poetry and discussions, particularly those about the then approaching Iraq war and the school administrators' response to a student protest. Wissman states:

The students' poetry and discussions are reflective of their needs and desires to claim agency and credibility within institutional and societal discourses as young women of color. The students felt compelled to make these movements throughout their literary and artistic works... Even when we recognize students' critical capacities, we also need to understand that many spaces in which they travel are marked by discrimination. Perhaps most important, we should consider how and why schools are often one of those contexts and how they could be potential places of respite from, rather than perpetrators of, these alienating discourses and oppressive practices (p. 348).

Identity — Achievement

Families are significant in racial socialization and how the family addresses identity may enable achievement. Bowman and Howard (1985) in a multigenerational study of Black families found that those Black children whose parents spoke to them about their race and racial status had higher personal efficacy and higher grades than those who did not receive such messages. They conclude that a proactive orientation in the face of racism is important to both personal efficacy and success in school. Parents emphasize ethnic pride, self-development, racial barriers and egalitarianism to mediate the effects of racial oppression on their children. Yet not all parents do this, and this has effects on personal efficacy and success in school. Bowman and Howard conclude: “youth whose parents transmitted a consciousness of racial barriers or the importance of interracial protocol were able to attain better grades than those who were taught nothing about their racial status” (p.140).

There are several very recent studies which confirm that racial identity and achievement are positively related. Attschul et al (2006) looked at African American and Latino/a eighth-graders and followed them through ninth grade. They found that three aspects of racial identity — feeling connected to one racial ethnic group, being

aware that others may not value your group, and feeling that one's group is academically achieving — were related to better grade-point averages through the ninth grade. The results were similar in both Latino/a and African American students. MacIntosh and Miller (1999) found, in a sample of at-risk African American youth, that a strong racial identity was related both to higher educational involvement and self-reported grade-point averages. Codjoe (2006) found a similar pattern with African Canadian students.

Smalls et al (2007) interrogated how racial identity beliefs were related to academic outcomes in African American students in the seventh through 10th grades. They conclude "...embracing an ethnic minority group identity may enhance school engagement" (p. 320). They conclude that contrary to Fordham and Ogbu, achievement was related more to a positive racial identity than to acting more like whites.

Davis, Aronson and Salinas (2006) in an experimental study of stereotype threat found a strong racial identity was associated with achievement. This study examined Black racial identity as a mediator of intellectual performance in potentially stereotype threatening situations. As defined by Steele and Aronson (1995), stereotype threat is being at risk of substantiating, as self-characteristic, a negative about one's group. Explicit evaluation of intellectual ability and mention of race have been shown to produce threat and impair performance among African Americans.

The participants in this study were Black undergraduate students recruited from two predominately White public institutions. Ninety-eight participants completed all parts of the study and were assigned to one of three — low, medium or high — stereotype threat conditions. Analysis substantiated a stereotype threat effect with participants performing significantly better on the task in low threat conditions. In addition, under high and low threat conditions, analysis of racial identity profiles revealed a significant interaction between internalization status attitudes and the type of threat. The results of this study indicates that promoting positive racial identity development can be helpful in low threat situations but may be insufficiently protective in high stakes testing situations. So, although classrooms and schools may support and reinforce positive racial identity development, attention also must be given to creating learning contexts that minimize stereotype threat.

Eccles et al. (2006) helped explain some of the interactions between identity, racism and achievement. The data in this longitudinal study helps explain interactions between racism, identity and achievement. Data was collected from an economically diverse sample of African American adolescents living near Washington, D.C., at the beginning of the seventh grade and after the completion of the eighth grade.

Day-to-day racial discrimination at school from teachers and peers predicted a decline in grades, academic ability self-concept and academic task values. Yet, the effect of racial discrimination experiences on

academic self-concepts and school achievement declines when youth have a strong, positive ethnic group connection. The researchers asserted:

A strong, positive connection to one's ethnic group (our measure of ethnic identity) reduced the magnitude of the association of racial discrimination experiences with declines in both academic self-concepts and school achievement. Most youth responded to anticipated future discrimination with increased academic motivation. (p. 407)

These studies all point to the protective nature of racial identity in the face of a racially structured society. In the face of racism, students with a strong racial identity are motivated to achieve. There also are a number of other studies with different racial groups on specific context that support this conclusion.

Fuligni et al (2005), using a sample of 589 ninth-grade students from Mexican, Chinese and European backgrounds, this study examined the relationship between adolescents' ethnic identification with their academic attitudes and achievement. Students were recruited from three public high schools in the Los Angeles metropolitan area whose student population reflected the demographic characteristics of the community. Although adolescents from all backgrounds chose a variety of ethnic labels to describe themselves, those from Chinese, Mexican and immigrant families integrated more of their families' cultural background and national origin into their chosen ethnic labels. The strength of adolescents' ethnic identification was more relevant to their academic adjustment than the particular labels they chose. This finding, which differs with previous studies, emerged due to the analysis focused on individual rather than peer-group differences in ethnic labeling. At the beginning of the high school years, the strength of ethnic identification is more important for the extra motivation necessary for ethnic minority students to achieve at comparable levels of academic success as their European American peers. This study speaks to the importance of the strength of ethnic identity to student's development of resiliency.

Wodlowski and Greenberg (1995) discussed cultural identity as a source of intrinsic motivation and assert that in effective multicultural classrooms, teachers need to relate lessons to the cultural background of their students. This requires a holistic approach, the basis of which lies in theories of intrinsic motivation. There are four motivational conditions that are required to create a culturally responsive atmosphere in the classroom. These involve establishing inclusion by connecting learning and assessment to students' lived experience and interests; developing a positive attitude by encouraging children to make educational choices based on their lives; enhancing meaning by providing challenging and relevant content; and engendering competence by offering relevant assessment techniques, including those devised by the students. The authors described an example of an actual episode of culturally responsive

teaching on cultural pluralism in which the students offered their opinions about differences and then did research to uncover the issues of structural racism.

Finally, Marinari (2006) conducted an ethnographic study of Korean Americans in an urban high school. She found that these students used two different notions of racial projects in managing their way to academic success. The two racial projects are visibility as a racial minority and neutrality, not acting as part of a racially based collective, and these, of course, compete. However, successful Korean American students used both to navigate being a successful student. This study reminds us that racial identity is always played out in a racialized context. These contexts may determine how identity can be used or not to promote academic success.

While we wish there were more studies on the connection between racial identity and resilience, it seems that a strong racial identity is a resource students can use to protect themselves against racial threats and can be a source of motivation to achieve highly. However, every setting has a particular racial formation that affects how a student can use their identity. This then brings us full circle. For racial identity to have its most positive effects, the educational setting must support racial uplift and home culture. In turn, elements of the home culture must be used to promote adaptation and achievement.

Resiliency-Achievement

The final connection we investigated was between resiliency and achievement. We considered these to both be outcomes of culturally responsive pedagogy and racial identity. In the literature they are treated as separate concepts, but in actuality many resiliency studies used achievement as one of the measures of resiliency. This also means that there has been little investigation of how the separate concepts are related. We found one study that tried to specify this connection.

Nettles and Robinson (1998) examined Stanton Elementary School in Washington, D.C., and the students' exposure to stress, including violence, in the school and its relationship to psychosocial and school success. They quote Masten, Best, & Garnezy (1990) who describe resiliency in three ways: "1) overcoming odds against successful development, 2) sustained competence in the presence of acute or chronic life stressors, or 3) recovery from trauma" (p. 1). All of the students were African American, and the median household income for the school was \$12,000. Approximately 98 percent of the students were on free or reduced lunch. Educators at Stanton used three strategies to apply a resilience approach: 1) incorporating activities to increase resilience — the inclusion of community resources such as mentoring and life skills classes and implementing protective processes: high expectations, opportunities

to participate, and caring and support that includes funding for field trips, financial support, pregnancy prevention and incentives for achievement; 2.) assessing paths to student resilience involving a conceptual framework of individual resilience that included an assessment of the neighborhood, the family, the peer group, or a combination of environmental factors, and the meaning and responses to the risk or protections in the context such as engaging or not disengaging in academic activities, which can either be adaptive (resilient) or maladaptive; and 3.) increasing faculty, staff, and parent awareness about resilience and related constructs.

The study determined that students can be successful when school resources are increased and protective factors are implemented and when students feel supported by parents, the school and the community. Further, they found that students' everyday efforts can increase when they view themselves as competent and motivated, and resilience in school settings can occur when students' self-confidence from everyday efforts are increased. The school staff administered the Stanford Early School Achievement Test in October 1997 and April 1998. The reading gains from fall to spring in grades two through six were 11 to 21 Normal Curve Equivalents, the mathematics gains in these grades ranged from 13 to 30. While Stanton does not specifically name their work as culturally responsive, the attention to environment is, in fact, working with the culture of children and families.

Connections: A Summary

The literature we reviewed offers convincing evidence that there are strong connections between culturally responsive pedagogy and achievement and between racial identity and achievement. There were fewer studies that connect culturally responsive pedagogy with racial identity or resilience. Similarly, there were fewer studies addressing the connection between racial identity and resilience or resilience and achievement. The ethnographic studies demonstrate, though, that the set of concepts are connected in real-life situations.

We want to comment on the patterns found. Clearly, the focus over the past 10 to 15 years has been to link phenomena to academic achievement, and the pattern of our results suggests that such a focus has established key findings. **It is now time, however, to better connect the dots, especially between culturally responsive pedagogy and racial identity.** As noted earlier, though, the studies of culturally responsive pedagogy seem to assume racial identity is being incorporated in this approach. There are studies that suggest this is a reasonable assumption, especially the ethnographies we discussed first. Nevertheless, in both research and practice the effort needs to be made to explicitly connect these concepts.

When it comes to resilience, we think a different approach is needed. Resilience is a complex phenomenon and often subsumes achievement within its scope. This may well be the best approach. For the present, however, it would be helpful for studies to isolate some aspects of resilience to see if individually they are related to the other concepts of interest here. Since studies of resilience often tend to use measures of achievement as one indicator, and the studies we did find parallel the studies looking at achievement only, we believe future studies will confirm that resilience is connected to the other key concepts.

Developing programs that use culturally responsive pedagogy to develop racial identity, enable resilience and promote high achievement will take a particular type of curriculum. It also will need a focus on the arts as the arts provide a key medium for culture to be addressed, expressed and produced. **The arts must be central to any curriculum that intends to be culturally responsive.**

Public school curriculum is a political project and is invested with values determined by an Anglocentric cultural perspective. Asante (1991) asserts that “Education is fundamentally a social phenomenon whose ultimate purpose is to socialize the learner; to send a child to school is to prepare that child to become part of a social group” (p. 170). We must determine what our vision is for all children, and in the context of this document, specifically African American young people. A curriculum that maintains the status quo of cultural superiority inscribes a second-class humanity for children of color in the United States, which can only have deleterious effects on their learning. In teaching ALANA children and youth, all instructional models have value — even direct instruction, which is often maligned, is useful in teaching skill-based activities. However, a curriculum that attends to student voice, choice and culture, and is a challenging, rigorous, complex process in which students construct meaning through higher order thinking, affective learning, inquiry, and problem solving has the potential to be transformative and liberatory. Hayes (2007) critiques passive learning, the type of learning driven by memorization and test taking, as she describes the role of the educational system in silencing students. She asserts:

Too often schools educate urban youth to develop an instrumental literacy through a pedagogical approach of banking competency-based skills, which prevents them from being able to ‘read the world’ critically and to understand the reasons and linkages behind particular social realities that powerfully affect their lives. (p. 201)

Hayes suggests a transformative education in which students would not simply memorize facts, state opinions, or repeat myths, but would understand that knowledge is a historical and value-laden product. Students must work to know the origin, structure and consequences of any body of knowledge. King (1994) addresses the marginalization of African American students and culture. She emphasizes the need for a transformative process to change both the educational system and the society which supports it. King suggests a pedagogy that teaches African American students the ability to critically analyze their history, lives, and education, and empowers them to make changes in their conditions. Thus, the students should become actively engaged in the creative process of change. Banks and Banks (1995) concur with the need for instruction to reflect the cultural background and learning styles of students, actively involve students in knowledge construction, and to develop skills of a just, multicultural, and democratic society. They propose instruction that alters the power relationships between teachers and students, and restructures present concepts of teaching and learning. The transformation of education on all levels is needed to accommodate this type of “equity” pedagogy.

As discussed earlier, Lee (2007) proposes “Culturally Modeling” (p. 7) as a design framework for literacy programs in urban schools. This approach engages everyday knowledge by focusing on the practices of youth outside the school and connecting those practices to the demands of specific subject matter learning. Using cultural data sets as models for learning, her studies suggest that students display high quality reasoning as the result of having more prior knowledge about the texts than the teacher, focusing on problem solving, and using “community-based language practices as an exciting medium of communication” (p. 68). She notes this approach places considerable demands on teacher knowledge about curricula, pedagogy and assessment of learning. Her book presents a convincing argument that implementing culturally responsive approaches requires a full reconsideration of how we educate ALANA children. Such efforts must be systemic rather than piecemeal.

Friedlander and Darling-Hammond, et al (2007) completed a report on successful schools for children of color in California. The researchers looked for schools that were “academically rigorous, [with a] relevant, and responsive learning experience that enables them [students] to develop strong intellectual and personal skills so that they can chart their own futures and contribute to their communities” (p. 3). They chose five schools: Animo Inglewood Charter High School in the Green Dot Public Schools, *Stanley E. Foster* Construction Tech Academy in the San Diego Unified School District, June Jordan School for Equity in the San Francisco Unified School District, Leadership High School, an independent charter school, and the New Technology High School in Sacramento, California.

All of the schools had student populations that were predominately Black and Latino/as, many students came to these schools with the burden of an inadequate education at other schools. One hundred percent of the students at Animo Inglewood were students of color; New Technology had the fewest with 70 percent. The students were primarily from low-income communities. However, 80 to 100 percent of the students have been graduating to go on to colleges or technical schools. The authors posit that the reasons for the success of these schools is personalization — close relationships built with each student enabled by a small school model, small class sizes, continuous, long-term relationships between adults and students, and advisory systems that organize counseling, academic supports, and family connections in systematic ways. Another aspect is rigorous and relevant curriculum that connects students to the world of their communities and to their academic and professional futures through integrated and project-based learning experiences such as service-learning and internships in community organizations and local colleges. “Students investigate problems, find and organize resources, develop designs and products, and present their results orally and in writing to a range of audiences” (p. 5).

Another example of this type of pedagogy was described by Morrell (2007) who over a period of five years researched the use of critical ethnography with groups of high school students from low-performing schools on the West Coast. The students worked with university researchers and graduate students, filmmakers and writing specialists in a five-week course where they learned to do research and to understand the questions they raised with a critical lens. Topics included Language, Youth Culture, and Transformational Resistance in Urban Schools, Youth Access and the Democratic National Convention, An Educational Bill of Rights, Equity and Access in California’s Schools, and Oral Histories and Educational Experiences in Post-Brown Los Angeles from 1954–2003 (p. 271). They learned various data collection methods, such as interviewing, oral histories, field observation and note taking, video camera recording. They kept daily electronic journals in which they wrote reflections on what they experienced and questioned. They learned to analyze the data by working together in small groups to transcribe, memo, and find themes. They presented their research to local and national groups and influenced policy with their findings.

Morrell pointed out that although these students came from low-performing schools, the texts they created and presented belied their academic record. These students were empowered to become literate about themselves and the world. Morrell’s study is an example of constructivist pedagogy in which students are involved in inquiry to make meaning. Learning is forged through active problem-solving interactions with the social and the physical environment. **Children who are served a continuous diet of passive learning are at a distinct disadvantage.** Unfortunately, it is generally children from low economic status backgrounds and

children of color who suffer passive pedagogy in which meaning-making is done by the teacher or the text book writers, and not by the students who are fed knowledge to be swallowed without question.

Hanley (2002) studied active and agentive learning in a culturally responsive drama program. She used observations; focus group interviews; and content analysis of writings, stories and improvisations of 20 African American middle school students, many of whom were at risk for school failure. The students were involved in a 10-week drama program with three adult African American theater artists who served as teachers, directors and playwright. Hanley's goal was to learn about the cultural knowledge of these youth in an effort to construct culturally relevant curriculum and to discern the possibilities of drama as a culturally responsive instructional form. The students attended classes in a theater near their schools where for three hours every morning they learned the skills needed to perform and create theater — from developing the script based on their stories and experiences to performance for their peers, teachers, families, and community members. The work transformed them from reluctant learners to actively engaged and goal-oriented students and artists. They organized themselves to read, study lines and characters; supported each other in the challenges of artistic development, and shocked themselves and their teachers when they accomplished a fully professional musical production. Hanley pointed out that it is the culturally responsive and student-centered active learning in the drama program, the inter/intra-personal aspects of the art form of drama, along with the critical thought of teachers that cultivated achievement.

The literature on child-centered learning speaks to the value of a pedagogy that is culturally responsive and uses student interests and voice as the central factor in the construction and implementation of curriculum and instruction. Regarding learner-centered pedagogy, McCombs (2003) states that intrinsic motivation occurs because:

...the learner's creativity, higher order thinking, and natural curiosity all contribute to motivation to learn. Intrinsic motivation is stimulated by tasks of optimal novelty and difficulty, relevant to personal interests, and providing for personal choice and control. (p.95)

The Morrell (2003) and the Hanley (2002) studies show the complex nature of meaning-making, involving multiple dimensions of culture and psychology that support the notion that culturally responsive pedagogy requires flexibility; creativity; deep content knowledge; and unflagging attention to the development, desires and knowledge of students. Research on culturally responsive pedagogy that connects to resiliency, positive ethnic socialization and achievement reflect this holistic approach. Students who are resilient and have positive racial identities are high achieving, agentive and empowered people. The type of education that ignores meta-cognition,

higher-order thinking skills, and affective and somatic learning endangers student motivation, creates alienation and leads to a withdrawal of student interest. The arts are ideal ways to engage meta-cognition, higher-order thinking skills and affective somatic learning. They are ways to engage students in their learning.

A summary of the characteristics of a transformative CRP includes:

1. Pedagogy developed using the culture of students.
2. Students are agents of change.
3. Inspires critical, imaginative, and creative thinking.
4. Inspires affective learning.
5. Encourages active learning.
6. Stimulates connections to the community and community development.
7. Develops knowledge of global, national, and historical connections.

The Arts

There are several studies that address engagement in the arts, and arts integration with culturally relevant instruction. The arts provide pathways of expression and understanding that come directly from the students' experiences; they are ways for teachers to gather information about learners and their cultures. The arts are our history and our vision. They record, are shaped by, and reflect culture, and in turn transform culture by providing a focus for reflection. Thus, the arts are the means for communicating interculturally, the ways for teachers to learn, and the media through which students can teach. Table 2 is a partial list of attributes gathered through research and in discussions with teachers, students, artists, and arts educators about what is learned through arts production and arts appreciation, or the study of aesthetics (Hanley, 2008). The list is partial because there are infinite possibilities of purpose in an infinite number of contexts in which artists and arts thinking may be engaged. Each of the concepts and practices listed are essential to learning and can be accessed through the arts, which carries the additional benefit of being pleasurable and motivating, especially if the arts stem from the home culture.

TABLE 2: Attributes of the Production and Appreciation of the Arts

Imagination	Pattern, Rhythm
Creativity	Harmony, Balance, & Composition
Problem solving	Critical Thinking
Higher Order Thinking Skills	Cultural Change
Collaboration	Cultural Knowledge
Intrinsic Motivation	Pleasure (Fun)
Communication	Concentration/Focus
Interdisciplinary	Self-Discipline
Structure	Hypothesizing (What if?)
Observation Skills	Mental and Physical Agility
Connection of Mind, Body, Emotions, & Spirit	Research Skills
Cultural History	Aesthetics: Study of Beauty
Empowerment	Multiple Perspectives
Active Learning	Empathy
Affective Learning	Artistic Agency
Risk-Taking Vulnerability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Perception • Conceptualization • Expression • Transformation
Sensory Awareness	
Community Building	
Alternative Symbol Systems	

Students as artists can be involved in the “flow experience,” including the intrinsic motivation that is at the core of the creative problem-solving process (Csikszentmihalyi and Schiefele, 1992). The imagination necessary to understand text, written and social, literal and symbolic, are all a part of the artistic process. When students are actively engaged in creatively thinking, they focus in ways that call for flexibility in thought and an integration of emotionality, rationality and meaning that is necessary for success in academic settings and elsewhere.

Arts projects and arts integration also may connect to student ownership of learning, which joins constructivist teaching and learning to cultural responsiveness. As artists, students are the central meaning makers, and meaning-making is an interactive process that enables individuals to give order to experience, and to communicate it to self and others. Students can create and recreate experience to express meaning. Thus student voice, which is often ignored particularly for disfavored ethnic and racial groups, is empowered. Engagement in the arts may provide a means of redirecting the anger, anxiety and alienation reported by numerous students of color

and students who live with the challenges of poverty. Dewey (1934) addresses the power of the arts to release frustrations when he said:

To be set on fire by a thought or scene is to be inspired. What is kindled must either burn itself out, turning into ashes, or must press itself out in material that changes the latter from crude metal into a refined product. Many a person is unhappy, tortured within, because he has at command no art of expressive action. (p. 65)

There is much in Dewey's statement that is reflected in the role of the arts in the survival of Africans in the "New" World. The Black experience, forged in generations of oppression, resistance, spirituality, laughter, and determination has generated a wealth of artists who have expressed their visions of reality and helped others to name their own experience. Creativity requires an openness to the world which, considering the grim history of the African Diasporic experience, paradoxically demands hopefulness. The Black aesthetic is a saving grace. In the midst of worse than difficult times, the aesthetic way of knowing provides a vision of beauty and possibility, a balm for the spirit, a way to transcend the constraints imposed by oppression. To put the arts in the hands of young Black people is to give them their rightful legacy. They can use the arts, like their ancestors, as support for their genius and grace, or when need be, as a weapon.

There is evidence that the integration of the arts can serve as culturally responsive pedagogy in a way that is child-centered and intrinsically motivating, conceptually rigorous and academically transformative. It is unfortunate that the empirical studies about children of color and low-wealth children in the arts are so few.

Leard and Lushart (2006) described the use of popular culture and the arts to help high school students express their perspectives and to gain academic and social skills that would enable them to graduate from high school, which most were in danger of not completing. The research took place at two sites, an in-school and an after-school program in the same inner-city high school in Alberta, Canada. The participants were all from low SES conditions, and more than half were First Nations young people. New students entered the in-school program and took a series of short-term modules in which they used theater, photography, video, reading and writing to gain literacy skills through exploring the issues of their lives. The courses allowed students to experience academic success quickly to increase their self-confidence and the desire to come to school. For example, the program used popular theater to help students organize their thinking about their worlds, and to make decisions, choices, and plans of action. The authors state, "Popular theatre helped a number of the youth work through many of the issues that were having a negative effect on their lives. Once engaged in this healing process, they began to see education as a way to change their lives" (p. 252). The after-school research site was one in which students learned how

to make their own rap music using computers and audio production software.

The researcher reported that:

Many students ... reported that music class, with the opportunity to rap, make remixes, or simply hang out and talk about music, was the primary reason they got up in the morning and came to school. Making a rap song provided a sense of accomplishment and success, and an area to build upon existing strengths and confidence, which in turn translated across a whole range of school competencies. (p. 253)

The researchers pointed out that most of the students in the program didn't want to talk about their lives, but they did want to rap about it, which gave them a release for frustrations and anger. One of the young Native women in the program wrote:

*When I'm rolling on the bus, all I see is bad streets,
No peace, when I'm bumping to my beats,
Makes me wanna give up on life, cut myself with a knife
It hurts to see my brothers, begging for money, stuck in the game,
Feeling the shame,
Please God, we fought for our land, we brought our clan,
Been real to our band
When I see us now, the girl makes me wanna hurl,
Why we gotta be hated and jaded and waited on (p. 254)*

A teacher in the program delighted in being able to work with students in ways that they could maintain their dignity and confidence while working toward academic achievement "rather than putting them into a reading program that highlights their deficiencies" (p.259).

Hanley (2006) described a hip-hop workshop in which the form of poetry that is pervasive in spoken-word venues was a means of connecting youth culture to academic learning. The workshop participants discussed the attributes of poetry and their use in spoken word poetry and rap. Teachers and students were transformed by a performance of a Black male adolescent, a student in an alternative school for students who are at the last edge of school failure. He demonstrated for them the hip-hop art form of free styling, verbal and conceptual improvisation, with virtuosity. Hip hop provided a bridge for him and other Black students to connect with academic literacy goals and for White and Black teachers, contrary to their deficit perspectives of Black males, to understand the potential and brilliance of Black youth.

Duran (1998) described two California elementary schools that use the creative application of technology as a means to engage students from multilingual and diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. In Isla Vista elementary school in Southern California,

several instructional activities allowed students to express their own cultural heritage through the development of worldwide web pages and video dramatizations of important historical events and personages. A case in point was one African American student named Freddy who created his own Web page called “Phat Page,” on which Freddy published video/sound clips of his favorite rap and soul musical pieces, and animations and graphics depicting the good and mellow side of “street life.” On another of his pages, Freddy proudly described his family and their strong interests in education and multiculturalism. The Web pages became a means of self-expression, communication, self-efficacy and assessment. In a second school, La Patera, fourth- and fifth-graders used collaboration, video recording, and broadcast technology to accomplish their history and social science curricula projects. Working in small groups with television staffers, the students designed and recorded television news and interview programs that have been broadcast on the local cable educational channel. The goal of these efforts was to produce videotaped student dramatizations that conveyed the meaning and outcomes of important historical events.

An article by Hotvedt (2001) represented teacher research with multi-lingual and multi-racial children from at-risk communities who are asked to first write a story told by the teacher in their own words. The response was resistance and minimal engagement. When the teacher had children perform the story, children responded with characterizations of their characters and the characters of the other children. Hotvedt uses brain research to discuss the importance and pleasure of movement for children and suggests that successfully incorporating active arts activities such as puppetry and games of tag in language arts, science, math, and social studies resulted in students who were better able to understand and remember the material.

A project drawing from New Literacy Studies described urban high school youths’ experiences in a program called Poetry for the People (P4P). Jocson (2006) investigated how the poetry program outlined in this article helped students gain writing skills, confidence in learning, self-awareness, and social conscience. P4P’s principal work has been to use poetry as a critical medium to move toward social transformation — a move that advances poetry as a conscious-raising tool, comprehensible and not hidden away from ordinary people. P4P’s work was guided by a three-part definition of poetry: Poetry is a medium for telling the truth, reaches for maximal impact through the use of a minimal number of words, and demands the utmost precision from words.

Working in English classrooms in an urban high school in northern California, the author reported a case study of a student, Damon, a biracial high school senior, and his development and processes for engaging in poetry writing. Non-school-based literacies and knowledge of cultural forms were integrated with the language arts

curriculum to innovate teaching as well as further students' literacy development. The researcher used the students' knowledge of youth and popular culture as a bridge in engaging traditional "canonical" texts including poetry. For example, the class looked at such topics as "bringing it home," "love," "racial profiling," "every word counts" and "rhyme and rhythm." Each topic was covered for a week. The first week students were asked to write a poem about their sense of community and family, or something related to their sense of home, providing Damon with an opportunity to voice ideas and feelings that often went unsaid in conversations. This poem became for him an opportunity to construct self-identity and to express his feelings about misconceptions about being Black and Filipino.

The Children Framing Childhood Project (Luttrell, 2007) investigated how children perceive and experience their environments by examining the photographs they take and their personal narratives of these photographs. An important goal of the project was to improve communication between teachers and their students. Twelve fifth-grade children from a multi-racial and low-income community were given disposable cameras and asked to take pictures of whatever was important to them. Afterward the children were asked to choose the pictures they wanted to offer for public viewing and were interviewed about the meaning of the photographs. By putting the children in charge of representing themselves and their surroundings through photography, they were given an opportunity to regard themselves and each other in new ways. Similarly, viewers were afforded glimpses into the children's worlds that only an "insider" could provide.

Goldberg and Bossenmeyer (1998) described the integration of the arts in SUAVE (Socios Unidos para Artes Via Educación, which in English means United Community for Arts in Education), an arts-integrated approach to teaching and learning in multicultural and multilingual settings in California. A teacher could use puppetry to explore historical events, movement to express a mathematical formula, drama to enact a scientific metamorphosis, or drawing to closely observe the markings on a seashell. The authors assert, "Integrated in this way, the arts become languages for learning in multicultural and multilingual classrooms" (p. 56). The SUAVE program was having a positive effect on student achievement exemplified in a number of ways: Test scores at SUAVE sites rose dramatically; teachers reported an increase in students' self-esteem, confidence, and motivation to learn; and second-language learners were engaged when using the arts for communication and expression. An example of the increased scores on standardized tests scores was the experience of Central Elementary School. After a year in which SUAVE was the only major intervention, the school saw a 10-point rise in average scores of students taking the Metropolitan Achievement Test, a nationally normed test for English-speaking students.

Born into brothels: Calcutta's red light kids (Kaufman & Briski, 2004) is an ethnographic documentary film about eight children born in India into dire poverty to mothers who were prostitutes. The lives of the children were dismal and hopeless; the girls assumed they also would be sex workers when they became teens. A British ethnographer/photojournalist gave the children cameras to record their lives, and their worlds were transformed. They used cameras to tell their stories and capture images in the red light district; they critiqued the photographs for form and content. They traveled outside of their narrow environments and experienced other possibilities as they took photographs and met with internationally known professional photographers. Photography was the door through which they could demonstrate their intelligence, and began to understand themselves, the world of the brothels, and other possibilities the world had to offer. Some of the children went to school, which seldom happened for children of the brothels. But, even those children who did not go to school developed a stronger significance of self so that they could make decisions for themselves as they countered the conditions of their lives without photography.

These studies demonstrate that the arts can be a venue for culturally responsive work, inquiry and active learner-centered contextual learning. The arts allow students to express and develop their identities and indeed their cultures. Nevertheless, like any discipline, the arts can be used to replicate the mainstream canons of culture; **for African American learners the key is designing arts programs that are culturally responsive, develop racial identity, and lead to resiliency and achievement.**

Programs

There are numerous in-school and out-of-school programs across the United States that incorporate CRP as a means to develop a positive identity, resilience and achievement. The following are a few of such programs gleaned from Web site searches, e-mails and personal contacts that have sparked our interest. They stand as models of a comprehensive approach to African American youth success and achievement. By comprehensive we mean that investment in the success of these young people comes from multiple directions: home, school, community, attention to the culture of the students, or pedagogical or programming choices that involve real world applications of learning. The programs below all deserve a closer examination to see how they link CRP, racial identity, resilience and achievement. Other programs also should be sought out to learn what is working “on the ground.”

Gentlemen on the Move

Bailey and Paisley (2004) describe Gentlemen on the Move (GOTM), as a program at the University of Georgia designed to develop and nurture academic and social excellence in African American male adolescents. The program has been in existence for 15 years and has won awards for their success with changing youth behaviors and attitudes in schools. The program is designed to reach young Black men through instructions that is **developmental** and **comprehensive**. Initiatives were developmental in that program directors considered where each member is as well as where they should be psychosocially and academically to bridge possible gaps. **Comprehensive**

programming touches multiple areas of the youths' lives, for example: (a) contact with teachers; (b) community service projects that provide a quality service to the community; (c) opportunities for participants to interact, learn and share experiences with adolescents from other cultures; (d) intentional instruction on what it means to be African American and male in this society; and (e) personal and business etiquette training and leadership opportunities for all participants. Components of the program include: **process** — attention to the recruitment and referral, selection, invitation and monitoring of the participants; **content** — culturally responsive curriculum and topics on social development; support — individual and group counseling, and **activities** like field trips, college visitations, special event opportunities, and community service projects that help to broaden students' views and develop leadership skills. Results from two studies revealed that students who participated in the program on a regular basis obtained higher grade point averages than did students who were referred to the program but chose not to participate (Bailey, 1995).

Caesar Chavez School

The Caesar Chavez Public Policy Charter School is a multicultural middle and high school in Washington, D.C., that was founded on the vision of developing young people who can influence the directions of the United States and the world by influencing public policies that affect their communities. The curriculum is rigorous college preparation that all students are expected to master. The program includes a College and Career Preparatory Program, which involves all students and includes one-on-one college counseling, visits to colleges and universities, participating in college fairs and after-school tutoring/mentoring through College Bounds. All juniors complete a full-time, three-week, intensive academic fellowship in a public policy organization, while seniors participate in a mandatory four-week program that allows rising seniors to focus solely on skills needed to gain acceptance to and succeed in college. With 79 percent of the students on free or reduced lunch, the 56 percent Latino and 40 percent Black students scored slightly above the state average in reading and math scores. In June 2007, 100 percent of the Chavez graduates at the Parkside Branch (There are three branches; Parkside students are 89 percent African American and 10 percent Latino/a.) were accepted to college. The graduates received more than \$100,000 in scholarships and were accepted to 26 different colleges and universities.

Ida B. Wells Academy, Memphis

Ida B. Wells Academy is a public middle school that offers students a diverse curriculum. It is designed to prepare them to become effective communicators, critical thinkers, proficient problem solvers, and socially responsible citizens in a changing society — up to and beyond graduation. Instruction, which includes a major component of service learning, emphasizes multiple instructional methods to accommodate diverse learners, all of whom are African American. High expectations, problem solving and contextual “real world” teaching, in small classes has garnered excellent reviews. In 1996, the school won the Tennessee School Boards’ “1996 Award of Excellence in Education Programs.” For three years, 2003–2006, the academy met federal “adequate yearly progress,” or AYP, goals in math and reading.

The Algebra Project

The Algebra Project was developed by Bob Moses, a parent, activist and mathematician who uses civil rights organizing techniques to make algebra available to middle and high school students. The Project develops and implements curricular interventions that build on experiences students find interesting — and understand intuitively — to help them shift from arithmetic to algebraic thinking. A ride on a subway, a trip on a bus, or a community walking tour become the basis for understanding displacements, while stories about “making do” help students grasp the difference between equivalence and equality. The concepts of displacements and equivalence then provide a new approach to understanding integers. Teachers use inquiry-based teaching strategies that build on students’ concrete experiences, then coach them to construct new experiences that will help them find answers by asking increasingly sophisticated questions. The Virginia evaluation of Algebra Project Programs in Virginia and Mississippi — which can be found at <http://thealgebraproject.org/node/108> — points to the success of the Project as students’ test scores increased when they began Algebra Project learning and increased more than those students who are non-Algebra Project students.

Martha’s Table Teen Program/Crushed I. C. E.

Martha’s Table Teen Program, or MTTP, is an after-school program in Washington, D.C., that serves low-income African American youth and provides onsite meals, homework assistance, computer usage, recreational and family support services to promote healthy living and educational and social advancement. There are 45 teens in MTTP who all advanced to the next grade. Four of the seniors received scholarships to colleges, and all of the seniors have made plans to attend college or a technical school.

One of the programs developed at Martha's Table is Crushed I. C. E., a hip-hop project for the young men in the group that promotes literacy through the use of the poetics of hip hop. The youth build vocabulary, reading, writing and oral skills while engaging in a culturally responsive curriculum. Critiques of commercial lyrics and writing new lyrics involve higher-order thinking through critical literacy. The project also is a service learning project because the youth are involved with teachers in the implementation of a published hip-hop curriculum in schools and community centers.

The Social Justice High School

The Social Justice High School is one of four small schools on the Little Village Lawndale High School Campus, or LVLHS, in Chicago, organized and fought for by parents, educators, community advocates and students. Principles for the LVLHS include multicultural education, arts integration, inquiry-based instruction and performance-based assessment. SJHS has a student population of 30 percent African American and 70 percent Latino/a, mainly of Mexican descent, essentially all of whom are low income. The stated pedagogical goals of SJHS are “project-based and problem-based learning that addresses real world issues through the lenses of race, gender, culture, economic equity, peace, justice and the environment will be the catalyst for developing our curriculum.” Students claim agency and state, “We will take responsibility as agents and catalysts of change to expose the truth about the functions of power, work (unite) to interrupt their operations, and operate as producers of power to meet the needs of [our] community.” Generative themes in mathematics are among the tools they use, and teachers facilitate in their quest for social justice. Projects have included proportional reasoning to understand issues of race and class in the Katrina disaster. Other projects included racial profiling and the criminalization of youth of color, a project specifically about the Jena Six, a group of Black youths in Jena, La., who many civil rights activists believe received excessive and racially motivated charges in the beating of a White teen. After two years of similar projects, students have normalized the use of mathematics to read the world.

Themes in Cultural Pedagogy

Our conclusion that culturally responsive pedagogy and racial identity can play a major role in achievement and resilience begs the question of how to understand and design such pedagogy. There are many proposals worthy of consideration.

In the above review, it is clear that culturally responsive pedagogy must have active participation of the community because it is the community's culture that is being accessed. It is forever changing. The responsibility of the professionals is to design pedagogy and/or instruction in many cases for a culture that is not theirs. This is a challenge that deserves considerable attention. Clearly, the ideas about of racial identity explored above are not necessarily shared by Whites or all ALANA. The point is that racial socialization happens in families and that the student has a racial identity. This racial identity includes knowledge of racism, and this awareness can be used as motivation for high achievement as well as in service of a critical consciousness concerning the possibilities for agency within racial oppression. Indeed, the history of social justice work has been created by people who hold this perspective.

Racial identity must include a positive valuation of the race. At a minimum, pedagogy should not interfere with this identity valuation but additionally should build on it. More ambitiously, pedagogy could provide accurate information about race and racism and promote awareness of strategies to use racial identity in service of high achievement and resilience in the face of racial oppression. Even more ambitiously, pedagogy could be used to teach and develop a new racial identity of achievement. Realistically, this would be much easier to accomplish in a context where many of the professionals also were of the same races and ethnicities as the students, but even then there can be social class and other important differences. In all this, the general logic

is to create the culturally responsive context, to allow and/or facilitate the continued development of racial identity, and to work on building the connections between the program, the young person's racial identity, resilience in the face of racism, and achievement, both academic and in terms of advancing a racial project of uplift.

In the literature we have reviewed above, we have repeatedly noted the focus on developing caring relations. These relations are often seen as the foundation of effective pedagogy for African American children. Yet caring relations are themselves culturally defined. Students interpret what is caring from their culture, not from the culture of the person offering a caring relationship. Thus in caring, as in so much human interaction, miscommunication can arise across difference. Further, not every caregiver actually is sufficiently invested to be able to care. Effective communication requires a commitment and even then involves considerable dialogue and respect for cultural differences. Caring relations are developed through communication and shared experience over time. Caring also is built on a foundation of respect.

Some authors have broader proposals. For example, Comas-Diaz (2000) has proposed that, for the therapeutic setting, a set of appropriate practices include "bearing witness" to injustice, raising consciousness, correcting distortions, and recognizing the history of colonization in ways that enable "affirming reformulated individual and collective identities, increasing dignity and self- and social mastery, and working for personal and collective transformation" (p. 1322). Comas-Diaz is clear that the acknowledgement of racism and the fact that racism continues to permeate the lives of ALANA students is essential for the rest to be effective. Comas-Diaz also is clear about how to assess the effectiveness of therapeutic efforts: identity, dignity, mastery and transformation can be used as criteria in evaluation efforts. As such, CRP is a comprehensive pedagogy that attends to the needs of the whole child as a learner and as a social being in a multicultural and democratic society, requiring critical thinking and a respect for difference.

In educational settings, there are many proposals worth considering. Ogbu and Simons (1998), for example, are explicit about what education must do to raise the achievement of ALANA children: build trust, provide culturally responsive instruction, explicitly deal with opposition/ambivalent racial identities, provide role models, have high standards, and develop high levels of parent and community involvement. Other scholars would argue that the attention given to identities in this scheme is all too narrow and should be focused on developing positive racial identities. Tierney (2000) argues that programs for increasing access to higher education need to include: affirming identities while equipping students with valued cultural capital; encouraging family and community participation because of the funds of knowledge (Gonzalas, Moll and Amanti, 2005) they have that professionals do not, and designing programs that "assume success" (Tierney, 2000, p. 225).

The arts, as cultural products themselves, are ideal vehicles for cultural pedagogy. As we discussed above, the literature indicates that arts programs that engage a student's culture and racial identity will likely result in learning a wide range of competencies.

Educational pedagogy also is affected by the assumptions built into the curriculum. The literature is clear that students should be involved in decision making, that learning should be active, and, above all, the content should speak to the lives of the students. Some of the studies used models of contextual teaching methods, such as inquiry-based and authentic instruction, service learning, problem-based and project-based learning that are examples of child-centered integrated pedagogy. These models address the complexity, student interest and habits of learning that motivate students. If they also deal with culturally responsive content, the possibilities of student engagement are multiplied.

In the above, we see several specific themes from the literature concerning the design of culturally responsive programming to promote racial identity, resilience and achievement. Several of these themes deserve special attention:

- 1. INVOLVE THE COMMUNITY.** Culturally responsive pedagogy and programs must have the active participation of the community. Culture is constantly changing and varied even within a racial group, and community and family members can be valuable in informing educators about the needs and resources of the children and youth whom they know in ways that educators cannot. The challenge for the professionals is to design programming and/or pedagogy in many cases for a culture that is not their own. Thus professional staff will need a better understanding of culture(s), skills in inquiry, and an awareness of how to use culture effectively. Listening to children and families will be key to the creation of culturally responsive programs.
- 2. USE CULTURE TO PROMOTE RACIAL IDENTITY.** Culturally responsive pedagogy in education requires adaptations in instructional practice, classroom organization and motivational management, as well as in curricula and espoused values. In educational and non-educational programs, the rule of thumb involves having the program involve key aspects of the home culture and focus on developing strategies to use the culture to construct a positive racial identity that promotes resilience and success in social institutions.
- 3. USE CULTURE AND RACIAL IDENTITY AS AN ASSET.** Race in culturally responsive programming is to be an asset in learning and development. Culturally responsive programming has to insure that students trust that racial stereotypes will not be used against them.

4. **EDUCATE ABOUT RACISM AND RACIAL UPLIFT.** Programs should provide accurate information about racial oppression and racism as they promote awareness of strategies to use racial identity in service of high achievement and resilience in the face of racial oppression. This also will likely include advancing a project of racial uplift.
5. **DEVELOP CARING RELATIONSHIPS.** There should be a focus on developing caring relations, with the caution that caring relations are themselves culturally defined. Students then interpret what is caring from their culture, not from the culture of the person offering a caring relationship.
6. **ASSUME SUCCESS.** Programs all too often are designed to deal with problems and deficiencies. This type of program has severe obstacles to overcome to be successful. It is much preferable to have programs that recognize the wealth of culture and experience that every student brings and are geared to build on academic, cultural and racial strengths.
7. **PROMOTE ACTIVE LEARNING, PROBLEM-BASED INSTRUCTION AND STUDENT INVOLVEMENT.** Culturally responsive pedagogy involves active learning, curricular integration, real world problem-based and project-based instruction, student participation in decision making, critical thinking, and a respect for difference. High expectations should be the rule for educators, parents and students.
8. **EMPLOY THE ARTS.** The arts, as cultural productions themselves, are ideal vehicles for culturally responsive programming. The literature indicates that arts programs that engage a student's culture and racial identity will likely result in the learning of a wide range of competencies.
9. **ACKNOWLEDGE THE CHALLENGES.** Culturally responsive work requires many educators to change their frames of reference about the culture of ALANA children and families and all children from low socioeconomic backgrounds. Prevailing racial beliefs are key impediments to developing such programs, as are some of the existing structures of schooling. Indeed, the accountability system, No Child Left Behind, has narrowed what is taught to that which is tested. The notion of cultural deficiency as the source of academic deficiencies is rooted in notions of the cultural supremacy of a middle-class, Anglocentric ethos that permeates society and education — kindergarten through 12th grade and beyond. Educators and other service providers will need to be trained. Existing institutions and policies will need to be examined and changed as appropriate. Parents must be enlisted. Communities need to be engaged, and so on. Expect the change to be challenging, difficult, to require courage and tenacity, and to be rewarding.

Lastly, Masten and Coatsworth (1998) indicate that what we know about successful schools also is applicable to culturally responsive pedagogy. They note:

Social resources associated with academic competence include school, family, and peer systems. Schools that effectively promote academic achievement share many characteristics, including a clear mission, capable and high-quality instruction, attention to staff development, and careful monitoring of student progress. (p. 211)

Conclusions and Implications for Grant Making

We have concluded that there is sufficient literature to indicate that culturally responsive pedagogy and racial identity are related to achievement and resilience. This is part of developing a critical consciousness within a project of racial uplift. We have reason to believe that there are linkages, or can be linkages, between all of the key concepts studied here, but experimentation and study is needed to say more than this. We need well-studied demonstrations of how these linkages can be strengthened.

There are several strategies to accomplish the above. First, The Heinz Endowments may wish to convene some of the authors cited in this report to capture the most recent developments in theory, research and practice. This convening could be used to develop a set of white papers to inform well-designed demonstration projects. This product would be valuable in its own right but also could be used to develop grants programs.

Second, the Endowments may wish to commission studies of existing programs that are designed to strengthen the connections between culturally responsive pedagogy, racial identity, resilience and achievement. For example, funding studies of successful African-centered private schools could teach us much about what other schools need to address to truly become culturally responsive. It is likely that existing programs will focus on specific connections, say between racial identity and achievement, rather than addressing all the connections at once. Nevertheless, knowing what is working at this point establishes the state of the art. This in turn may be used to as standards in any subsequent projects funded by the Endowments to ensure that new projects advance the state of the art.

Third, the Endowments may wish to fund an educational campaign to share what is known from these studies. Raising awareness would be a key accomplishment. For an educator or social work professional audience, it may be that a Web site or other media could be used to share best practices and provide resources to allow them to develop their knowledge and skills and to guide the design of programs.

Fourth, the Endowments may wish to fund new programs, either as part of a targeted grants solicitation or in collaboration with other agencies. For the former, the challenge is developing processes and criteria for selection that respect the community's culture while encouraging demonstrations of how the specific connections can be strengthened. The latter allows for more full-scale demonstrations but runs the threat of compromising what can be learned if the collaborating parties are not of one mind. For each, the focus can be on developing specific connections — e.g. between culturally responsive pedagogy and racial identity — or of the full set of connections between culturally responsive pedagogy, racial socialization and identity, resilience and academic success.

Fifth, it is often the case that new initiatives require extensive training and retraining of those who will be involved. This is where most new educational reforms fail. They do not invest in sufficient preliminary as well as ongoing training. Educators, artists, community members, parents and even students will need considerable development to make any program initiatives work effectively. Summer training camps, in-service workshops and university-based degree or certification programs can work together to effectively implement and sustain programs.

Sixth, it is important to think systemically. Existing beliefs and practices are based in a wider logic of White supremacy. Changes need to be made broadly across the board. Some questions to ask include: Who are the key stakeholders? What can bring them together? What institutional arrangements need to be cultivated? How can educators be prepared? What policies must be changed and created? What practices are needed? What belief systems are necessary? What do the children and youth need to be doing? It also will be important to consider funding efforts at colleges and universities to train new teachers and/or reeducate practicing professionals. More broadly, a systemic effort to develop capacity across the range of stakeholders will be important.

Seventh, given that there are concerns about the capability of existing agencies to create culturally responsive environments, it may be that the Endowments should consider funding communities rather than the programs directly. This would privilege the community in the planning and implementation of new programs, with the intent of making them more culturally responsive. It also would promote the programs being responsive to the community. It may be, for example, that a community would want to invest in a program that supported parents in their racial socialization of their

children, rather than have the school work on racial identity. Sponsoring town meetings to allow communities to dream and develop ideas may be an important part of this. It also may be reasonable to consider funding collaboratives of youth, parents, artists, academics, educators and community activists to enable them to develop culturally responsive programs.

Finally, the Endowments may wish to focus its funding on initiatives that “assume success” (Tierney, 2000) rather than those that see ALANA children as having deficits. As we discussed, programs that shame students have much to overcome. The stigma attached to the programs and to the students themselves means it will be hard to demonstrate the strengthening of the connections identified here. There is the possibility that the Endowments may be one of the few progressive organizations that fund research on pedagogies that address critical consciousness, social change and work on social justice issues for students in kindergarten through 12th grade. The research in this literature review points to the need to be fearlessly curious about how Black and other marginalized children and youth can be successful, in the broadest sense of the term, in the context of a racially and culturally oppressive society. This includes research in the arts around issues of culture, imagination and creativity for marginalized groups, and the effects of child-centered contextual teaching and learning pedagogies for children of color.

There is much to be done on other fronts as well. Parents and communities need to be encouraged to address issues of race and how racial identity can be used constructively. Artists, teachers, social workers, and others need to be prepared to use what we have found here productively. It may be that funding externships for activists and artists in culturally centered programs would help in the implementation of such programs in other sites. Funding summer training programs in culturally responsive pedagogy for educators will clearly be needed for any school-based initiative. In this, issues of race, racism and White privilege have to be central. Scholars need to continue pursuing the ideas we have been privileged to read. Most of all, every child deserves to know how to use their race to negotiate a better life for their family, community and race, and how to use it as well in service of others.

SUMMARY

There is sufficient evidence to argue that culturally responsive programming and positive racial identity can promote achievement and resilience. Programs can be designed to develop these linkages and to more generally promote the wider project of racial uplift in ALANA communities. The approach will need to be systemic and directly address issues of racism and deficit thinking. Designing programs based on recognizing and building capacity in students, communities, educators, and schools will be necessary.

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