

JOURNAL OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE



VOLUME 7 ISSUE 1 SPRING 2021

ISSBN

SENIOR-EDITORS

Ashraf Esmail
Dillard University

Kathy Franklin
*Virginia University of
Lynchburg*

Alice Duhon-Ross
Walden University

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Gwendolyn Duhon
McNeese State University
Leroy Owens
*Virginia University of
Lynchburg*
Abul Petre
Fayetteville State College

Dr. Judith Blakely
Walden University
Leonard Smith
*Virginia University of
Lynchburg*
Donna Gollnick
*TEACH-NOW and
Educators School of Education*

Dr. Lisa Eargle
Francis Marion University
Dr. John Penny
*Southern University at New
Orleans*
Dr. Raymond Delaney
*Southern University at New
Orleans*

EDITORIAL BOARD

Joynal Abdin
Duplicchain University
Mary Addison
Houston Community College
Syed Ahmed
Xavier University
George Amedee
Southern University at New Orleans
Keena Arbuthnot
Louisiana State University
Judith Blakely
Walden University
Steve Buddington
Dillard University
Lana Chambliss
Dillard University
Robert Collins
Dillard University
Shyamal Das
Elizabeth City State University
Raymond Delaney
Southern University at New Orleans
Glendolyn Duhon Jeanlouis
Aden Middle School

Michael E'Orok
Albany State University
Lisa Eargle
Francis Marion University
Sean Gibbs
Dillard University
Brandon Hamann
Dillard University
Eartha Johnson
Dillard University
Karina Kaszletelnik
Grand Canyon University
Perry Lyle
Columbia University
Anna Lamikanra
Thomas Edison State College
Jeton McClinton
Jackson State University
Alvin Mitchell
Winston-Salem State University
Shatiqua Mosby-Wilson
Southern University at New Orleans

Samuel Odom
Southern University at New Orleans
John Penny
Southern University at New Orleans
Esrom Pitre
University of Houston Clear-Lake
Michael Ross
Virginia International College
Casey Schreiber
Dillard University
Camacia Smith Ross
Southern University at Baton Rouge
Tyrone Tanner
Prairie View A&M University
Doris Terrell
Clarke Atlanta University
Kitty Warsame
Prairie View A&M University
Charles Webb
Virginia University of Lynchburg
David W. Williams
University of Connecticut

JOURNAL OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

The Journal of Education and Social Justice is co-housed at the Dillard University Center for Racial Justice and Virginia University of Lynchburg. The purpose of the Journal is to create opportunities for issues to be addressed, for enrichment programs to be documented, and to improve the quality of social justice and education in this country. The publication provides educators, scholars, and professionals across academic disciplines an opportunity to disseminate their scholarly works. Articles published in the Journal of Education and Social Justice include reports of original, rigorously conducted research employing diverse methodologies, epistemologies, and cross-disciplinary perspectives. The Journal also includes works that are comprehensive syntheses of research toward understanding the education and social justice as well as analyses of trends and issues. The editorial board is committed to including only the highest level of research and professional ideas in this publication.

PUBLICATION GUIDELINES

The editors of *The Journal of Education and Social Justice* invite submission of original manuscripts which contains essential information on education and social justice. All manuscripts must be carefully edited before submission. Article submissions should not exceed 25 to 30 pages double-spaced 8.5" by 11" manuscript pages (roughly 6,500 to 7800 words), in a 12-point font and with one-inch margins. The manuscript must be typed utilizing Microsoft Word. Submissions should include one e-mailed copy. Authors should include a separate cover page with their names, titles, institutions, mailing address, daytime phone number(s), fax number(s), e-mail addresses, and a brief biographical sketch. Every effort should be made to ensure that, except for the cover sheet, the manuscript contains no clues to the authors' identity. The manuscript must be accompanied by a cover letter containing the name, address, and phone number of a contact author, as well as a statement that the manuscript is not under consideration elsewhere. The editors request that all text pages be numbered. The page length includes the "Footnotes" section (for substantive additions to the text which should be included at the end of the paper) and the "References" section (where full citations amplify the abbreviated in-text references for books or periodicals, e.g., alphabetized by author's name). References should include the most recent publications on your research topic. For writing and editorial style, authors must follow guidelines in the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association (APA)*. The editors reserve the right to make minor changes for the sake of clarity. Manuscripts should be sent to Editor at ashesmail@aol.com.

Before publication of any manuscript, authors are obliged to sign a copyright agreement with Journal of Education and Social Justice in accordance with U.S. Copyright laws effective January 1978. Under the agreement, authors agree willingly to transfer copyright to Journal of Education and Social Justice which will, however, freely grant the author the right to reprint his or her article, if published in the author's own works.

DISCLAIMER

The Journal of Education and Social Justice disclaims responsibility for statements made by contributors in all articles, reviews, and miscellaneous items whether of fact or by opinion. All articles contained in this journal are the sole responsibility of the author. The Journal, nor the host University assumes no liability for the content.

ISSN

Copyright 2021 by the Dillard University Center for Racial Justice and Virginia University of Lynchburg. All rights reserved.

Printed in the United States of America by Garrity Print Solutions, P. O. Box 11305, New Orleans, LA 70181-1305

TABLE OF CONTENTS

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF DISPARITIES BETWEEN STUDENT EDUCATIONAL ACCESS IN RURAL, URBAN, AND SUBURBAN AREAS	1
Sharon Lawrence, University of West Georgia	
Danielle Jones-Alexander, University of West Georgia	
Elissa Keller, University of West Georgia	
Macie B. King, University of West Georgia	
Elisha Mitchell, University of West Georgia	
Erica Johnson, University of West Georgia	
Christy W. Land, Grand Canyon University	
COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TOWARD POLICING: IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE	16
Alma Thornton, Jackson State University	
Daylan Dufelmeier, University of Illinois at Chicago	
George Amedee, Southern University at New Orleans	
Kristie Perry, Southern University and A&M College	
THE PUNISHMENT OF JUVENILES IN AMERICA	31
Perry Lyle, Columbia College of Missouri	
Ashraf Esmail, Dillard University	
OVERCOMING ADDICTION: COLLEGE WOMEN FORMERLY INVOLVED WITH THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM ACCOUNT OF SUCCESSFUL REENTRY	44
Shonda Lawrence, Clark Atlanta University	
Cynthia Honoré-Collins, Mississippi Valley State University	
DIFFERENCES IN PERCEPTIONS OF SCHOOL CLIMATE BY STUDENT RACE IN AN URBAN SCHOOL DISTRICT	61
Aaron Perzigian, Western Washington University	
Michael T. Braun, University of Illinois	
FROM BREADWINNER TO NURTURER: CHANGING IMAGES OF FATHERS IN THE MEDIA	73
Lindsey Wilson, University of Washington, Seattle	
Josh Thompson, Texas A&M University-Commerce	
SIGN LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC HUMAN RIGHTS: A CALL FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE EDUCATION OF DEAF CHILDREN	92
Timothy Reagan, The University of Maine and The University of the Free State	

PRESERVICE TEACHERS’ PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ITS CONNECTION TO ATTITUDES TOWARD INCLUSIVE EDUCATION: A QUANTITATIVE INVESTIGATION OF A THEORY	106
Jessica A. Scher Lisa, St. Joseph’s College	
Eric Shyman, St. Joseph’s College	
UTILITIES, ENVIRONMENTAL EFFICIENCY, AND CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY SURROUNDING INNOVATIVE RATE DESIGN	122
Brendan James Moore, Tulane University	
Syed Adeel Ahmed, Xavier University	
Ashraf Esmail, Dillard University	
Katrina Franklin, Virginia University of Lynchburg	
AN INTRODUCTION TO CULTURALLY RELEVANT TEACHING USING HIGH-LEVERAGE PRACTICES.....	128
Traci Dennis, American University	
A BOOK REVIEW OF UNDOING ABLEISM: TEACHING ABOUT DISABILITY IN K-12 CLASSROOMS.....	136
Saili S. Kulkarni, PhD, San José State University	
CONTRIBUTORS.....	139

BRIEF OVERVIEW OF DISPARITIES BETWEEN STUDENT EDUCATIONAL ACCESS IN RURAL, URBAN, AND SUBURBAN AREAS

Sharon Lawrence, University of West Georgia

Danielle Jones-Alexander, University of West Georgia

Elissa Keller, University of West Georgia

Macie B. King, University of West Georgia

Elisha Mitchell, University of West Georgia

Erica Johnson, University of West Georgia

Christy W. Land, Grand Canyon University

Abstract

The following manuscript discusses existing disparities in educational access for students in rural, urban, and suburban areas. The paper aims to explore how policies, programs and practices can support fair and equitable outcomes for all students. Thorough review of current literature highlights disparities in educational equity. Case in point, students attending school systems in urban areas experience notable inaccessibility to quality resources, directly impacting student achievement scores (Banks & Maixner, 2016; Fabionar, 2020; Nygreen, 2013). While scholars suggest public education is available to all, one must also consider the quality and accessibility to students, regardless of their socioeconomic status or ethnicity. Student academic success is not solely contingent upon school attendance but is also impacted by access to quality education, support, and relationships outside the school building (Contreras, 2011). The manuscript provides best practice recommendations for addressing educational disparities and closing achievement and attainment gaps. The paper concludes with recommendations for future research to enhance educational access for all students.

Keywords: disparities in learning, educational access, education in rural areas, education in suburban areas, education in urban areas.

Introduction

”Born with virtually limitless potential and genetic predisposition to language, learning, and social enterprise, our children represent the promise of our society's future and the vestiges of its past and present failures. Schools are primary institutions serving students from various social and cultural backgrounds. Attending school provides young people with the knowledge and skills needed to become contributing members of society” (O’Day & Smith, 2016, p. 297). Access to public education has been available for all regardless of race, gender, socioeconomic status, or religious background for some time. However, how do we genuinely determine public education is accessible and equitable to all students? The following manuscript aims to explore the disparities in educational access for students in rural, urban, and suburban areas.

Historically, public education was segregated and limited to specific demographic groups. To bridge the civil rights gap in our educational system, the government-imposed laws to reform the public education system. In 1955, the historic *Brown Vs. The Board of Education* ruling integrated public-school systems, although several states defied this ruling. Nearly a decade after the ruling, sociologist James Coleman assessed public schools’ equity and quality across the nation (Dickinson, 2016). Coleman’s research highlights persisting disparities among minority groups and schools with predominantly White student bodies and found a strong correlation between family education background and academic achievement (Dickison, 2016). Further, Ryan (2010) shows how court rulings in the 1970s, limiting the scope of desegregation, laid the groundwork for the sharp disparities between urban and suburban public schools persisting today. Ryan explains why all the major education reforms since the 1970s—including school finance litigation, school choice, and the No Child Left Behind Act—fail to bridge the gap between urban and suburban schools and unintentionally entrenched segregation by race and class. Ryan (2010) forcefully argues, so too will educational inequality continue (Ryan, 2010, p. 375).

Students attending school systems in urban areas may experience inaccessibility to quality resources and instruction, directly impacting student achievement scores (Banks & Maixner, 2016; Fabionar, 2020; Nygreen, 2013). Researchers have studied how quality and equity influence American education. “Children from a lower socioeconomic group are increasingly concentrated in schools and classrooms with other children of lower socioeconomic status, reflecting residential segregation and student placement policies within schools. In 2011–2012, 19 percent of public-school students attended high-poverty schools (greater than 75 percent poverty), and 44 percent attended schools with at least 50 percent poverty; these figures were up from 12 to 28 percent, respectively 1999–2000. Concerning race, Black and Latino's students attend schools with nearly twice as many students below the poverty line. Pervasive in cities, school segregation is also pronounced even in predominantly White suburbs, where 40 percent of Black and Latino students attend intensely segregated schools that are at least 90 percent Black and Latino” (Ferguson, 2002; Orfield, 2009; Orfield, 2013).

A primary area in need of evaluation is the quality of education and instruction non-White students receive. African Americans and Hispanics report less understanding of their teachers' lessons and less comprehension of the material they read for school. Understanding lessons and comprehending readings reflect knowledge and skill deficiencies that responsive instructional strategies can help to alleviate. Another area in need of investigation is socioeconomic status and home learning resources. Several socioeconomic status measures are significant predictors of achievement (though the estimates indicate that particular SES advantages boost achievement less among African Americans and Hispanics than Whites and Asians) (Orfield, 2013). White and Asian students in these communities arrive at school with more tremendous socioeconomic background advantages, on average, compared to African Americans and Hispanics.

The current manuscript investigates factors impacting access to quality educational resources and support for students in rural, urban, and suburban locations. The authors define the distinct characteristics of urban, suburban, and rural student populations and identify the advantages and disadvantages of each group (Ryan, 2010). The literature review critically discusses current research related to educational access. Specifically, literature examining urban areas to determine the influence of predominantly White culture with a higher socioeconomic status and the disadvantages imposed on underprivileged students (Banks & Maixner, 2016; Fabionar, 2020; Nygreen, 2013). Further, the authors examine research on educational access in rural areas conducted to explore the variance from their urban counterparts. Underscored by current literature the manuscript illustrates and provides insights into these widespread differences and the students likely affected (Burdick-Will & Logan, 2017; Logan et al., 2012). Lastly, achievement differences, available resources, and school composition are discussed. Best practice recommendations are provided on how local government and community leaders can assess and identify disparities within their school systems and develop a comprehensive plan to bridge the achievement gap. Future research is needed to inform and enhance progressive educational change for all students.

Discussion of Current Literature

Urban Schools

The United States Census Bureau (2018) defines urban areas as densely developed areas of human structures such as houses, commercial buildings, roads, and railways composed of individuals working non-agricultural jobs. Urban school systems tend to be predominantly White and located in a higher socioeconomic status area. Urban schools have become more diverse; however, equity and access within urban schools is not representative of serving a diverse school population. Current research indicates that diversity does not ensure equality in the educational system (Lewis & Diamond, 2015; Lewis-McCoy, 2014). Students outside of this urban cultural norm may experience disadvantages in their educational access and opportunities. Some superior-performing schools provide inferior education to students of color, reinforcing the need for schools to intentionally consider race and class while building a more positive learning environment without surfacing achievement. (Lewis & Diamond, 2015; Lewis-McCoy, 2014).

Urban Montessori schools have implemented Social Justice in Education (SJE) (Banks & Maixner, 2016). The purpose of SJE is to promote equality regardless of students' backgrounds. The five principles of SJE in schools include (1) inclusion and equity: promoting these concepts within the school and larger community and creating a climate that challenges inequities across broad issues; (2) high expectations: the presence of such across all students, faculty, and staff, along with the services and resources; (3) reciprocal community relationships: an acknowledgment that the school both gives and receives from the surrounding neighborhood and community and can be a catalyst for outside entities to share SJE work; (4) system-wide approach: assessing and understanding the impact of policies, procedures, behaviors, and leadership on issues of social justice within the school; and (5) direct SJE and intervention: the school's curriculum and training that teach equity and model ways to intervene and interrupt in inequitable situations (Banks & Maixner, 2016; Carlisle et al., 2006). The primary focus of research on educational disparities of SJE emphasizes the teacher's specific actions in implementing lessons, techniques, and curriculum based on the aforementioned five principles supported by the promising outcome of SJE.

Teachers should consider societal and cultural considerations in developing interventions in educational disparities (Fabionar, 2020). The purpose of Social Justice Teacher Education by Systems Change is to reorient teacher preparation programs about the goal of cultivating effective change agents through coursework, field placement, clinical experiences, induction, and classroom pedagogy (Fabionar, 2020). Four skill areas built from this theme include (1) developing a social justice pedagogy for systems change; (2) understanding, navigating, and shifting organizational cultures; (3) participating in educational governance; and (4) building coalitions within and beyond schools (Fabionar, 2020).

Teachers must recognize and reflect on their privileges and become educated about underprivileged students' disparities. Because of teachers' demanding duties and schedules, it is often difficult to appropriately explore these disparities. Disparities can be an influencing factor in the lack of knowledge and access to promoting Social Justice in Education. Over the

past twenty years, educational leadership programs increasingly add courses on policy to equip school administrators with the tools to navigate state and federal influences on curriculum, instruction, and other aspects. The growing changes in school districts on Social Justice in Education have assisted inequality for underprivileged students.

Research suggests the implementation of SJE as an effective intervention aimed to close disparities in urban school districts. However, further research and continued education regarding the educational disparities is needed to ensure that every student has an equal educational opportunity. SJE will continue to further its practices to ensure disadvantaged students' opportunities.

Suburban Schools

The United States Census Bureau (2018) defines suburban as lower density territories that separate residential and commercial areas from one another. Social structures, endemic beliefs, and policies may pose barriers for some children in reaching their full potential (O'Day & Smith, 2016). Despite American equality, the school experiences of African American and other minority students in the United States continue to be substantially separate and unequal (Eccles, 2011). Different learning opportunities such as disparities in access to well-qualified teachers, high-quality curriculum, and small schools and classes are strongly correlated to student achievement differences. Standards-based reforms have been launched throughout the United States with promises of more significant equity; however, students are held to common standards-and increasingly experience severe sanctions for failure to achieve. Thus, resulting in unequal funding and access to vital educational resources needed for learning.

Equal educational opportunity, a foundational principle of our society, is embraced as an ideal by school officials, citizens, parents, and politicians. Arguments remain on what makes educational opportunities equal; however, many agree that is a primary goal. Most would also decide that the goal remains elusive. Educational opportunities are far from equal in this country and too often depend on where students live, how much money their parents earn, or their skin color (Ryan, 2010).

Schools' demographic composition may vary widely and include racial/ethnic design, poverty concentration, and classmates' average performance. Research shows these differences are patterned by space (e.g., the disparities between many central city school districts and those in the surrounding suburbs) and by the race and ethnicity of enrolled students (e.g., the disadvantages of schools attended by blacks and Hispanics in comparison to whites and Asians). In addition to comparing average characteristics among urban, suburban, and rural zones, researchers look within each of them, gauging racial and ethnic segregation across schools and disparities in the schools attended by students of different racial/ethnic backgrounds. Findings pinpoint substantial inequalities in all three zones. Research highlights inner-suburban schools are somewhat more like central city schools, while schools on the suburban periphery are more like rural schools. On average, these locational classifications identify very different kinds of schools in terms of racial/ethnic composition, poverty, and test scores (Logan, 2017).

Richard Jessor's 1993 *American Psychologist* essay sketches an ecological perspective on children's development that is at once familiar and profoundly insightful (McWhirter et al., 2017). It follows in the social-ecological tradition of Uri Bronfenbrenner but is absent from the obscure language (Rosa & Tudge, 2013). Jessor believes experiences govern children's development in the three institutional settings they encounter daily (1) up close and personal; (2) family, neighborhood; (3) and school. The resources available to children in these three settings and how they are deployed combine to channel youth along different developmental paths. Such paths often overlap lines of race, gender, and family background (Alexander, 2016).

Improvement in suburban minority students' academic performance may constitute one of the most feasible components of efforts to reduce minority/nonminority disparities in performance. Steps to be taken to address problems involving relatively low achievement among suburban minority students include the following:

1. At the school and district levels, collect and publish achievement data disaggregated by race or ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and subtest scores.
2. Initiate effective school projects or related school improvement efforts that can produce substantial progress in raising achievement and reducing disparities in advantaged and disadvantaged students' performance (Subedi, 2017).
3. Introduce instructional methods and approaches focusing on improving student performance in comprehension and other higher-order skills. These methods can produce large gains in the achievement of previously low achievers.
4. Provide teachers and other staff with adequate development time and assistance, manageable class sizes, appropriate materials and equipment, and other resources required to bring about school-wide improvements in instruction at schools with significant proportions of low achievers.
5. Guard against and take action to reduce or eliminate many teachers' reliance on ditto sheets, workbooks, and other aspects of low-level American, Hispanic, and possibly other minority students in suburban districts rank relatively low on the former compared to the latter (Subedi, 2017).

Rural Schools

The United States Census Bureau (2018) describes rural as any population not encompassed in an urban area. Rural counties cover 72 percent of U.S. land but include only 15 percent of U.S. residents (Cromartie, 2013). One in five, or 9.3 million, students in America attend a rural school (Showalter et al., 2019). These rural districts consist of few students, and the median enrollment for a U.S. rural district is only 494 students. These schools consistently face declining populations, persistent poverty, changing demographics, and limited access to specialized education (Lavalley, 2018).

Population loss, or outmigration, in rural America has led to many school problems, such as teacher recruitment and reduced enrollment. When rural students decide that they want to become teachers, it is typically the teachers who have graduated from the less selective

colleges that return to their hometowns (Lavalley, 2018). The more qualified teachers usually do not move back to their rural hometowns because many want more job possibilities and higher pay (Logan & Burdick-Will, 2017).

Persistent poverty has been a long-standing challenge to rural communities; however, data shows it is slightly improving (DeNavas-Walt & Proctor, 2014). According to the U.S. Census Bureau's 2018 American Community Survey, there are one million fewer rural residents than five years prior (United States Department of Agriculture, 2020). Rural areas of low income and low wealth encounter funding problems where local property taxes are the main contributor to school finances. When there is such a lack of funding, schools struggle to purchase supplies, keep technology recent, and recruit teachers to the area. Many students' foster a low internal locus of control and reinforces the idea that these students do not have many options for success in their community. Rural students go to college less than their urban and suburban counterparts and are also less likely to graduate (National Student Clearinghouse Research Center, 2016).

The population of rural America is changing rapidly. Between 2000 and 2010, the minority population accounted for 82.7 percent of the rural population gain, even though minorities only consist of 21 percent of the rural population (Johnson, 2012). Rural communities have to be creative to meet the needs of these new students they have never before experienced. Teachers need professional development, multicultural curriculum materials, and English as a second language service for their students. Unfortunately, due to the smaller size of rural schools and less funding, it makes it more difficult to provide specialized course offerings and services to students in need (Williams, 2016). The lack of newly educated teachers is affecting all student's learning opportunities.

Logan and Burdick-Will (2017), in their study on school segregation and disparities in urban, suburban, and rural areas, found there is considerable segregation nationally in all areas' schools (Logan & Burdick-Will, 2017). This segregation translates to disparities in school quality that favor white and Asian students overall. However, that is not always the case. Whites and Native Americans in rural schools are at the same disadvantage as blacks and Hispanics in urban schools (Burdick-Will & Logan, 2017).

Collaboration, Partnerships, and Advocacy

The United States Department of Education acknowledges that America has not become the country it endeavors to be for its people. Not all individuals who are willing to work hard can get ahead, join a thriving middle class, or lead fulfilling lives (United States Department of Education, n.d.). In fact, the lack of economic mobility is identified as the primary challenge for individuals residing in the United States. The belief is that access to a quality education can ensure that all children in this country with dreams and determination can reach their potential and succeed (Statti & Torres, 2020). However, the reality remains many students lack equitable access to the core elements of quality education. The Department of Education maintains that they are working towards a solution and aim to support and expand educational opportunities for all students. The areas receiving funding include high-quality

early learning, more robust and more diverse schools, and increased access to evidence and data to drive informed decision-making and better students' results.

In the 2012 report by the American Psychological Association (APA) for the Presidential Task Force on Educational Disparities, information is presented on patterns in America (American Psychological Association, 2012). The APA report noted "Pervasive ethnic and racial disparities in education follow a pattern in which African American, American Indian, Latino, and Southeast Asian groups underperform academically, relative to Caucasians and other Asian-Americans. These educational disparities mirror ethnic and racial disparities in socioeconomic status and health outcomes and healthcare" (American Psychological Association, 2012, p.7). Some of the educational practices recommended by the task force include identifying and promoting the cultural capabilities of service providers in early childhood education and educating prospective and in-service educators about supporting ethnic and racial minority boys. Further, APA's report suggested building on the social, cultural, linguistic, experiential, and intellectual assets that students bring into the classrooms (American Psychological Association, 2012).

The term educational disparities tend to be synonymous with low-income or poverty in many people's minds. The general public sees educational disparities as a problem of the low-income learners not requiring them to be actively involved in being a part of the solution. However, educational disparities are not a phenomenon limited to those with a lower socioeconomic status. On the contrary, educational disparities include those differences that (a) overlap with social class, (b) reflect bias and differential treatment in the educational system, and (c) are based on different responses to the educational system (American Psychological Association, 2012). For these reasons, educational disparities cannot be relegated solely as an experience based on a person's socioeconomic status and the differences in access to quality education. Perhaps a broader understanding of educational disparities provides clarity about what strategies may be necessary to resolve the dilemma of inequality in education. This article maintains increased collaboration as a best practice that can be utilized by school counselors, community counselors, and educators as advocates in the solution in closing the gap in educational access for students.

There is an agreement regarding a lack of access to core elements of quality education by a large population of students, as reported by the United States Department of Education. The pattern of educational disparities seen in childhood education and persist through K-12 is an example of the lack of access. The recommendations of both organizations are to increase educational opportunities as a component in resolving the disparities in access to education (American Psychological Association, 2012). The authors suggest that in addition to the expansion of educational opportunities building community collaboration and partnerships with school districts, schools, and community stakeholders be included as a critical element of achieving the common goal of closing the gap in educational access for students.

Harmon (2018) states that "Collaboration occurs when individuals within two or more organizations evolve deep and complex interactions in communication to achieve common goals that are interdependent, long term and complex" (p. 1). The commitment of time and

participation are required at higher levels. In fact, collaboration is considered the highest level of partnership. Partnering is a long-term investment in a relationship that is mutually beneficial for all partners. Harmon and Schafft (2018) observed that a school's collaborative approach influences student achievement improvement and sustainability. While Eargle (2013) suggests, that school and university collaboration can be beneficial for students and staff.

Collaboration is vital in reaching the goal of access to quality education for all students in this country. Collaboration occurs when members of a learning community work together to increase learning and achievement. Collaboration can take many forms. Some of the best practices consist of teachers meeting in teams to review student work against standards, using their insights to select instructional improvement targets. Teachers, counselors, administrators, and parents should work collaboratively to address students' behavior and academic performance concerns. They are coupled with guiding parents on applying certain strategies at home to maintain a healthy and conducive environment for the student. In the school setting, counselors and teachers can work collaboratively to create space for group classroom counseling sessions to support student development. School communities can collaborate with community counselors to provide workshops on special topics to meet student needs. The efforts to alleviate the disparity in access to quality education for students continues to be a partnership. It requires teachers, counselors, and administrators to use the best practices of collaboration to make a difference in their learning communities.

Considerations for Further Research

In order to effectively answer the previously posed question- "how do we determine public education is accessible and equitable to all students?"- a critical need remains for continued research examining the disparities in educational access in our ever evolving and diversified society. As the nation faces a global pandemic, COVID-19 spotlights existing educational inequities within local public-school systems. Nationwide, public school systems mandated virtual learning, requiring access to technology and the internet which many families cannot access. Further, COVID-19 and digital learning impacted families socially and emotionally. Social and emotional well-being, and parental involvement are critical contributors to student success and require further investigation (Dickinson, 2016).

The majority of research focuses on the disparities between African American and White students from urban and suburban areas, leaving out other races/ethnicities in rural areas. Specifically, current literature fails to include White students and other students of other races/ethnicities in rural areas. Logan and Burdwick-Will (2017) highlight that only researching urban/suburban areas cause a skewed perspective in the research. When research fails to include rural students in states where they are the majority, the data does not show the disadvantages being faced by the rural population, which is especially true for Native American and Whites living in rural America (Lichter & Brown, 2011). Historically, there are more white underprivileged students in rural areas, lending to researchers not including rural data when completing comparisons between them and African American/Hispanic students (Lichter

& Brown, 2011). Additional research in these areas will assist in understanding the impact of disparities between student educational access in rural, suburban, and urban areas.

Native Americans represent a proportionately lower population within school systems, approximately one to three percent; researchers often leave out data representing Native American students (Logan & Burdwick-Will, 2017). Logan and Burdwick-Will (2017) suggest by adding this information to research, the data will show the disparities when comparing white students to students of other races and highlight the effects of poverty on educational equity and not just race/ethnicity. Data must remain unbiased, not limited to a specific set of students from two communities to depict a fair picture of educational disparities amongst races/ethnicities in various communities.

Next, additional research is needed to focus on the similarities between the three communities. Adding similarities highlights opportunities for closing the educational disparity gaps within these communities. Lichter and Brown (2011) pinpoint the need to examine commonalities due to the ever-changing boundary lines between areas. Case in point, an area considered rural in one school year can change to suburban or urban by the next school year. Additionally, looking at similarities will help account for families moving from area to area and bringing their different identities to the new area. Research shows a schools' demographic makeup is more similar than different amongst the schools in all three areas (Reardon & Owens, 2014). Not highlighting these similarities continues to allow research to create concrete boundaries between these areas, supporting a false narrative of more massive disparities than exist (Burdwick-Will & Logan, 2017). Researchers must explore the different neighborhoods within each region to utterly understand rural, suburban, and urban areas with validity. Burdwick-Will and Logan (2017) broke each region into the inner, middle, and outer, which made it easier to highlight the differences within the same areas (inner/outer suburban vs. middle suburban) and the similarities between different regions of other areas (outer suburbs and rural areas). This technique proves useful by dispelling the myth all schools within a specific area are the same demographically and show the need to break each area into smaller pieces to obtain an accurate picture of the educational disparities amongst their students.

Lastly, disparities in educational access literature must include post-secondary achievement information to show every student's full picture. Only including the primary, middle, and secondary education implies that their educational access stops once they leave these education systems. Research fails to highlight the inequality in post-secondary access for students from all communities and focuses on a particular community. A study completed by Prins and Kassab (2017) discusses the vast decrease in postsecondary attendance and attainment for students from rural communities compared to students from urban and suburban communities. Further, the researchers noted the only disparities discussed are in urban areas. Additional research is needed to understand the connection between students from rural areas not attending post-secondary institutions or only attending a specific type of post-secondary institution. Wells et al. (2019) noted that the research needs to include more information on the impact of college-going opportunities in rural areas and its impact on their post-secondary attendance and completion. Including this in research will help educators and other stakeholders create plans for rural students to achieve career opportunities outside of their

rural areas. Additional research is needed to account for the economic changes occurring within rural communities requiring policy changes. The social mobility of rural college-aged youth negatively affects the rural communities (Wells et al., 2019). Research helps create resources and partnerships for the rural areas to assist their college-aged youth combating this issue. Finally, the types of degrees students from rural areas attain deserves further investigation to determine where to focus areas of assistance. Per Prins and Kassab (2017), research shows that more rural students want to obtain bachelor's degrees over associate degrees but lack the opportunities within their areas. More research is warranted to highlight the need for increased financial opportunities for these rural students to attend four-year universities instead of not attending entirely post-secondary schools.

Additional research is needed for scholars to obtain a complete picture of educational access disparities amongst rural, urban, and suburban communities. As such, specific recommendations for future research include:

1. Conducting more research on students outside of urban/suburban African American and White students to better understand students' disparities.
2. Exploring deeper into the similarities between the communities to understand the differences and similarities within different parts of communities (i.e., inner-suburban, and outer suburban) and stop generalizing the outcomes based on community type.
3. Promoting additional research on post-secondary attendance and completion with rural students to illustrate the continuation of educational access disparities.

Conclusion

A thorough review of literature and research highlight existing disparities to educational access, opportunities, and resources. While public education is available to all, one must also consider the quality and accessibility to students, regardless of their socioeconomic status or ethnicity. Student academic success is contingent upon multiple factors including school attendance, access to quality education, support, and relationships outside of the school building.

Current events in America magnifies the need for reform within the public education system in the United States. The COVID-19 pandemic has exposed deficiencies and flaws in our system that must be addressed now in order to positively impact the future for all students. Currently, student access to equitable education impacts the trajectory of their future career and college endeavors. Studies show that students in rural communities and those living within higher poverty rates may lack the resources and support in the home to enhance their educational experience. Continual collection and analysis of data to identify both new and existing disparities support the development of ways to bridge the educational system gap.

Improvement in this area does not fall exclusively upon the school system. Conversely, educational reform must be a collaborative effort by all school stakeholders and community members. Navigating ways to build a more robust support system for our students contributes

to focusing on the “whole child”, emphasizing their social-emotional well-being in conjunction with their academic success. Concentrated efforts aimed to level educational opportunities among students of all race, culture, and socioeconomic backgrounds are a professional and ethical mandate. While COVID-19 has directly affected many in numerous capacities, the global pandemic also grants educational systems the opportunity to assess their quality and equity for the entire student population.

References

- Alexander, K. (2016). Is It Family or School? Getting the Question Right. *RSF: The Russell Sage Foundation Journal of the Social Sciences*, 2(5), 18-33. <https://doi.org/10.7758/RSF.2016.2.5.09>
- American Psychological Association, Presidential Task Force on Educational Disparities. (2012). Ethnic and racial disparities in education: Psychology's contributions to understanding and reducing disparities. <http://www.apa.org/ed/resources/racial-disparities.aspx>
- Banks, K. H., & Maixner, R. A. (2016). Social Justice Education in an Urban Charter Montessori School. *Journal of Montessori Research*, 2(2), 1–14.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development*. Harvard University Press.
- Burdick-Will, J., & Logan, J. R. (2017). Schools at the Rural-Urban Boundary: Blurring the Divide? *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 672(1), 185–201. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716217707176>
- Carlisle, L.R., Jackson, B. W., & George, A. (2006). Principles of Social Justice Education: The Social Justice Education in Schools Project. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 39, 55-64. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10665680500478809>
- Chance, P. L., & Segura, S. N. (2009). A Rural High School's Collaborative Approach to School Improvement. *Journal of Research in Rural Education*, 24(5).
- Contreras, F. (2011). Strengthening the Bridge to Higher Academically Promising Underrepresented Students. *Journal of Advanced Academics*, 22(3), 500–526. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1932202X1102200306>
- Cromartie, J. (2013). *How is rural America changing?* Economic Research Service. United States Department of Agriculture. https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/newsroom/cspan/2013/20130524_cspan_rural_america.pdf
- Darling-Hammond, L. (2000). New Standards and Old Inequalities: School reform and the education of African American students. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 69(4), 263-287. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2696245>
- DeNavas-Walt, C., & Proctor, B. D. (2014). *Income and poverty in the United States: 2013*. U.S. Department of Commerce. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C.
- Dickinson, E. E. (2016, Winter). Coleman Report Set the Standard for the Study of Public Education. *John Hopkins University Magazine*. <https://hub.jhu.edu/magazine/2016/winter/coleman-report-public-education/>
- Eargle, J. C. (2013). "I'm not a bystander": Developing teacher leadership in a rural school university collaboration. *Rural Educator*, 35(1).
- Eccles, J. S. (2011). Schools as Developmental Contexts During Adolescence. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 21(1), 225-241. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1532-7795.2010.00725.x>
- Fabionar, J. O. (2020). Social Justice Teacher Education for Systems Change. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 3(145).
- Ferguson, R. F. (2002). What Doesn't Meet the Eye: Understanding and Addressing Racial Disparities in High-Achieving Suburban Schools. North Central Regional Educational Laboratory. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED474390>
- Harmon, H. L. (2018). Collaboration: A partnership solution in rural education. *The Rural Educator*, 38(1). <https://doi.org/10.35608/ruraled.v38i1.230>

- Harmon, H. L., & Schafft, K. (2018). Rural School Leadership for Collaborative Community Development. *The Rural Educator*, 30(3), 4–9.
- Howley, A., Rhodes, M., & Beall, J. (2009). Challenges Facing Rural Schools: Implications for gifted students. *Journal for the Education of the Gifted*, 32(4), 515–536.
- Jessor, R. (1993). Successful adolescent development among youth in high-risk settings. *American Psychologist*, 48, 117-126.
- Johnson, K. M., (2012). *Rural demographic change in the new century: Slower growth, increased diversity*. (Issue Brief No. 44). Carsey Institute Issue. <https://scholars.unh.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1158&context=carsey>
- Lavalley, M. (2018). *Out of the loop*. National School Boards Association Center for Public Education. Alexandria, Virginia.
- Levine, D., & Eubanks, E. (1990). Achievement Disparities Between Minority and Nonminority Students in Suburban Schools. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 59(2), 186-194. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2295644>
- Levine, D. U., & Lezotte, L. W. (1990). *Unusually effective schools: A review and analysis of research and practice*. National Center for Effective Schools Research and Development.
- Lewis, A. E., & Diamond, J. B. (2015). *Despite the Best Intentions: How racial inequality thrives in good schools*. Oxford University Press.
- Lewis-McCoy, R. L. (2014). *Inequality in the Promised Land: Race, resources, and suburban schooling*. Stanford University Press.
- Lichter, D. T., & Brown, D. L. (2011). Rural America in an urban society: Changing spatial and social boundaries. *Annual Review of Sociology* 37:565–92.
- Logan, J. R., & Burdick-Will J. (2017). School Segregation and Disparities in Urban, Suburban, and Rural Areas. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 674(1), 199-216. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716217733936>
- Logan, J. R., Minca, E., & Adar, S. (2012). The Geography of Inequality: Why separate means unequal in American public schools. *Sociology of Education*, 85(3), 287–301. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038040711431588>
- McWhirter, J. J., McWhirter, B. T., & McWhirter, E. H. (2017). *At Risk Youth* (6th ed.). Florence, Kentucky: Cengage Learning.
- National Student Clearinghouse Research Center, (2016). High School Benchmarks: 2016. Retrieved from <https://nscresearchcenter.org/hsbenchmarks2016/>
- Nygreen, K. (2013). *These Kids: Identity, agency, and social justice at a last chance high school*. University of Chicago Press.
- O’Day, J. A., & Smith, M. S. (2016). Quality and Equality in American Education: Systemic problems, systemic solutions. In I. Kirsch & H. Braun (Eds.), *The Dynamics of Opportunity in America Evidence and Perspectives* (pp. 297-358). Springer International Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-25991-8>
- Orfield, G. (2009). *Reviving the Goal of an Integrated Society: A 21st century challenge*. The Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles. Regents of the University of California. <https://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/reviving-the-goal-of-an-integrated-society-a-21st-century-challenge/orfield-reviving-the-goal-mlk-2009.pdf>
- Orfield, G., & Frankenberg, E. (2013). *Educational Delusions? Why choice can deepen inequality and how to make schools fair*. University of California Press.
- Prins, E., & Kassab, C. (2017). Rural/Non-rural differences among Pennsylvania FAFSA

- applicants pursuing the same type of postsecondary degree. *Journal of Research in Rural Education*, 32(7), 1-16.
- Reardon, S. F., & Owens, A. (2014). 60 years after Brown: Trends and consequences of school segregation. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 40:199–218.
- Rosa, E. M., & Tudge, J. (2013). Urie Bronfenbrenner’s Theory of Human Development: Its Evolution From Ecology to Bioecology. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, 5(4), 243.
- Rural Policy Research Institute. (2006). Why rural matters II: The rural impact of the administration’s FY07 budget proposal. <https://cfra.org/sites/default/files/Why%20Rural%20Matters%202007%20Budget%20Analysis.pdf>
- Ryan, J. E. (2010). *Five Miles Away, A World Apart: One city, two schools, and the story of educational opportunity in modern America*. Oxford University Press.
- Showalter, D., Hartman, S. L., Johnson, J., & Klein, B., (2019). Why rural matters 2018-2019: The time is now. Rural School and Community Trust. <http://www.ruraledu.org/WhyRuralMatters.pdf>
- Statti, A., & Torres, K. (2020). *The Forgotten Minority: Exploring Deficiencies in Access to Education and Technology in Rural America*. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 95(2), 173-182.
- Subedi, B. R. (2017). Multilevel Predictors Influencing Reading Achievement: Comparisons of Teacher Effects in Elementary, Middle and High Schools. *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal*, 4(23). doi:<https://doi.org/10.14738/assrj.423.3944>
- United States Census Bureau (2018). American Community Survey. <https://www.census.gov/acs/www/data/data-tables-and-tools/data-profiles/2018/>
- United States Department of Agriculture. (2020). Rural poverty & well-being. Retrieved November 14, 2020 from <https://www.ers.usda.gov/topics/rural-economy-population/rural-poverty-well-being/>
- United States Department of Education. (n.d.). Equity of Opportunity. <https://www.ed.gov/equity>.
- Wells, R., Manly, C. A., Kommers, S., & Kimball, E. (2019). Narrowed Gaps and Persistent Challenges: Examining rural-nonrural disparities in postsecondary outcomes over time. *American Journal of Education*. 126(1). <https://doi.org/10.1086/705498>
- Sheneka M. Williams. (2016). *Educational Opportunity in Rural Contexts: The Politics of Place*. Information Age Publishing.

COMMUNITY ATTITUDES TOWARD POLICING: IMPLICATIONS FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

Alma Thornton, Jackson State University

Daylan Dufelmeier, University of Illinois at Chicago

George Amedee, Southern University at New Orleans

Kristie Perry, Southern University and A&M College

Introduction

Achieving social justice within the criminal justice system has become the focal point of attention and activism among social justice advocates. The urgent need to address systemic problems of bias and unfair and disparate treatment of people of color and those residing in marginalized communities by the primary institutions responsible for administering justice, the police, the courts, and prison systems has gained widespread momentum. The most recent public displays of negative police behaviors have been the use of excessive force leading to the death of George Floyd in Minneapolis and ongoing tensions between the community and the police which have resulted in loss of lives and trust in law enforcement in many sectors of the United States. Other high profile police public interactions and controversies surrounding the deaths of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri; Eric Garner in New York City, New York; Alton Sterling in Baton Rouge, Louisiana; Philando Castile in Falcon Heights, Minnesota; Breonna Taylor in Louisville, Kentucky; and many others that have acerbated public unrest, inflamed public anger, and heightened calls for police reform. These tensions have engendered more intense calls for social justice and increased scrutiny of police conduct.

If this nation is to find its way to a path towards achieving social justice, it must first begin with a change in the present state of police-community relations. An outgrowth of such tensions has been efforts to increase community collaborations by identifying areas of disconnect between the community and police which impact trust and access to victim services as well as identification of barriers to improved police-community relations. In May 2015, the President's Task Force on 21st Century Policy final report identified six pillars of law enforcement change: (1) building trust and legitimacy, (2) policy and oversight, (3) technology and social media, (4) community policing and crime reduction, (5) training and education, and (6) officer wellness and safety. The research included in this report assessed building trust and legitimacy as a foundational pillar of law enforcement.

In response to President Barack Obama's 21st Century Task Force, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), supported by the Office for Victims of Crime (OVC) of the U.S. Department of Justice, launched a historic initiative addressing the needs of those directly impacted by community-police tensions or harm. The initiative aimed to help communities develop both a preventative and reparative focus to reduce tensions, maximize communication, ensure that victims receive just, and meaningful victim centered responses, address officer health and wellbeing, and promote problem-solving between law enforcement and the communities they serve. This initiative was designed to:

- Assist law enforcement in developing, implementing, and assessing comprehensive evidence-based and trauma-informed response strategies, protocols, and interventions that promote community engagement and healing related to divisive events; and
- Develop and disseminate comprehensive, expert technical assistance resources for law enforcement on trauma-informed culture and practice.

The initiative provided focus group studies at five demonstration sites identified to assess and address crucial community and agency needs, policy development and implementation, and internal culture and accountability. Because of the high-profile national exposure of the Alton Sterling murder, Baton Rouge, Louisiana was identified as one of the project sites. A qualitative study was to be employed to explore how vulnerable communities viewed the police. More specifically, the research examined trust and collaboration between law enforcement and the communities they serve. In Baton Rouge, community focus groups were conducted to provide insight into three key research questions. Study research questions were.

- (1) What are vulnerable community populations perception of police community behaviors?
- (2) What are problems or barriers to improving police community collaboration?
- (3) How do police respond to victims of crime and other community members who have been traumatized by violence?

and

Since it is clear that the path to social justice cannot begin with the present state of police-community relationships, the purpose of this research was to examine the implications of community attitudes toward the police as found in the Baton Rouge demonstration study and to make recommendations for moving toward a social justice path. First, scholarly literature of public attitudes toward police is reviewed to help understand some of the major themes in the literature regarding police-community relations. Next, major findings regarding the nature of these relationships emerging in the Baton Rouge Study are presented. Finally, the implications of the Baton Rouge study findings in helping to chart a new direction for police-community relationships are presented, and a summary and conclusions are discussed with implications moving towards the path to achieving social justice.

Review of Literature

The research literature related to police-community relations was surveyed to identify the nature of community attitudes and experiences and variations in key factors shaping these relations. When examining public attitudes toward the police, major areas of focus emerging from the literature focused on confidence in the police, satisfaction with the police, and trust in the police. These focus areas have been used interchangeably (Boda 2015). Many studies on public attitudes towards the police have been conducted in the United States (Lee and Zhao 2016; Lee, Ren, and Luo 2016). Early research examining perceptions of police in the US found Blacks gave a more negative view of the police than whites and saw police as more bias, unfair, prejudice, cruel, harsh, tougher, and less impartial (Campbell and Schuman 1968; Reiss 1967;

Bayley and Mendelsohn 1969; Wiley 2001). Most studies have concluded that many officers engage in some type of bias toward African Americans (Baer and Chambliss 1997; Hawkins 1985; Hawkins and Hardy 1989; Hill 1982). Other studies have argued neighborhood context accounted for variations in individual levels of trust in police. Different police perceptions have been attributed to neighborhood context exacerbated by structural resource deprivation (Burgason 2017; Dai and Johnson 2008; Wu et al. 2009; Schafer, Huebner, and Bynum 2003; Schuck, Rosenbaum, and Hawkins 2008; Sharp and Johnson 2009; Vogel 2011; Stewart, et al. 2009). Thus, the literature suggests that race and ethnicity and the characteristics of the neighborhood where police interactions occur affect community attitudes.

In some communities, the distribution of justice is skewed, and police enforcement is viewed as excessive and as a misuse of power (Stewart, Baumer, Brunson, and Simons 2009; Hyland Langton and Davis 2015; Morrow, White and Fradelta 2017). Along racial dimensions, there have been differential assessments of police legitimacy, trust, and fairness. Minorities are more likely to hold negative perceptions of the police than whites (Engel 2005; Lai and Zhao 2010; Schuck, 2013; Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, and Krysan 1997; VanCraen 2013; Wu 2014). Research suggests LGBTQ and other sexual minorities are less likely to positively view the police relative to effective policing, outcomes of policing, and personal police engagement (Stephen et al. 2018; Nadal and Davidoff 2015). Gender has also been found to influence perception of the police. When compared to men, research suggests that women receive more favorable treatment buttressing arguments explaining why women hold more positive views of the police (Ivkovic, 2008). Other studies suggest no significant relationship between gender and police trustworthiness (Lai & Zhao 2010; Sampson and Jeglum-Bartusch 1998; Ren et al. 2005). In summary, Blacks, members of the LGBTQ community, and men are more likely to have negative perceptions of the police than whites, non-LGBTQ individuals, and females.

Studies have found that public perceptions toward governmental institutions influence levels of confidence in the police (Boateng 2018; Boateng et al. 2017; Boda 2015; Kwak, San Miguel, and Carreon 2010; Stack and Cao 1998; Van Craen 2013). The nature and frequency of police citizen contact also impacts perception of the police (Alberton & Gorey 2018; Cao 2011; Gau 2011; Lim 2015; Ren et al. 2005; Wells 2007). Individuals having more positive interactions with the police are more likely to have greater trust and more positive perceptions of the police. Greater frequency of police citizen interactions has been associated with more negative perception of the police (Warren 2010). Lee, Boateng, Kim, and Binning (2019) found years in the community, residence, level of education, political ideology, and quality and frequency of contact influenced assessments of police trustworthiness. The literature revealed confidence, satisfaction, and trust dimensions were related to frequency of contact and encounters with racial/ethnic minorities including LGBTQ communities, persons residing in disadvantaged neighborhoods, and males.

Methods

Ten focus groups were conducted representing a variety of community perspectives and settings. In recruiting study participants, researchers identified residents who were considered

vulnerable and more likely to have had police encounters. Participants were recruited from voluntary organizations providing services to the targeted population, community leaders, and referrals from community residents. Organizations distributed study information and assisted in setting-up and scheduling focus groups. Some recruitment was face-to-face with researchers visiting facilities where community residents congregated and speaking directly to community residents. In one instance, a community resident identified and invited acquaintances to participate in a focus group. Focus groups were conducted during June and July of 2019. The combined number of residents participating in the focus groups consisted of 52 community residents with an average of approximately five participants in each group. Race and gender characteristics of the participant voices included 25 Black males, 16 Black females, seven white males, and four white females who were willing to provide a mirror of lived experiences with policing. The target population focus group inclusion was transient home men and women, persons identifying as alcohol and other drug users, women victims of domestic violence, parents who had lost sons to violence, low SES white and African American residents, LGBTQ and other sexual minorities, and formerly incarcerated individuals.

Focus group dialogues were designed to engage the following types of communities: populations with whom there is recognized or acknowledged tension due to divisive events which have eroded the trust between police and community and underserved or marginalized populations who are exposed to violence and do not typically seek or receive access to victim services. Community dialogues focused on community perceptions, sources of distrust, and inhibitors to access to victim services. Community members were asked to describe challenges in areas of community-police relations, community-police collaborations, police response to victims and community members who may have been traumatized by violence, and the ability of the police to connect victims and community members to victim assistance and services.

Focus group sessions were audio recorded with a structured interview guide designed to help participants describe and discuss experiences and perceptions of policing. A note-taker and observer provided enhanced documentation of participants' responses to better understand the transcribed narrative. All transcripts were reviewed independently by three different researchers. Dedoose, a computer assisted qualitative data analysis system (CAQDAS), was used to facilitate the qualitative data analysis processes including transcription analysis, coding, text interpretation, and development of themes. Verbatim transcripts of the recorded interviews were uploaded into Dedoose as text files. Data were segmented and categorized by themes to identify significant patterns more easily in the data.

Findings

Perceptions of Police Behaviors

Community members were asked to identify perceived problems with police community relations. Residents identified several longstanding and troubling problems arising during encounters with the police. Many felt they had been targets of humiliating and often frightening police tactics often based upon race and ethnicity, racial groups were not treated equally, and that police force was not equitable to nature of the police encounter. Still others felt police officers were not held accountable for their actions, did not trust that police officers

by and large were good, honest, or reliable questioning the legitimacy of law enforcement. Participants believed law enforcement officers “acted above the law.”

Community residents also spoke about the “blue wall of silence” when confronted with alleged police misconduct. As one respondent aptly stated, “Police back each other up instead of the truth.” Respondents addressed how police officers readily aligned with each other, self-insulated, perceived themselves under seize, and followed a code of silence. There appeared to be little expectations by residents that they could rely on fellow police officers to hold who they perceived as “racist and dishonest” accountable. Experiences of community residents were described in terms of fear and humiliation attributed to race and ethnic based ill-treatment by police officers.

Other respondents believed law enforcement officers expected undeserved support and respect. Many felt respect for police should be earned and police officers were not being held accountable for inappropriate behaviors and therefore should not garner community respect. Residents felt relationships with the police needed improvement. Again, residents indicated that there was little trust between police officers and the communities they served. One respondent stated, “It’s just a mistrust between the two because of the past of what you have seen with your own eyes or what you have heard from other people in the community to where you get to a point you don’t trust the police.” Another respondent said, “I think we have just gotten to a point now where people have gone from feeling like the police are there to protect them to where they have to protect themselves from the police.”

Respondents suggested that distrust of police officers often resulted in residents refusing to provide information about community crimes or willingness to work with the police to develop responses to crime and disorder problems. Many noted that when police officers were contacted, the levels of violent enforcement were inappropriate to the nature of the infraction. Participants appeared to be negatively disposed toward police officers grounded in lived experiences of negative encounters with police law enforcement officers. One person said, “I was walking, they just came up to me and snatched me out of nowhere and just put me in the police car. They didn’t call my momma, didn’t ask to speak with nobody or nothing. They just took me to jail.” There is a lack of willingness to provide information and assistance to police officers in combatting crime because contact with police officers appeared to have been associated with inappropriate levels of violence and unnecessary mistreatment and arrest.

A major police community barrier identified was police stereotyping of community residents. Participants felt that police officers were more likely to use force in poor, low income, segregated communities. Some residents felt they were criminalized because they were poor and Black. One participant said, “So if anybody come, all law enforcement automatically expected to be a racist issue... automatically set for us to go to jail.” Another respondent said,

“I can drive in any white neighborhood in _____ and I will never be pulled over but if I come around north _____ area, I will always be pulled over just for the simple fact that I’m white and especially, if I have a black male with me.”

Respondents felt police community interactions were influenced by neighborhood context. A participant stated,

“It’s just like when the police pull you over depending on where you are. They can be pulling over a Black guy in a car. Before you get there or you are passing by, you’ll see this one Black man standing on the side of the road and you got six or seven police cars surrounding him.”

Yet another respondent said,

“They call black neighborhoods infected neighborhoods. They stereotype. When they come, they already they got a label. And it just an assumption they have when they have an encounter with you like their mind is already made up. They will pull some good people over for nothing.”

Residents felt that the local police department was not representative of the communities they served. Many felt that if police officers were assigned to neighborhoods in which they were reared, they would show greater respect and fairer treatment of residents. Residents called for greater racial and ethnic diversity within the police department. They often cited police officers who did not or had never resided in their community, referring to such officers as “commuter cops” from other cities and towns unfairly policing their communities.

One respondent said,

“We need more of what is called community police. People who live in the area, police the area. I think the same because they know your name, they know how your parents look. I’m just going to take you home instead of just taking you to jail rather than talking about coming to get you. ... Then they teach them, this a bad area but the people ain’t from this area and then they don’t bring nobody from the hood.”

Encounters described by residents suggested a disconnect between police officers and communities they served. In summary, when responding to the question, What do you think are the problems with police community relations, participants cited racial profiling, lack of trust of community members, police out-of-touch with the community, police supporting each other instead of the truth, community residents lack of respect for the police, lack of a relationship with the community, police officers stereotyping community residents⁰, police officers appearing to act above the law, and lack of community representation within local police departments.

Barriers to Improving Police Community Collaborations

Respondents were also asked to identify barriers to improving police-community collaboration. Several problems were identified including lack of training, police officers poorly interacting with the community, lack of resources to adequately address community needs and concerns, community fear and apprehension to working or collaborating with the

police, police officers untreated job related stressors and traumas carried over into public encounters, lack of honest communications by the police, police officers protecting each other, prejudgments against former felons, and failure to listen to and address community needs and concerns.

To improve police community relations, one respondent said:

“Better training for police officers, making them seriously accountable for their actions, making sure that these body cams that they wear, no matter what, they are never turned off, being checked regularly to make sure that they are on.”

Another respondent felt community residents’ needs and concerns were more likely addressed by collective actions of community members. The participant suggested that improved police community relations were not perceived as important by community residents and constituents had not adequately communicated the extent of their concerns.

The participant stated,

“We have a problem ...we keep them amongst ourselves instead of going to these town meetings and I tell them if I just go down there by myself, I’ll get overlooked. But if we come collectively with it, we would be heard. We need to do better on our end as far as uniting because it’s representing numbers, you know, and we need to come together collectively.”

Another participant identified barrier to improved police community relations centered on lack of re-integrating of former inmates into society resulting in increased criminal behaviors noting “thing is nothing is in place for people getting out of a prison, convicted of a felony. If you ever been convicted of a felony, there is nowhere for you to go to work because the automatically ask if you are convicted felon. There is no re-integration into society.”

Police Response to Trauma

Participants were also asked about perceptions of police response to victims of crime and other community members who have been traumatized by violence. Respondents believed police officers did not address trauma well. One respondent simply said, “They don’t deal with any kind of trauma at all.”

Another respondent said,

“They don’t understand people that has a mental problem if somebody that is mental and they’re sick probably have an altercation with somebody, they don’t know that this person is sick because they not trying to know this.”

Respondents felt the police were not trained to recognize trauma.

“They haven’t really been trained to deal with certain issues like that. . . . See when they are in training, they show them how to defend themselves or protect themselves. If they are properly trained, they wouldn’t be actually shooting. Why you just don’t taze this person. They’re just all about manhandling someone and it should never happen like that.”

Respondents believed police responses were heavily dependent on the location of the victim and other demographic factors such as race, gender, and sexuality. One respondent stated:

“... And even with the heterosexual Black man and Black woman, the situation is looked at differently than when it is with a Caucasian male or female. Even with a Black man and a Black woman, it’s looked at differently depending on where they go to for the call, the type of neighborhood that they go to for the call. Your social living status is looked at totally different because we live there in ___ and you live out here in one of those estate areas.”

Respondents were also asked to describe challenges in connecting victims of crime and other community to victim assistance and services. One respondent said, “the first challenge is they have to want to help.” Another respondent indicated that trust was a major concern. The informant stated, “We don’t trust them enough to go to them for help to be honest.” Based on lived experiences with police officer, one informant said, “If I know you the one put me in these certain situations, you are the last person I want to go talk to about me being traumatized.” A respondent indicated that police officers were not trained to recognize trauma. The informant said, “I say either not enough resources or lack of knowledge.” Another informant said,

“They don’t understand people that has a mental problem. If somebody that is mental and they’re sick, probably have an altercation with somebody. They don’t know that this person is sick...”

Another barrier to accessing trauma related services was the difficulty in negotiating the social service system. One informant spoke directly to the difficulty in accessing services stating,

“...and if they do have anything to help us, it’s so much red tape you got to go through to get to until it discourages the person that’s going. “

Barriers to improving relationships include lack of interaction and cooperation between the police and the communities they served. Respondents called for training to improve police officer’s response to trauma, greater accountability for inappropriate police officer behaviors, and fewer negative police encounters in marginalized communities. Focus group participants suggested that police training and greater community resources should be designed to provide police officers better understanding of the needs and special circumstances of crime victims, person attempting to re-integrate back into the community upon release, and individuals with mental health related problems. In terms of the community improving relations, respondents

indicated members of the community needed to work towards greater unity and collective actions while dispelling apathy and advancing community interests.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Study findings suggest a need to build bridges spanning dissimilar communities and focusing on greater community unity, collectively, and transparency in addressing divisive problems and issues. Community residents identified significant shortcoming and opportunities to address problems and improve police community relations. Four key areas of improvement are leadership, trust, community policing, and becoming a trauma informed police department. There is a need to leverage leadership that values transparency, accountability, and restorative justice. Leadership must develop a departmental vision outlining steps needed to address training/re-training, accountability, communication with the public, and integration with other city/state institutions to increase assistance to vulnerable sectors of the community. A vision should be developed followed by a strategic plan with actionable steps for rank-and-file officers on how to meet and uphold values outlined in the vision. An organizational culture must be created to support officers attempting to uphold the values such as whistle blower protections.

Broken trust was a repeated and common theme in nearly all conversations. In a few conversations, community members identified areas where police officers were engaging in trust-building activities such as participation in community events and playing “basketball with the cops. The community believed trust needed to be built with not just the police department in general but with specific officers patrolling the beats in their respective communities. The community felt that there was a need for greater investment by police officers into building relationships with the communities they serve.

Community policing is not an original idea but one that should be considered for adoption by police departments. Police departments should incorporate into policing approaches, an ingrained and permanent community policing philosophy humanizing officers and residents to each other and building trust between the community and police. Two key principals should be addressed are (1) development of community policing as a core component of policing strategies and training and (2) assurance of fair and compassionate policing in all neighborhoods including those communities with high rates of violent crime and in minority communities. It is imperative that greater attention is given to improving police community relations. Police officers should be provided humanistic training focusing on changing police officers responding behaviors to one of increased understanding and responding to traumas in communities they serve.

In communities where police officers’ connections to communities they serve have been broken, it is recommended that certain aggressive and lethal practices are terminated. Reform is needed for such practices as chokeholds, knee-on-neck holds, no-knock warrants, and discriminatory stop-and-frisk policies. Such practices should be banned. Efforts must be made to restore public faith in fairness of the police complaint process. Municipalities should consider developing independent civilian police officer review boards. These boards should be representative of the communities they serve and have the responsibility of reviewing and investigating public complaints concerning police misconduct and making disciplinary

recommendations. Police departments must have strategies and procedures to identify and hold accountable police officers. A 2001 National Institute of Justice Research Brief noted that 10% of police officers were responsible for 90% of problems and two percent of police officers were responsible for 50% of citizen complaints (Walker, Alpert, and Kenny 2001). Consideration should be given to developing early warning systems responsive to problem police officers.

Measures are needed to help ensure that these officers are identified before they can harm citizens and are sufficiently deterred from misbehaving while on active duty. Several factors might be included in the process of identifying problem police officers such as citizen complaints, firearm-discharge reports, use-of-force reports, civil litigation, resisting-arrest incidents, and pursuits and vehicular accidents. Once problem officers have been identified, interventions must be put in place that might include deterrence and education, frequent monitoring and supervisory for an identified period, counseling regarding personal issues, and training in specific law enforcement techniques and approaches (Walker, Alpert, and Kinney 2001). Efforts should include putting the wellness of the police officers as paramount ideals and addressing the social and emotional needs of all officers in formal and transparent ways. Essential to the identification of wayward officers is the use of body cameras. The kinds of police misbehaviors reported by respondents can be verified using body cameras. Although the aim should correct police misbehavior, community trust and confidence in the police cannot grow if police misbehavior cannot be corrected and the continued belief of residents that there is no accountability for persistent negative police behaviors.

Police training should be reformed. Greater attention should be given to the field training component of the job-related experiential exercises complementing training received in police academies. Field trainers are generally veteran officers who train new recruits and often serve as gatekeepers of antiquated police philosophies and modalities that may be counter to what has been taught in patrol school. Many police departments have attempted to implement progressive practices by employing more diverse leadership and training police officers to be more humanistic, concerned, and less aggressive. These efforts may be thwarted by field training officers who have little or no formal instruction in how to train new police recruits. Field trainers themselves may have histories of citizen complaints and misbehaviors. Weichselbaum (2020) addressed how ill-trained field trainer officers fuel a “toxic street-cop culture ... with too much aggression and too little accountability.” Police departments should develop standards for field officer supervision of new police officer recruits and guidelines should be established detailing the responsibilities, training, refresher training, and evaluation of field training officers. Police officers with allegations of violent behaviors and having less than acceptable disciplinary records should be prohibited from becoming field officer trainers.

Additionally, police departments should implement community-focused trauma informed policing including a commitment to de-escalation of tense situations and re-training around the appropriate use of force. Undergirding trauma-informed policing is the belief that law enforcement officers facilitate better interactions during criminal investigations with greater understanding of trauma and its impact. The trauma-informed policing paradigm shifts from police officers approaching a victim or a perpetrator asking, “what has happened to you” rather than “what is wrong with you?” Trauma-informed policing increases safety for all, decreases the likelihood of individuals returning to criminal behavior, and supports the

recovery of justice-involved individuals with serious mental illness (SAMHSA 2020). By approaching these scenarios from a trauma-informed perspective, police officers can adjust the ways in which they react and respond to the various people involved in a case and potentially have better outcomes.

As noted earlier many police departments have recently been besieged by traumatic events. Police officers often are challenged with appropriately responding to citizens experiencing trauma. To promote a more productive trauma response, municipalities might integrate social workers into police departments and develop trauma response teams. Community trauma teams should be comprised of trained social workers and social service providers to respond to incidents involving citizen concerns to non-violent complaints such as drug overdoses, mental health or suicide crises, public intoxication, panhandling, and neighborhood disputes. Mental health and de-escalation resources should be provided in low income and disadvantaged communities and neighborhoods.

Municipalities should embrace the ideals of “Restorative Justice” which augment trauma informed policing by not only addressing perpetrators of crime but repairing the harm caused by the crime. This includes involving victims, offenders, community members, and officers in meeting and deciding what restorative justice means. The goal of restorative justice is for the victim, offender, and sometimes community representatives to share experiences of what happened, how to reach consensus on harm caused by the crime, and how to repair the harm from the offense. Assessment of restorative justice programs suggest that such approaches make offenders less likely to reoffend (Sherman and Strang, 2007).

An extension of leadership, trust, community policing, and trauma informed policing is the need for clear communication and accountability. Police departments would be well served by leveraging data to support these new ideas. Existing resources should be continued to be leveraged to share data, not just on federal mandated crime reporting but also officer complaints and repositories to share new policies and best practices that might be shared and adopted by the other departments.

Focus groups members called for police reform to include community policing with a greater number of the police officers assigned to patrol a community to reside in the community they served rather than be “commuter cops.” This requires a more diverse police force and deliberate recruitment and assignment of police officers to vulnerable communities. Many community residents also expressed an explicit desire to have police department employ individuals from the communities they are policing. It is recommended that the municipalities actively recruit residents from the community they will police during hiring waves and actively address any existing practices they may have resulted in exclusion of community residents from employment.

The recommendations identified based on the Baton Rouge demonstration study provided direction for development of policies and practices. A change in organizational culture must be embraced. In addition to the commitment to address the systemic problems and barriers required to change police-community relations, a prioritization of financial municipal resources also must take place. Police training must be expanded, and community partners must also embrace their roles in advancing change. Achieving social justice outcomes is often

a long and gradual process, but the adoption of recommendation from this study will begin the march to such a path.

References

- Alberton A, Gorey K. 2018. "Contact is a stronger predictor of attitudes toward police than race: A state-of-the-art review." *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 41 (1): 2-23.
- Baer, Chambliss and. 1997. "Generating fear: The politics of crime reporting." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 27: 87-107.
- Bayley, Harold Mendelsohn and David. 1969. *Minorities and the police*. New York: Fress Press.
- Boateng, F.F., & Buckner, Z.N. 2017. "Police legitimacy in Asia: Findings from a multilevel hierarchical non-linear analysis ." *Policing and Society* 1-18.
- Boateng, FD,. 2018. "Institutional trust and performance: A study in Ghana, Australian & New Zealand." *Journal of Criminology* 51 (2): 164-182.
- Boda, Z. 2015. "How perceptions and personal contact matter: The individual-level determinants of trust in police in Hungary." *Policing and Society* 27 (7): 732-749.
- Burgason, Kyle A. 2017. "Trust is hard to come by: Disentangling the influence of structural characteristics and race on perceptions of trust in the police in a major Southern County." *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice* 15 (4): 349-371.
- Campbell, Howard Schuman and Angus. 1968. *Racial attitudes in fifteen American cities*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.
- Cao, L. 2011. "Visible minorities and confidence in the police." *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* (53) 1: 1-26.
- Dai, M., & Johnson, R.R. 2008. "Is neighborhood context a cofounder? Exploring the effects of citizen race and neighborhood context on satisfaction with the police." *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 32 (4): 595-612.
- Engel, RS. 2005. "Citizens' perception of distributive and procedural injustice during traffic stops with police." *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency* 42 (4): 445-481.
- Gau, J. 2011. "The convergent and discriminant validity of procedural justice and police legitimacy: An empirical test of core theoretical propositions." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 39 (6): 489-498.
- Hawkins, DF and Hardy, KA. 1989. "Black-White Imprisonment Rates: A State by State Analysis." *Social Justice* 16 (4): 75-94.
- Hawkins, DF. 1985. "Trends in Black-White imprisonment: Changing conceptions on changing Patterns of Social Control." *Crime and Social Justice* 24: 187-209.
- Hill, GD. 1982. "Other things are not equal: Redirecting equity research on Deviance processing." *Research in Social Problems and Public Policy* 2: 149-173.
- Hyland, S., Langton, L., & Davis, E. 2015. "Police use of nonfatal force, 2002-11." *U.S. Department of Justice* . Washington, DC. <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/punf0211.pdf>.
- Ivkovic, Sanja Kutnjak. 2008. "A comparative study of public support for the police. ." *International Criminal Justice Review* 406-34.
- Kwak DH, San Miguel CE, Carreon DL. 2010. "Political legitimacy and public confidence in police: An analysis of attitudes toward the police." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 38 (4): 685-692.
- Lai Y-L, Cao L, Zhao J. 2010. "The impact of political entity on confidence in legal authorities: A comparison between China and Taiwan." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 38 (4): 685-692.
- Lee, Jae-Seung, and Jihong Solomon, Zhao. 2016. "Disentangling the myth about citizen participation in collaborative work with police: The difference between general

- citizens and citizen volunteers." *Policing: An International Journal* 39(1): 127-44.
- Lee, Jae-Seung, Ren, and Fei, Luo. 2016. "Is bad stronger than good? The impact of police-citizen encounters on public satisfaction with police." *Policing: An International Journal* 109-26.
- Lim, H. 2015. "Social modeling effects on perception of the police." *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management* 38 (4): 675-689.
- Morrow, W.J., White, M.D., Fradella, H.F. 2017. "After the stop: Exploring the racial/ethnic disparities in police use of force during Terry stops." *Police Quarterly*.
- Nadal KL, Davidoff KC,. 2015. "Perceptions of police scale (POPS): Measuring attitudes towards law enforcement and beliefs about police bias." *Journal of Psychology and Behavioral Science* v3n2a1.
- Owen, Stephen S. Burke, Tod W., Few-Demo, April L. Natwick, Jameson J. 2018. "Perceptions of the police by LGBT communities." *American Journal of Criminal Justice: The Journal of the Southern Criminal Justice Association*. 43 (3): 668-693cob.
- Reiss, Albert J. 1967. *Public Perception and Recollections about Crime, Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, Field Surveys III*. Government and Printing Office, Washington, D.C.: A Report of a Research Study Submitted to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Demonstration of Justice.
- Ren L, Cao L. Lovrich N, Gaffney M. 2005. "Linking confidence in the police with the performance of the police. Community policing can make a difference." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 33 (1): 55-66.
- Sampson R, Jeglum-Bartusch D. 1998. "Legal cynicism and (subcultural?) tolerance of deviance: The neighborhood context of racial differences." *Law & Society* 32 (4): 777-804.
- SAMHSA. Trauma Training for Criminal Justice Professionals. 2020. <https://www.samhsa.gov/gains-center/trauma-training-criminal-justice-professionals>
- Schafer, J.A., Huevner, B.M., & Bynum, T.S. 2003. "Citizen perceptions of police services: Race, neighborhood context, and community policing." *Police Quarterly* 6 (4): 448-468.
- Schuck, A.M., Rosenbaum, D.P., & Hawkins, D.F. 2008. "The influence of race/ethnicity, social class, and neighborhood context on residents' attitudes toward the police." *Police Quarterly* 11 (4): 496-519.
- Schuman H, Steeh C, Bobo L. Krysan M. 1997. *Racial attitudes in American*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Sharp, P.E. Johnson & E.B. 2009. "Accounting for variation in distrust of local police." *Justice Quarterly* 26 (1): 157-182.
- Sherman, Lawrence W. and Heather Strang. 2007 "Restorative justice: The evidence." London Smith Institute.
- Simons, R.L., R.K. Brunson, E.P. Baumer, E.A. Stewart. 2009. "Neighborhood racial context and perceptions of police-based racial discrimination among black youth." *Criminology* 47 (3): 847-887.
- Stack SJ, Cao L. 1998. "Political conservatism and confidence in the police: A comparative analysis." *Journal of Crime and Justice* 21 (1): 71-76.
- Stewart, E. A., Baumer, E.P., Brunson, R. K., & Simons, R.L. 2009. "Neighborhood racial context and perceptions of police-based racial discrimination among black youth." *Criminology* 47 (3): 847-887.
- Van Craen, M. 2013. "Explaining majority and minority trust in the police." *Justice Quarterly* 30 (6): 1042-1067.
- Vogel, B. L. 2011. "Perceptions of the police: The influence of individual and contextual factors in a racially diverse urban sample." *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice* 267-290.

- Vogel, B.L. 2011. "Perceptions of the police: The influence of individual and contextual factors in a racially diverse urban sample." *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice* 9 (4): 267-290.
- Walker, S., Alpert, G. P. and Kenny, D. J. 2001. "Early warning systems: Responding to the problem police officer." Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, US Department of Justice.
- Warren, P. 2010. "The continuing significance of race: An analysis across two levels of policing." *Social Science Quarterly* 91 (4): 1025-1043.
- Weichselbaum, S. 2020. "One roadblock to police reform: Veteran officer who train recruits. *The Marshall Project*. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/one-roadblock-police-reform-veteran-officers-who-train-recruits-n1234532>
- Wells, W. 2007. "Type of contact and evaluation of police officers: The effects of procedural justice across three types of police-citizen contacts." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 35 (6): 612-621.
- Wiley, Deane C. 2001. "Black and white differences in the perception of justice." *Behavioral Science Law* 19: 649-655.
- Wu Y., I.Y. Sun, & R.A. Triplett. 2009. "Race, class or neighborhood context: Which matters more in measuring satisfaction with police?" *Justice Quarterly* 26 (1): 125-156.
- Wu, Y. 2014. "Race/ethnicity and perceptions of the police: A comparison of white, Black, Asian and Hispanic Americans." *Policing and Society* 24 (2): 135-157.

THE PUNISHMENT OF JUVENILES IN AMERICA

Perry Lyle, Columbia College of Missouri

Ashraf Esmail, Dillard University

Abstract

The debate continues regarding how to deal with violent juveniles. Some advocate for and there are those who oppose incarcerating juveniles in adult prisons. (Kupchik, 2007; Seigel & Welsh, 2009). The review describes the theories one should consider when deciding whether to incarcerate juveniles with adults. Based on existing theories, studies have shown the likely outcome of housing juveniles with adults. The impact of COVID-19 had a significant impact on juvenile justice legislation in 2020. Despite the pandemic, many legislative sessions cut short; many legislative sessions continued to focus on enacting laws to divert young people from formal court proceedings with alternatives to detention.

Introduction and History of Juvenile Punishment

There is no doubt that the subject of housing juveniles and adult offenders together is a hotly debated valance issue that has followed the path of more authoritarian crime control theories developed in the 1970s. Society punishes offenders in the U. S. for four primary reasons: retribution or revenge for the crime committed in retaliation, i.e., *lex talionis*), incapacitation or removal from the population, deterrence (classical school of thought), and rehabilitation. Over the past two decades, while crime is trending downward, states' legislative policymakers positioned rehabilitation on the backburner. Most ordinary citizens believe that the U. S. is still on a crime wave when it comes to violent youth crime in America. Conversely, some criminal justice and social workers see a different picture.

According to Billitteri (2010), crime evened out in the 1990s. From there, it had plateaued and even dropped, according to the FBI. Since then, it appears to have evened out or dropped somewhat; and more current figures (reported in 2008) illustrates in the crime index show that crime, including juvenile deviance, has dropped.

In the last decade [2009 – 2018] juvenile courts saw a decrease for nearly all offenses. However, from [2014 – 2018] an increase of 21 percent was reported by the FBI for homicide cases. According to Dr. Perry Lyle, Ph.D., the homicide cases are the ones that garner the most media attention giving the public the perception that juveniles are violent – especially, those associated with gangs. Hockenberry, S., and Puzanchera, C. (2020, April 1). From the past, the future become more in focus.

History of Juvenile Justice in America

At the turn of the Century, Chicago, Illinois, established the first juvenile justice court system in America. Before the 1900s, throughout the colonial period, juveniles, ages seven and up, were considered knowledgeable between right and wrong. During these times, kids did not have to face a barrage of constables, magistrates, or an institutionalized system with aftercare awaiting them. The offending youth had to go home and face the punishment their parents who would doll out punishment. However, as juveniles, offenders would face harsh consequences for more serious and violent crimes at any age, according to Bartollas and Miller (2011).

English juvenile jurisprudence contains a reflection of gloomy times wherein their age were hundreds of offenses that the youth could find guilty of and sent to the gallows. Immigrants from England carried the traditions of what we call English common law to the colonies. In 1785, for example, some twenty juveniles under the age of 18 were executed in England.

The use of the death penalty continued into the 1800s at a slower rate. Those juveniles not executed were pardoned and some deported to another county. The harsh laws continued into the colonial period in America. However, as the movement toward independence grew, so did advocates for treating juveniles differently than adults. The concept of *parens patriae*, or states' right to intercede with parental involvement or guardianship, grew out of a necessity, for a variety of reasons, but most likely for juvenile deviance or incorrigible behavior; Crouse formalized it in 1838.

The courts had not extended any legal platforms or civil rights for juveniles. The consequences and fate of the adolescences at the time rested in the hands of the magistrates and other officials (Bartollas & Miller, 2011). The positivist advocates saw crime as generally being committed by forces beyond the offender's control - such as poverty, psychological, and other environment, and even nurturing issues, which if modified, juvenile deviance could be controlled.

Proponents aligned with this doctrine also felt that this theory should apply to the youth. "After all, jails and incarceration of kids served no benefit to society, and thus, the Cook County Juvenile court was found in 1899" (p. 6). Accordingly, with the Industrial Revolution (1750-1850) era having been ushered in, U.S. society took on a new transformation. The tumultuous shift brought about massive changes moving from an agriculture-based economy to a factory setting where machines and new modes of transportation transformed labor.

The United States was becoming more modernized through the Industrial Revolution, with a flood of immigrants developing the country into cities primarily because of new manufacturing technologies, relying less on the rural farm. The youth of the times took on a large part of the family responsibilities, as families were typically much more extensive than now. Kids went to work in factories and worked in harsh environments without safety considerations, long hours, and low pay. Many went to work at age sixteen and did not finish a formalized high school program. Those that did were considered educated and took on the more respectable and higher-paid skill labor and white-collar jobs.

Many kids lacking solid social structure, low-income families' structures, depressed neighborhoods searched for a way to the American Dream through criminal activities. Even so, our society needs to understand why American culture punishes the young along with adults. It is a strong reflection of how the U. S. citizens care about their youth as a collected group by punishing the most vulnerable at a young age.

According to Finestone, H. (1976), Chicago's city provided an excellent example of the Progressive Era changes. Between 1890 and 1910, Chicago's population grew from one million to two million. Between 1880 and 1890, the number of factories nearly tripled. Nearly 70 percent of the inhabitants of the city were immigrants. The infamous mobster Al Capone was a mere teen when he started on his quest to become the youngest ruling violent- mobster controlling most of the mob activities in Chicago during Prohibition.

Definitions

According to (Davis M., 2002, p. 144), a juvenile "is generally one who is under the age of consent, most often 18 years of age."

According to (Davis p. 145), a juvenile offense "is a criminal offense committed by those under the age of legal responsibility, most often 18 years of age."

Juvenile bind over, according to Davis, "is the transfer of juvenile cases to adult court. Juvenile Transfers of juveniles are used in serious offenses, such as homicides, rapes, robberies, and serious assaults (p. 144). Once bound over, the juvenile's case is handled like any other felony adult case." According to Kupchik, A. (2006), 44 states between 1992 and 1997 have changed their laws allowing for the transfer of juveniles to adult criminal Court for specific offenses.

Contrasting Theories of Incarcerating Juveniles with Adult Populations

Kupchik (2006 p. 9) the problem with juvenile's crime is that the courts have increasingly relied upon a crime control model to incarcerate kids rather than find better alternatives to deal with the problem effectively. Kupchik cited Herbert Packer known legal scholar, who had advanced the proposition that there are two models involving its legal process. One uses an authoritarian crime control model that doles out punishment for crimes committed with little regard for procedures and expedience versus the due process model that uses formal court process and adversarial trials to protect offenders' civil rights.

Today's juvenile courts are more akin to due process theory for trying and dispensing justice. For example, the press is not allowed into the courtroom, and the media is barred from releasing information about the juvenile defendants and their alleged crimes. If moved into the adult criminal justice system, identities may be released. In the criminal justice model, the courts are more interested in the severity and prevention of recidivism by the offender. Thus, the system moves away from the regard for age and the future welfare. This model emphasis less importance in the achievement of justice for outcomes of punishment. In the due-process model, clinicians and social workers are likely to be involved, giving a voice in treatment programs, and offer court programs to rehabilitate the youthful offender. Ideally, if the youthful offender is incarcerated, he or she will be housed with other juveniles in a state-operate institution geared toward education, reform, skill-development, and transition back into the community.

The main theories in American sociological/criminological theories since the twentieth Century were predominately held by three theories: differential association, strain, and control. These theories have certainly laid a foundation for scholars to continue studying, testing, and theorizing about the causal factors of deviance and crime. Social order is obtained more efficiently through laws advocating participation and willingness of the culture to obey its laws than enforcing social control by creating segregation and retribution for offending. Therefore, political leaders must way cost-benefit analysis as to what will protect citizens and reduce crime and recidivism and whether "get-tough" laws ultimately work or not.

Is it more important to invest resources into strengthening families, raising a child, education, and prevention of delinquency than in long-term jail sentences? These are important policy implications that will continue to be debated by criminologists, sociologists, political leaders, correctional officials, and judicial officials for years to come. Today, the U.S. represents approximately five percent of the world's population and approximately twenty-five percent of the prison population. Over 100,000 juveniles are housed in an adult prison (tried as adults) on any given day, according to (Bartollas & Miller, 2011). The Department of Justice cited by (EJI.org 2012) reports that over 7,500 held temporally awaiting transfers to other facilities on any given day.

In this review process, criminologists and social scientists have examined the early historical development of criminological theories, which will continue to impact our society. Studies have also analyzed and made some observations about the causal effects of crime and

deviations hypothesized from the theories, relating them to juvenile and adult criminal behavior.

One question to consider rests the relevant importance of reviewing and exploring these theories in the first place. What is the benefit or "so-what" case can be made? As noted by (Akers & Sellers, 2009, p.1), one criminologist commented, "Why don't people commit a crime?"

Criminology theories are the means to explore the phenomena of crime, its impact on society, and where or not our solutions and laws are working. Do people make a rational choice to commit a crime weighing the consequences against benefit and pain (punishment), as in the classical school of thought? What about being "drunk or high on drugs," which is a leading causative factor of people involved with criminal activity?

Society must have answers to these essential questions if we are to evaluate and look inward at ourselves and ask essential questions of how do we live and interact with each other in society in a humanistic way to achieve the rightful dignity for ourselves and others and to express those values of what matters to us both individually and collectively, now and for our next generation? The Control Theory is a significant body of work to theorize and evaluate why people, and more importantly, juveniles commit the crime.

The authors of Taking Stock, the status of criminological theory, and their assessment are given in the following paragraph. The crime control theory has an extraordinarily strong consensus in the scientific criminological population, which suggests the stability of theory, reliability of facts, and testability of studies provided. The social control theory appears to be compatible with the control theory, and the two may be integrated nicely to fit causative theories of crime (Cullen, Wright & Blevins, 2009). Finally, as explored in the above paragraphs, many theories are built one upon another.

No one theory can explain why people commit the crime. Criminologists understand that juveniles are heavily influenced by peers and act impulsively more than adults. Psychologists and psychiatrists point out that the 'executive center' (i.e., frontal lobe) of the brain is not fully developed until the late teens or 20's for most. Thus, many scholars see that there are elements in the psychoanalytic theory suggested by Reiss's Control Theory (1951), with his theory having an influence of Reckless Containment Theory (1955) and his theory making up some of Hirschi's Theory of Social Bonding (1969) and of course his theory being expanded with Gottfredson and Hirschi's General Theory of Crime (1990).

Travis Hirschi (1989) sees integration as an impossibility without the original theory's convolution and thereby altering the theories that are being combined. Nevertheless, one could postulate that Hirschi's original theory (1969) picks up concepts of Durkheim's control of weakling bonds in the societal disorganization. Besides, it is apparent that there is enough support to profoundly conclude that there are elements of the Classical School of Criminology (18th Century) in the latter.

Elliott et al. (1979) provides an integration of the three leading sociological theories of crime in social control, differential association or social learning theory, and strain rather than contrasting the three theories. Elliott, Ageton, and Canter (1985) tested a modified integrated theory and found that delinquent peers' association played a significant part in predicting whether adolescents would commit a crime other than primary deviance (Agnew & Cullen,

2006 p. 531). In the final analysis, scholars see the full spectrum of how criminology theories have developed and how theorists have relied upon empirical testing and others' concepts to give us a better understanding of why juveniles commit a crime.

Biological Traits and Crime

Any modern-day discussion about crime in general and deviance related to juveniles must include a discussion regarding the biological characteristics. Today, scientists acknowledge that brain injuries and trauma may cause the afflicted to lose the capacity to understand the difference between right and wrong. Deficits to the frontal brain cortex may reduce the executive function, meaning the loss of ability to reflect and make appropriate responses. The loss of ability implies the ability to reason, act impulsively and is characterized by disorganization. (Barkley, 1997).

All behavior is represented in the brain, biochemistry, electrical activity structure, and growth and decline. Biology cannot occur without biology, any more than a computer could be run without a material central processor made of silicon, fired up by real electrons in an electrical current Rowe, D. (2002 p.2).

Biological traits and disorders are not criminal but are known to influence criminal predispositions. Three to five percent of young boys with ADHD are at risk for increased criminal behavior. Consider world prison populations. In the United States, 93 percent of prisons and jails are occupied by males. *Testosterone* levels in males have been known for years as the primary marker for male aggression. Testosterone is a leading causative factor for hormonal aggression, and the higher the levels seen in prison studies were indicative of greater levels of violence (pgs. 44-45).

Juvenile Violence, Arrests, and Incarceration

Data

According to (Snider H. 2002), figures on juvenile crime indicate there were 276 arrests for every 100,000 juveniles ten to seventeen years of age for murder and non-negligent manslaughter, forcible rape, robbery, and aggravated assault. The facts are that while violent crime is too high in the United States, these numbers represent only one percent of the juvenile population in the U.S. As in the case with adult offenders, male juveniles are more likely to commit violent offenses. According to the FBI, Uniform Crime Reports, a comparison of figures for the arrest of juvenile males from 2001-2010 declined by 21.8% and for females, 20.7%. During the same period, violent crimes for females increased by .07%, and for males, there was a sharp decline of 11.8%. In 2010 alone, juveniles participated in 766 murders in the U. S. which is about 8% of all reported murders. (FBI, 2011).

According to a study conducted by the (Department of Health & Human Services, 2006), young males represented 70% of all juveniles charged, with African American males representing 16% of that number but 30% of the caseload. In a 2008 study, according to (Puzzanchera 2009), "African-Americans between ages 10-17 were involved with 52% of violent crimes and 33% of property crimes." The study showed that a 21% increase of youths that were held in adult facilities. Nearly 20% in 2006 of juveniles charged were violent

offenders under the age of 18. About 25% of these youths carried a handgun by the age of 17. Those reported belonging to a gang represented approximately 11%.

Cases of Merit

Lionel Tate - A juvenile offender sentenced as an adult.

The 12-year-old African American was at home playing with his younger playmate, six-year-old Tiffany. Tate's case drew nation-wide media events because Tate, so noticeably young. On July 28, 1999, he was accused of killing his younger playmate friend while (demonstrating) professional wrestling moves he had learned watching T.V. His is a classic case of inconsistency that somehow gets woven into a justice system that appears to be lock-fast into a procedural malady. Lionel was put into a Florida system where the prosecutor may by-pass the juvenile courts and proceed with a grand jury and seek an indictment, even for those younger than fourteen. Florida's legislature has been tough on juvenile crime since the 1990's.

Florida is one of 15 states that allow the prosecutor to direct file for certain juvenile offenses and send the kids straight into adult courts.

Once into the adult court system, they are held in adult jails or prisons awaiting their trial. Most will evenly make a plea bargain agreement and receive sentencing into an adult prison. Plea agreements represent 90% of all outcomes once an offender enters the adult justice system. Did his age make a difference? Is this the crime control model revisited?

In Lionel's case, the answer is "yes." He was prosecuted, and "no" his age did not make a difference. His lack of maturity, apparent lack of comprehension, and inability to understand fate made him void of the justice system's consequences. "Tiffany suffered rib injuries, brain contusions and a fractured skull and the detachment of part of her liver according to" (Kupchik, p. 3.) because of her injuries. Lionel's mother could not believe the outcome that her child, now 14, would be sentenced to life in prison – for play-acting. His sentence at the time made him the youngest juvenile sentenced to life imprisonment. His conviction was later vacated on appeal because evidence showed that the state had not given the youth a competency hearing.

Tate's I.Q., uncontested by either party, showed him to be below average in intelligence, making him even more immature at the time of his act. At the time, Florida §§ 985.225 stated: "a child of any age who is charged with violation of state law punishable by death or by life imprisonment is subject to criminal rather than juvenile court if indicted and must be tried and handled in every respect as an adult" (p. 5). Lionel Tate would be retried, and in developments, he decided in 2004 to accept a plea agreement giving him three years confinement, house arrest for a year, and a thousand hours of community service. Tate had served his time. However, while still on probation, he was re-arrested and jailed (p. 3).

Lionel Tate remains in prison today, has tried to commit suicide, and has quite a record of disciplinary actions. He is currently serving 30 years in a South Florida prison facility [Charlotte Correctional Institution] for a pizza delivery robbery. His outcome to those advocating a crime control theory and just deserts may be contrasted with the following case.

The Case of Raphael Johnson - A juvenile offender sentenced as an adult.

Raphael, in testimony in support of the Juvenile Justice Accountability and Improvement Act of 2007, H.R. 4300 recalls that he was 22 months old, living with his mother as his father was serving time for a crime. He grew up in a tough neighborhood in Detroit. At twelve, he had his first arrest stealing his grandmother's gun and, by fourteen, had been sent away to a boy's home for four years. At 17, Johnson's fate took a horrible turn (Johnson, 2008).

Raphael went to a party with some friends from school, at which point he was ejected for being unruly. As things progress from there, he became involved in a fight outside, motivating him to go for a gun in a friend's car after being thrown to the ground. Being tough was Johnson's mantra, losing face, not in the cards. He fired several shots, and one of the bullets struck a guy name, Johnny Harvard.

Harvard died at the scene, and Raphael was charged as an adult and sentenced to ten to twenty years imprisonment. His life in prison was not without incident, but he testified that he felt exhausted at about 25 years of age and started on self-examination of his life with the support of a Jesuit priest. Johnston tried to make amends to the family of the man killed, but the efforts were not obliged. Nevertheless, he continued a path of rehabilitation and learned several trades while in prison.

Some twelve years later, Johnson was released from prison and received his B.A. degree summa cum laude from the University of Detroit Mercy in four years. Raphael Johnson knows his actions of a 17 year-boy do not make sense to him now, and he is forever admonished for his horrible deeds. He later married his high school sweetheart and his two children of his own. He supports the Goodwill Industries and stays involved with his community, often writing books about his experiences.

Significant Juvenile Supreme Court Rulings

The Supreme Court, beginning in the mid-sixties, has made some incredibly significant rulings affecting substantive and procedural laws regarding juvenile justice. *Kent v. the United States* (1966) was one of the essential cases that criminologists look to in Juvenile Justice Court cases. Morris Kent, the juvenile defendant, had been transferred into adult court proceedings without the benefit of a hearing in which his defense attorney would have had an opportunity to view the evidence and proceeding relating to Kent's defense. Kent's was the first case that the U. S. Supreme Court took note into juvenile court proceedings to ensure fairness and of course, due process. Similarly, in 1967, the United States' Supreme Court reviewed another critical case (*Bohm, R., 2008*).

In *re Gault*, the Court examined Gerald Gault's adjudication deemed by all accounts was a miscarriage of justice. Gault was shy of sixteen when his arrest was charged for making an obscene call to a neighbor. He was arrested and taken into custody. The juvenile was on probation for six months on another matter. Gault was not given a hearing, nor was his mother informed of his charges and any proceedings. The next day, Gault was taken before a judge who questioned Gault informally about the charges without the benefit of counsel.

The complainant, Mrs. Cook, was not present, and there was no recording of the proceedings before the judge. Gault was sentenced and confined in a state institution without witnesses available or representation until he was 21, which was tantamount to a six-year

sentence. If the same proceedings and a resulting conviction had occurred in adult court, Gault would be subjected to a maximum sentence of two months in jail and a \$ 50.00 fine (Bohm, R. 2008).

The case brought about significant new procedures for juvenile court hearings such as the right to counsel, the right to have witnesses appear on ones' behalf, the right to a hearing. The Court's recognition of his Fifth Amendment (safeguarding self-incrimination) was included in the ruling. While a jury trial was not provided, at least two states now require it (Bohm, R. 2008). In 2005, the Court would forever settle the argument on whether a juvenile should face the ultimate punishment.

The United States Supreme Court in *Roper v. Simmons* (03-633) 543 U.S. 551 (2005) 112 S. W. 3d 397 affirmed, on appeal, the decision that the Fourteenth and Eighth Amendments to the Constitution were violated when Chris Simmons was sentenced to death. He murdered at age 17 while still a junior in high school. As part of his defense and mitigating factors, the defense sought to have his age considered as a factor, saying that he was very immature, acted impulsively, and did not fully appreciate the consequences of his actions. His death penalty was vacated on appeal, and Simmons was ordered to serve life without parole (LWOP). In *Roper v Simmons* (2005), in reaching its decision, the Court relied chiefly on the Eighth and Fourteenth amendments of the C constitution, considering cruel and unusual punishment because of age. In the *Graham* case, the Court would rule that LWOP was tantamount to a languishing death sentence, and now, juveniles could no longer be given a life sentence that did not include the option of parole for non-murder cases (*Roper v Simmons*, 2005).

At age 17, a young black male named Terrence Graham committed an armed robbery in Florida and was sentenced to life in prison without parole. Florida has for decades been tough on crime state ruled in the state legislature by conservative politics. However, this was not the first time that young Graham had a brush with the law (Rachel, E. B. 2010).

Previously, Terrence Graham was 16 when he was convicted of armed burglary and attempted armed robbery. His 12-month sentence passed, and he was released. His defense had argued that his sentence was unduly harsh and cruel and violated the Eighth and Fourteen amendment. Florida's District Court of Appeals disagreed, and his conviction and sentence were confirmed. Graham's legal pursuits were not over. On appeal to the United States Supreme Court on a writ of certiorari, the Court took up Terrence Graham's matter because his sentence was cruel and unusual. After all, Graham was a juvenile at the time of his offense (*Graham v Florida* [no. 08-7412] 982 S0. 2nd 43, reversed and remanded).

On a writ of certiorari, the Supreme Court heard the matter and held that the Eighth Amendment's Cruel and Unusual Punishments Clause precludes a juvenile offender to be sentenced to life in prison without parole for non-homicidal crime. Judge Anthony Kennedy wrote the majority opinion. In his summation, Kennedy alluded that justice for juveniles has rejected the premise that juveniles should be sentenced to life imprisonment even in the murder-related offense, no matter how repugnant (*Graham v Florida*, 2010). Graham will be 42 when he is released from prison in 2029. All the things that this young person has missed out on if life is truly a loss. One can only hope that life begins at 40 is a truism for this adult.

Before and during the time the U.S. Supreme Court decided this case, 109 juveniles incarcerated in 50 states served non-capital (death) sentences in adult prisons. Florida

represented N = 77 of those in prison for non-capital crimes. 84% of those 77 in Florida prison were black. 12 was the youngest age at the time of the offense for youths who have received life without parole sentences in Florida. The Court ruled on this case in May 2010 and, later, would take another step in the question of punishing juveniles as adults (Bartollas, C. & Schmalleger, F. 2011).

In June 2012, The Supreme Court handed down the long-awaited ruling by the Court on Obama Care. Just days later, the Court has settled the question on whether juveniles have the same capacity as do adults by removing the life without the possibility of parole even in murder cases in the Miller v. Alabama case (Miller v. Alabama, 567 U.S. ___ 2012); where the juvenile is under 17 years of age. Those who espouse a strict crime control policy decry the Court's ruling as too liberal and fail to consider the victims of violent juvenile crimes who kill without regard to human life and show no mercy to their victims. Proponents of leniency and rehabilitation see the Court's ruling as more humane and in step with the rest of the western civilization (Miller v Alabama, 2012).

Discussion and Conclusion

Are violent juveniles more hardened than many social scientists are willing to believe, lacking the capacity to feel remorse for crimes and injuries they commit? Is this the mindset of those deprived youths who are now streetwise, belong to gangs where violence and the desire to commit violence is their mantra (i.e., colors). If so, is there a reverse neutralization phenomenon taking place that ties back to the works of Sutherland, Akers, Becker, and others noted in Anderson (1999) and Topalli (2005p. 806-807, 2006) as cited by Wood, P. (2007)? As noted in 'differential associations,' the theory shows the influence of juveniles' peers that may develop in strength and re-occurrence.

The theory allows: "denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of victim, condemnation of the condemners, and the appeal to higher loyalties." Competing views will continue the arguments in public discourse, government, and academic studies. The denials provide a mean for rationalization in cognitive dissonance.

Researchers must consider limitations to rational choice and that juveniles are, by and mostly immature and impulsive. Those who commit crimes of violence when evaluated often lack average intelligence and positive nurturing to foster more significant development and appreciation for others. One of Sutherland's chief concerns was how the youth build their self-image and how interactions with peers are motivating factors.

Evidence supports what we know about adult prisons with assumptions made to juveniles. "Most have prior records, have offended before, and approximately two-thirds of them will be re-arrested within three years. There is positive support for the incarceration of juveniles according to Wood's findings (2007) that imprisonment serves as a deterrent to crime" (p.1). However, eventually, most all juveniles arrested and incarcerated in adult prisons will be returned to society.

The question remains, how well will they be reformed? Given the public's attitude over the past few decades and the apparent declaration that juveniles represent the 'new super-predator,' there is little chance for the funding necessary to drive programs into the

rehabilitation equation. The United States is growing an aged population faster than a youthful population, and the elderly do not want to live in fear. Many older folks see today's youth as solely self-absorbed, having the "me" only entitlement attitude.

Juveniles grow-up and mature in prison, often fighting every day for survival in a cruel and harsh environment. Contrary to the myth that prisoners have a life-of-nothing-to-do, with air-conditioned cells and cable T.V. - does not exist. There is little chance that once stigmatized as a criminal, the offender will succeed on the outside. Re-entry programs are often underfunded and lack the resources to make a difference. If the youth did not have mental disorders when he or she entered the correctional institution it is almost certain, the individual will have developed them while living on the inside.

Without family support or a network of positive relationships (most evaporate while imprisoned), the 'juvie' now is an adult. Without adult life-skills, they are expected to conform to a society they have neither little knowledge of nor any coping skills to address issues and problems that lie ahead. A person while incarcerated may learn to navigate prison routines, but these are hardly transferable skills to enjoy a crime-free lifestyle in the outside world.

References

- Agnew & Cullen, (2006) p. 531). *Criminological Theory: Past to Present: Essential Readings* (3rd ed.) Roxbury Publishing. Los Angeles, CA.
- Barkley, R. A. (1997) *ADHD and the Nature of Self-control*. New York. Guilford Press.
- Bartollas, C., & Miller, S. (2011). *Juvenile Justice in America*. (6th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education, Inc.
- Bartollas, C. & Schmalleger, F. (2011) *Juvenile delinquency*. (8th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Rowe, D. (2002). *Biology and Crime*. Roxbury Publishing. Los Angeles, CA.
- Billitteri, T. J. (2010, March 10). *Youth violence*. Retrieved from <http://cqresearcherblog.blogspot.com/2010/03/is-youth-violence-on-upswing.html>.
- Bohm, R., M. (2008) *A concise introduction to criminal justice*. New York City, NY: McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc.
- Cullen, Wright, & Blevins (2009). *Taking stock: The status of criminological theory*. (2nd ed.). New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Davis, M. (2002) *The Concise Dictionary of Crime and Justice*. Sage Publications. Thousand Oaks, CA.
- Department of Health & Human Services. (2006). *Some facts about boys and juvenile delinquency*. Retrieved from <http://aspe.hhs.gov/hsp/08/boys/factsheets/jd/report>.
- EJI (2012) Equal Justice Initiative. *IJI.org*. Accessed from <https://eji.org/news/page/90/?archive-dropdown=2012>
- Elliott et al. (1979) [Criminology Theories - Criminal Justice - IResearchNet](#)
- FBI, Uniform Crime Report. (2011). *Crime in the united states, 2010*. Retrieved from FBI website: <http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/cjis/ucr/crime-in-the-u.s/2010/crime-in-the-u.s.-2010/overviews/tab33overview.pdf>.
- Graham v Florida (2010). *Graham vs. Florida* (no. 08-7412) 982 So. 2nd 43 reversed and remanded. Cornell University Law School, Cornell University Law School, Ithaca, NY, Available from Legal Information Institute. Retrieved from <http://www.law.cornell.edu/supremecourt/text/08-7412>.
- Hockenberry, S. and Puzanchera, C. (2020, April 1). *Juvenile Court Statistics – 2018*. www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb.
- Ilgen, M. A. (2008). Mental disorders: new mental disorders study finding recently were published by M.A. Ilgen and co-researchers. *Mental health Weekly Digest*, 42. Retrieved from: <http://www.lexisnexis.com.library.capella.edu/hottopics/lnacademic/?verb=sr&csi=270179&sr=HLEAD> (New mental disorders study findings recently were published by M.A. Ilgen and co-researchers), April 7, 2008.
- Johnson, R. (2008, September). *The juvenile justice accountability & improvement act of 2007*. Subcommittee on crime, terrorism, and homeland security, Washington, D.C. Retrieved from [http://www.eji.org/files/Johnson Statement 080911.pdf](http://www.eji.org/files/Johnson%20Statement%20080911.pdf).
- Kupchik, A. (2006). *Judging juveniles*. New York City, NY: New York University Press.
- Miller v Alabama (2012). *Miller v. Alabama (2012-109646) United States Supreme Court*. Cornell University Law School, Cornell University Law School, Ithaca, NY, Available from Legal Information Institute. Retrieved from <http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/cert/10-9646>.
- Rachel, E. B. (2010). Categorizing graham. *Federal Sentencing Reporter*, 23(1), 49-53. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/fsr.2010.23.1.49>.
- Puzanchera, C. Office of Justice Programs, Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.

- (2009). *Juvenile arrests in 2008*. Retrieved from U.S. Department of Justice website: <https://www.ncjrs.gov/app/publications/abstract.aspx?ID=259055>
- Rachel, E. B. (2010). Categorizing graham. *Federal Sentencing Reporter*, 23(1), 49-53. doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1525/fsr.2010.23.1.49>
- Roper v Simmons (2005). *Roper v Simmons (03-633) 543 U.S. 551 (2005) 112 S.W. 3rd 397, affirmed.* (2012). Cornell University Law School, Cornell University Law School, Ithaca, NY, Available from Legal Information Institute. Retrieved from <http://www.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/03-633.ZO.html>
- Snyder, H. (2002). U. S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. *Juvenile arrests 2000*. Retrieved from OJJDP website: <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/ojjdp/191729.pdf>
- Wood, P. B. (2007). Exploring the positive punishment effect among incarcerated adult offenders. *American Journal of Criminal Justice: AJCJ*, 31(2), 8-22. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com/docview/203527990?accountid=27965>.

OVERCOMING ADDICTION: COLLEGE WOMEN FORMERLY INVOLVED WITH THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM ACCOUNT OF SUCCESSFUL REENTRY

Shonda Lawrence, Clark Atlanta University

Cynthia Honoré-Collins, Mississippi Valley State University

Abstract

Results from a qualitative, exploratory study of college women formerly involved in the criminal justice system will be reported. The study examined self-reported psycho-social assets, recidivism, and drug use to identify factors that assist women in becoming sober and attending and completing a college degree. Women who had attended college and completed an undergraduate degree in social work completed surveys and participated in video recorded interviews. The study provides information on women who have had criminal justice system involvement and graduated from a four-year higher education institution. The women in the study identify alcohol and drug abuse as precipitating factors in their involvement in the criminal justice system, support systems they see as instrumental in their successful reentry, motivating factors that impact their sobriety and successful reentry, offer advice to other women involved in the criminal justice system, and provide a final statement to women with substance abuse issues and involved in the criminal justice system. Results of this study may assist practitioners in improving program service/delivery for women with substance use disorders and involved in the criminal justice system.

Key Words: Women and Addiction, Women and the Criminal Justice System Involvement, College Women, and the Criminal Justice System

Introduction

Historically, jails and prisons in America were not designed to house women. Jails and prisons were built primarily to accommodate male criminals (Cooney, 2017). Women were rarely committed to harsh solitary confinement. It was not until the 1870's that women were systematically separated from men in the prison system (Rafter, 1981). Today, the number of women behind bars has increased significantly. According to Carson, E.A. (2015), the number of incarcerated women rose 700% between 1980 (26,378) and 2014 (215,332). According to The Sentencing Project (2019), the number of incarcerated women rose 750%, between 1980 (26,378) and 2017 (225,060). In 2013, 1.2 million women were under the authority of the criminal justice system (Glaze, L.E. & Kaeble, D. (2014). Nearly half of incarcerated women are held in jails with 60% waiting to be convicted of a crime or awaiting trial (Kajstura, 2018).

The Sentencing Project reports that female incarceration has grown twice as much as incarceration of men since 1980. During the first part of the 21st century, black women in the United States were twice as likely as Latina women and eight times more likely than white women to be in prison" (Kleinman, 2007). In 2017, African American women incarceration had grown twice the rate and Hispanic women incarceration rate had grown 1.3 times the rate of White women (2016). However, African American women imprisonment rate has been declining since 2000. The rate of imprisonment in state and federal prisons declined by 55% for African American women, while the rate of imprisonment for white women rose by 44% between 2000 and 2017. As greater numbers of women are exiting prisons, issues and concerns related to recidivism/reoffending have emerged (Van Voorhis, P., 2013; Wright, E.M., et., 2012).

Educational attainment is seen as a mitigating factor for women's reentry success after criminal justice system involvement ((Ramirez, R., 2019; Van Voorhis, P., et. al., 2009; Van Voorhis, et. al., 2010). In 2018, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reported a 2.1% unemployment rate for college graduates compared to 4.3% for high school graduates. Although no data was available for women under correctional supervision, most women in prison/jails are high school graduates or have completed a general education development (GED) certificate (Couloute, L., 2018). Criminal justice system involved women choosing to pursue education as a pathway of aversion to engaging in unacceptable criminal behaviors may have long term life successes as most incarcerated women have high school diploma's and GED's, this may be a pathway to secure financial stability which, in turn, may act as a barrier to participation in negative behaviors.

Educational attainment assumes employability and earnings upon release. In 2018, the Institute for Women's Policy Research (IWPR) reported a 20% gap between men and women's earning power. Women earned 82 cents for every dollar earned by men. IWPR found that over 15-year period women earned half of what men earned. When looking at earning potential by race and gender, African American and Hispanic women earn even less. African American women earned 61.3 % and Hispanic women earned 54.5% of white men. Although, the issue of earning power is very important, we must be clear about issues related to employability for women who have been involved in the criminal justice system whether they have attained a

college degree or not. It is also important to acknowledge the earning gap for women in general and for minority women specifically.

However, most women who are involved with the criminal justice system, whether it be prison/jail or correctional supervision, will eventually return to their lives absent criminal justice system involvement. Information on women who were involved with the criminal justice system, graduated from a four-year higher education institution within the last ten years, is reported. Women shared their experiences and motivation for completing a college program. The information shared by the women may assist in the development of appropriate gender and culturally appropriate interventions while also providing a roadmap of success for women choosing to pursue a college degree post criminal justice system involvement.

Literature Review

Incarcerated women have higher rates of HIV (2.6% vs. 1.8%), mental health problems (73% vs. 55%), and sexual abuse (57.2% vs. 16.1%) than men (BJS, 2010; BJS, 2006a; BJS, 2006b; BJS, 1999a). A major issue for women is drug usage. By 2014, the number of women in state prisons incarcerated for a drug offense rose to 24% from 12% in 1986. In a separate study, on every measure of drug use, women (40%) incarcerated in state prisons reported higher drug usage than men (32%) (BJS, 1999b). Drug use and mental health problems have been linked to experiences of sexual abuse in childhood and adulthood for women (Taylor, 1996).

Many women involved in the criminal justice system report that their children are their motivating factor to avoid reoffending (Cobbina, 2009; Wright, Van Voorhis, Salisbury & Bauman, 2012). According to the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), 7 in 10 women under correctional sanction have minor children. This number accounts for more than 1.3 million children with mothers involved in the criminal justice system (BJS, 1999b). Two-thirds of women incarcerated in state prisons are mothers of a minor child. According to Mumola (2002), it is more plausible that women were the primary caretakers of children preceding their imprisonment (Mumola, 2000) and expect to return to that role upon reentry into society (Hairston, 2002). Women would naturally be worried/concerned about the care of their children while incarcerated (Federal Interagency Reentry Council, 2015). This worry/concern may have a direct impact on incarcerated women in general and women experiencing mental health issues specifically.

Forty percent of women's prisons are managed by male officers, wards, or guards (Cooney, 2017). Research suggests that women offenders present with unique or differing risk factors and needs than men. Women are more apt to present with issues related to childcare, self-esteem, relationships, domestic violence, and victimization (Hardyman & Van Voorhis, 2004). According to Van Voorhis, Salisbury, Wright, & Bauman, 2008), "risk factors, such as dysfunctional relationships, family conflict, parental stress, child abuse and adult victimization, and mental health issues are predictive of recidivism and institutional misconducts for women offenders". These risk factors lead to question the validity of available programs for women and whether they provide the necessary components to address targeted issues presented by women in their attempt to reduce recidivism rates for women offenders (Gehring, et.al., 2010).

Proponents of gender-specific programming believe that women have different needs than men and the approach to effective interventions promoting non-reoffending behaviors should be based on gender. According to Gundy (2014), "without fair allocation of

programming, a primary focus on gender, and ignoring gender-specific risk factors, social justice for at-risk women will remain unattainable.” Although contributions on the development of gender responsive services for women exist in the knowledgebase (Covington & Bloom, 2006), there is insufficient research with women who have participated in gender specific programs. The studies suggest that based on women’s life experiences and physical, cognitive, or mental health limitations, their ability to successfully navigate psychologically, behaviorally, emotionally, and socially toward reform may be due to unaddressed conditions. If these limitations are not recognized and accounted for in the development of intervention approaches/methods, women may have greater risk for recidivism. The issues discussed here intersect to create a need for unique assessment, planning, intervention, and support for women with criminal justice system involvement. Since most incarcerated women possess a high school diploma/GED, one approach may be the inclusion of access and opportunity to pursue a secondary education. However, there is little research on women formerly involved with the criminal justice system and their attainment of college degrees upon reentry after incarceration or correctional supervision.

Methodology

This exploratory research study is a cross sectional survey of college women with former criminal justice system involvement. The study utilized a qualitative method for compiling data. Participants were required to 21 years of age or older, previously but not currently under the jurisdiction of the correctional system, currently enrolled or received a college degree within the last ten years, voluntarily agree to participate in the study, sign an informed consent prior to participation in the study, and speak, read, and write English.

Recruitment of the study participants employed the snowball method. Since this is a topic that may potentially stigmatize women, the investigator used this method as a measure of ensuring the women’s right to privacy and confidentiality. The women were invited to participate in the study by the investigator and/or study participants. It was expected that the sample would include 10 women. Each of the study participants were assigned an identification number by the investigator. Originating data records were stored in a file cabinet under lock and key accessible only by the investigator.

There were foreseeable risks to participants in this study. First, participants could have felt uncomfortable answering some of the questions included in the protocol. To minimize this possibility, participants were informed that they had the right to refuse to answer any of the questions or end their participation in the study at any time, without any penalty. The more immediate risk was that participants were being asked to relive possibly very painful and emotionally stressful memories and/or events. To address psychological/emotional issues that may have presented during the gathering of information, referrals to a local counseling center were made available. Women who did not want to see a counselor at the time of data collection were made aware that they could, at any time, ask for a counseling referral to the center. The women were also asked to sign an informed consent before participating in the study. The informed consent was reviewed with the women and they were given the opportunity to ask questions. After the investigator and participant were satisfied that there was a clear and

concise understanding of the informed consent, the investigator asked the participant to sign the informed consent and proceeded with collecting the data. There were no incentives for women participating in the study. The study was reviewed and received IRB approval.

The women were asked about their childhood, contact with the criminal justice system, support systems, motivation, and whether they participated in gender specific programming and their perception of the effectiveness of such programming. Information on participants' life experiences prior, during, and post-incarceration was obtained via self-report. Participants were asked to complete a demographic questionnaire and video record answers to specific questions designed for this study. The Statistical Package for Social Science -SPSS (24) was used to analyze data gathered from the demographic questionnaire. The data was analyzed using descriptive statistics, frequency distributions, and non-parametric techniques.

Quantitative Findings

All the women participating in the study were White/Caucasian. Three African American women declined to participate in the study. Each stated they did not want to be put on record concerning their incarceration. Each of the women shared that they were uncomfortable with sharing their experience because they live in an area where everyone knows everyone and that they could not trust that admitting and discussing their experiences publicly would not come back to hurt them in some way. Each of the African American women expressed fear of losing their jobs and being negatively judged by their family, friends, and communities. However, the investigator was given permission to report their concern about participating in the study. In contrast, the white/Caucasian women did not display or voice such concerns.

Seven women participated in the study. All of women reported several arrests and spending time in jail. While the longest jail sentence for the women was 30 days in the county jail at one time, one of the seven women spent two years in a women's prison. Since their most recent release, none of the women had been arrested, charged, or convicted of a new crime. All the women had been arrested, charged, and convicted of charges of drug related crimes. All the women interviewed reported drug use as a major contributing factor to their involvement in the criminal justice system and incarcerations. The women also reported that their drug use began between the ages of 14-16 years of age. None of the women interviewed reported participating in gender-specific programming. However, one woman reported during the videotaped session attending a drug treatment facility for women at her initial release from jail but attended co-ed AA meetings after detox.

Four of the seven women were married, one was single/never married, and two were divorced. Four of the women were in college and three were college graduates. The women ranged in age from 30 to 38, with a mean of 34 years of age. Six of the women major source of income was legal employment and one was supported by a spouse, boyfriend, or partner. One woman was a drug treatment program director, one was a waitress, one was a driver for a detox center, one was a counselor at a drug treatment program and three worked as social workers in child welfare. Two women lived by themselves and five lived with their spouse, boyfriend, or partner and children. All the women reported that they resided at their own house/apartment. Six of the seven women have a child(ren). The women reported a range of

having their first child as 17 to 23 with a mean of 20 years of age. One woman reported her income as between \$10,000-\$20,000, three \$30,000-\$40,000 and three over \$40,000.

The women reported that their mothers ranged in age from 15 to 29 when she gave birth to her first child with a mean of 22.5. Six of the seven women interviewed were mothers of minor children during their incarceration. All mothers (6) identified their responsibility as mothers to their children as the motivating factor to avoid reoffending and facing the possibility of reincarceration.

Qualitative Findings (NVivo)

The women were asked to videotape responses to specific questions designed for this study. The 10 ½ hours of videotaped responses were then transcribed. The transcriptions were organized and analyzed using NVivo, a software that supports qualitative and mixed methods research. Data analysis was conducted by the lead researchers and two research assistants. In order to address validity of the study, patterns in the women's responses/comments were identified separately by the lead researchers and two research assistants (research team).

Together the research team identified consistent themes across all responses. The themes were coded and defined as alcohol abuse (abuse of alcohol as a precipitating factor in their involvement in the criminal justice system) drug abuse (abuse of drugs as a precipitating factor in their involvement in the criminal justice system), support (identification of family, community, others, etc. that they see as instrumental in their successful reentry), no support (advice offered to other women involved in the criminal justice system with no family/community support), motivation (identification of motivating factors that impact their sobriety and successful reentry), advice (advice offered to other women involved in the criminal justice system that may be in similar situations), and final statement (statement to women with substance abuse issues and involved in the criminal justice system).

Alcohol Abuse

The relationship between alcohol and criminal activity is well documented in the literature (Pihl & Peterson, 1995; Collins & Messerschmidt, 1993; Greenfield & Henneberg, 2001). Merrill & Cary (2016) examine drinking among college students. They found that emerging adults experience a large proportion of the negative outcomes associated with alcohol, such as drinking and driving and sexual assault. Stranger, Abaied, Wagner (2016) asserts "early age at onset of alcohol use is a risk factor for later heavy alcohol use as an adult." The women in this study recognized their alcohol and drug use contributed to their involvement in the criminal justice system and many of their personal problems were created by their alcohol use.

"my second year of college that I really started having problems with my drinking I started blacking out all the time."

"I drank alcohol and was addicted to drugs for a substantial amount of time. I began using when I was fourteen years old."

“um I was a full-blown alcoholic and uh I’m a runner so any time I’m unable to face my punishment and I got in trouble for alcohol and for marijuana.”

“and while my grandmother didn’t really drink, there was a liquor cabinet that was fully stocked and there was a refrigerator outside full of beer and after my grandmother went to sleep my friend and I got in that beer and we got in that liquor cabinet and we drank.”

“I’m going to work but I’m drinking all the time.”

“I would sneak their liquor from time to time.”

Drug Abuse

Forty-seven percent of women in prison and sixty percent in jail used drugs within 30 days prior to their current offense compared to males in prison (38%) or jail (54%) during 2007-09. Women incarcerated in jails/prisons are also more likely (7 in 10) than incarcerated men (6 in 10) to have met the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fourth Edition (DSM-IV) criteria for drug dependence or abuse (Bronson, et al, 2017). Drug abuse coupled with issues of histories of employment, psychological functioning, and sexual and physical abuse prior to incarceration put women at a marked disadvantage for recidivism compared to men (Messina, Burdon, & Prendergast, 2006). The women described their drug use and the severity of their disease.

“I got into a relationship with a guy who um did heroine that’s how I started on it. He would get drunk sometimes and at first, I was getting drunk with him. We were doing dope on the weekends and I would wake up and I had bruises all over me.... I was blacking out.... I figured the bruises were from him trying control me.”

“My disease just skyrocketed, and I started using way more than I ever wanted to. I went through different phases with drugs before I settled with my drug of choice, I went through a phase with meth with crack cocaine before I settled on opiates and pain pills.”

“I went into treatment with an alcohol problem and probably about 2 months after I got out, I started shooting heroine.”

“every morning when I would get up, I would hurt until I had something. I would be sick, nausea, diarrhea, hurting all over, nose running, eyes watering, couldn’t function, couldn’t go to work without it.”

“buying OxyContin that night...I didn’t have another sober day for almost three years. It became an everyday thing.”

“the beginning of years of meth addiction I ended up getting with a guy that was a manufacturer, so I always had drugs.”

“so, then I’m doing drugs too much you know. Then I start just like literally using my Pell grant money to buy drugs”

Mental State/Health

Many women entering and exiting the criminal justice system have some type of treatable mental health issue (Salina, Lesondak, Razzano, Weilbaeher, 2007). Women inmates often contend with mental health problems. James, Gregory, Jones and Rundell (1985) report two-thirds of women inmates require mental health services at or soon after their initial incarceration. The women in this study reported depression and a mental obsession with addiction at the time of their incarceration.

“I started having some problems. I was depressed. I didn’t really want to go to class.”

“I was not educated on the disease and I did not know that whenever I got the medication out of my system and the alcohol out of my body, I would have a mental obsession. I always gave in to my mental obsession to drink and use to the point where I finally used up all my chances.”

“Even though when I talked about the mental obsession, it allowed me to do things that were really against my grain if you will. What would happen is you know I would start pawning stuff. I started doing I mean just all these things because I mean I was unemployable. I wasn’t able to work.”

Motivation

The literature identifies gender responsive approaches, asking women to identify their personal goals, and providing feedback by summarizing assessment results, exploring priority targets – strength and need areas, and reviewing incentives and disincentives for change. Financial stability, children, and community are motivations for respondents not to return to prison/jail. The women identified their family, children and helping others as their motivation for staying in recovery and out of the criminal justice system.

“Things right now that are really keeping me motivated, it’s my family and it’s a life of service and what I’ve learned in my recovery. One of the things that helps keep me clean is to do things to help others stay clean because if what I went through before can have meaning it can have a purpose then it makes it all worth it.”

“My family is coming back into my life now they really weren’t for a long time. They are starting to come back around and trying to trust me. I’ve built a life today that I don’t want to lose anymore.”

“My family absolutely my family. I know they say you’re not supposed to do all this with your family, but I think about them because I do not want to be that mom again.”

“My kids did not have any stability in their lives until I got sober. We have lived in the same place for 7 years and we got all this stability, and they have all these things, and they have a normal life and it’s just because I’m able to stay sober today.”

Support

Reentry practice and research recognize that the needs of women prior to, at release, and after reentry must be met with gender specific strategies (Luther, Reichert, Holloway, Roth, & Aalsma, 2011; Hamilton & Belenko, 2019; National Institute of Justice, 2019; Tripodi, Bedsoe, Kim, & Bender, 2011; Gobeil, Blanchette, & Stewart. 2016; Messina, Burdon, & Prendergast, 2006). These strategies include trauma-informed components that support practices aimed at addressing issues of substance abuse, mental health, histories of physical and sexual abuse, and parenting in a gender responsive way. Ignoring these issues, along with other factors impacting women’s successful reentry, put women at risk for continued involvement in the criminal justice system.

A major area of concern at reentry is social support from family or positive social networks. According to the National Reentry Resource Center (2019), family support can be a key factor in successful reentry for women returning to general society from prison or jail. Women return to communities inclusive of a social network of friends and relatives. None of the women reported participating in gender-specific programming at any level of their involvement with the criminal justice system. The women in the study consistently identified family, friends, school, and substance abuse programs/sponsors as the supports that led and continues to assist in their successful reentry.

“I did have the support of my twelve-step sponsor at that time which was extremely beneficial to me. I don’t believe I could have done it without him. He is a huge part of my support system now and he understands where I’m coming from and everything that I’m walking through and going through and why it means so much to me and he’s in recovery.”

“The only way I got here was from the boy who died. His parents cared about me enough and they helped me. I got involved in a recovery community at school to where I’m accountable to people at school and I’m involved in AA. My community, I guess you could say is my recovery. I have an accountability today with people that that know me and when I’m off or when I’m acting off, they point it out.”

“I was very blessed in the support systems that I have with my family. My family was very forgiving. They forgave me for things that they shouldn’t have..... I put them through hell, but they were there for me when I decided to get sober.”

“I do have awesome support systems today. I am a member of alcoholics anonymous, and I have friends who are in this program and they call me out and they call each other out and I must catch them when they start slipping. I still have a sponsor.”

No Support

Although, familial support upon reentry is recognized as a potentially key factor in successful reentry for women, not all women positive are able to rely on family as a resource for support as they transition back in to society for numerous reasons. For example, some women may have violated the trust of family members or “burned bridges” and family members are unwilling to become involved, some women’s families function as negative influences on their successful reentry and sobriety, and some women are estranged from or are not a part of a “traditional” family unit. The women persisted that finding support is definitely instrumental in recovery and avoiding criminal justice system involvement.

“If you don’t have any supports systems find one. The AA community and recovery/ the recovery community NA whatever celebrate recovery people. In those places they want people to come in that are struggling, they want to take the suffering, they want the suffering and the fighting and the internal they see that, and they really help you with that. They all are looking for people like that because it reminds us of where we came from and seeing that light go off in people’s eyes when they when they get it, there’s nothing better than that.”

“I have a lot of friends in recovery that don’t. You find that support you need in 12 step groups. They’re out there. Tap into that. Get involved in that and stay involved. I still do all the things today that I did back in 2009 when I got sober. I still do those things today because they worked then, they work now, but it’s where I want to be too. Those are my people you know. If you had told me back then, that I’d still be going to meetings today I would have thought you’re crazy, but my friends are in those meetings. When I go, I enjoy it and I can share my own experience, strength, and hope and just today I saw a guy in a meeting that I had took to his very first meeting and he was still shaking. Still sick, shaking, and he was still sober, and he had his little girl with him and it’s just amazing that my own experience and the things that I shared with him and to see him today. I am worth something and I know that every addict and alcoholic has a purpose. It’s just my belief that we’ve all gone through the things that we’ve gone through, that I went through, so that I can help someone else. There’s going to be someone out there that needs my experience, needs me to have hope. I have two choices. My purpose is still to help people.”

Advice

The findings indicate that self-identifying as *persistent offender* and/or *career criminal*, together with marginalization (ethnicity, poverty, and education) impact redemptive narratives of justice-involved women and their ability to create successful lives after incarceration (Allen, 2018). The women were excited about sharing their success and offering advice to other women who may have similar experiences as themselves. They wanted to be heard.

“If I can have one person with hope that they can stay clean, they can accomplish their dream and they can do whatever it is in their heart that they always wanted to do. Just one person then that makes everything I walked through worth it. It’s not been easy. It’s not been as simple. I’ve learned that if I don’t put myself in situations where I am going to be around it and I don’t put myself around people who are doing it, it’s a lot easier for me not to do it. I’ve learned other coping skills in my life to do when things get tough cause things do get tough but now, I’m sitting in front of you. Twenty-nine days from graduating with a bachelor’s degree. That’s been something. I graduated high school 17 years ago and first started working on this and it was my first biggest failure, and it was the first thing that addiction had taken from me and it was something I never thought in a million years I would accomplish. I have been able to and so my last thoughts to you would be whatever it is that you thought you never could do you can. Dream big and hold on to hope because as long as you’re breathing you have hope and that you can get clean and beat this disease.”

“I did heroine. I asked this guy at one of my treatments what or how do you live your life knowing that you’re never going to feel that good again you know and how I was fighting, you know I wanted to feel good, and I wasn’t feeling good. He said you know what happens is you build up little things. Little things build up in your life that feel good, and those things become more important and today I know what he means by that. Little things in my life. My mom tells me she loves me again, being allowed back in my home where I was ban from for three years, my sister telling me she looks up to me, being a good woman today and having the ability to know I can be a good mother and a good wife. I’m not gonna go cheat, I’m not gonna run, I’m not gonna steal. Those things are what brings me joy today and there’s no drug or drink or dare I say it man that would or can fill that void I was constantly trying to fill you know. I got it filled today and for that I’m grateful. I’m so grateful just for the day. I’m happy and I’m joyous and I’m free and there’s no drug that can provide that deep inside so thanks for letting me share.”

“If I can say anything your charges, your consequences, all of your problems as a result of the criminal justice system and your drug addiction and alcoholism if you can be still, get involved in a recovery program, and continue to do the next right thing. These problems won’t be problems and you can accomplish your dreams. You can get these goals done and um have a life that we never thought capable of our self. Hard work involved? Absolutely.”

“Go to your local AA and NA group and walk in there and you’re going to meet people with significant amounts of sobriety. One thing that I didn’t know when I first went to my first AA meeting was that I didn’t know that people kept coming back to these meetings after they had years of sobriety. I thought that you go for a little while ‘til you can I guess manage your drinking and then you go back out there. But there are people with years of sobriety, and they don’t drink, and they have things and I know

some very successful people that have doctor and PhD and all these things after their name that are people in long-term recovery. I fully believe that addicts and alcoholics are some of the cleverest people you know. If you think about people with three to four-hundred-dollar dope habits a day how they come up with money like that. I mean you have to be very smart. Might not be good things you're doing but it takes real creativity. People that I have met in recovery that put that same kind of effort in to being successful in recovery do so well. If you can do that on the streets to get what you got to get but you put that into recovery man, you can do whatever."

"My advice that I would give women with similar situations is always know you deserve a second chance. I have been through some of the worst things in the world and feeling like there is no hope was the worst for me. I'm thinking it would never get better after you trying as hard as you can to get ahead in the system but then everything happens to knock you back down and it's hard to keep hope. So, where I see it from this side, I say there is hope you have to have determination, you have to have strong will, cause Lord knows it is the hardest thing to do but it can be done. You can get your kids back; you can get out of jail. I applied for a pardon. It took me 5 years to get everything in order. I was granted a full pardon so I'm not only eligible for graduation of my program, I'm also eligible for state license so that's a really good blessing that's come from this. The program that I specifically participated in was basically like just prison I mean they had programs there I attended the SAC program but at that point I was still in denial. I wasn't being honest with myself or the program leaders so I couldn't say that I've gained all the help that leaving from that that I could've. Now, I am able to use my story. I am getting ready to work in an out-patient alcohol treatment facility. I'm able to tell people my story and say that you can come to a different side of this. You can make it through you can change your life."

"If I can do it anybody can do it. If you want it bad enough than you can do it. I went to a place that was just for women we attended AA meetings which was men and women, but it was an amazing place."

Final Statement

The women in the study:

"A price has to be paid but it is so worth it in the end. I am so grateful for my opportunity, that I have taken the chance to recover, and that today I can be hope for other women who have issues with the criminal justice system and drug addiction and alcoholism, and you can recover. We absolutely do recover."

"I can help them with my experience, strength, and hope or I can help them with my death. But my experience is going to help someone, so I choose today to let it be with my experience, strength, and hope. That's my hope that the things that I've had restored in my life gives someone else that doesn't have those things in their life back yet. It gives them hope to know that they can get out and that they can stay sober."

“Just please don’t give up hope. Know that this too shall pass and there’s always things down the road. That you can have goals. Just take baby steps. Don’t let yourself get overwhelmed. Create a plan and just say okay I’m ready, I’m gonna do it and don’t let anything stop you from it.”

“I know like you always hear rock bottom, rock bottom, rock bottom. I really like this because people say well, I haven’t reached my bottom yet and I heard that your bottom is when you put the shovel down and stop digging. Like I could have made the bottom down even further. But I put that shovel down and I stopped digging and I gave my life to God and I surrendered, and I let God work in my life. Put that shovel down and stop digging because you can be good and live a normal life and be a productive member of society. I have a job today and I pay my freaking bills and I pay them on time. Like my stuff doesn’t get turned off. I have a car and a car payment and I’m about to get approved for a loan to refinance our mortgage and refinance our house. Like I have all these things and like all these things because I put that dang shovel down and I stopped digging. I made my rock bottom, my rock bottom.”

Discussion and Conclusion

The women in the study 1) identify alcohol and drug abuse as precipitating factors to their involvement in the criminal justice system, 2) identify support systems they see as instrumental in their successful reentry, 3) identify motivating factors that impact their sobriety and successful reentry, 4) offer advice to other women involved in the criminal justice system, and 5) provide a final statement to women with substance abuse issues and involved in the criminal justice system.

Also, the women reported having completed undergraduate degrees at a four-year university. Three of the seven women reported incomes between \$30,000-\$40,000 and three women reported incomes over \$40,000 post criminal justice system involvement. King (2016) states, “If we want to create a just society, if we want to ensure equality of opportunity, we need to integrate how we approach criminal justice with how we approach educational opportunities. We need to assure that folks who have served their time and paid their debt to society are able to return to society with a full range of opportunities to contribute to their communities and contribute to their families” (p. 9).

Limitation of the study includes the sample size and the lack of representation of women of color. It was the researchers hope to gain knowledge from a diverse sample of women to assist with the full understanding of the gender specific and culturally sensitive needs of women upon reentry. There were only seven women included in the study. Most incarcerated women come from poor backgrounds, lack marketable job skills, and belong to underrepresented racial and ethnic groups. Two-thirds of imprisoned women have been women of color.

Future research in this area should include a larger representative sample of incarcerated women. The study revealed a non-participatory spirit among African American women referred to the study through a snowball sampling technique. It is reported that African

American women are less likely to participate in research as compared to white women (Scharff, Mathews, Jackson, Hoffsuemmer, Martin, Edwards, 2010). Pratt-Clark (2013) states “limited attention is directed to the experiences of African American women in prison.” Many African Americans are reluctant to participate due to mistrust of how the information gathered will be used. This study required videotaped responses. This method of data collection may not be appropriate for this population when considering the concerns voiced by African American women who had criminal justice system involvement and completed a college degree post incarceration.

However, the dissemination of the research findings may benefit social workers, corrections professionals, mental health providers, and others develop appropriate programs for women in and exiting the criminal justice system. Results of this study may assist practitioners in improving program service/delivery for women with substance use disorders and involved in the criminal justice system.

References

- Allen, E. K. (2018). Justice-Involved Women: Narratives, Marginalization, Identity and Community Reintegration. *Affilia*, 33(3), 346–362. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0886109918762555>
- Andrews, D. & Bonta, J. (2006). *The psychology of criminal conduct* (4th ed.). Cincinnati, OH: Anderson Press.
- Andrews, D. & Dowden, C. (1999). A meta-analytic investigation into effective correctional intervention for female offenders. *Forum on Corrections Research*, 11, 18-21.
- Beck, A.J., Mumola, C.J. 1999. Prisoners in 1998. Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin. Washington, D.C.: US Department of Justice.
- Bronson, J., Stroop, J., Zimmer, S., & Berzofski, M. (2017). Drug use, dependence, and abuse among state prisoners and jail inmates, 2007-2009. Bureau of Justice Statistics Special Report. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice.
- Bureau of Labor Statistics (May 10, 2018). Unemployment rate 2.1 percent for college grads, 4.3 percent for high school grads in April 2018. *The Economics Daily*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor. Retrieved from https://www.bls.gov/opub/ted/2018/unemployment-rate-2-1-percent-for-college-grads-4-3-percent-for-high-school-grads-in-april-2018.htm?view_full
- Collins J.J. & Messerschmidt M.A. (1993). Epidemiology of alcohol related violence. *Alcohol Health and Research World*, 17, 93–100.
- Cooney, C. (2017). Jails Weren't Built for Women. Inmate Advocates Say that a Big Problem. *Time Magazine*. Retrieved from <https://time.com/4864958/incarcerated-women-prison-inmates/>
- Couloute, L. (2018). Getting Back on Course: Educational exclusion and attainment among formerly incarcerated people. *Prison Policy Initiative Press Release*. Retrieved from <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/education.html>
- Covington, S., Bloom, B. Gender-responsive treatment and services in correctional settings. in: E. Leeder (Ed.) *Inside and out: Women, prison, and therapy*. Haworth Press, Binghamton, NY; 2006 *Women & Therapy*, 29(3/4), 9–33.
- Freudenberg, N. (2002). Adverse effects of U.S. jail and prison policies on the health and well-being of women of color. *American Journal of Public Health*, 92, 1895–1899.
- Gehring, K., Van Voorhis, P., & Bell, V. (2010). “What Works” for Female Probationers? An Evaluation of the Moving on Program. *Women, Girls and Criminal Justice*, 11 (1), 6-10.
- Gobeil, R., Blanchette, K., & Stewart, L. (2016). “A Meta-Analytic Review of Correctional Interventions for Women Offenders.” *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 43(3), 301–22.
- Greenfield, L. & Henneberg, M. (2001). Victim and offender self-reports of alcohol involvement in crime. *Alcohol Research & Health*, 25(1), 20–31.
- de Groot, A. & Cu Uvin, S. (2005). HIV Infection Among Women in Prison: Considerations for Care. *Infectious Diseases in Corrections Reports*. Providence, RI: Brown Medical School, 8 (5-6). Retrieved from <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/e94b/ea1b0396e583003c8a1047b2fc3d2669c62e.pdf>
- Hamilton, L. & Belenko, S. (2019). Substance Use Disorder Treatment in the Reentry Environment: Service Receipt and Prisoner Community Reintegration. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*. 009385481984652. 10.1177/0093854819846528.
- Hardyman, P. & Van Voorhis, P. (2004). Developing gender-specific classification systems for women offenders. Washington, DC: U.S.

- Department of Justice, National Institute of Corrections.
- Hegewisch, A., Phil, M., & Tesfaselassie, A. (September 19, 2019). *The Gender Wage Gap: 2018; Earnings Differences by Gender, Race, and Ethnicity*. Retrieved from <https://iwpr.org/publications/annual-gender-wage-gap-2018/>
- James, J. F., Gregory, D., Jones, R., & Rundell, O. (1985). *Mental health status of prisoners in an urban jail*. *Criminal Justice and Behavior* 12, 29-53.
- Kajstura, A. (2018). *Women's Mass Incarceration: The Whole Pie 2018*. Prison Policy Initiative. Retrieved from <https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/pie2018women.html>
- King Jr., (2017). *Education: Key Factor to Successful Reentry*. Retrieved from <https://edtrust.org/team/john-b-king-jr/>
- Kleinman, Melissa. (March 23, 2007). "Women, Prison, and HIV." *Workers' World*. Retrieved from <http://www.workers.org/2007/us/women-prison-hiv-0329>.
- Luther, B.J., Reichert, E.S., Holloway, E., Roth, A., & Aalsma, M. (2011). *An Exploration of Community Reentry Needs and Services for Prisoners: A Focus on Care to Limit Return to High-Risk Behavior*. *AIDS Patient Care and STDs*, 25 (8), 475-481. doi: 10.1089/apc.2010.0372.
- McCaa-Baldwin, K. (2000). *Health Issues Specific to Women: Information for State Maternal and Child Health Programs*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University, School of Public Health, Health Policy Center.
- Merrill, J. & Carey, K. (2016). *Drinking Over the Lifespan: Focus on College Aged*. *Alcohol Research: Current Reviews*, 38 (1), 103-114.
- Messina, N., Burdon, W., & Prendergast, M. (2006). "Prison-based Treatment for Drug-Dependent Women Offenders: Treatment versus No Treatment." *Journal of Psychoactive Drugs*, 3, 333-343.
- National Institute of Justice (2019). *Gender Specific Programs for Incarcerated Females* [PDF document]. Retrieved from <https://www.crimesolutions.gov/PracticeDetails.aspx?ID=61>
- National Reentry Resource Center (2019). *Families*. [PDF document]. Retrieved from <https://csgjusticecenter.org/reentry/issue-areas/families/>
- Pihl, R. & Peterson, J. (1995). *Drugs and aggression: correlations, crime and human manipulative studies and some proposed mechanisms*. *Journal of Psychiatry Neuroscience*, 20(2), 141-149.
- Rafter, N. (1981). *Current Problems of the Women's Correctional System: Origins and Development*. National Institute of Justice. Washington: District of Columbia. Retrieved from <https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/Digitization/86395NCJRS.pdf>
- Ramirez, R. (2019). *Reentry Considerations for Justice Involved Women*. National Resource Center for Justice Involved Women. Retrieved from <https://cjininvolvedwomen.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Reentry-Considerations-for-Justice-Involved-Women-FINAL.pdf>
- Schorling, J. B., Gutgesell, M., Klas, P., Smith, D., & Keller, A. (1994). *Tobacco, alcohol, and other drug use among college students*. *Journal of Substance Abuse*, 6(1), 105-115.
- Snell, L., and Morton, D. C. 1991. "Women in Prison." Bureau of Justice Statistics. Washington, D.C.: US Department of Justice.
- Columbia Human Rights Law Review (2017). *Special Issues of Women Prisoners*. In *A Jail House Lawyer's Manual*, (pp.1260 - 1287). New York: New York: Columbia University School of Law.
- Stephenson, B. & Leone, P. (2005). *HIV Care in US Prisons: The Potential and Challenge*. *AIDS*.

- Retrieved from <https://www.thebodypro.com/article/hiv-journal-view-9>
- Stanger, S.; Abaied, J.; Wagner, C. (2016). Predicting heavy alcohol use in college students: Interactions among socialization of coping, alcohol use onset, and physiological reactivity *Journal of Studies on Alcohol & Drugs*, 77 (3), 483-494.
- The Sentencing Project (2019). Incarcerated Women and Girls. Retrieved from <https://www.sentencingproject.org/publications/incarcerated-women-and-girls/>
- Tripodi, S.J., Bedsoe, S.E., Kim, J.S., & Bender, K. (2011). Effects of Correctional-Based Programs for Female Inmates: A Systematic Review. *Research on Social Work Practice*, 21(1), 15–31.
- Van Voorhis, P. (2013). Women's Risk Factors and New Treatments/Interventions for Addressing Them: Evidence-Based Interventions in the United States and Canada. United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. 153rd International Senior Seminar Participants' Papers. Retrieved from: http://www.unafei.or.jp/english/pdf/RS_No90/No90_09VE_Van%20Voorhis.pdf
- Wright, E.M., Van Voorhis, P., Salisbury, E.J. & Bauman, A. (2012). Gender-responsive lessons learned and policy implications for women in prison: A review. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 39(12): 1612-1632.
- Van Voorhis, P., Bauman, A., Wright, E., & Salisbury, E. (2009). Implementing the Women's Risk/Need Assessment (WRNAs): Early lessons from the field. *Women, Girls, & Criminal Justice*, 10(6): 81-96. Retrieved from: <http://www.uc.edu/content/dam/uc/womenoffenders/docs/WGC.pdf>
- Van Voorhis, P., Wright, E., Salisbury, E., & Bauman, A. (2010). Women's risk factors and their contributions to existing risk/needs assessment: The current status of a gender-responsive supplement. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, 37(3): 261-288.
- Van Voorhis, P., Salisbury, E., Wright, E., & Bauman, A., (2008). Achieving accurate pictures of risk and identifying gender-responsive needs: Two new assessments for women offenders. Washington DC: U.S. Department of Justice.
- Ward, R.M., McMurray, M., Brinkman, C., Taylor, E.A., Witmer, K. A., Bonar, R.N., & Lewis, P. (2019). Relationship between College Student Intoxication Level and Their Recall of Alcohol Poisoning Symptoms. *Journal of Alcohol & Drug Education.*, 63 (2), 18-34.

DIFFERENCES IN PERCEPTIONS OF SCHOOL CLIMATE BY STUDENT RACE IN AN URBAN SCHOOL DISTRICT

Aaron Perzigian, Western Washington University

Michael T. Braun, University of Illinois

Abstract

The research evaluated racial differences in ratings of school climate, focusing specifically on African American, Hispanic, and White high school students enrolled in one urban school district. The study hypothesized that White students would rate school climate more favorably compared to non-White students. The quantitative analysis revealed statistically significant differences between White and non-White students' ratings of school climate in that White students rated the quality of school climate more favorably than non-White students. Implications of these findings, such as a continued racial discrepancy in schooling experiences despite a trend in climate reform over the last decade, are discussed.

Differences in Perceptions of School Climate by Student Race in an Urban School District

School climate may be described as the quality and character of school life, including norms, values, and organizational environment (Duckenfeld & Reynolds, 2013). Recent interest in school accountability has resulted in increased attention toward school climate as a reform area predictive of students' academic achievements, social experiences, and the likelihood of school completion (Cohen, 2006; Cornell, Shukla & Konold, 2016; Van Eck, Johnson, Bettencourt, & Johnson, 2017). A substantial and growing body of research implies positive school climates are critical for high-quality academic programming and how students perceive, and experience school climate predicts their level of success (Maxwell, Reynolds, Lee, Subasic, & Bromhead, 2017). Intentional climate improvement strategies are central to many comprehensive efforts put forth to enhance students' academic performance and prosocial behaviors (Cohen, McCabe, Michelli & Pickeral, 2009; Thapa, Cohen, Guffey, & Higgins-D'Alessandro, 2013; Wang et al., 2014). Further evidence suggests that without a positive school climate, a high degree of student success is unlikely. In their seminal work, Hoy and Hoy (2006) posit that student achievements—or lack thereof—should not be examined without understanding the climates from which those outcomes emerged.

Many nationwide initiatives within the last decade include climate reform as a focal point in efforts to boost student performance. For example, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2009) identified a positive school climate as a protective factor that encourages students' connectedness to their education and desire to be in school, both of which are predictive of school completion. Similarly, the Institute for Educational Sciences (2008) advises school stakeholders that enriching school climate will assist significantly with dropout prevention by establishing learning communities in which students feel safe, are invested, and enjoy participating. Furthermore, in its commitment to improving school outcomes nationwide, the United States Department of Education currently funds the National Center on Safe Supportive Learning Environments, which provides school districts with professional climate development support services.

In April 2014, Arne Duncan—then Secretary of the United States Department of Education—identified school-wide climate improvement strategies as exemplary methods for reducing exclusionary discipline and increasing student engagement to school. The secretary asserted that by reframing the regulatory approach from that of preventing students' misbehaviors to one of supporting students' positive behaviors, students would receive the support they need rather than be punished and removed from school. One such climate and discipline approach initiative that was identified by Mr. Duncan, School-wide Positive Behavioral Intervention and Supports (SWPBIS), has gained national attention for promoting and establishing healthy school climates while effectively reducing many exclusionary discipline practices. Schools that rely less on punitive discipline and depend more on behavior support programming report healthier school climates, happier students, and higher student achievements (Caldarella, Shatzer, Gray, Young & Young, 2011).

Study Context and Statement of the Problem

School climate is an essential area of inquiry and reform efforts, especially in light of the relationship between climate and student outcomes. However, there is evidence that the student experience of school and their perception of climate quality differ depending on many variables, including student race. The purpose of this study was to examine climate perceptions, specifically by comparing climate ratings from White and non-White high school students (i.e., African American and Hispanic) in one large urban district. We hypothesized that ratings of school climate would be more favorable as reported by White students compared to ratings by non-White students, thereby indicating a continued racial discrepancy in the schooling experience despite a trend in climate reform over the last decade.

Previous research indicates racial differences in student perceptions of school climate, which suggests that specific populations experience school climates less positively. For example, Gold, Rotter, Holmes, and Motes (1999) studied how students of different racial groups view specific elements of school climate. Their research found that White students reported more interest in and connection to their school than did African American or Hispanic students. Further, African American students reported more disengagement in school than did other racial groups, and African American students felt that their teachers were less interested in them than did their non-African American peers.

A longitudinal school climate and student achievement study conducted between 2007-2012 revealed stark differences among racial groups in their school climate perceptions (Voight, 2013). For example, White students reported higher levels of perceived safety, attachment to school, and feelings of support than did African American or Hispanic students. This same study revealed that among six racial groups represented, White students identified the most substantial connection to their school while African American students identified the weakest. Further, White students were the most likely to identify at least one caring relationship with an adult in their school, while African American students were the least likely to do so. Similarly, White students were the most likely to identify high academic rigor, while Hispanic students were the least likely to do so. In terms of safety, Hispanic and African American students felt the least safe, while White students reported feeling the safest (Voight, 2013).

The same longitudinal study revealed that schools that serve higher proportions of Hispanic and African American students have lower overall climate ratings than schools with higher proportions of White students. Further, in schools serving higher proportions of Hispanic and African American youth, students reported feeling less respected by teachers and having fewer opportunities to participate and engage in decision-making than did students enrolled in predominately White schools.

Another national study revealed similar findings of racial disparity among students' ratings climates. Perkins (2013) found that Hispanic and African American students reported that their teachers were more disrespectful than did White students. Moreover, African American students identified more instances of fighting and safety concerns than did students from other racial groups. In the same study, African American students were less likely to report that their teachers were fair to them than Hispanic and White students.

With respect to the established relationship between perceptions of climate and student achievement, that students of color tend to experience school less positively than their White peers is concerning. The study addressed the following research question: Are school climate ratings of non-White students in one urban school district significantly different than White students' school climate ratings?

Methodology

Setting

The data for this study originated from a school climate survey administered to all students enrolled within one large, urban school district. The sample district located in a Midwestern United States city of approximately 800,000 residents. Census data indicate that 20-25% of the city population live at or below the national poverty line. The median family income is \$35,000–\$40,000, while 40% of the population identifies as African American, 38% as White (non-Hispanic), and 17% as Hispanic or Latino. The sample district serves about 65,000 K-12 students each year, 85% of whom are poor, defined as qualifying for free or reduced-priced lunch according to the state educational agency (SEA). The high school completion percentage (with a regular diploma) in the participating district is 65%. At the time of the climate survey, approximately 20,000 secondary students were enrolled in the districts' high school.

Data Collection

Ratings of school climate were obtained from a dataset containing results from the *Sample District School Climate Survey* in which students, their parents, and school staff were asked to respond to items inquiring about the quality of their associated schools' climate. The survey was administered in the district's elementary, middle, and high schools. The present study focuses on secondary schools, and so data from the elementary and middle schools were not analyzed. A printed form of the *Sample District School Climate Survey* was administered. All school staff were asked to complete the survey, including teachers, administrators, and support personnel. Staff and students completed the survey during a school day toward the end of the 2013 spring semester. Parents and guardians of students were mailed copies of the survey at approximately the same time. In cases where parents had children in more than one school in the district, the parents were asked to complete separate surveys, one for each school, with one survey per school per household. N=10,866 students with a compliment of 1,236 parents, and 926 staff completing at least some portion of the survey, which translates to a 50% response rate for students and a 30% response rate for staff; data were not available to calculate the response rate for parents. The present study focuses on students, therefore data from parents and staff were not analyzed.

The sample district, in conjunction with a local consultant group implemented the survey to assess perceptions of school climate in the districts' schools across four dimensions (i.e., rigor, safety, environment, and governance). Information about of the instrument was obtained through telephone conversations and email exchanges with an associate researcher

who was employed by the consultant firm at the time of survey development. Items for the survey were modeled after the Essentials Survey from the University of Chicago Consortium of School Research (Sebring, Allensworth, Bryk, Easton, & Luppescu, 2006). Format of responses to items measuring school climate was a four-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*—4 = *strongly agree*) with a fifth option labeled “Not Sure.” In our analysis “Not Sure” was treated as missing data, which is appropriate given the confounding nature of a forced selection (Ryan & Garland, 1999).

The aim of the survey is to provide administrators and district personnel with a stakeholder perspective regarding four specific dimensions of school climate: rigor, safety, environment, and governance. At the time the climate survey was conceived, the districts’ director of assessment elected to focus on these four climate factors for the survey as they represent priority areas in the literature.

During the development of the survey, rigor was defined as “having academics as a priority and having high academic standards,” which in the literature is commonly referred to as academic press. An example of a student survey item rating the rigor dimension of climate is – *Students in my school focus on learning*. An example of a parent survey rigor item is – *My child's school prepares students to do well on state, district and classroom tests*. An example of a staff survey rigor item is – *My school has high expectations with regard to student achievement*.

Safety was defined as: “The physical atmosphere, including facility upkeep, as well as discipline.” An example of a student survey item rating the safety dimension is – *I feel safe at my school*. An example of a parent survey item rating safety is – *Teachers at my child's school are more focused on controlling students' behavior than on teaching and learning*. An example of a staff survey item rating safety is – *My school makes sure that students are safe and orderly while outside on school grounds*.

Environment was defined as: “The general atmosphere of the building and those in it as a supportive place to work and learn.” An example of a student survey item rating the environment dimension is – *My school has a friendly and welcoming atmosphere*. An example of a parent survey item rating environment is – *My child's school teaches students to value, respect and tolerate differences in others*. An example of a staff survey item rating environment is – *There is an atmosphere of respect among students and adults in my school*. Governance was defined as: “The atmosphere of inclusiveness and strong leadership in decision-making.” An example of a student survey item rating the governance dimension is, *I have the opportunity to help make decisions about my school*. An example of a parent survey item rating governance is – *The teachers and staff at my child's school and I work well together as a team*. An example of a staff survey item rating governance is *School staff participate in making decisions that affect teaching/learning*.

The high school student survey included a total of 18 school climate items, four measuring rigors (12, 14, 17, and 18), seven measuring safety (20-13 and 25-27), six measuring environments (11, 13, 15, 19, 24, and 28), and one item measuring governance (16). The parent survey was comprised of 21 items, four items measuring rigor (14, 16, 17, and 20), seven measuring safety (21-24 and 26-28), six measuring environments (13, 15, 17, 20, 25, and 29), and four measuring governance (30-33). The staff survey contained 21 items including four

measuring rigors (9, 8, 15, and 16), three measuring safety (17, 19, and 20), five measuring environments (8, 11, 13, 18, and 21), and four measuring governance (12, 14, 22, and 23). An overall climate score was calculated based on the total sum.

The research hypothesized that White students would rate their perceptions of school climate higher than non-White students. This research question was addressed using a one-way between-subjects ANOVA. The independent variable was race, with three levels: African American, Hispanic, and White. Asian and Native American students, who constitute only 7.0% and 2.4% of the student sample respectively, were eliminated from this analysis in order to avoid adding a fourth level to the independent variable, i.e., “Other,” and reducing statistical power as a consequence. The dependent variable was students’ ratings of the overall school climate. A statistically significant effect was explored using Bonferroni-adjusted post-hoc comparisons.

The *Sample District School Climate Survey* student version collected information on both race and perceptions of school climate, and this dataset, received from the sample school district, was used in addressing the research question. Students self-identified in five racial categories, but two of these categories were represented by fewer than 10% of the sample (Asian, 7.0%; Native American, 2.3%) and were excluded from the analysis. An additional 0.3% of the students were not identified by race and were also excluded from the analysis. After eliminating these students, there remained 7,772 African American, Hispanic, and White students.

Table 1
Racial Composition of Students Examined

Racial Groups	Frequency	Percentage	Valid Percentage
African American	4765	55.4	61.3
Hispanic	2038	23.7	26.2
White	969	11.3	12.5
Total	7772	90.4	100.0

Analysis and Results

The research question was explored first using a one-way ANOVA to compare the overall school climate ratings provided by students in each of the three racial groups. Descriptive statistics on student overall school climate are provided for each racial group in Table 2. The effect of race on student climate ratings was statistically significant, $F(2, 7771) = 25.906, p < .001$, effect strength, $\eta^2 = .007$ (0.7% of the variance in students’ overall school climate ratings were explained by race).

Table 2

Descriptive Statistics on Student Overall School Climate Ratings for African American, Hispanic, and White Students

Racial Group	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
African American	4,765	2.86	0.52
Hispanic	2,038	2.95	0.48
White	969	2.91	0.47

The results of Bonferroni-adjusted post-hoc pairwise comparisons are shown in Table 3. African American students rated their schools' climates significantly less positively than Hispanic or White students and no significant difference was seen between Hispanic, and White students.

Table 3

Post-Hoc Comparisons of Racial Groups on Student Overall School Climate Ratings

School Type	Groups Compared	Bonferroni Adj. Mean Difference	2-Tail Significance
	African American vs. Hispanic	-0.09	<.001
	African American vs. White	-.05	.008
	Hispanic vs. White	.04	.113

The research question specifically inquiries about White vs. non-White differences in school climate perceptions, and so African American and Hispanic students were grouped together and compared to White students using a *t*-test. Table 4 shows descriptive statistics on overall climate ratings from non-White and White students. White students' ratings were marginally more positive than those of non-White students. The difference was statistically significant, $t(8573) = -6.089$, $p < .001$, with the effect strength $\eta^2 = .004$ (0.4% of the variance in climate ratings was explained by the non-White/White distinction).

Table 4

Descriptive Statistics on Student Overall School Climate Ratings for Non-White and White Students

Racial Group	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Non-White	5,568	2.87	0.51
White	3,007	2.94	0.48

In sum, although there were statistically significant racial differences in students' ratings of overall school climate, these differences were small. The most precise picture of the nature of the differences is seen in the three-group comparison rather than the White vs. non-White comparison because the most significant difference was seen between two non-White racial groups—African Americans and Hispanics.

Summary and Implications of Findings

Researchers hypothesized that White students' ratings of school climate would be more favorable than ratings of non-White students. The results of the analysis showed a statistically significant effect of race on student climate ratings. African American students rated their schools' climates significantly less positively than Hispanic or White students, and no significant difference was seen between Hispanic and Whites students. When Hispanic students and African American students were grouped together, to specifically compare White vs. non-White students' climate ratings, White students' ratings were statistically more positive than those of non-White students.

Implications, Discussion, and Conclusion

There are several implications regarding this finding. First, it corresponds with past research, which indicates non-White students, especially African American youth, continues to confront disparate schooling experiences compared to their White peers. These disparate experiences, often both academic and social in nature, are reflected in the White and non-White achievement gap (e.g., Darling-Hammond, 2010). Thus, while it is an adverse finding, it may suggest a relationship between the achievement gap/education debt and school climate perceived by students. As mentioned previously, students' outcomes are best examined with respect to the climates from which they emerged (Hoy & Hoy, 2006), and racial differences in perceptions of climate may be related to the gaps in school success between White and non-White youth. Therefore, findings such as these imply school climate reform aimed specifically at improving the ways in which non-White students experience and engage with school may be part of the solution to narrowing the White and non-White achievement gap.

In today's era of increased outcome accountability and mounting concerns with gaps in school and post-school outcomes between White and non-White youth, differences in how the academic and social contexts of school intersect with racial identity needs to be an area of critical inquiry. Students' school climate perceptions differ across race, and thus, it is with educational equity in mind that the findings related to the final research question suggest climate improvement is vital in order to provide equal educational opportunities. Non-White youth, especially African American youth, continue to confront different school and post-school outcomes that hinge on their experiences within the school environment. For example, African American youth are more likely than any other racial and ethnic demographic to be removed from a traditional, general education setting due to perceived problematic behaviors (e.g., Skiba & Rausch, 2006). Further, Perzigian and colleagues (2017) identified a disproportional representation of African American and Hispanic students in remediation-based alternative schools. Students removed from traditional, general education settings and relocated to more restrictive and segregated placements are at increased risk for school disengagement, dropout, and psychosocial effects such as feelings of alienation, depression, and worthlessness (e.g., Brown, 2007). Many of these experiences, such as dropping out, have negative lifelong implications on individuals' employability, family dynamic, and association with judicial systems such as juvenile corrections or prison (e.g., Sum, Khatiwada, McLaughlin, & Palma, 2009).

The overrepresentation of African Americans involved in the US court system is generally seen as a phenomenon strongly related to school experiences and school placement trajectories observed in elementary through high school. Referred to frequently as the "school to prison pipeline," (e.g., Bahena, Cooc, Currie-Rubin, Kuttner, & Ng, 2012). The association between K-12 schools and juvenile detention or adult corrections is linked to disproportionate application of exclusionary discipline practices toward African American youth. Exclusionary discipline practices alienate students from their peers, are a barrier to learning, and rather than support academic success, push students away from their classrooms and into the outer folds of society and thus into the grasp of the criminal justice system (Bahena, Cooc, Currie-Rubin, & Kuttner, & Ng, 2012; Christle, Jolivet, & Nelson, 2005). Considering the link between positive school climates and SWPBIS, effective climate reform that is sensitive to the contextual factors of race and ethnicity can improve staff views toward supportive prevention and therefore theoretically reduce dependability on punishment. Simultaneously, given this disproportionate receipt of discipline, more inclusive approaches to behavior support have the ability to enhance perceptions of climate thereby improving non-White youths' schooling experiences.

Commenting on issues prevalent in urban schooling, Tyack (1976) posited that access to quality –or optimal– education can "create and legitimate elites" (p. 365). In relation to school climate, the relationship between school quality and positive climates is strong: Schools that produce higher student achievements are those schools in which the climates are perceived more positively. Further, students who report feeling more positively about their schools are more likely to have greater school success (e.g., Thapa et al., 2012). Bowles and Gintis (2011) suggested that the differences in school experiences across race and ethnicity and the differences in K-12 outcomes between White and non-White youth perpetuate post-school

social inequality and hierarchal racial relationships (e.g., employment and poverty). Recent employment and income statistics, including rates of unemployment and annual earnings, indicate that the disparity between African American and White households is rapidly growing (e.g., Shapiro, Meschede, & Osoro, 2013). Therefore, in discussions of school climate, it is imperative to examine and answer to the schooling discrepancies, which allow some students (i.e., White youth) to perceive school more favorably.

Despite recent public interest in school climate, schools continue to produce performance discrepancies between White and non-White students. There is evidence of differing schooling experiences (i.e., climate ratings) between White and non-White students, which contributes to disparate performance outcomes (e.g., attendance and grade point averages). This research is alarming, in part, because it suggests that non-White students may not benefit as much as their White peers from climate improvement strategies. If schools are to address inequity in outcome and opportunity, climate reform must consider the racial context of schools and the systematic factors underscoring the student experience.

References

- Bahena, S., Cooc, N., Currie-Rubin, R., Kuttner, P., & Ng, M. (2012). *Disrupting the school to prison pipeline*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review.
- Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (2011) *Schooling in capitalist America: Educational reform and the contradictions of economic life*. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books.
- Brown, T. M. (2007). Lost and turned out: Academic, social, and emotional experiences of students excluded from school. *Urban Education, 42*, 432–455.
- Caldarella, P., Shatzer, R., Gray, K., Young, K., & Young, E. (2011). The effects of school-wide positive behavior support on middle school climate and student outcomes. *Research in Middle Level Education, 35*(4), 1–14.
- Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2009). *School connectedness: Strategies for increasing protective factors among youth*. Atlanta, GA: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Retrieved from <http://www.cdc.gov/healthyyouth/protective/pdf/connectedness.pdf>.
- Christle, C. A., Jolivette, K., & Nelson, M. (2005). Breaking the school to prison pipeline: Identifying school risk and protective factors for youth in delinquency. *Exceptionality: A Special Education Journal, 13*, 69–88.
- Cohen, J., McCabe, E. M., Michelli, N. M., & Pickeral, T. (2009). School climate: Research, policy, practice, and teacher education. *Teachers College Record, 111*(1), 180–213.
- Cornell, D., Shukla, K., & Konold, T. (2016). Authoritative school climate and student academic engagement, grades, and aspirations in middle and high schools. *AERA Open*. Advance online publication.
- Darling-Hammond, L. (2010). *The flat world and education: How America's commitment to equity will determine our future*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Duckenfeld, M. & Reynolds, B. (2013). School climate and dropout prevention. In T., Dary & T., Pickeral (Eds), *School climate practices for implementation and sustainability* (43–47). New York, NY: National School Climate Center.
- Gold, J. S., Rotter, J. C., Holmes, G. R., & Motes, P. S. (1999). *Middle school climate: A study of attitudes*. Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation.
- Hoy, A. W., & Hoy, W. K. (2006). *Instructional leadership: A research-based guide to learning in schools*. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Lee, T., Cornell, D., Gregory, A., & Fan, X. (2011). High suspension schools and dropout rates for black and white students. *Education and Treatment of Children, 34*(2), 167–192.
- Maxwell, S., Reynolds, K., Lee, E., Subasic, E., & Bromhead, D. (2017). The impact of school climate and school identification on academic achievement: Multilevel modeling with student and teacher data. *Frontiers in Psychology, 8*, 1–21.
- National School Climate Council (2007). *The school climate challenge: Narrowing the gap between school climate research and school climate policy, practice guidelines and teacher education policy*. Retrieved from <http://www.schoolclimate.org/climate/documents/school-climate-challenge.pdf>.
- National School Climate Council. (2012). *The School Climate Improvement Process: Essential Elements. School Climate Brief, No. 4*. Retrieved from <http://www.schoolclimate.org/climate/schoolclimatebriefs.php>.
- Perzigian, A. B., Afacan, K., Justin, W., & Wilkerson, K. L. (2017). Characteristics of students in traditional versus alternative high schools: A cross sectional analysis of enrollment in one urban district. *Education and Urban Society, 49*, 676–700.

- Ryan, C., & Garland, R. (1999). The use of specific non-response option on Likert-type scales. *Tourism Management, 20*, 107–113.
- Sebring, P. B., Allensworth, E., Bryk, A. S., Easton, J. Q., & Luppescu, S. (2006). *The essential supports for school improvement*. Chicago, IL: Consortium on Chicago School Research at the University of Chicago.
- Shukla, K., Konold, T., & Cornell, D. (2016). Profiles of student perceptions of school climate: Relations with risk behaviors and academic outcomes. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 57*(4), 291–307.
- Skiba, R. J., & Rausch, M. K. (2006). Zero tolerance, suspension, and expulsion: Questions of equity and effectiveness. In C. M. Evertson & C. S. Weinstein (Eds.), *Handbook of classroom management: Research, practice and contemporary issues* (pp. 1063–1089). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Sum, A., Khatiwada, I., & McLaughlin, J. (2009). *The consequences of dropping out of high school: Joblessness and jailing for high school dropouts and the high cost for taxpayers* (Paper No. 23). Retrieved from Northeastern University, Center for Labor Market Studies website: http://iris.lib.neu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1022&context=clms_pub.
- Thapa, A., Cohen, J., Guffey, S., & Higgins-D'Alessandro, A. (2013). A review of school climate research. *Review of Educational Research, 83*(3), 357–385.
- Tyack, D. (1976). Ways of seeing: An essay on the history of compulsory schooling. *Harvard Educational Review, 46*, 355–389.
- Van Eck, K., Johnson, S., Bettencourt, A., & Johnson, S. (2017). How school climate relates to chronic absence: A multi-level latent profile analysis. *Journal of School Psychology, 61*, 89–102.
- Voight, A. (2013). *The Racial School-Climature Gap*. A report from the Region IX Equity Assistance Center at WestEd. San Francisco: WestEd.
- Wang, W., Vaillancourt, T., Brittain, H., McDougall, P., Krygsman, A., Smith, D., Cunningham, C., Haltigan, J., & Hymel, S. (2014). School climate, peer victimization, and academic achievement: Results from a multi-informant study. *School Psychology Quarterly, 29*(3), 360–377.

FROM BREADWINNER TO NURTURER: CHANGING IMAGES OF FATHERS IN THE MEDIA

Lindsey Wilson, University of Washington, Seattle

Josh Thompson, Texas A&M University-Commerce

Abstract

Historically, a father's role was determined by their ability to provide for their family financially. The typical 'breadwinner' role was exemplified by media figures such as "Jim" in *Father Knows Best*. Present-day, fatherhood roles have expanded to encompass their ability to be responsible, accessible, and engaged with their children, from 'breadwinner' to 'nurturer.' Changes in parenting roles come about through many influences – media portrayal of 'typical' fatherhood roles can impact individuals, society, and affects the rate of change. As society begins to acknowledge varied and diverse ways of parenting, media portrayals of parenting have shifted, somewhat, toward a view of fathers as 'nurturers.'

This content analysis of research literature on media portrayals of African American fathers found that fathers were rarely portrayed as nurturers in everyday sitcoms or commercials. Television as a media source has yet to catch up with the contemporary fatherhood role. Moreover, research surrounding minority fathers continues to lag behind the research of other populations. The field overlooks the unique experiences of African American and other diverse fathers.

Utilizing Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a framework, this content analysis undertook intersectionality as a tool to explore the data set. Findings from this content analysis suggest that the limitations surrounding race and fatherhood depictions become more complicated when other identities such as socioeconomic and marital status are explored. This review suggests that a father's depiction is based on his income more than his race, yet the lack of attention given to the intersectionality of race, class, and gender continues to neglect the experiences that fathers of color have and taints the research field's understanding.

Keywords: fatherhood televised portrayals; African American fathers; racial media depictions; critical race theory

Introduction

In 2007, the Advertising Council collaborated with the U.S. Administration for Children and Families to launch a fatherhood campaign that included public service announcements (PSA). Among the most popular televised PSAs featured an elderly African American woman who appeared confused as she glanced outside to see a Black man swinging his arms in the air and chanting, “We got the spirit, we’re hot, we can’t be stopped.” As the camera shifted from the woman’s windowpane to the exterior, the viewers saw what the woman could not. The chanting man outside was a father practicing a cheerleading routine alongside his daughter. This twenty-nine-second commercial ended with a voiceover that stated, “*the smallest moments can have the biggest impact on a child’s life*” (Ad Council, 2008).

Similar to the PSA, the fatherhood campaign released several ads urging fathers “*to take time to be a dad today.*” These ads featured Latino, African American, Asian American, and Native American fathers engaging in one-on-one activities with their children. The fatherhood PSAs aimed to promote more substantial father involvement by sending the message that men did not have to be superheroes to be great dads. Instead, fathers needed to spend quality time with their children, regardless of their race or socio-economic status (Levere, 2010). The fatherhood PSA campaign aligned with the expansion of research that provided a glimpse into contemporary fatherhood, capturing fathers as nurturers.

Historically, fathers' roles have been characterized by their ability to protect and financially provide for their families. In 1985, Lamb, Pleck, Charnov, & Levine redefined fatherhood roles by expanding the two-level historic tier (provide and protect) to a three-part typology that incorporated fathers' ability to be engaged, accessible, and responsible for their children. The shift from a two-level tier to a three-part typology was reinforced by then U.S. President Bill Clinton’s the 1990s request to have federal agencies review policies and programs to focus on fathers’ strengths. Clinton’s initiative required analysts to look beyond the provider role of fathers to assess the additional support men offered their children (Howard, 2006). However, at the same time that Clinton ordered federal agencies to focus on fathers’ strengths, he also perpetuated a stereotypical deficit-based perspective for certain fathers through his policy development and criticism.

Clinton deemed the perceived growing absence of fathers to be a tremendous threat to society, suggesting that the abandonment of children led to other social problems, as a result of inappropriate expectations of men for daughters and lack of role modeling for sons. He went on to imply that absentee fathers increased children’s likelihood to grow up and live-in poverty, have out-of-wedlock pregnancies, and become addicted to drugs (Clinton, 1995). While Clinton was advocating for the expansion of fathers’ roles beyond their financial contribution, he still implemented policies centered around fathers’ financial responsibilities. Clinton created the Deadbeat Parents Punishment Act, which criminalized a variety of fathers’ behaviors through the child support system. Any parent who was \$5000 or more behind in child support became a felon (Baskerville, 2004), sending a clear message to certain fathers about the importance of being financially responsible, while also claiming fathers had more to offer than just their provider role. Inconsistent messages about the roles of fathers continued and appeared to be targeted at fathers of color.

The Transformation of Images of Fatherhood

While federal agencies were instructed to concentrate on fathers' strengths and the expansion of fatherhood research, absentee fathers were deemed a threat to society. Both messages seem to have influenced the development of fatherhood research in counteractive ways. This period in time marked a high peak for fathers' presence in scholarly journals. Fathers recognized for their active role in child development as nurturers, with research suggesting that fathers had something to offer children beyond what mothers could (Cabrera, Shannon, & Tamis-LeMonda, 2007; Feldman, 2003; Lamb et al., 1985; Sarkadi, Kristiansson, Oberklaid, & Bremberg, 2008). It became well-established that fathers' accessibility and engagement were fundamental components to child development, demonstrating positive outcomes to children's self-esteem, academic achievement, and physical and emotional sense of security (Culp, Schadle, Robinson, & Culp, 2000; Fagan & Iglesias, 1999; Rohner & Veneziano, 2001).

The fathering literature continued to expand, with five popular parenting journals featuring over 1,115 fatherhood articles that explored fathers in one of three manners: (1) the ways that father involvement served as a protective factor against poverty and homelessness, (2) key predictors of father involvement, or (3) unique barriers that impacted father's involvement (Roggman, Boyce, Cook, & Cook, 2002; Waanders, Mendez, & Downer, 2007). The widespread fatherhood research expansion supported the significance of father involvement in promoting healthy child development, which led to an increase of fatherhood initiatives across the United States. Research consistently correlated father involvement with positive children's outcomes, particularly for children who live in poverty (Carlson & Magnuson, 2011; Flouri & Buchanan, 2004).

Despite the tremendous increase within the fatherhood literature, two specific gaps remain: (1) the slow transformation of fatherhood portrayals in media and (2) the shortage of research articles on media and marginalized fathers. This article addresses both gaps through content analysis by examining current literature on fatherhood portrayals within the media and how it aligns with the research literature on fatherhood. The analysis explicitly focuses on the ways that fathers are portrayed, and the roles that fathers are prescribed – particularly among low-income and fathers of color – through televised media.

Understanding Minority Fathers

A long-standing concern in the fatherhood field has been the limitation surrounding fathers of color. In 1995, the National Fatherhood Initiative Organization (fatherhood.org) was asked to gather all research literature focused on fatherhood from 1960-1995. At that time, they located approximately 95 articles. The discovered studies focused on one dimension of fatherhood — middle-class, white, divorced fathers (Shears, Summers, Boller, & Barclay-McLaughlin, 2006). A majority of the current research continues to focus on middle-class white fathers. In rare cases when minority fathers are examined, it is typically from a deficit-based perspective, with a problem-focused inquiry for vulnerable populations who have been labeled as non-residential or deadbeat fathers (Edwards, 2016; Gadsden, Wortham, & Turner,

2003; Johnson & Young, 2016; Leavell, Tamis-LeMonda, Ruble, Zosuls, & Cabrera, 2012; Pancsofar & Vernon-Feagans, 2010).

Fathers of color, in particular African Americans fathers, are seldom studied unless it is concerning the reduction of social welfare programs, interventions to reduce out-of-wedlock pregnancies, or ways to promote financial responsibility (Gadsden et al., 2003; Hayes, Jones, Silverstein, Auerbach, & Levant, 2010). The restricted ways that Black fathers have been studied has created a gap in understanding the full range of Black fathering practices, experiences, and benefits among middle-class, single, residential, cohabiting, and gay Black fathers (Johnson & Young, 2016). The gap in the African American fatherhood field prompts inquiry surrounding the ways that portrayals of modern fatherhood may or may not resonate with these specific fathers.

Diversity among African American fathers is just as widespread as the diversity within the general fatherhood population. Black fathers come in various shades, abilities, and, more importantly, from distinctive backgrounds, situations, and socio-economic classes (McAdoo & McAdoo, 1997). Despite the variation among Black fathers, these men are often prescribed the same deficit-based narrative: underemployed, violent criminals, or “deadbeats” due to their inability to meet predetermined financial responsibilities (McAdoo, 1988). Black fathers continue to be labeled as the “absent father,” despite research confirming that more than half of Black households have the presence of an active Black male (Thomas, Krampe, & Newton, 2008). Specific literature has suggested that it is easier to blame these fathers for the social problems of the inner cities rather than considering the issues of poverty, mass-incarceration, poor schools, social isolation, or racism as the root cause (Gadsden et al., 2003).

Media

Much of literature on media has examined the impact of media on body images, violence, child development, sexism, and racism (Fitzpatrick, Barnett, & Pagani, 2012; Gentile, Coyne, & Walsh, 2011; Harper & Tiggemann, 2008; Quick & Byrd-Bredbenner, 2013). Media has proven to be influential—particularly on an unconscious level (Brown, 2015; Kahneman, 2011). The portrayal of fathers in commercials, advertisements, and television can influence fathers’ self-perception, their understanding of the fatherhood role, and how service providers, mothers, and others, view them (Brown, 2015; Kuo & Ward, 2016). With at least one television in approximately 97% of American family homes and average daily usage of 3-5 hours, TV has been considered a probable source of information for parents (Kuo & Ward, 2016). Studies of bias, such as availability bias or confirmation bias, reported unique experiences for marginalized and understudied fathers. For instance, availability bias suggests that individuals remember negative images more readily than positive ones. Limited or restricted depictions of low-income or fathers of color in media can increase ones’ likelihood of experiencing availability bias. Confirmation bias, on the other hand, is the tendency to seek evidence that supports preconceived prejudicial notions, which could confirm biases based on restricted portrayals (Brown, 2015).

Despite how intentional the fatherhood PSA campaign was in capturing diverse modern fatherhood portrayals, daily televised depictions have yet to match this mark. Shifts in images of fathers in media continue to lag behind fatherhood research, which is alive and well (Kelly,

2009; Wilson, 2018). The lag time between research and media portrayals causes concern, particularly for new expectant fathers of color, because men are more susceptible to media messages (Kuo & Ward, 2016). Fathers, in general, are more likely to be shaped by televised programs when compared to mothers, because men have not been socialized to be fathers in the same ways that women have been socialized to be mothers. Television has been known to serve as a resource to fulfill questions about parenting social norms (Hinckley, Ferreira, & Maree, 2007). While some literature suggests that television has kept up with the changing images of fathers, many comedies (sitcoms) continue to perpetuate the stereotypical provider and protector role for fathers, specifically fathers of color and low-income fathers.

Critical Race Theory

This content analysis has been situated in Bell's (the 1980s) critical race theory (CRT) and Lamb et al. (1985) father involvement model. As a duo, the theories provide a framework to analyze the selected theoretical and empirical studies to gain a deeper understanding of the transformation among portrayals of fathers as nurturers in media. CRT acknowledges that race and racism are ingrained in nearly every aspect of the American experience and that the restricted ways that African American men are portrayed in media or studied in academia are merely another form of systematic oppression. CRT identifies media as one of the many robust structures in the American culture that controls fathers' narratives; this is particularly problematic for African American fathers who have been prescribed a deficit-based narrative. The lack of diversity in research pertaining to Black fathers, as well as the restricted deficit-based portrayals of these men on television, perpetuate racial and gender disparities (Wilson, 2018; Morrison, 2019).

Rooted in a social justice stance, CRT prioritizes participants' stories as they serve as counternarratives and challenge the mainstream depictions. Another critical component of CRT theory is the intersectionality of identities. This theory acknowledges the multifaceted layers of race, gender, and socio-economic status, as well as the impact that it has on individuals' experiences. The concept of intersectionality embodies the fact that people have different identities that shape their world. For instance, an African American father may be treated differently than a White father, yet, when we consider both fathers' socio-economic status, the treatment among the two men may differ, yet again. CRT is well-suited for this content analysis because it analyzes explicitly the intersection of race, gender, and income while focusing on counternarratives. Furthermore, the framework helps highlight the lack of attention given to the intersecting identities within fatherhood portrayals in media.

Methods

The literature reviewed for this content analysis satisfied the authors' inclusion/exclusion criteria of scholarship published between 1985-2017 (Table 1). All articles were released following Lamb et al. (1985) redefinition of fatherhood, and the keywords chosen centered around various descriptions of father involvement, including engagement, responsibility, accessibility, provider, and the protector role. The articles analyzed consisted of both empirical and theoretical studies, and all came from peer-reviewed journals or academic books. The

selection process involved the following stages: (1) a search of electronic databases, (2) examination of references from selected articles, and (3) the collection and consideration of previously read articles and other informational sources. The following keywords “Father or Paternal or Dad,” “Media,” “Portrayal,” “Fatherhood,” “Television,” and “Role” were all used to search for articles in the African American Experience database, ProQuest, the University of Washington Library System, and EBSCO. Three separate searches were completed (1) “father or dad or paternal,” “media,” and “role” (2) “father or dad or paternal” and “portrayal” and (3) “father or dad or paternal” and “television” for each database.

Table 1: Inclusion/Exclusion Process

The following criteria were used to sort through the articles generated by the keyword search of the selected databases:

1. Published between 1985 and 2017.
2. Peer-reviewed, scholarly journals
3. Included the terms fathers, parent-child, media, or mass media effects

The African American Experience database did not reveal any pertinent articles. The ProQuest database search located anywhere from 35-189 articles for each search term prior to the inclusion and exclusion process, and the University of Washington database uncovered thousands of articles that were either duplicates or did not appear as relevant. Finally, the EBSCO database found 52 potential articles. After the inclusion and exclusion process (Table 1), thirteen articles were selected as a representative sample to be fully reviewed. Five of the 13 articles advanced to the next step in this review (Kelly, 2009; Kuo & Ward, 2016; Pehlke, Hennon, Radina, & Kuvalanka, 2009; Scharrer, 2001; Troilo, 2017) because they met the following criteria: published between 1985 and 2017, from peer-reviewed, scholarly journals, and included the term fathers, parent-child, media, or mass media effects. This step excluded articles that had the term mothers, violence, or mothering in the title. Once the articles were narrowed down, the authors examined each article at both manifest and latent meaning levels (Bengtsson, 2016), looking for empirical or theoretical discussion or analysis of fatherhood roles, portrayals, mass media influence, or fatherhood narratives within the media. References cited within the five chosen articles led to three additional articles (Dail & Way, 1985; Gentry & Harrison, 2010; Reep & Dambrot, 1994) and two book chapters (Hill & Kelly, 2016; Kelly, 2016). Eventually, ten studies met the final inclusion/exclusion criteria for this review, being that this topic is still underdeveloped (Table 2). Many of the articles that were excluded explored parents’ monitoring of what their children watched on television or other topics that did not directly relate to fathers’ depictions in the media. Several non-peer reviewed sources directly addressed the topic area and were considered, but not included, with the exception of two edited book chapters (Hill & Kelly, 2016; Kelly, 2016). This triangulation of data collection methods created a robust body of relevant literature worthy of further analysis (Nowell, Norris, White, & Moules, 2017).

Table 2: Ten studies that met the final inclusion/exclusion criteria for this review.

- Dail, P., & Way, W. (1985). What Do Parents Observe about Parenting from Prime-Time Television? *Family Relations*, 34(4), 491-99.
- Gentry, J., & Harrison, R. (2010). Is advertising a barrier to male movement toward gender change? *Marketing Theory*, 10(1), 74-96.
- Hill, S. A., & Kelly, J. (2016). From Good Times to Blackish: Media Portrayals of African American Fathers. In L. Tropp & J. Kelly (Eds.), *Deconstructing Dads: Changing Images of Fathers in Popular Culture* (pp. 187–212). Lanham, MD: Lexington.
- Kelly, J. (2009). Fathers and the Media: Introduction to the Special Issue. *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research & Practice about Men as Fathers*, 7(2), 107–113.
- Kelly, J. (2016). Decoding Comic Dads: Examining How Media and Real Fathers Measure up with Young Viewers. In L. Tropp & J. Kelly (Eds.), *Deconstructing Dads: Changing Images of Fathers in Popular Culture* (pp. 77–95). Lanham, MD: Lexington.
- Kuo, P. X., & Ward, L. M. (2016). Contributions of television use to beliefs about fathers and gendered family roles among first-time expectant parents. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 17(4), 352–362.
- Pehlke, T., Hennon, C., Radina, M., & Kuvalanka, K. (2009). Does Father Still Know Best? An Inductive Thematic Analysis of Popular TV Sitcoms. *Fathering*, 7(2), 114-139.
- Reep, D., & Dambrot, F. (1994). TV Parents: Fathers (and now Mothers) Know Best. *Journal of Popular Culture*, 28(2), 13-23.
- Scharrer, Erica. (2001). From Wise to Foolish: The Portrayal of the Sitcom Father, 1950s-1990s. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 45(1), 23.
- Troilo, J. (2017). Stay tuned: Portrayals of fatherhood to come. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture*, 6(1), 82.

Data Analysis

The rigor of this content analysis is further evidenced here in the data analysis. The researchers entered into this analysis utilizing an outline generated by Nowell, et al. (2017). Researchers separately read each of the ten studies, cross-referencing them with the citations included in each study, affirming the completeness of this data set. No further articles were deemed necessary. The review of articles had reached saturation of content.

Generating Initial Codes Phase

The main points from each study were captured in the process of reflexive journaling in a note-taking template, producing an audit trail for researchers to triangulate their findings.

Of particular interest was any specific mention of fathers of color. With CRT as the guiding framework for the content analysis, intersectionality was another topic of interest - the media portrayals of African American fathers concerning socio-economic status and other intersecting identities such as marital status.

Positionality of Researchers

The positionality of researchers influenced every step of this content analysis. In the generating initial codes phase of the data analysis, researchers became keenly aware of the influence of positionality in their reading and coding. The contrast between the African American female lead researcher and the White male co-researcher generated robust contrasts of emphases and hierarchies within the lists of initial codes. While the former researcher brought expertise and personal experience with CRT, the latter researcher infused the conversation with a longitudinal view, having watched cultural shifts over decades of working with this population. The point-counterpoint of dialogue over codes and themes focused on the terms from one researcher with the lived experience of the other. This repartee appropriated the work of CRT in inducing participants to listen to the other voice, promoting counternarrative of all participants. Reliable documentation and regular peer debriefing aligned the lists into purposeful themes. As these themes emerged, the researchers were taken back into the raw data, the texts of the ten studies, for confirmation of their individual and holistic relevance.

Identifying Themes

The search for themes included diagramming, sorting, and sifting through shifting hierarchies. Through researcher triangulation, peer debriefing, and continually backchecking and cross-referencing the ten studies, researchers arrived at a consensus that data aligned along with eight themes: participant data (sample size, and real or sitcom fathers), demographics of the fathers (race and socio-economic class), media outlet (commercial ads or sitcoms), type of portrayal (positive, negative, or neutral), fathers' marital status (married or single), time frame (air date and time of day of the televised sitcoms), outcomes of the study, and other findings (unique to that study) (Table 3). Each of the themes emerged from the coding data and were intentionally selected for the following reasons: demographics were essential to being able to identify and analyze understudied and marginalized fathers; the media outlet was essential to highlight the changes both in ongoing programming, such as television shows, and existing movements like commercials; the time frames allowed for analysis over time, and the type of portrayals emphasized the ways that fathers may be positively or negatively portrayed based on their demographics.

Table 3: Eight themes for the final coding table

- | |
|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Participant data (sample size and real or sitcom fathers),2. The demographics of the fathers (race and socioeconomic class), |
|--|

3. The media outlet (commercial, sitcoms, or ads),
4. The type of portrayal (positive, negative or neutral),
5. Fathers marital status (married or single),
6. Time frame (the air date of the television sitcoms),
7. The outcomes of the study, and
8. Any other findings (unique to that study).

Dell Hymes (1969) provided an organizing template useful for analysis of these data:

- Discover a relevant frame or context.
- Identify the items which contrast within it.
- Determine the dimensions of that contrast.

The relevant frame is the collection of articles and book chapters. The contrasting items within are the portrayals of African American fathers in the media. The dimension of that contrast as compared with how African American fathers are depicted in comparison to other fathers and the ways that layering intersections impact portrayals demonstrated the constituent value of CRT.

Findings

Findings from this content analysis highlighted the ways that fathers have been portrayed in the media. Focusing specifically on commercials and television sitcoms, two themes emerged from this analysis: 1) socio-economic status is a crucial predictor in fatherhood portrayals, and 2) depictions of fathers have slightly shifted over the studied period of time. Within the socio-economic finding, two sub-groups arose: a) income appeared to be used as an indicator of fathers' competence, and b) socio-economic status took priority over fathers' race. Besides, this content analysis found that modern commercials and television shows portrayed fathers in a more progressive manner, which closely aligned with the redefinition of the fatherhood role (Lamb et al. 1985).

Socioeconomic Status

The most salient factor linked to fatherhood portrayals was socio-economic status (SES). More than 80% of studies classified fathers' SES as either upper/middle, working, or low-income (Black et al., 1999; Jarett, Roy, & Burton, 2002). During an analysis of 12 primetime TV sitcoms, aired in 2004, Pehlke et al. (2009) found that 90% of the working-class fathers were negatively depicted as foolish parents. Working-class fathers were often portrayed as having lower levels of parental competence, immature, and lacking the emotional-based interactions with their children when compared to middle-class fathers. Middle-class fathers, on the other hand, were frequently portrayed as wiser men who supported their children. This study examined the representation of fathers in two-parent households with at least one child

under the age of 18. Findings also indicated, working-class fathers, were depicted as the parents engaged in unhelpful behaviors, which led to the labeling of one of the sitcom's fathers as an "overgrown child." This particular father was portrayed as an unfit parent that was incapable of taking care of himself without the support of his wife.

The depiction of working-class men as unfit fathers was a consistent theme over several studies, including Brown's (2015) theoretical analysis, that explored the fathering role of Al Bundy (*Married....With children*, 1987-1997) in contrast to Jim Anderson (*Father Knows Best* 1954-1960). Al Bundy, a working-class father, was characterized as an incompetent parent who needed to be told to take care of his kids and act like an "adult," insinuating that neither came naturally for him. On the other hand, Jim Anderson from *Father Knows Best* was considered a breadwinner, whom the family looked to for the "best" advice. Positive and negative associations were deeply ingrained depending on the fathers' socioeconomic status (Brown, 2015; Hill & Kelly, 2016; Kelly, 2009; Pehlke et al., 2009; Troilo, 2017). Scharrer's (2001) content analysis, which explored family-oriented sitcoms between 1950-2000, reinforced the link between socio-economic status and fathers' depiction. Of the 29 analyzed programs, fathers were found to be the 'butt' of the jokes 45% of the time. After further investigation, it was discovered that upper-class fathers were the 'butt' of 33% of jokes in a sitcom, middle-class 42%, and working-class fathers 63%. This disparity supported the theory that portrayals of working-class fathers as foolish were more likely than such portrayals of middle-class fathers. Much of the reviewed literature reinforced the notion that low-income father portrayals were more likely to be harmful when compared to middle-class, as Brown (2015) stated, regardless of the fathers' race. In cases where this notion was not supported it was due to the lack of data collected on fathers' income, with the exception of Hill & Kelly's (2016) study that found Julius, an African American working-class father from the sitcom *Everybody Hates Chris* (2005-2009), to be a very serious man who worked two jobs to support his family. This particular sitcom was not the standard as he was not portrayed as foolish despite belonging to the working-class (Dail & Way, 1985; Gentry & Harrison, 2010).

Race

With approximately 42% of the studied articles neglecting to recognize the sitcom fathers or participants race (Brown, 2015; Dail & Way, 1985; Gentry & Harrison, 2010; Kelly, 2009; Scharrer, 2001), it is challenging to make claims around the representation of racial diverse TV father portrayals. In rare cases, where diverse fathers were included in the study, they represented a small portion of the sample. For example, Reep & Dambrot's (1994) study consisted of 210 college students who chose 38 television mothers and 31 television fathers, which resulted in the observation of 10 sitcom programs. Among the 210 students, 92% of the students identified as white, while only 8% identified as African American. Also, among the ten programs analyzed, only one sitcom included a non-white family. Similarly, several other studies included their small number of minorities but did not address the racial implications beyond the explanation of the participants' demographics (Kuo & Ward, 2016; Reep & Dambrot, 1994).

In other cases, in-depth analyses of the differences amongst fatherhood portrayals were observed based on race and ethnicity. For example, the popular Pehlke et al. (2009) study

analyzed twelve sitcoms, nine of them being of white fathers, two African American fathers, and one Latino father. Despite their small numbers, this study found that these fathers were more likely to be represented in a positive light when compared to white fathers. They also demonstrated higher levels of parental negotiation and emotional support, representing nine of the seventeen depictions of all fathers engaging in emotional support. This study has had a significant presence in the field, having been cited in over thirty-one other articles, one being the most recent Troilo's study (2017), that examined 12 TV comedy sitcoms. Intending to observe father-child interactions, Troilo's study (2017) analyzed three African American fathers, one Latino father, and eight Caucasian fathers, coding five episodes per show. The imbalance in the racial representation was noted to have influenced the study's findings, suggesting that Caucasian fathers as a group had more positive interactions with their children when compared to the minority fathers. This finding disrupted his hypothesis that proposed minority fathers would have had more positive father-child interactions when compared to white fathers (Troilo, 2017).

Finally, unlike the prior mentioned studies, there were two studies that specifically examined portrayals of African American fathers, one being Hill & Kelly (2016), who analyzed six African American fathers, two from each of the following socioeconomic categories: working-class, middle-class, and the upper-class. They found that fathers from the working-class were often portrayed as men who were doing their best to become a breadwinner. Fathers from the middle-class were shown to have engaged in redefined fathering roles that promoted their child's independence, as these fathers were already providing for their family so they could focus on other fathering aspects. Finally, in the privileged class, also known as upper-class, fathers were portrayed as successful professionals, as one father was a doctor and the other a senior vice president of an advertising company. Both the upper-class fathers were described in relation to middle-class white families, suggesting that they displayed traits that demonstrated not only their investment but also their engagement in their child's life. Despite the upper-class category not being mentioned in several of the previous studies, it did make an appearance in the Smith (2008) study, which compared two recent African American father sitcoms *Run's House* (2005-2009) and Snoop Dog's *Father Hood* (2007-2009) to *The Cosby Show* (1984-1992). With the intent to investigate themes of black televised fatherhood and challenge the limited images of black fathers, Smith examined every episode of the first few seasons of *Run's House*, nine episodes of *Father Hood*, and contrasted those with four seasons of *The Cosby Show*. Smith concluded that black fathers were portrayed as being present in the home, demonstrating a variety of disciplinary styles, and often served as positive role models for their children. Like the two upper-class fathers studied in Hill & Kelly's (2016) study, these three fathers were all also considered successful men who were married and immersed themselves in their children's life.

Marital Status

Though fathers' socioeconomic status was the most salient factor in their depiction, followed by race, this review also highlights the emphasis that some literature placed on fathers' marital status as a factor of their portrayal. While over half of the studies mentioned a father's

marital status, some merely in passing as they described the father's demographics, a few of the studies investigated the effects that a father's wedded status had on his portrayal.

In doing so, it was suggested that a father-child interaction was more likely to be portrayed positively if the father was married in comparison to non-married fathers (Smith, 2008; Troilo, 2017). Hill & Kelly (2016) took note of fathers' wedded status and proposed the notion of the upper-class African American fathers' wealth and family stability depiction being associated with their marital status.

A few other studies addressed different factors such as the differences amongst the television networks and the airing time, finding that men were more likely to be portrayed positively in commercials during afternoon TV and on specific networks. It was discovered that some networks would depict fathers based on their viewers' socioeconomic status. Consistent with the income findings, networks whose audience were primarily working-class families would air sitcoms that often-represented fathers in a foolish, non-competent, and emotionally lacking way (Gentry & Harrison, 2010; Troilo, 2017).

Past and Present

Aside from a father's socio-economic status, race, and marital status, the era that a television show was released seemed to have a slight influence on the father's portrayal. Since most of the studies addressed the media outlets airdate, the slight change over time in a father's role could be noted. When examining the transformation of fathers' description, researchers focused on the ways that fathers' roles were described. While Brown (2015) struggled to locate recent studies that reviewed the portrayal of fathers in commercials, he found commercials either had taken one extreme or another when describing fathers' roles. Fathers were either portrayed as completely incompetent and needed to be rescued by the mother, or the complete opposite where a father was portrayed as a nurturing, emotionally healthy parent. Brown (2015) provided two examples, the first being a LG commercial (entitled "Just Like Magic"), which presented a son with a blank stare looking into the refrigerator expecting the food to magically appear, suggesting that the son was not all the way present. By the end of the commercial dad was shown to have engaged the refrigerator in the exact same manner indicating how clueless the father was and suggesting that is where his son learned the behavior. In the end, the mother needed to rescue both her son and his father. This commercial was compared to the second example, which was a General Mills cereal campaign released in Canada that revealed the many reasons why fathers are important, essentially showing people "*How to Dad.*" Despite both ads being released in 2014, each took on two very different messages, and while it can be argued that one took on a positive depiction and the other a negative, neither ad associated a father's role with a provider's status.

Unlike Brown (2015), Gentry & Harrison's (2010) study found that men were not often portrayed in positive fathering roles, nor were they shown to have been engaged in domestic responsibilities through the examination of 1,817 commercials. In Spring 2007, they observed 1,392 commercials during sports covered television and merely found 100 of those commercials to have displayed men with their families. Smaller yet, only 7 of the 100 commercials depicted fathers to have had an emotional relationship with their child. In 2008, during the Winter months, 200 additional commercials were analyzed during afternoon

television. Of those commercials, only two were reported to have shown fathers in a nurturing relationship with their children. Finally, 225 commercials were analyzed from a children's network, and seven of those commercials included a father, but none of the fathers were engaging in nurturing behaviors. Therefore, when the intentional focus is being placed on fathers' role, they typically are not being portrayed as a nurturing, supportive, emotionally available father through the commercial depiction.

Discussion

Several of the fatherhood PSA ads have contributed to the expansion of contemporary fatherhood through their depictions of fathers as nurturers. Such intentional media campaigns have captured men crawling on the floor with their infants, playing in the rain with their toddlers, and helping their young children get dressed. Depicting diverse fathers and encouraging men to "*take time to be a dad today*" closely aligned with the current fatherhood literature, yet this content analysis found that fathers were rarely portrayed as nurturers in everyday sitcoms or commercials. Gentry & Harrison's (2010) discovered when analyzing commercials between 2007-2008 that only 1% of fathers were portrayed as nurturers. Making it is safe to say that television as a media source has yet to catch up with the contemporary fatherhood role. This can be problematic as many parents look to television as a probable parenting source. Men are particularly susceptible to the media's fatherhood portrayals, partly due to their lack of fathering socialization. Consequently, fathers not seeing themselves in commercials as nurturers can merely feed their belief that a father's role does not include being a nurturer or require them to make themselves available to their family. This belief could be reaffirming based on the confirmation biases (Brown, 2015).

While it is problematic to claim that there has been a change over time in relation to commercials—due to the shortage of studies analyzing previous commercials—this review did find a slight transformation within television sitcoms. Sitcom fathers were more likely to be depicted as nurturing fathers who were emotionally available and engaged with their children. Despite the influx of fathers of color within televised fatherhood portrayals, literature continues to gravitate towards white fathers, leaving minority fathers un- or understudied. For instance, among all of the reviewed studies, none explored Native American or Asian American fathers. Only two of the reviewed studies included one Latino sitcom father, and a handful of studies examined African American fathers. However, their sample size was insignificant in comparison to White fathers. The fact that these fathers continue to go understudied presents a problem in understanding their experiences as fathers and remains a considerable limitation in the field. In particular, one analyzed study noted that their findings had been tainted as a result of the small number of fathers of color, which denounced their hypothesis (Troilo, 2017). The lack of consideration for minority fathers continues to create a platform where the field overlooks the unique experiences these fathers face. Supporting Kenneth's (Braswell, 2018) statement, that the lack of understanding of minority fathers reinforces policies, people, and programs that are focused solely on changing fathers' behavior instead of understanding the ways that minority fathers think or feel. Findings from this content analysis suggest that the

limitations surrounding race and fatherhood depictions become more complex when other identities such as socioeconomics and marital status are explored.

Sitcoms depict fathers who are engaged in duties beyond a provider's status, yet fathers' roles are often portrayed as either positively fulfilling a nurturing role or neglecting the nurturing role based on their socioeconomic status. While fathers are no longer solely restricted to being portrayed as the breadwinner like in the sitcom *Father Knows Best*, their socioeconomic status continues to heavily influence their portrayal.

Opposite from the contemporary fatherhood literature and PSAs' that suggest a father spending time with his child is essential; TV sitcoms have reinforced that spending time with their child is important only after their financial duties have been fulfilled. Hill & Kelly (2016) reiterated this, showing that the working-class fathers' attention was often placed on becoming a stable provider. This was reinforced by the depiction of some working-class fathers having two jobs, while middle-class fathers were portrayed as men who were able to concentrate on other areas of fathering since they were already considered breadwinners.

Finally, in rare cases where fathers belonged to the upper-class, they were depicted as the exceptional father and described as a man who was wholly invested in his child, while spending an abundance of time with them. Beyond the actual time spent, a majority of the articles found that fatherhood portrayals correlated a father's parenting competency with their socioeconomic status. So, despite the growing transformation that represents fathers as nurturers who can foster a healthy emotional relationship with their child, this type of relationship was typically characterized by a specific kind of father, one who was considered a member of the middle or upper socioeconomic class. Those fathers who were considered low-income or working-class were often demonstrated as foolish and incompetent parents, almost suggesting that the change in portrayals reinforces the same ole' messages in regard to fathers serving as providers. These mixed messages aligned with Clinton's double-sided call of action back in the 90's where he requested that agencies capture fathers' strengths in relation to child development, while still holding a strong stance on their role as a provider by saying,

“For those who are neglecting their children, I say it is not too late; your children still need you. To those who only send money in the form of child support, I say keep sending the checks; your kids count on them, and we'll catch you and enforce the law if you stop. [applause and cheers] But the message of this march today—one message is that your money is no replacement for your guiding, your caring, your loving the children you brought into this world” (Clinton, 1995).

Reiterating that a fathers' primary role was to provide, and in the event that they did not provide through child support that was described as a financial obligation, they would face the consequences. And despite Clinton articulation that absent fathers were not a Black, Latino, or White problem but an American problem, he chose to address what he deemed to be society's biggest problem - absent fathers - in a speech that spoke to the racism in the United States on the same day as the Million Man March. The march brought millions of African American men together to address the various injustices that they faced as a community; therefore, Clinton sent a message as to which fathers contributed to the absent father crisis. While the literature

in this review suggests that a father's depiction is based on his income more than his race, the lack of attention given to the intersectionality of race, class, and gender continues to neglect the experiences that fathers of color have and taints the research field's understanding.

Even with the findings from the literature that has included small samples of fathers of color in their study, the lack of consideration to the intersectionality of these fathers, being that many of the sitcom fathers are from middle-class background stands as a limitation to the suggestions that fathers of color are often portrayed in a more positive light. This slow transformation may have an effect on understudied marginalized fathers - specifically fathers of color and low-income fathers.

Implications

Socioeconomic factors account for much of an individual's depicted behaviors in televised sitcoms. Portrayals of fathers become caricatures of actual lived experiences. While there may be truth in some instances of how a portrayal is recognized or applicable to the population, the truth lies, always and within plain sight, in the lived experiences of individuals being so poorly misrepresented. Counternarratives, as promulgated by CRT, produce a rich source of accurate and purposeful portrayal. Fathers play a substantial role in their children's life beyond the often-prescribed duty of being a provider. The portrayal of working-class and understudied fathers of color can be troublesome for these fathers because they are more susceptible to the messages that they receive around a father's role due to the lack of fathering socialization that they have received. Making televised portrayals more instrumental to their view of their role. Across the board, fathers from the working-class were portrayed as incompetent parents, who served as the "butt" of the family's jokes. These fathers appeared to be merely foolish. These portrayals can serve as a barrier to the advancement of father engagement, as it debunks current literature that suggests low-income fathers are essential to their child's development as a nurturer.

As the United States has increased the number of fatherhood initiatives, and pre-existing programs have worked explicitly on engaging fathers, these types of messages can create additional roadblocks. For instance, the Office of Head Start recently revised its program's performance standards to ensure fathers are being included in the program. They have modified several policies and procedures to emphasize the importance of incorporating fathers in their home visits. With the motto "Parents are their Child's First and Best Teacher," these early intervention programs are trying to combat the mixed messages that working-class TV sitcoms are spreading by affirming the small moments' fathers share with their children (Hall, 2020).

Besides, as fathers of color, mainly African American fathers, have often been portrayed through one set of lenses, the lack of studies addressing these fathers continues to leave a large gap within the field that allows the cognitive biases to remain healthy. In other words, despite the review finds that minority fathers are more likely to be portrayed positively, as Braswell (2018) has suggested, one cannot separate a man from their fatherhood. So, while the TV sitcoms continue to demonstrate these fathers in particular ways, until we look at the intersection of African American fathers and income, some people are still holding biased

lenses. Lastly, because the sample sizes are limited, researchers do not have a real understanding of the ways fathers of color understand or experience media sitcoms.

Future Work

There is a lack of studies of minority fathers in this field. Hence there is a need to better understand the intersectionality between race, gender, and socio-economic status through the examination of the portrayals of television fathers. Empirical evidence is also needed to reveal the ways that these representations influence fathers, in particular fathers of color and low-income fathers' self-perception, as well as their understanding of what they have to offer their children. Both qualitative and quantitative studies are needed to capture television programs which are popular amongst marginalized and understudied fathers. Therefore, research projects expanding the genre and more diverse populations are needed. There is also a need for additional research to focus on the slow transformation of television portrayals and what that means for fathers. Lastly, as social media has become more prominent, it has been speculated to have unique positive effects on oppressed groups. It appears that these fathers find social support through virtual networks as well as allowing them to create their fatherhood platform (Burt, 2017; Edwards, 2016). Further investigation is warranted to analyze the benefits of these claims.

References

- Ad Council. (Summer, 2008). "Cheerleader Dad" [Television Advertisement]. Seattle, WA: ABC.
- Baskerville, S. (2004). Is There Really a Fatherhood Crisis? *The Independent Review*, 8(4), 485-508.
- Bengtsson, M. (2016). How to plan and perform a qualitative study using content analysis. *Nursing Plus Open* 2, 8-14.
- Black, M. M., Dubowitz, H., & Starr, R. H., Jr. (1999). African American fathers in low income, urban families: Development behavior, and home environment of their three-year old children. *Child Development*, 70, 967-978.
- Braswell, K. (2018). *National Responsible Fatherhood Clearinghouse* (website). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Retrieved March 22, 2020 from www.fatherhood.gov.
- Brown, C. A. (2015). Americans' views of fathers' competency as parents through a mass media lens. *Zero to Three*, 35(5), 11-17.
- Burt, L. (2017). The Importance of Social Networks Among Low-Income Fathers. *New America*. Retrieved March 22, 2020 from www.newamerica.org/educationpolicy/edcenter/importance-social-networks-among-low-income-fathers/#
- Cabrera, N., Shannon, J., & Tamis-LeMonda, C. (2007). Fathers' Influence on Their Children's Cognitive and Emotional Development: From Toddlers to Pre-K. *Applied Developmental Science*, 11(4), 208-213.
- Carlson, M., & Magnuson, K. (2011). Low-Income Fathers' Influence on Children. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 635, 95.
- Clinton, W. J. (1995, October 16). Racism in the United States. Speech. Retrieved March 22, 2020 from voicesofdemocracy.umd.edu/clinton-racism-in-the-united-states-speech-text [52].
- Culp, R., Schadle, S., Robinson, L., & Culp, A. (2000). Relationships Among Paternal Involvement and Young Children's Perceived Self-Competence and Behavioral Problems. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 9(1), 27-38.
- Dail, P. W., & Way, W. L. (1985). What Do Parents Observe about Parenting from Prime-Time Television? *Family Relations*, 34(4), 491-99.
- Edwards, B. (2016). How Social Media is Helping to Change the Image of Young Black Dads. *The Root*. Retrieved March 22, 2020 from <https://www.theroot.com/how-social-media-is-helping-to-change-the-image-of-young-1790855709>
- Fagan, J., & Iglesias, A. (1999). Father involvement program effects on fathers, father figures, and their Head Start children: A quasi-experimental study. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 14(2), 243-269.
- Feldman, R. (2003). Infant-mother and infant-father synchrony: The coregulation of positive arousal. *Infant Mental Health Journal*, 24(1), 1-23.
- Fitzpatrick, C., Barnett, T., & Pagani, L. (2012). Early exposure to media violence and later child adjustment. *Journal of Developmental and Behavioral Pediatrics*, 33(4), 291-7.
- Flouri, E., & Buchanan, A. (2004). Early father's and mother's involvement and child's later educational outcomes. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 74(2), 141-153.
- Gadsden, V., Wortham, S., & Turner, H. (2003). Situated Identities of Young, African American Fathers in Low-Income Urban Setting. *Family Court Review*, 41(3), 381-399.
- Gentile, D., Coyne, S., & Walsh, D. (2011). Media violence, physical aggression, and relational aggression in school age children: A short-term longitudinal study. *Aggressive Behavior*, 37(2), 193-206.

- Gentry, J., & Harrison, R. (2010). Is advertising a barrier to male movement toward gender change? *Marketing Theory*, 10(1), 74-96.
- Hall, J.M. (2020). Strong Fathers, Strong Families. Retrieved March 22, 2020 from <https://www.strongfathers.com/>.
- Harper, B., & Tiggemann, M. (2008). The Effect of Thin Ideal Media Images on Women's Self-Objectification, Mood, and Body Image. *Sex Roles*, 58(9), 649-657.
- Hayes, D., Jones, A. D., Silverstein, B. L., Auerbach, F.C., & Levant, F. R. (2010). In Their Own Words: Early Head Start Fathers. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 11(4), 241-250.
- Hill, S. A., & Kelly, J. (2016). From Good Times to Blackish: Media Portrayals of African American Fathers. In L. Tropp & J. Kelly (Eds.), *Deconstructing Dads: Changing Images of Fathers in Popular Culture* (pp. 187-212). Lanham, MD: Lexington.
- Hinckley, C., Ferreira, R., & Maree, J. G. (2007). The Case of Expectant Fathers: Negotiating the Changing Role of Males in a "Female" World. *Early Child Development and Care*, 177(5), 461-478.
- Howard, K. S. (2006). *What about dad? Adjusting to parenting and facilitating children's development. Dissertation Abstracts International: Section B: The Sciences and Engineering*. ProQuest Information & Learning.
- Hymes, D. (1972). On communicative competence. In J. B. Pride & J. Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics*, pp. 269-293. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.
- Jarrett, R., Roy, K., & Burton, L. (2002). Fathers in the 'hood': Qualitative research on low-income African American men. In C. Tamis-LeMonda & N. Cabrera (Eds.), *Handbook of father involvement: Multidisciplinary perspectives* (pp. 211-248). New York: Erlbaum.
- Johnson, M., & Young, A. (2016). Diversity and Meaning in the Study of Black Fatherhood Toward a New Paradigm. *Du Bois Review-Social Science Research on Race*, 13(1), 5-23.
- Kahneman, D. (2011). *Thinking, Fast and Slow*. New York, NY: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux.
- Kelly, J. (2009). Fathers and the Media: Introduction to the Special Issue. *Fathering: A Journal of Theory, Research & Practice about Men as Fathers*, 7(2), 107-113.
- Kelly, J. (2016). Decoding Comic Dads: Examining How Media and Real Fathers Measure up with Young Viewers. In L. Tropp & J. Kelly (Eds.), *Deconstructing Dads: Changing Images of Fathers in Popular Culture* (pp. 77-95). Lanham, MD: Lexington.
- Kuo, P. X., & Ward, L. M. (2016). Contributions of television use to beliefs about fathers and gendered family roles among first-time expectant parents. *Psychology of Men & Masculinity*, 17(4), 352-362.
- Lamb, M.E., Pleck, J.H., Charnov, E. L., & Levine, J. A. (1985). Paternal behavior in humans. *American Zoologist*, 25, 883-894.
- Leavell, A., Tamis-LeMonda, S., Ruble, C., Zosuls, S., & Cabrera, D. (2012). African American, White and Latino Fathers' Activities with their Sons and Daughters in Early Childhood. *Sex Roles*, 66(1), 53-65.
- Levere, L.J. (2010). Ads Urge Fathers to Take Time' to Be a Dad. *The New York Times*. Retrieved March 22, 2020 from nytimes.com/2010/10/19/business/media/19adnewsletter1.html.
- McAdoo, J.L. (1988). Changing perspectives on the role of the black father. In: P. Bronstein & C. P. Cowan (Eds.), *Fatherhood today: Men's changing role in the family* (pp. 79-92). Oxford: Wiley.
- McAdoo, H.P., and McAdoo, J.L. (1997). The Dynamics of African American Fathers' Family Roles. *Michigan Family Review* 3(1): 7-15.

- Morrison, T. (2019). Peril. In *The Source of Self-Regard* (vii-ix). Alfred A. Knopf.
- Nowell, L.S., Norris, J.M., White, D.E., & Moules, N.J. (2017). Thematic analysis: Striving to meet the trustworthiness criteria. *International journal of qualitative methods*, 16, 1-13. Retrieved March 22, 2020 from <https://doi.org/10.1177/1609406917733847>.
- Pancsofar, N., & Vernon-Feagans, L. (2010). Fathers' Early Contributions to Children's Language Development in Families from Low-income Rural Communities. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 25(4), 450-463.
- Pehlke, T., Hennon, C., Radina, M., & Kuvalanka, K. (2009). Does Father Still Know Best? An Inductive Thematic Analysis of Popular TV Sitcoms. *Fathering*, 7(2), 114-139.
- Quick, V. M., & Byrd-Bredbenner, C. (2013). Disordered eating, socio-cultural media influencers, body image, and psychological factors among a racially/ethnically diverse population of college women. *Eating Behaviors*, 15(1), 37-41.
- Reep, D., & Dambrot, F. (1994). TV Parents: Fathers (and now Mothers) Know Best. *Journal of Popular Culture*, 28(2), 13-23.
- Roggman, L. A., Boyce, L. K., Cook, G. A., & Cook, J. (2002). Getting dads involved: Predictors of father involvement in Early Head Start and with their children. *Infant Mental Health Journal*, 23, 62-78
- Rohner, R. P., & Veneziano, R. A. (2001). The importance of father love: History and contemporary evidence. *Review of General Psychology*, 5(4), 382-405.
- Sarkadi A, Kristiansson R, Oberklaid F, & Bremberg S. (2008). Fathers' involvement and children's developmental outcomes: a systematic review of longitudinal studies. *Acta Paediatrica*, 97(2), 153-158.
- Scharrer, Erica. (2001). From Wise to Foolish: The Portrayal of the Sitcom Father, 1950s-1990s. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, 45(1), 23.
- Shears, J., Summers, J., Boller, K., & Barclay-McLaughlin, G. (2006). Exploring Fathering Roles in Low-Income Families: The Influence of Intergenerational Transmission. *Families in Society*, 87(2), 259-268,159.
- Smith, D. (2008). Critiquing Reality-Based Televisual Black Fatherhood: A Critical Analysis of Run's House and Snoop Dogg's Father Hood. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 25(4), 393-412.
- Thomas, P. A., Krampe, E. M., & Newton, R. R. (2008) Father Presence, Family Structure, and Feelings of Closeness to the Father Among Adult African American Children. *Journal of Black Studies*, 38(4), pp. 529-546.
- Troilo, J. (2017). Stay tuned: Portrayals of fatherhood to come. *Psychology of Popular Media Culture*, 6(1), 82.
- Waanders, C., Mendez, J. L., & Downer, J. T. (2007). Parent characteristics, economic stress and neighborhood context as predictors of parent involvement in preschool children's education. *Journal of School Psychology*, 45, 619-636
- Wilson, L. (2018). *A collaborative effort towards social change: Understanding media's influence on African American fathers of young children*. (Doctoral Dissertation). Retrieved from ProQuest (10844839).

SIGN LANGUAGE AND LINGUISTIC HUMAN RIGHTS: A CALL FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE EDUCATION OF DEAF CHILDREN

Timothy Reagan, The University of Maine and The University of the Free State

Abstract

For deaf children, having access to the spoken language of the surrounding hearing community is best ensured by prior access to a sign language. Thus, bilingualism is not merely a useful, but an essential educational goal for the deaf community. This article offers a case for conceptualizing the deaf community as a cultural and linguistic one. Next, the nature and role of linguistic human rights in education are explored, and the implications of the concept of linguistic human rights for the deaf child, and for deaf education, are discussed. It is suggested that access to a sign language is, for the deaf child, a matter of both human rights and social justice.

Keywords: American Sign Language, ASL, deaf education, deaf epistemology, DEAF-WORLD, social justice

Introduction

Thirty years ago, in a discussion about the educational needs of Deaf children¹, Danielle Bouvet (1990) argued that “[W]hile true bilingualism is linguistically harmless for ordinary children, it is linguistically *necessary* for Deaf children. Only through bilingualism can deaf children acquire [language] naturally, for it exposes them to a visual language in which they do not experience any limitations in the language acquisition process ... As far as Deaf children are concerned, bilingualism is the only road to healthy [language] development” (p. 135, my emphasis).

Bouvet’s argument is at the heart of this article: for Deaf children, access to the spoken language of the surrounding hearing community is best ensured by prior access to a sign language – and hence, bilingualism is an essential educational goal for them. Further, this bilingualism must be grounded in a recognition and acceptance of the unique culture and deaf linguistic community of which they will also most likely be a part. Any educational approach that fails to recognize this is not merely ill-conceived; it constitutes a violation of the linguistic human rights of the deaf child. This article will begin by offering the case for conceptualizing the Deaf community as a cultural and linguistic one. Next, the nature and role of linguistic human rights in education are explored, and the implications for the concept of linguistic human rights of the Deaf child examined. Finally, there is an overarching recommendation for access to a sign language for the Deaf child, as a matter of human rights and social justice².

Sign Language and the Deaf Community

Deaf constructions of Deaf identity, which are grounded in the experiences and history of the DEAF-WORLD³, stress the sociocultural and linguistic aspects of Deafness (see Branson & Miller, 2002; Grosjean, 2010; Hoffmeister, 2008; Holcomb, 2013; Humphries, 2004; Jones, 2002; Ladd, 2003, 2005; Lane, 2005; Padden & Humphries, 1988, 2005; Ramsey, 2004; Simms & Thumann, 2007; Tomkins, 2004). The components of the Deaf cultural community include some elements that would characterize any cultural community, among which are a shared language, a literary and artistic tradition, shared awareness of cultural identity, endogamous marital patterns, distinctive behavioral norms, cultural artifacts, a shared

¹ Since the 1960s, it has been common to distinguish between *deaf* and *Deaf*: the former refers to deafness solely as an audiological condition, the latter to Deafness as a cultural condition. Although this is a valuable distinction, it oversimplifies and dichotomizes the complexities of Deafness. In this article, “Deaf” and “Deafness” are used *except* in the rare cases in which only the audiological meaning is possible. The use of *deaf* and *Deaf* in quotations has been left as originally written.

² The focus in this article is on the U.S. setting. However, the argument offered here would apply to the Deaf in other settings as well.

³ DEAF-WORLD is the sign used in ASL to refer to the Deaf community. In this article, the common practice of indicating a particular sign by writing its English gloss in capital letters (e.g., BOY) has been used. It should be noted that many signs require multiple English words to represent a single sign (as I-ASK-YOU or DEAF-WORLD).

historical knowledge, and a network of in-group social organizations (Holcomb, 2013; Padden & Humphries, 2005; Reagan, 2002).

American Sign Language as the Language of the DEAF-WORLD

The use of American Sign Language (ASL) as one's primary vernacular language is the most critical element in the construction of deaf cultural identity -- in fact, Deaf identity presupposes communicative competence in ASL and is impossible without it. It is not merely *signing* that is necessary, though -- it is the use of ASL. Many hearing people *sign*, but far fewer are competent in ASL⁴. ASL has historically functioned as a language of group solidarity for Deaf people, serving both as a badge of in-group membership and as a barrier to outsiders (see Schein & Stewart, 1995, p. 155). Sign languages such as ASL are complete languages, fully capable of meeting all of the needs of their users (see, for example, Baker, van den Bogaerde, Pfau, & Schermer, 2016; Johnston & Schembri, 2007; Meir & Sandler, 2013; Sandler & Lillo-Martin, 2006; Valli, Lucas, Mulrooney, & Villanueva, 2011). They are unrelated to the spoken language(s) surrounding them, although they may be related to other sign languages (see Padden, 2011; Wittmann, 1991; Woodward, 2011). Thus, while British Sign Language and ASL are both found in English-speaking societies, they are not genetically (in a linguistic sense) related, while ASL is closely related to French Sign Language (*Langue des Signes Française*), from which it is in large part descended⁵.

ASL plays an important role in constructing the DEAF-WORLD worldview -- that is, how Deaf people make sense of the world around them. It does this in two ways: first, through its role as linguistic mediator, and second, as an identifying facet of cultural identity. ASL mediates experience uniquely, as do all languages. The structures and vocabulary of ASL provide the framework within which experience is organized and understood, and this framework is inevitably somewhat different from the frameworks employed by other languages. The fact that ASL (like all sign languages) is spatial and relies on a visual-gestural modality rather than an oral-auditory one, is itself important in the morphosyntactic structure of the language, but it is also in the lexicon that one finds evidence of how differently the world can be constructed. For example, in ASL if one describes a person as "very-hard-of-hearing," it means that the person has substantial residual hearing while "a-little-hard-of-hearing" would suggest far less residual hearing. In other words, the concepts themselves are based on different norms than would be the case in English, in which the meanings of these two expressions would be reversed. Along the same lines, while English describes hearing status in terms of hearing, deaf and hard-of-hearing, in ASL there are not only equivalent signs for these words, but also the signs HEAFIE (a pejorative sign used to denigrate a Deaf person who "thinks like a hearing

⁴ There are, broadly speaking, three different kinds of signing: (i) natural sign languages, used by deaf people in *intragroup* communication (such as ASL, British Sign Language, Dutch Sign Language, etc.), (ii) *contact* signing, originally called "pidgin sign language," which is typically used by deaf and hearing people in *intergroup* communication, and (iii) manual sign codes, which are deliberately constructed artificial systems that are designed to represent spoken languages in a visual-manual modality, and which are used in educational settings.

⁵ The historical evolution of ASL is complex and involved input from both French Sign Language and the local sign languages, such as that used on Martha's Vineyard (see Groce, 1985; Shaw & Delaporte, 2015; Supalla & Clark, 2015).

person”) and HEARING-BUT (used to describe a person who is hearing but who is familiar with and understands the DEAF-WORLD in an empathetic manner)^{6,6}

The role of ASL in the construction of Deaf cultural identity is quite complicated. Members of the Deaf community self-identify as culturally Deaf, maintaining a clear-cut distinction between audiological deafness and sociocultural deafness -- a phenomenon that is sometimes referred to as attitudinal deafness (see Reagan, 2002). Children of Deaf Adults (or CODAs), who grow up with ASL as their first language, are to some extent members of the DEAF-WORLD, just as older hearing people who lose their hearing are *not* deaf (they are seen, instead, as “hearing people who can no longer hear”). As has already been noted, audiological “impairment” is a necessary condition for Deaf identity, but it is not a sufficient condition for group membership. Indeed, for non-group members, use of ASL can present significant challenges to one’s credibility and status as a sympathetic outsider, and it is not uncommon to find Deaf people who seek to “protectively withhold from hearing people information about the DEAF-WORLD’s language and culture” (Lane, Hoffmeister, & Bahan, 1996, p. 71).

The DEAF-WORLD and the Hearing World: A Study in Tensions

In an anthropological sense, the DEAF-WORLD is a legitimate and viable culture (see Grosjean, 2010; Hoffmeister, 2008; Holcomb, 2013; Humphries, 2004; Jones, 2002; Ladd, 2003, 2005; Lane, 2005; Padden & Humphries, 1988, 2005; Ramsey, 2004; Tomkins, 2004; Senghas & Monaghan, 2002; Simms & Thumann, 2007). Thus, medical attempts to cure or remediate audiological deafness are seen as not merely misguided, but as culturally and linguistically oppressive by most Deaf people. This point was made quite vividly by I. King Jordan, the retired President of Gallaudet University, in an interview some years ago⁷. Jordan was asked whether he wouldn’t want his hearing restored if this were possible, to which he replied, “That’s almost like asking a black person if he would rather be white ... I don’t think of myself as missing something or as incomplete ... It’s a common fallacy if you don’t know deaf people or deaf issues” (quoted in Lane 1993a, p. 288). From a Deaf perspective, this response was perfectly appropriate, meaningful, and relatively uncontroversial; from outside the DEAF-WORLD, it undoubtedly strikes many hearing people as somewhat odd, puzzling, or even bizarre. It is the tension between these two kinds of constructions of deafness that is at stake here, and it is this tension that is, on a fundamental level, probably ultimately incommensurable. It is the very conception of what constitutes *normal* that is at the heart of this tension. Michel Foucault made clear the epistemological power of socially established norms, whether in terms of mental illness, punishment, or sexuality; so too is the challenge to

⁶ HEAFIE would not be a sign used to describe a person who became deaf late in life, since such individuals would not be expected to identify with the DEAF-WORLD.

⁷ I. King Jordan was the first Deaf President of Gallaudet University. He was appointed in part as a result of Deaf protests about the appointment of Elisabeth A. Zinser as President in March 1988. The protests, called the “Deaf President Now” movement, involved not only students, but also alumni, staff and faculty, and was a key historical event in the development of Deaf social and political activism (see Christiansen & Barnartt, 1995).

the conception of normal and its equation with hearing important in understanding this topic (see Foucault, 1975, 1976, 2000, 2008). Harlan Lane (1993b), in a critique of the growing popularity of cochlear implants in young children⁸, argued that “[I]f the birth of a Deaf child is a priceless gift, then there is only cause for rejoicing, as at the birth of a black child, or an Indian one. Medical intervention is inappropriate, even if a perfect ‘cure’ were available. Invasive surgery on healthy children is morally wrong. We know that, as members of a stigmatized minority, these children’s lives will be full of challenge but, by the same token, they have a special contribution to make to their own community and the larger society” (pp. 490-491).

Although the tension between the hearing and Deaf constructions of Deaf identity may well be irreconcilable on a conceptual level, it is even more complex than a simple bifurcation might suggest. The majority of culturally Deaf people become members of the DEAF-WORLD relatively late in comparison with members of most other cultures. The extent to which the process of normalization of Deafness to hearing norms (“hearization”) is accepted or rejected is key here, as Stephen Nover (1993) has made clear: “hearization leads many deaf children into wishing or thinking they will become hearing someday ... Unfortunately, deaf and hard-of-hearing children may learn to view hearing people as superior to those who are deaf.”

Linguistic Human Rights

The idea of human rights is a relatively recent one in political thought (see Freeman, 2002; Spring, 2000). As Jack Donnelly (2003) has commented, “traditional societies typically ... had elaborate systems of duties ... conceptions of justice, political legitimacy, and human flourishing that sought to realize human dignity, flourishing, or well-being entirely independent of human rights. These institutions and practices are alternative to, rather than different formulations of, human rights” (p. 71). The past century has not only witnessed increased recognition of human rights, of course, but arguably even more important, a growing awareness of and sensitivity to violations of human rights (Almond, 1993). If the concept of human rights is a relatively new one, that of language rights – and, specifically, of linguistic human rights – is even more recent (see, for example, Grin, 2005; Lambert & Shohamy, 2000; May 2005, 2012; Wright, 2007).

Linguistic Human Rights and the DEAF-WORLD

The situation concerning linguistic human rights is an extraordinarily complex one in the case of the DEAF-WORLD (see Eichmann, 2009; Hualand & Allen, 2009; Hult & Compton, 2012; Quer & Müller de Quadros, 2015; Turner, 2009). Unlike other minority language communities, Deaf people are unique, as we have noted, in that their language and culture are most often transmitted not from one generation to the next, but rather from peer to

⁸ The use of cochlear implants in young children is one example of the ongoing medicalization of Deafness, which includes not only technological and surgical efforts to “cure” Deafness, but also increasing efforts in genetics. Cochlear implants have been an extremely controversial matter in the DEAF-WORLD, where they are commonly seen as an unnecessary and potentially harmful medical procedure that is based on a view of Deafness as disability, and which devalues both the Deaf community and its language (see Hintermair & Albertini, 2005; Lane, 1993a, 1993b).

peer. The community is also distinct in that its members have differential access to the society's dominant language due not to social, economic, educational, or political factors, but rather to factors directly attributable to their physiological condition.

Users of sign languages face violations of their linguistic human rights in a wide variety of contexts and settings, and these violations of their rights take many forms (see Corker, 2000; Jokinen, 2000; Komesaroff, 2000, 2008; McKee & Manning, 2015; Murray, 2015; Reagan, 2010; Siegel, 2008). First, there has historically been resistance to recognizing sign languages – either officially or unofficially – as “real” languages (see Reagan, 2011, 2019b)⁹. Apart from this lack of recognition, the need for sign language users to have mediated access to social institutions (such as legal and political institutions, healthcare and medical institutions, educational institutions, and the media), often reinforced by a shortage or lack altogether of competent sign language interpreters, is one aspect of the way in which the linguistic human rights of Deaf people are routinely violated.

The prevailing lack of provision of adequate educational services in sign language for Deaf children is an additional human rights violation. What is significant here is that different assumptions about linguistic human rights can apply in addressing these violations. Disability-grounded approaches to the rights of Deaf people, as a *handicapped* and therefore disadvantaged group in need of remedial support, can be sufficient to ensure the provision of mediated access, and can also provide limited justification for certain restricted sorts of official status for sign languages. Such approaches, however, do not consider the fundamental human rights of Deaf people *as human beings* (as opposed to their rights as disabled persons), nor are they comparable to the linguistic human rights assumed for members of cultural and linguistic minority groups. This is an especially important point, since much of the current discourse of the linguistic human rights of Deaf people does not adequately ensure the linguistic human rights of Deaf children in educational settings (Murray, 2015; Reagan, 2019a).

Although well-intentioned, formulating the linguistic human rights of Deaf people as compensatory rights is nevertheless based on a profoundly paternalistic view of Deafness. In short, in examining violations of the linguistic human rights of Deaf people, there has been, and continues to be, a consistent and highly problematic shared set of audist assumptions – that is, assumptions grounded in paternalistic understandings derived from worldviews that are mostly those of hearing people¹⁰.

⁹ Some 50 countries around the world now recognize a sign language in some manner: constitutionally, legislatively, or through other regulatory means. More than 40 states in the U.S. grant some recognition to ASL. However, what such recognition most often entails is quite different from the official recognition of a spoken language (see Reagan, 2011).

¹⁰ Audism, which is a more specific variant of ableism, presupposes that hearing is not simply different from, but *superior to*, Deafness (see Albrecht, Seelman, & Bury, 2001; Bauman, 2004; DePoy & Gilson, 2009; Eckert & Rowley, 2013; Gabel, 2009).

Social Justice, Sign Language, and the Deaf Child

Traditionally, the central objective of deaf education¹¹ has been to assist Deaf children to acquire the skills believed to be necessary for their survival in the hearing world. In many cases, this resulted in an emphasis on speech, lip-reading, and literacy in English, and entailed the maximum use of the child's residual hearing. In residential schools for the Deaf, children passed on ASL and informally prepared for entry into the DEAF-WORLD even as formally the school sought to prepare them for functionality in the hearing world. In a sense, both of these goals were concerned with the empowerment of Deaf children, but in very different *sorts* of empowerment. A key component of empowerment in deaf education is to recognize the historical power relations that have existed, and continue to exist, in the field (Komesaroff, 2008). Institutions designed to educate Deaf children have historically been founded and managed *by* hearing people *for* the Deaf. Important decisions about policy, teaching methods, curricula, and assessment have been controlled by hearing people. To a considerable extent, historically Deaf people were not allowed to become teachers of Deaf children, and there has been a decided lack of Deaf professionals serving the Deaf community. There has also been an almost complete lack of voice (or, on some accounts, *denial* of voice) about critical issues affecting Deaf people, especially in education. As Linda Komesaroff (2008) has argued, "The system of education for deaf people has been dominated by, and suited to, the needs of most hearing educators. Control has been maintained over deaf people through official language policies and a system that is structured to advantage hearing teachers" (p. 5). In short, in the case of the education of Deaf children, the people who arguably have the best understanding of what being Deaf means for everyday life, and who have developed the skills necessary for survival in the hearing world, have not been consulted at all about how Deaf children should be prepared for life.

One of the major changes that took place in the last quarter of the 20th century was the rise of inclusive education. Philosophically, inclusive education is based upon the premise that: students should not be segregated unless there is clear evidence for superiority for segregated classes and programs. The most important research questions for the future are not *whether* we should seek to build inclusive schools but *how* we may do so well ... For us, inclusive teaching is quite simply: We seek to educate *all children together well*. For us, 'all' really does mean 'all' ... teaching all children together is a cornerstone of good teaching and schooling. (Peterson & Hittie, 2003, pp. 41-42)

Such a position is certainly an admirable one for many children. When the case of the Deaf children is considered, though, a number of problematic issues arise – some of which are so serious that they have led to mainstreaming and inclusive education being labelled "epistemic violence" by some scholars (see, for example, Branson & Miller, 1993; Komesaroff, 2000, 2008). The major social and educational challenge facing Deaf children is that proper and healthy cognitive and social development of every child is dependent on his or her access to communication with peers. For the Deaf child, this is extremely unlikely to take place in an inclusive classroom, in which most such children will not be able to communicate in ASL. The

¹¹ Note that "deaf education" is written with a lower-case *d* to stress the fact that although serving Deaf children, the educational institutions involved have historically been controlled and dominated by hearing people.

presence of sign language interpreters does not really address this problem, either first because of the shortage of such interpreters, second, because of the well-documented problems with respect to the linguistic and communicative competencies of many sign language interpreters, and third, because of the need for children to interact with peers in non-mediated settings. In short, for the Deaf child the inclusive classroom is all too often anything except inclusive, nor can it be taken to represent the “least restrictive environment” for the Deaf child in any meaningful way, a point that has been made repeatedly by Deaf adults reflecting on their childhood educational experiences in inclusive settings (see Kersting, 1997).

Current educational practices simply do not adequately serve Deaf students either academically or socially. Indeed, Robert Johnson, Scott Liddell, and Carol Erting (1989) describe the failure of deaf education in the following manner: “The education of deaf students in the United States is not as it should be. It has been documented time upon time that deaf children lag substantially behind their hearing age mates in virtually all measures of academic achievement ... deaf students’ achievement on the Stanford Achievement Test (SAT) was markedly depressed in spelling, paragraph construction, vocabulary, mathematics concepts, mathematics computation, social studies, and science ... for each year of school, deaf children fall further behind their hearing peers in reading and mathematics achievement ... the results of deaf education have failed to live up to our expectations and investments” (p. 1).

What is required in the case of deaf education in the United States is a fundamental change that entails the rejection of a deficit theory of Deafness, coupled with a commitment to ensuring that every Deaf child is provided with an education that will prepare her or him for life in both the hearing world *as well as* in the DEAF-WORLD. Such a change, as Johnson, Liddell, and Erting (1989) have argued, would need to be based on the following assumptions:

1. Deaf children are not defective versions of normal hearing children.
2. Deafness does not need to be cured.
3. The first language of the Deaf child should be ASL, and the acquisition of ASL should begin as early in life as possible.
4. Deaf children can learn everything that hearing children can learn.
5. English is not the native language of the Deaf child.
6. The language of instruction for Deaf children should be ASL.
7. The learning of spoken and written English by the Deaf child should be recognized to be the learning of a second language.
8. The use of ASL is likely to provide the greatest access to content in the classroom.
9. English and ASL should be used separately in the classroom setting.
10. The best linguistic and cultural models for Deaf children are Deaf adults.
11. Speech should not be the primary means by which English (or other content) is taught to Deaf children.
12. Deaf education should incorporate teaching about different aspects of the DEAF-WORLD.
13. In the case of Deaf children, the least restrictive environment is not the inclusive classroom. (pp. 15-19)

Many of these changes have begun to be implemented (see DeLana, Gentry, & Andrews, 2007; Marschark, Tang, & Knoors, 2014; Swanwick & Gregory, 2007). As early as the mid-1970s, there were calls for bilingual-bicultural education programs utilizing both ASL and English, and which would include curricular content devoted to Deaf culture (see Deuchar & James, 1985; Kyle, 1987; Paul & Quigley, 1987; Reagan, 1985; Strong, 1988). By the 1980s, a full-blown movement for bilingual-bicultural education for Deaf children was underway in the United States, and today such programs exist in many parts of the country. Bilingual-bicultural education programs for Deaf children are similar to bilingual education programs for other language minority children in many ways, but they are also distinctive in several extremely important ways (see Allen, 2008; Erting, Bailes, Erting, Thumann-Prezioso, & Kuntz, 2006; Gibson, Small, & Mason, 1997; Israelite, Ewoldt, & Hoffmeister, 1992; Nover, 1995; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2008). For example, unlike most hearing children, a large percentage of Deaf children arrive in educational institutions without an identified native language¹².

As Susan Gregory (1996) has suggested, bilingual-bicultural education programs for Deaf children should involve four major goals:

1. To enable Deaf children to become linguistically competent.
2. To provide access to a comprehensive content and skill curriculum.
3. To facilitate strong literacy skills; and
4. To provide Deaf students with a definite sense of their own identity.

The underlying principles of these goals make both the similarities and differences of bilingual-bicultural education for Deaf students clear. In essence, they would require that:

1. ASL, as the language of the Deaf community, should be the first language used and should serve as the primary medium of instruction with Deaf children.
2. English should be introduced *after* students have begun to develop skills in ASL.
3. Deaf culture and Deaf role models should be acknowledged as an essential part of the educational program; and
4. Parents as well as students should be actively introduced to the culture and community of Deaf people and be supported in the learning/acquisition of ASL.

In order to effectively implement bilingual-bicultural programs for Deaf children, a final change has to do with the willingness to employ Deaf teachers and other educators, a practice common prior to the Congress of Milan but which declined as oralism became increasingly dominant in the United States¹³.

¹² Discussions about the native language of prelingually Deaf children is a significant and complex problem, since in a powerful sense many do not really have a native language. As a consequence of their hearing impairment, they do not have access to their parents' spoken language. At the same time, except for the small percentage of Deaf children born into families in which a sign language is the vernacular language (i.e., typically families in which the parents are themselves Deaf), the relatively late identification of Deafness can mean that their introduction to sign language – arguably their natural native language -- is delayed.

¹³ The International Congress on the Education of the Deaf was held in Milan, Italy, in 1880. In attendance were 163 hearing educators of the Deaf, and one Deaf representative, who was not allowed to vote. The Congress passed (almost unanimously) a resolution declaring that

Conclusion

The relationship between the DEAF-WORLD and the hearing world is, in many ways, a paradoxical one. Not only do Deaf people live their lives interacting with hearing people, but the vast majority have both hearing parents and hearing children. At the same time, they believe – with arguably quite compelling evidence – the hearing world marginalizes both them and their language and culture. The paradox that this tension creates is, as Padden and Humphries (2005) note, one between the drive for separation and the desire for inclusion. “The idea of culture offers the possibility of separation and inclusion at the same time. Culture provides a frame for Deaf people to separate themselves from an undefined group of those with hearing impairments, but at the same time, they are included in the world of human communities that share long histories, durable languages, and common social practices. Separation allows Deaf people to define political goals that may be distinct from other groups. Inclusion allows Deaf people to work toward humanist goals that are common to other groups such as civil rights and access. In this way, the idea of culture is not merely an academic abstraction, but very much a ‘lived’ concept” (pp. 160-161).

The implications of this tension for deaf education are significant. It has been argued here that what is required in deaf education are changes associated with the fundamental assumptions in the field. Only by reconceptualizing the methods, curricula, and goals for deaf education are we likely to be able to create an effective, socially just and empowering education for Deaf children.

the oral method should be the only one used in deaf education – effectively rejecting any role or use of any kind of signing whatsoever. The Congress had a huge impact on the Deaf all over the world, and certainly in the United States (see Jankowski, 2002).

References

- Albrecht, G., Seelman, K., & Bury, M. (Eds.). (2001). *Handbook of disability studies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Allen, S. (2008). English and ASL: Classroom activities to shed some light on the use of two languages. In K. Lindgren, D. DeLuca, & D. Napoli (Eds.), *Signs and voices: Deaf culture, identity, language, and arts* (pp. 139–149). Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.
- Almond, B. (1993). Rights. In P. Singer (Ed.), *A companion to ethics* (pp. 259-269). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Baker, A., van den Bogaerde, B., Pfau, R., & Schermer, T. (Eds.). (2016). *The linguistics of sign languages: An introduction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bauman, H-D. (2004). Audism: Exploring the metaphysics of oppression. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education*, 9(2), 239-246.
- Bouvet, D. (1990). *The path to language: Bilingual education for deaf children*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Branson, J., & Miller, D. (1993). Sign language, the deaf and the epistemic violence of mainstreaming. *Language and Education*, 7(1), 21-41.
- Branson, J., & Miller, D. (2002). *Damned for their difference: The cultural construction of deaf people as disabled*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.
- Christiansen, J., & Barnartt, S. (1995). *Deaf president now! The 1988 revolution at Gallaudet University*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.
- Corker, M. (2000). Disability politics, language planning and inclusive social policy. *Disability and Society*, 15(3), 445-462.
- DeLana, M., Gentry, M., & Andrews, J. (2007). The efficacy of ASL/English bilingual education: Considering public schools. *American Annals of the Deaf*, 152(1), 73-87.
- DePoy, E., & Gilson, S. (2011). *Studying disability: Multiple theories and responses*. Los Angeles, CA: Sage.
- Deuchar, M., & James, H. (1985). English as the second language of the deaf. *Language and Communication*, 5(1), 45-51.
- Donnelly, J. (2003). *Universal human rights in theory and practice* (2nd ed.). Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Eckert, R., & Rowley, A. (2013). Audism: A theory and practice of audio centric privilege. *Humanity and Society*, 37(2), 101-130.
- Eichmann, H. (2009). Planning sign languages: Promoting hearing hegemony? Conceptualizing sign language standardization. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 10(3), 293-307.
- Erting, C., Bailes, C., Erting, L., Thumann-Prezioso, C., & Kuntz, M. (2006). Signs of literacy: Naturalistic inquiry into ASL/English bilingualism at home and at school. In H. Goodstein (Ed.), *The Deaf Way reader II* (pp.87–95). Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1975). *Surveiller et punir : Naissance de la prison*. Paris : Éditions Gallimard.
- Foucault, M. (1976). *Histoire de la folie à l'âge classique*. Paris : Éditions Gallimard.
- Foucault, M. (2000). *Naissance de la clinique*. Paris : Presses Universitaires de France.
- Foucault, M. (2008). *L'archéologie du savoir*. Paris: Éditions Gallimard.
- Freeman, M. (2002). *Human rights: An interdisciplinary approach*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Gabel, S. (Ed.). (2009). *Disability studies in education: Readings in theory and method*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Gibson, H., Small, A., & Mason, D. (1997). Deaf bilingual bicultural education. In J. Cummins & D. Corson (Eds.), *Encyclopedia of language and education: Bilingual education* pp. 231–240). Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer.

- Gregory, S. (1996). Bilingualism and the education of deaf children. Paper presented at a conference on "Bilingualism and the Education of Deaf Children: Advances in Practice," held at the University of Leeds, in Leeds, UK, on June 29.
- Grin, F. (2005). Linguistic human rights as a source of policy guidelines: A critical assessment. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 9(3), 448-460.
- Groce, E. (1985). *Everyone here spoke sign language: Hereditary deafness on Martha's Vineyard*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Grosjean, F. (2010). Bilingualism, biculturalism, and deafness. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 13(2), 133-145.
- Haualand, H., & Allen, C. (2009). *Deaf people and human rights*. Helsinki: World Federation of the Deaf, in collaboration with the Swedish National Association of the Deaf.
- Hintermair, M., & Albertini, J. (2005). Ethics, deafness, and new medical technologies. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education*, 10(2), 185-192.
- Hoffmeister, R. (2008). Language and the deaf world: Difference not disability. In M. Brisk (Ed.), *Language, culture, and community in teacher education* (pp. 71-98). New York: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Holcomb, T. (2013). *Introduction to American deaf culture*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hult, F., & Compton, S. (2012). Deaf education policy as language policy: A comparative analysis of Sweden and the United States. *Sign Language Studies*, 12(4), 602-620.
- Humphries, T. (2004). The modern deaf self: Indigenous practices and educational imperatives.
- In B. Brueggemann (Ed.), *Literacy and deaf people: Cultural and contextual perspectives* (pp. 29-46). Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.
- Israelite, N., Ewoldt, I., & Hoffmeister, R. (1992). *Bilingual/bicultural education for deaf and hard-of-hearing students*. Ottawa: Ministry of Education.
- Jankowski, K. (2002). *Deaf empowerment: Emergence, struggle, and rhetoric*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.
- Johnston, T. & Schembri, A. (2007). *Australian Sign Language (Auslan): An introduction to sign language linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Johnson, R., Liddell, S., & Erting, C. (1989). *Unlocking the curriculum: Principles for achieving access in deaf education*. (Gallaudet Research Institute Working Paper 89-3.) Washington, DC: Gallaudet University.
- Jokinen, M. (2000). The linguistic human rights of sign language users. In R. Phillipson (Ed.), *Rights to language: Equity, power, and education* (pp. 203-213). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Jones, M. (2002). Deafness as culture: A psychological perspective. *Disability Studies Quarterly*, 22(2), 51-60.
- Kersting, S. (1997). Balancing between deaf and hearing worlds: Reflections of mainstreamed college students on relationships and social interaction. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education*, 2(4), 252-263.
- Komesaroff, L. (2000). Linguistic rights of the deaf: Struggling against disabling pedagogy in education. *Australian Journal of Human Rights*, 6(1), 59-78.
- Komesaroff, L. (2008). *Disabling pedagogy: Power, politics and deaf education*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.
- Kyle, J. (Ed.). (1987). *Sign and school: Using signs in deaf children's development*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Ladd, P. (2003). *Understanding deaf culture: In search of deafhood*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Ladd, P. (2005). Deafhood: A concept stressing possibilities, not deficits. *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health*, 33(Supplement 66), 12-17.

- Lambert, R., & Shohamy, E. (Eds.). (2000). *Language policy and pedagogy*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Lane, H. (1993a). Cochlear implants: Their cultural and historical meaning. In J. Van Cleve (Ed.), *Deaf history unveiled: Interpretations from the new scholarship* (pp. 272-291). Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.
- Lane, H. (1993b). The medicalization of cultural deafness in historical perspective. In R. Fischer & H. Lane (Eds.), *Looking back: A reader on the history of deaf communities and their sign languages* (pp. 479-493). Hamburg: Signum Press.
- Lane, H. (2005). Ethnicity, ethics, and the deaf world. *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education*, 10(3), 291-310.
- Lane, H., Hoffmeister, R., & Bahan, B. (1996). *A journey into the DEAF-WORLD*. San Diego: DawnSign Press.
- Marschark, M., Tang, G., & Knoors, H. (Eds.). (2014). *Bilingualism and bilingual deaf education*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- May, S. (2005). Language rights: Moving the debate forward. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 9(3), 319-347.
- May, S. (2012). *Language and minority rights: Ethnicity, nationalism and the politics of language*. New York: Routledge.
- McKee, R., & Manning, V. (2015). Evaluating effects of language recognition on language rights and the vitality of New Zealand Sign language. *Sign Language Studies*, 15(4), 473-497.
- Meir, I., & Sandler, W. (2013). *A language in space: The story of Israeli Sign Language*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Murray, J. (2015). Linguistic human rights discourse in deaf community activism. *Sign Language Studies*, 15(4), 379-410.
- Nover, S. (1993). *Our voices, our vision: Politics of deaf education*. Paper presented at the CAIS/CEASD Convention in Baltimore, Maryland, June 26-30.
- Nover, S. (1995). Politics and language: American Sign Language and English in deaf education. In C. Lucas (Ed.), *Sociolinguistics in deaf communities* (pp. 109-163). Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.
- Padden, C. (2011). Sign language geography. In G. Mathur & D. Napoli (Eds.), *Deaf around the world: The impact of language* (pp. 19-37). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Padden, C., & Humphries, T. (1988). *Deaf in America: Voices from a culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Padden, C., & Humphries, T. (2005). *Inside deaf culture*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Paul, P., & Quigley, S. (1987). Using American Sign Language to teach English. In P. McAnally, S. Rose, & S. Quigley (Eds.), *Language learning practices with deaf children* (pp. 139-166). San Diego: College-Hill.
- Peterson, J., & Hittie, M. (2003). *Inclusive teaching: Creating effective schools for all learners*. Boston : Allyn and Bacon.
- Quer, J., & Müller de Quadros, R. (2015). Language policy and planning in deaf communities. In A. Schembri & C. Lucas (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and deaf communities* (pp. 120-145). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ramsey, C. (2004). What does culture have to do with the education of students who are deaf or hard of hearing? In B. Brueggemann (Ed.), *Literacy and deaf people: Cultural and contextual perspectives* (pp. 47-58). Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.
- Reagan, T. (1985). The deaf as a linguistic minority: Educational considerations. *Harvard Educational Review*, 55(3), 265-277.
- Reagan, T. (2002). Toward an 'archeology of deafness': Etic and emic constructions of identity in conflict. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 1(1), 41-66.

- Reagan, T. (2010). *Language policy and planning for sign languages*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.
- Reagan, T. (2011). Ideological barriers to American Sign Language: Unpacking linguistic resistance. *Sign Language Studies*, 11(4), 606-636.
- Reagan, T. (2019a). Language policies, language rights and sign languages: A critique of disabilities-based approaches. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 16(4), 271-292.
- Reagan, T. (2019b). *Linguistic legitimacy and social justice*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sandler, W., & Lillo-Martin, D. (2006). *Sign language and linguistic universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schein, J., & Stewart, D. (1995). *Language in motion*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.
- Senghas, R., & Monaghan, L. (2002). Signs of their times: Deaf communities and the culture of language. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31, 69-97.
- Shaw, E., & Delaporte, Y. (2015). *A historical and etymological dictionary of American Sign Language*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.
- Shick, B. (2003). The development of American Sign Language and Manually Coded English systems. In M. Marschark & P. Spencer (Eds.), *Oxford handbook of deaf studies, language and education* (pp. 219-231). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Siegel, L. (2008). *The human right to language: Communication access for deaf children*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.
- Simms, L., & Thumann, H. (2007). In search of a new, linguistically and culturally sensitive paradigm in deaf education. *American Annals of the Deaf*, 152(3), 302-311.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (2008). Bilingual education and sign language as the mother tongue of deaf children. In C. Bidoli & E. Ochse (Eds.), *English in international deaf communication* (pp. 75-94). Bern: Peter Lang.
- Spring, J. (2000). *The universal right to education: Justification, definition, and guidelines*. New York: Routledge.
- Strong, M. (1988). A bilingual approach to the education of young deaf children: ASL and English. In M. Strong (Ed.), *Language learning and deafness* (pp. 113-129). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Supalla, T., & Clark, P. (2015). *Sign language archeology: Understanding the historical roots of American Sign Language*. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.
- Swanwick, R., & Gregory, S. (2007). *Sign bilingual education: Policy and practice*. Coleford, Gloucestershire: Douglas McLean.
- Tomkins, L. (2004). Cultural and linguistic voice in the deaf bilingual experience. In B. Brueggemann (Ed.), *Literacy and deaf people: Cultural and contextual perspectives* (pp. 139-156). Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.
- Turner, G. (2009). Sign language planning: Pragmatism, pessimism, and principles. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 10(3), 243-254.
- Valli, C., Lucas, C., Mulrooney, K., & Villanueva, M. (2011). *Linguistics of American Sign Language* (5th ed.). Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.
- Wittmann, H. (1991). Classification linguistique des langues signées non vocalement. *Revue Québécoise de Linguistique*, 10(1), 215-288.
- Woodward, J. (2011). Some observations on research methodology in lexicostatistical studies of sign languages. In G. Mathur & D. Napoli (Eds.), *Deaf around the world: The impact of language* (pp. 38-53). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wright, S. (2007). The right to speak one's own language: Reflections on theory and practice. *Language Policy*, 6(2), 203-224.

PRESERVICE TEACHERS' PERCEPTION OF SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ITS CONNECTION TO ATTITUDES TOWARD INCLUSIVE EDUCATION: A QUANTITATIVE INVESTIGATION OF A THEORY

Jessica A. Scher Lisa, St. Joseph's College

Eric Shyman, St. Joseph's College

Abstract

The purpose of the current study was to investigate support for a theory postulating that positive attitudes toward social justice predict supportive attitudes that promote inclusive education for students with disabilities. The present study investigated two predictor measures of perception of social justice with a measure of attitudes toward inclusive education. Results suggested that the most direct measure of social justice predicted attitudes toward inclusive education. Higher scores on strong measures of social justice were predictive of higher scores of attitudes toward inclusive education. The results of this study highlight the importance of supporting students in their embodiment of the principles of social justice as a means of promoting acceptance of including students with disabilities, as well as furthering quantitative investigations of social justice in teacher education programs.

Key Words: Social Justice, Inclusive Education, Disabilities, Teacher Preparation

Introduction

The term “social justice” has become an increasingly common concept amongst teacher educators and is often associated with a wide variety of assumptions and characteristics. Social justice, for the purposes of the present research, can be thought of as a concept in which equity is achieved in every facet of a society, with individuals and groups receiving fair treatment and an equitable share of the advantages and disadvantages within a society (Adams, Bell, & Griffin, 2007). The perception of social justice is an important topic to consider for preservice teachers. While there has been much theoretical discussion of these concepts in the available literature, there is currently a paucity of quantitative research that connects the concept of social justice with other salient factors, such as classroom practices, student performance, and teacher attitudes. One of the aforementioned critical areas lacking such information is in the relationship between perceptions of social justice and teachers’ attitudes toward inclusive education for students with disabilities.

The current study investigated whether two measures of perception of social justice could predict perceptions of support for inclusive education for students with disabilities. The framework for the study was based on a developing theory postulating that a positive sense of social justice is likely to be directly related to a positive perception of inclusive education for individuals with disabilities. As teacher philosophy is deeply connected to teacher practice, gaining a more comprehensive understanding of how preservice teachers think about social justice may lead to a better understanding of future facilitation of inclusive education.

The Theory of Social Justice

Social justice as a concept can be complex and elusive to define and have a rich history in philosophical discourse. Various conceptualizations such as a description, a process, a virtue, or even a cultural goal (Fraser, 1997) have served as the basis for multiple definitions. John Stuart Mill suggested that society is obligated to treat all of its members “equally well” when they are “equally well” deserving of being treated as such. This was a virtue Mill claimed to be the “...highest abstract of social and distributive justice” (Grant & Agosto, 2008, p. 176). Mill’s contribution toward understanding the importance of social justice for future philosophers can be viewed in light of his insistence on persons finding happiness in themselves and the world through their experiences.

Although Mill’s ideas about social justice were regarded as paramount for many decades, post-World War II philosophers began to rethink the centrality of the concept of “the greatest good for the greatest number” in light of the “tyranny of the majority,” such as was present in the horrific events that took place in Nazi Germany. This rethinking is what led to John Rawls’ *A Theory of Justice* (1971), which was a catalytic work in the revisionist conceptualizations of social justice. Rawls’ conceptualization suggests that the pursuit of a greater social good must cause individuals to “...mar the lives of individuals by abridging their basic rights and entitlements...[particularly those with] no moral worth—like class, race, and sex—[which] frequently deform people’s prospects in life...[and] violate our basic sense of fairness” (Nussbaum, 2001, p. 3). As such, Rawls’ theory of “justice as fairness” dictates that

society should be structured so that the maximum amount of freedom and liberty is given to its members, and that inequalities must not be limiters in the acquiescence of basic human rights and powers (Nagel, 1973; Rawls, 1999).

Since the publication of Rawls's "A Theory of Justice", the debate and discussion about the true meaning of social justice has continued. Goodlad (2002) is one of many scholars that has contested the concept of social justice, noting that it has been crafted to mean different things at different times. Young (1990) pointed out that the goal of social justice is to eliminate institutionalized domination and oppression, while Fraser (1997) introduced the recognition of cultural groups in the theory of social justice and claimed that "both economic redistribution and recognition" must be considered when discussing equality in terms of social justice. Bell (1997) defined social justice as both a process and a goal; with the goal of social justice being full participation of all groups in a society that is mutually shaped to meet their needs; ensuring safety and security for all members. Barry (2005) noted that social justice is more in-line with a question of equal opportunities, and the treatment of inequalities of all kinds.

Social justice, for the purposes of the present research, can be thought of as a culmination of concepts found within a number of the aforementioned definitions. That is, a concept in which equity is achieved in every facet of a society; with individuals and groups receiving fair treatment, and an equitable share of the advantages and disadvantages within a society (Adams, Bell, & Griffin, 2007).

Social Justice in Education

Just as the definition of social justice as a theory has been characteristically difficult to ascertain, there is a parallel complexity to understanding the role of social justice in teacher education. The development of social justice consideration in teacher education has been attributable in large part to increasing awareness of the inequities in our society, starting with the civil rights movement, and continuing today in areas such as racial and ethnic disparities in financial support for schools, faculty hiring procedures, and the provision and allocation of resources both to and within schools. There is little discussion, however, in the current literature as to the extent to which social justice principles and practices are being utilized for teacher education directly. Walker (2003) makes the argument for the necessity of evaluative conceptual tools for social justice, in order to answer the question "Are our actions moving us closer to social justice or further away?" Grant and Agosto (2008) noted that society is upon a critical time in which teacher education and social justice are "sharing a discursive space" in teacher education, and as such there is a need for increased focus in the area of eliciting social justice in preservice teachers. The way in which an individual teacher's conceptualization of social justice translates into the context of his/her educational philosophy and its corresponding practice in the school setting is argued to be a central component of teacher development, as schooling is one of the main ways in which children form their own morals and values. Teacher philosophy, therefore, has far reaching implications for the ways in which children will become adults who will come to play either positive or negative social roles in the support and development of a socially just society. As Grant and Agosto (2008) suggest:

"[i]mplicitly and explicitly, the various civil rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s raised fundamental questions about teacher capacity and spoke to the necessity of embedding social

justice issues within the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of teacher education programs, as well as the scholarship and actions of teacher educators” (Grant & Agosto, 2008, p. 178).

Over the past two decades, teacher educators have spent increased time and effort on the concept of how teachers’ knowledge, skills, and dispositions relate to social justice. The literature that highlights the importance of social justice for teachers been examined through frameworks such as “social justice pedagogy” (Giroux, 1992), “anti-oppressive education” (Kumashiro, 2002), “critical pedagogy” (Giroux, 2004), among other conceptual ideas (see Cochran-Smith, Shankman, Jong et al., 2009; Enterline, Cochran-Smith, Ludlow et al., 2008; Hollins, 2011; Huber-Warring & Warring, 2006).

For example, Cochran-Smith (2003) suggested that college and university-based teacher preparation programs must focus not only on developing skills and knowledge of teachers, but also present pedagogical ideas in a framework that challenges historical and ideological notions of traditional teacher education. This can be accomplished by requiring courses that critically incorporate discussions of culture and racism at the center of the curriculum. This may serve to embed the notion of social justice within the curriculum, disallowing it to become an isolated, if not perfunctory and largely sterilized discussion within the context of a particular course designed to meet a diversity or cultural-based standard. Conversely, these “themes” of inclusivity ought to act as a common thread throughout the entire curriculum.

In support of this idea, researchers Capper, Theoharis, and Sebastian (2006) suggested that teaching programs seeking to produce teachers who are well-developed in areas of critical consciousness, knowledge, and practical skills focused on social justice may best do so by requiring curriculum, pedagogy, and means of assessment that are all oriented toward social justice. There is a growing presence of studies in the literature that further support Cochran-Smith’s suggestions (Baldwin, Buchanan, & Rudasil, 2007; Enterline, Cochran-Smith, Ludlow et al., 2008; Whipp, 2013).

Despite this growing support for investigations into social justice and teaching, however, there remains a dearth of quantitative research investigating the relationship between social justice and other salient factors, such as classroom practices, student performance, and teacher attitudes. One of the aforementioned critical areas that we are lacking such information is in the relationship between perceptions of social justice and attitudes toward inclusive education.

Attitudes toward Inclusive Education

The contemporary educational system is influenced by the growing approach to implement inclusive education. The argument for inclusive education assumes that “all individuals, regardless of disability, are entitled to the opportunity to be included in regular classroom environments while receiving the supports necessary to facilitate accessibility to both environment and information,” (Author, 2015, p. 351). As is the case with social justice, inclusive education can be defined from multiple perspectives. One common perspective is that of an “environment-based” perspective, meaning that the definition of inclusive education is based upon the location and/or timeframe of the instruction, with the most important factor being the amount of time in which the individual spends in the mainstream classroom

environment (Idol, 2006). Inclusive education can also be defined from a “justice-based” perspective, which states that inclusive education should be seen in terms of cultural messages and social efforts toward valuing diversity, non-discrimination, equal rights to curricular and physical accessibility, and non-assimilationist perspectives for all children (Ballard, 1997; Author, 2013). In this vein, Author (2013) offers the following comprehensive definition of inclusive education:

1. Inclusive education is a dynamic process by which students with and without disabilities receive their primary modes of service delivery in the general education environment.
2. All necessary supports, including environmental accommodations, instructional differentiation and curriculum material modification can and will be delivered in the general education classroom.
3. The individual, if able to do so, has shown a clear preference for being included in the general education classroom based on honest and clear descriptions of what the variety of setting options are.
4. Educational service provisions and intervention will be delivered in separate environments only in the case that supports provided in the general education classroom have been exhausted and shown to be ineffective in providing access to the curriculum.
5. The individual, if able, has shown a clear preference to receive educational services in an environment other than the general education classroom.
6. Service delivery in a separate environment will be systematically replaced by service delivery in a regular education environment at the appropriate level, if preferred by the individual, with the individual spending as much of the day as possible in the regular education classroom.
7. The decision to educate in the general education classroom does not consider the administrator or teacher preference or willingness, but only the appropriateness and accessibility of individual supports and student preference, whenever applicable.”

There is also a paucity of quantitative research that examines preservice teachers’ attitudes toward inclusion in any capacity. Based on the results of previous research, it is apparent that preservice teachers report feeling inadequately prepared to serve students with disabilities in general education settings (Goodlad & Field, 1993; Kirk, 1998; Rojewski & Pollard, 1990; Welch, 1996). More recently, Shippen, Crites, Houchins et al. (2005) studied the perceptions of 326 undergraduate students receiving training and coursework in both special and general education pedagogies and theory. Graduate and undergraduate preservice teachers from three universities completed the Preservice Inclusion Survey (PSIS) at the beginning and upon completion of a course in disabilities. Results suggested that training in both special and general education may produce teachers who are more capable and willing to serve students with disabilities in the general education classroom. Specifically, students in the course significantly decreased their overall level of anxiety and hostility toward working with students with disabilities in a general education setting (Shippen, Crites, Houchins et al., 2005).

Similar results were reported by Hadadian and Chang (2007), who suggested that while experience in teaching children with disabilities did not appear to affect perception toward inclusive education, special education coursework did. Specifically, 248 graduate and undergraduate students from two universities were surveyed in order to discern the perceptions of preservice teachers, for the purpose of preparing them to teach in inclusive classrooms. The authors concluded that preservice teachers would benefit from formal training and curriculum in special education, and that policy makers need to encourage and support general education teachers in obtaining coursework and training in special education (Hadadian and Chang, 2007).

An interesting, related finding was determined by Cameron and Cook (2007) who utilized a quasi-experimental design with a sample of 57 undergraduate general and special education teacher candidates. Participants completed a three-page survey containing demographic questions, and a modified version of the Teachers' Beliefs and Attitudes toward Planning for Mainstreamed Students instrument (TBAP). Results suggested that preservice special education teachers rated their beliefs, skills, and intended practices higher than preservice general education teachers. Furthermore, a significant difference between preservice teacher beliefs, intended practices and skill ability regarding accommodations for included students who had intellectual disabilities was determined. These findings suggest that preservice teachers that completed coursework infused with content related to inclusion came to believe that planning and instruction should be adapted for students with disabilities (specifically intellectual disabilities), and intend on practicing the adaptations, however, did not necessarily feel adequately prepared in using the strategies necessary to be successful in reaching this goal (Cameron & Cook, 2007).

The Prospective Connection between Social Justice and Attitudes toward Inclusive Education

Perceptions of social justice and attitudes toward inclusive education are theorized to be connected in that one's understanding or embodiment of social justice potentially predicts their attitudes toward inclusive education. Cochran-Smith (2003) noted that teachers need to be able to meet the needs of an increasingly diverse student population, and cited Yinger's (1999) assertion that teachers need to be knowledgeable and reflective practitioners that are willing to engage in collaborative and contextually grounded learning activities. Cochran-Smith (2003) went on to pose the important question of whether the turnout of this professional includes the promotion of teacher as activist, as agent for social change, or as "ally in anti-racist initiatives." It is further noted that there is a need to clarify what it means to teach "all students" well and what it means to adjust teaching practices according to the needs and interests of all children ("inclusive education").

Author (2015) suggests that the practice and fulfillment of social justice for individuals with disabilities cannot be separated or isolated from the practice of inclusion. Further, implementing inclusive education depends on a consideration of what it means to promote and practice social justice for students with disabilities. Therefore, understanding preservice teachers' concepts of social justice is apt to have extensive ramifications for their educational practices and classroom cultures. School and classroom cultures, individual teaching practices, and the classroom communities that are constructed by teachers all transmit meaningful

messages about the “way things should be” (Author, 2015). Current qualitative literature suggests that the accessibility to mainstream environments for individuals with disabilities is essential to social justice (Ashby, 2012; Author, 2013). From this perspective the inclusive education environment is at the juncture in which educational practice meets social justice ideology in a meaningful and practical way. Therefore, it becomes a philosophical cornerstone to the current argument that one’s perception of social justice can act as a measure of attitudes toward the inclusive education environment, and thus one’s potential practice beyond the teacher preparation program (Author, 2013). However, quantitative research in this area is virtually nonexistent.

The Current Study

The purpose of the current study is to investigate whether there is support for a theory positing that attitudes toward social justice predicts supportive attitudes toward inclusive education. This knowledge could contribute significantly to not only our understanding of the concept of social justice, but also have practical implications for teacher preparation programs to embed support and promotion of inclusive education in its coursework. The present study investigated the predictive validity of two measures of perception of social justice with attitudes toward inclusive education. The present research seeks to answer the following research question:

Does perception of social justice predict preservice teachers’ attitudes toward inclusive education for individuals with disabilities?

It was hypothesized that since inclusive education for individuals with disabilities can be understood as a manifestation of social justice practice, the measure of social justice disposition would be a significant predictor of attitudes toward inclusive education.

Method

Participants and Setting

A sample of 210 pre-service teachers from teacher preparation programs at two separate small colleges in the United States was used to investigate the research question. All participants were in the process of completing undergraduate coursework in teacher preparation leading to dual certification in general education (elementary or adolescent content area) and Students with Disabilities in either grades 1-6 or 7-12 (as per the State Education Department certification categories) and were completing their junior or senior undergraduate years. Participants completed paper-and-pencil surveys in live classes and/or student teacher informational meetings. The researchers acquired IRB approval, and permission from administration and course professors prior to conducting this research. Demographic data indicated that the participants ranged in age from 20-50 years old, with just over 91% identified as falling within the ages of 20-29. Eighty-three percent of the participants were female, while 16% were male (1 participant did not identify gender). Basic demographic information is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1
Demographic Information

<i>Variable</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
AGE		
20-29	192	91.4%
30-39	14	6.7%
40-49	3	1.4%
50+	1	0.5%
GENDER		
MALE	20	16%
FEMALE	189	83%
NOT IDENTIFIED	1	1%

Instrumentation

The instrumentation that comprised the survey used in this study was made up of publicly available assessment instruments that were accessed using scholarly literature searches. Two subscales of the Eastern Teacher Disposition Index (ETDI) (Singh, 2008), which employs a Likert-type rating system of 1-6 (strongly disagree to strongly agree), were used to measure general perceptions of education as well as perception of social justice. The ETDI was originally developed to measure teacher dispositions, which has been defined as values, commitments, and ethics that are internally held and externally exhibited (Singh & Stoloff, 2007). In attempt to isolate the elements that were theoretically identified as being most indicative of social justice and morality, the Perception of Purpose subscale of the ETDI, which consisted of 15 questions, was used as it was deemed by the researcher as having face validity similar to the concepts of morality and social justice delineated in the extant literature. Examples of items on the ETDI include “Teachers should be concerned about attitudes, feelings, beliefs, and welfare of other people; Teachers should understand how students differ in their approaches to learning; Teachers should engage in efforts to promote educational equity for all students.” The maximum score for this subscale is 90. The General Frame subscale, which consisted of 11 questions was also included and utilized as an informal control as the items were intended to capture more general perceptions of education. The maximum score for this subscale is 66. While the ETDI has a presence in the extant literature, there appears to be no established reliability score available. For the current sample, Cronbach’s alpha was calculated and determined as high ($\alpha = .872$), indicating a high reliability for the purpose of analyzing the present findings.

Perception of support for inclusive education was measured by the Attitudes toward Inclusive Education Scale (ATIES) (Wilczenski, 1992). The ATIES is a 16-item questionnaire that employs a Likert-type scale ranging from 1-6 (strongly disagree to strongly agree,

respectively), with higher ratings indicating more supportive attitudes. The maximum score for the ATIES is 96. Examples of items on this scale include “Students who cannot move without help from other should be in regular classrooms; Students who cannot hear conversational speech should be in regular classrooms; Students who do not follow school rules or conduct should be in regular classes.” Reliability for this scale has been established in the literature yielding Cronbach’s alpha scores as high as $\alpha=.88$ (Loreman, Earle, Forlin, & Sharma, 2007; Wilczenski, 1992; Wilczenski, 1995).

Beliefs about social justice was measured by the Learning to Teach for Social Justice - Beliefs (LTSJ-B) Scale (Enterline, Cochran-Smith, Ludlow, & Mitescu, 2008). The LTSJ-B was designed to examine how beliefs about social justice and related perspectives differ among teacher candidates upon entry to and exit from teacher preparatory programs (Enterline et al., 2008). The LTSJ-B scale is a 12-item questionnaire that employs a Likert-type five-point rating scale (1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=uncertain, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree). Some of the items on this measure are positively worded, which means that a response of “strongly agree” correlates to the strongest degree of endorsement of social justice-related beliefs. Other items are negatively worded, which correlates to the strongest degree of endorsement on the opposite end of this spectrum (Enterline et al., 2008). On this measure, higher scores correspond to a greater understanding of the notion that inequalities that exist beyond the individual classroom level, and instead involve microlevel institutional and societal arrangements that structure advantage and disadvantage for particular groups. On the contrary, lower scores correspond to weaker endorsement of their beliefs and ideas. Examples of items on this scale include “Issues related to racism and inequality should be openly discussed in the classroom; Good teaching incorporated diverse cultures and experiences into classroom lessons and discussions; Although teachers have to approve diversity, it’s not their job to change society.” The reliability and validity for the LTSJ-B have been previously established (Ludlow, Enterline, & Cochran-Smith, 2008); specifically, adequate reliability, discriminant validity and construct validity were found using both classical test theory (CTT) and item response theory (IRT), as well as Rasch models (Cronbach’s alpha $\alpha=.77$, KMO statistic .809, no negative point biserial correlations).

Data Analysis

Basic descriptive analyses, Pearson correlations, and hierarchical linear modeling were run to analyze the data. Frequency distributions of raw score data are summarized in Table 2.

Table 2
Distribution Results for Variables

<i>Variable</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>Mode</i>
ATIES			26-91	58
Low Support (16-42)	18	8.6%		
Moderate Support (43-69)	166	79.1%		
High Support (70-96)	26	12.3%		
Perception of Purpose			55-90	90
90	83	39.5%		
80-89	108	51.4%		
<79	19	9.1%		
General Frame of Reference			39-66	66
66	131	62.4%		
60-65	60	28.6%		
<60	19	9.0%		
Learning to Teach for Social Justice - Beliefs (LTSJ-B) Scale				
25-56	116	100.0%	25-56	45

Results

The Attitudes toward Inclusive Education Scale (ATIES) is a 16-item scale using a Likert-type rating system of 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree), with a maximum score of 96. For the current sample, the range of scores was 26-91. The General Frame subscale for the Eastern Teacher Disposition Index (ETDI) consists of 11 questions using a Likert-type rating system ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree), with a maximum score of 66. For the current sample, the range of scores was 39-66. The Perception of Purpose subscale consists of 15 questions using a Likert-type rating system ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 6 (strongly agree) with a maximum score of 90. For the current sample, the range of scores was 55-90. The LTSJ-B scale is a 12-item questionnaire that employs a Likert-type five-point rating scale (1=strongly disagree, 2=disagree, 3=uncertain, 4=agree, 5=strongly agree). Some of the items on this measure are positively worded, which means that a response of “strongly agree” correlates to the strongest degree of endorsement of social justice-related beliefs. Other items are negatively worded, which correlates to the strongest degree of endorsement on the opposite end of this spectrum (Enterline et al., 2008).

Pearson correlations were calculated in order to compare the LTSJ-B score, the General Frame subscale score, the Perception of Purpose subscale scores, and the ATIES score. Significant correlations were found between the aforementioned scales. Specifically, the relationship between the LTSJ-B and the General Frame subscale scores ($r=0.313$; $p<.01$), LTSJB and the Perception of Purpose subscale scores ($r=0.283$, $p<.01$), and the LTSJ-B and the ATIES score ($r=0.253$, $p<.01$). These results are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3
Inter-Correlation Between Variables

Measure	1	2	3	4
1- ATIES .253**	1	.101	.070	
2- Perception of Purpose .283**	.101	1	.850**	
3- General Frame of Reference .313**	.070	.850**	1	
4- LTSJ-B	.253**	.283**	.313**	1

* $p<.05$ ** $p<.01$

In order to further investigate the predictive validity of the ETDI subscales and the LTSJB on the ATIES score, hierarchical regression analyses were run. Predictor variables were entered in the following order: (1) LTSJ-B; (2) Perception of Purpose; (3) General Frame, with the dependent variable as the ATIES. Results indicated that the LTSJ-B predicted roughly 6.5% of the variance of the ATIES score ($R^2=.064$; $p<.01$). The Perception of Purpose and General Frame subscales did not contribute significantly to the variance accounted for of the ATIES. These results are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4
Regression for Attitudes Toward Inclusive Education

Source	r ²	Adj r ²	R	Std. Error	r ² change	df	Sig.
LTSJ-B	.064**	.058	.253	11.33	.064	1	
.002							
Perception of Purpose	.064	.051	.253	11.37	.000	1	
.900							
General Frame	.072	.053	.269	11.36	.008	1	
.262							

**p<.01

Discussion

The aforementioned analyses and results support our hypothesis that measures of social justice (especially the LTSJ-B) are more likely to predict attitudes toward inclusive education (more so than “general attitudes”). Higher scores on strong measures of social justice were predictive of higher scores of attitudes toward inclusive education. Since perceptions of social justice and attitudes toward inclusive education are theorized to be connected in that one’s understanding or embodiment of social justice potentially predicts their attitudes toward inclusive education, we can state that the results of this study highlight the importance of supporting students in their embodiment of the principles of social justice as a means of promoting acceptance of including students with disabilities.

Previous research (Shippen et al., 2005) indicates that students who receive such support and education from their respective teacher education programs present with overall less anxiety and reduced hostility toward including students with disabilities in general education settings. We also know that preservice teacher’s attitude toward inclusion greatly improve following targeted coursework that embodies principles of inclusive education (Campbell, Gilmore, & Cuskelly, 2003; Garriot, Miller, & Snyder, 2003), and that such education need not only focus on theory, but also specific skills and strategies, so that teachers feel adequately prepared to be able to be successful in providing inclusive education (Cameron & Cook, 2007).

Based on the results of the current study, it can be surmised that one of the ways in which we can promote this acceptance of inclusion is by supporting students in a quest toward embodiment of sound principles of social justice in teacher education programs. Much of the available research on this subject purport the necessity of integrating disabilities studies perspectives into preservice teacher preparation (Shippen et al., 2005; Hadadian & Chiang, 2007). These types of programs do not offer separate certification programs with special or

elementary education, rather the program only offers dual certification. Courses in these programs have clear expectations in every class that preservice teachers are responsible for teaching all students, regardless of classification of disability. Ashby (2012), in describing this type of educational program, noted that all faculty share and express this expectation, and that there is a consistent message of the value of inclusive education. The main component of this message is that all students are entitled to a meaningful education, with the appropriate supports and services, in typical classrooms, with same aged peers.

Ashby (2012) also has highlighted pitfalls in current traditional teacher preparation programs for special education, in that they may rely on the medical model of disability: that disability is a deficit that can be addressed through identification and remediation. In this approach, introductory special education courses may examine different disabilities on a week-to-week basis, which may reinforce the notion of disability as something knowable that resides within a person. This pathologizing of difference and categorization services to reduce human variation to simple and concert binaries: able bodied versus disabled, and/or normal versus abnormal (Douglas, 1966). To contradict this approach, the work of Baglieri et al. (2011) purports that disability does not reside within the person, but rather in the interaction with the large social world, thus making the distinction between impairment and disability. As such, teacher preparation programs that promote healthy concepts of social justice discuss disability as a primarily social construct and encourage students to consider how their own assumptions and actions are informed by their notions of difference (Ashby, 2012). Mutua and Smith (2006) note that education teachers involve early exposure to and discussions of the “special education language,” which can further attempt to correct the aforementioned problems by helping students to recognize the stigma of disability labeling, and to question the functionality of a system that requires a diagnostic label in order to allow access to support and services. Similarly, this study builds on an earlier study by Author (2017) which showed only 5% of variance accounted for ($p < .05$) by the Perception of Purpose subscale, a tangential measure of social justice, while this study demonstrated a 6.5% variance accounted for ($p < .01$) for the LTSJ-B, a direct measure of social justice beliefs. This adds legitimacy to the theory that social justice beliefs are predictive of attitudes toward inclusive education.

Limitations and Suggestions

There are some important limitations that must be considered for this study. First, though the participants comprised two different programs for teacher education at two separate institutions, the institutions were in the same geographical area and represented a similar demographic of preservice teacher (e.g., age and gender). Second, it is important to note that scores were based on self-reporting, which operates under the assumption that the responses are truthful and representative of the respondents’ consistent beliefs and perceptions. Future research should consider including multiple direct measurements of social justice to capture the construct more comprehensively. Additionally, a more racially and geographically diverse respondent population should be explored.

References

- Adams, M., Bell, L.A., & Griffin, P. (Eds.). (2007). *Teaching for diversity and social justice: A sourcebook*. New York: Routledge.
- Ashby, C. (2012). Disability studies and inclusive teacher preparation: A socially just path for teacher education. *Research and Practice for Persons with Severe Disabilities*, 37(2), 89-99.
- Author. (2017).
- Author. (2015).
- Author. (2013).
- Baglieri, S., Valle, J.W., Connor, D. J., Gallagher, D. J. (2011). Disability studies in education: The need for a plurality of perspectives on disability. *Remedial and Special Education*, 32(4), 267-278.
- Baldwin, S.C., Buchanan, A.M., & Rudisill, M.E. (2007). What teacher candidates learned about diversity, social justice, and themselves from service-learning experiences. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 58(4), 315-327.
- Ballard, K. (1997). Researching disability and inclusive education: Participation, construction and interpretation. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 1, 243-256.
- Barry, B. (2005) *Why social justice matters*. Cambridge: Policy Press.
- Bell, L.A. (1997) Theoretical foundations for social justice education. In M. Adams, L.A. Bell, & P. Griffin (eds.), *Teaching for diversity and social justice* (pp. 3-15). New York: Routledge.
- Cameron, D.L., & Cook, B.G. (2007). Attitudes of preservice teachers enrolled in an infusion preparation program regarding planning and accommodations for included students with mental retardation. *Education and Training in Developmental Disabilities*, 42(3), 353-363.
- Campbell, E. (2008). The ethics of teaching as a moral profession. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 38(4), 357-385.
- Capper, C.A., Theoharis, G., & Sebastian, J. (2006). Toward a framework for preparing leaders for social justice. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 44(3), 209-224.
- Cochran-Smith, M. (2003). Reporting on teacher quality: The politics of politics. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 53(5), 379-382.
- Cochran-Smith, M., Shakman, K., Jong, C., Terrell, D.G., Barnatt, J., & McQuillan, P. (2009). Good and just teaching: The case for social justice in teacher education. *American Journal of Education*, 115, 347-377.
- Cochran-Smith, M., Gleeson, A.M., & Mitchell, K. (2010). Teacher education for social justice: What's pupil learning got to do with it? *Berkeley Review of Education*, 1(1), 35-61.
- Douglas, M. (1966). *Purity and danger: An analysis of the concepts of purity and taboo*. Routledge: New York.
- Enterline, S., Cochran-Smith, M., Ludlow, L.H., & Mitescu, E. (2008). Learning to teach for social justice: Measuring change in the beliefs of teacher candidates. *The New Educator*, 4, 267-290.
- Fraser, N. (1997) *Justice interruptus: critical reflections on the post-socialist condition*. New York: Routledge.
- Garriot, P.P., Miller, M., & Snyder, L. (2003). Preservice teachers' beliefs about inclusive education: What should teacher educators know? *Action in Teacher Education*, 25(1), 48-54.
- Giroux, H.A. (1992). *Border crossings: Cultural workers and the politics of education*. London: Routledge.
- Giroux, H.A. (2004). Critical pedagogy and postmodern/modern divide: Towards a pedagogy of democratization. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 31(1), 31-47.
- Goodlad, J.I., & Field, S. (1993). Teachers for renewing schools. In J.I. Goodlad, & T.C.

- Lovitt (Eds.), *Integrating general and special education*. Merrill: New York, pp. 229-252.
- Goodlad, J. (2002) *A place called school*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Grant, C.A., & Agosto, V. (2008). Teacher capacity and social justice in teacher education. *Educational Leadership and Policy Studies Faculty Publications*. Paper 5.
- Hadadian, A., & Chiang, L. (2007). Special education training and preservice teachers. *International Journal of Special Education*, 22(1), 103-106.
- Hansen, D.T. (2001). Teaching as a moral activity. In V. Richardson (Ed.) *Handbook of research on teaching* (pp. 826-857). Washington, D.C.: American Educational Research Association.
- Hollins, E.R. (2011). Teacher preparation for quality teaching. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 62(4), 395-407.
- Huber-Warring, T., & Warring, D.F. (2006). Are you teaching for democracy? Developing dispositions, promoting democratic practice, and embracing social justice and diversity. *Action in Teacher Education*, 28(2), 38-52.
- Hwang, Y.S., & Evans, D. (2011). Attitudes toward inclusion: Gaps between belief and practice. *International Journal of Special Education*, 26(1), 136-146.
- Idol, L. (2006). Toward inclusion of special education students in general education: A program evaluation of eight schools. *Remedial and Special Education*, 27(2), 77-94.
- Kirk, R.H. (1998). The link between university coursework and preservice teachers' attitudes toward students with special learning needs. *College Student Journal*, 32(1), 153-157.
- Kumashiro, K. (2002). *Troubling education: Queer activism and anti-oppressive pedagogy*. New York: Routledge.
- Loreman, T., Earle, C., Sharma, U., & Forlin, C. (2007). The Development of an Instrument for Measuring Pre-Service Teachers' Sentiments, Attitudes, and Concerns about Inclusive Education. *International Journal Of Special Education*, 22(1), 150-159.
- Ludlow, L.H., Enterline, S.E., & Cochran-Smith, M. (2008). Learning to teach for social justice: Beliefs scale: An application of Rasch measurement principles. *Measurement & Evaluation in Counseling & Development*, 40(4), 194-214.
- Marginson, S. (2011). Equity, status, and freedom: A note on higher education. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 41, 23-36.
- Mutua, K. & Smith, R. (2006). Disrupting normalcy and the practical concerns of classroom teachers. In S. Danforth & S. Gabel (eds.), *Vital questions facing disability studies in education* (pp. 121-132). New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Nagel, T. (1973). Rawls on justice. *The Philosophical Review*, 82(2), 648-62.
- Nussbaum, M. (2001). The enduring significance of John Rawls. *The Chronicle Review, The Chronicle of Higher Education*. <http://chronicle.com/article/The-Enduring-Significanceof/7360>. Retrieved on July 7, 2015.
- Rawls, J. (1999). *A theory of justice* (revised ed.). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press.
- Rojewski, J.W., & Pollard, R.R. (1990). A multivariate analysis of perceptions held by secondary academic teachers toward students with special needs. *Teacher Education and Special Education*, 16, 30-341.
- Shippen, M.E., Crites, S.A., Houchins, D.E., Ramsey, M.L., & Simon, M. (2005). Preservice teachers' perceptions of including students with disabilities. *Teacher Education and Special Education*, 28(2), 92-99.
- Singh, D.K. (2008). Assessment of teacher dispositions. *College Student Journal*, 42(4), 1169-1180.
- Singh, D. K., Stoloff, D. L. (2007). Eastern Teacher Dispositions Index. Paper presented at the National Fifth Annual Symposium on Educator Dispositions. Erlanger, KY. 2007.
- Welch, M. (1996). Teacher education and the neglected diversity: Preparing educators to teach

- students with disabilities: *Journal of Teacher Education*, 47, 355-262.
- Whipp, J. L. (2013). Developing Socially Just Teachers: The Interaction of Experiences before, during, and after Teacher Preparation in Beginning Urban Teachers. *Journal Of Teacher Education*, 64(5-), 454-467.
- Wilczenski, F. L. (1995). School Psychologists' Attitudes toward Inclusive Education: A Rasch Analysis.
- Wilczenski, F. L. (1995). Development of a scale to measure attitudes toward inclusive education. *Educational & Psychological Measurement*, 55,291-299.
- Wilczenski F. Measuring attitudes toward inclusive education. *Psychology In The Schools* [serial online]. October 1992;29(4):306-312.
- Yinger, R. (1999). The role of standards in teaching and teacher education, in Griffin, G. (ed.) *The education of teachers: The 98th yearbook of the NSSE*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp.85-113.
- Young, I.M. (1990) *Justice and the politics of differences*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

**UTILITIES, ENVIRONMENTAL EFFICIENCY, AND CORPORATE RESPONSIBILITY SURROUNDING
INNOVATIVE RATE DESIGN**

Brendan James Moore, Tulane University

Syed Adeel Ahmed, Xavier University

Ashraf Esmail, Dillard University

Katrina Franklin, Virginia University of Lynchburg

Abstract

In this paper, we argue that some businesses, such as utility companies, have responsibilities above and beyond those expounded by Friedman's analysis. Namely, certain companies are in positions that require adopting particular innovative strategies and innovative solutions that serve efficiencies that benefit their customer base and the environment. In doing so, we assess quality management principles and argue that CLEP is an example of an innovative rate design that lowers CO₂ byproduct, reduces the cost for utilities by rendering peaking plants obsolete, and gives ratepayers an accurate reflection of the cost-of-energy.

Keywords: Renewable Energy, Energy Efficiency, Energy Storage, Electricity Pricing Rate Design, Cost of Electricity, Cost of Service, Environmental Ethics, Net Metering, Environment, Whole Home Batteries

Introduction

One common concern in electricity pricing is whether or not customers are shifting, or dumping, cost-of-electricity or cost-of-service costs onto other ratepayers. The problem is connected with the current Entergy New Orleans (ENO) billing standards and standard AMI Smart Meter technologies. New Orleans' ratepayers are not incentivized or empowered to make smart purchasing decisions during off-peak demand times, which would save them money and reduce their CO₂ byproduct.

In addition to kWh's being transported during peak-demand time producing more CO₂, there is an extra cost to having high peak demand times that result in needing peaking plants to meet the high electricity demand. In 2019, New Orleans supported a 210 million dollar peaking plant that would help support the city of New Orleans meet peak demand. "Supporters of the plant said it would provide needed power for the city at times of peak demand or when other power sources are unavailable, such as after a hurricane" [5].

Also, electricity price rates under the existing utility model, which is Current Electric Bill = # kWh * [Cost-of-Energy + Cost-of-Service] (Katz, et al.), do not reflect the actual cost of electricity produced at the time that the electricity is used by the consumer. The new proposed program, CLEP (Customer Lowered Electricity Price), is aiming to address those issues by providing customers direct access to the wholesale electricity market, thereby incentivizing choices that benefit consumers, and the environment with a free-market solution without any government subsidies.

Each of these three effects (lowering CO₂ byproduct, reducing cost for utilities by rendering peaking plants obsolete, and accurately reflecting the cost-of-energy to ratepayers) gives us a reason to adopt CLEP, and we argue that utilities are not merely obliged to do so, but potentially obligated in serving their ratepayers.

In this paper, we argue that some businesses, such as utility companies have responsibilities above and beyond those expounded by Friedman's analysis. Namely, certain companies are in positions that require adopting particular innovative strategies and innovative solutions that serve efficiencies that benefit their customer base and the environment. In doing so, we will first articulate Friedman's account of corporate responsibility. Then, we will discuss the innovative solution, Customer Lowered Electricity Price (CLEP), and finally we will expound principles of total quality management and conclude that utility companies do have a duty, or obligation, to adopt innovative rate designs that expands the boundaries of Friedman's account.

Friedman's Account of Corporate Responsibility

Over the past 50 years, economists, businessmen, and philosophers have debated the role corporations play as agents in our society. Often, corporations participate in charity and in return their brand image is seen in a positive light and one might assume the company's leadership is compassion and value driven.

However, according to Milton Friedman's view of corporate responsibility, a business has only the responsibility to increase profits. "There is one and only one social responsibility of business--to use its resources and engage in activities designed to increase its profits so long as it stays within the rules of the game, which is to say, engages in open and free competition without deception or fraud" [2]. This dictate implies that corporate participation in charity is not an obligation and might only be justifiable if there is an expected return on investment, where the

amount of revenue that's generated by the act of charity outweighs the cost of the initial charitable investment.

Friedman's account does not leave open the possibility that there are obligations a corporation might have to others than stakeholders, so long as laws are not broken.

Customer Lowered Electricity Price (CLEP)

As we discussed in a previous paper, a solution was developed to solve an issue facing electricity ratepayers, namely that rates under the current utility model do not reflect the actual cost of electricity produced at the time that the electricity is used by the consumer. The innovative solution discussed was the following:

CLEPs simple formula is $CLEP_m + CLEP_5$

"CLEP5 is the energy cost-shift, which pays every 5-minutes. Much like the Net Energy Metering (NEM) tariff used by rooftop solar owners, CLEP is an optional electricity rate that will either pay a CLEP customer or charge them if used incorrectly. It doesn't change which rate governs your utility bill - It's an additional cashflow.

$$CLEP_5 = p * n * (e-w) [/5min]$$

p = Utility regulator; "percent," $0 < p < 2$

n = number of kWh purchased; if outbound, n is negative.

w = instantaneous wholesale cost of power

e = monthly average cost of energy" [3].

"CLEP_m is the monthly cashflow that provides a utility bill credit for delivering power, or a charge for demanding power, but it is only charged or paid during the utility's peak demand hours.

The target magnitude of CLEP_m is to generate a cashflow equal to the same average demand-charge as that levied on commercial customers, using \$/KW-year as the unit. \$/KW-year means twelve times the monthly charge per KW. For example, if the average demand charge is \$10/KW-month, this is equivalent to \$120/KW-year.

By predicating demand rewards on actions only done during the utility's peak demand hours, these cashflows pay customers to avoid the utility's most expensive equipment upgrades, which are those for providing power during peak demand times.

$$CLEP_m = q * 50 * d$$

"d = average demand during peak hour avoided (i.e., d = observed reference building demand minus observed demand)

q = utility regulator determined "percent".

$0 < q < 2$ " [4].

CLEP combines several powerful innovations: a time-of-use rate paired with electrical storage, such as a whole-home battery, incentivizes deep investment in energy efficiency.

Quality Management and Innovation

The following list includes "Garvin's Product Quality Dimensions:

1. Performance: Efficiency with which a product achieves its intended purpose

2. Features: Attributes that supplement the product's basic performance
3. Reliability: Product's propensity to perform consistently over the product's useful life.
4. Conformance: Adherence to quantifiable specifications
5. Durability: Ability to tolerate stress or trauma without failing
6. Serviceability: The ease and low cost of repair for a product
7. Aesthetics: Degree to which product attributes are matched to consumer preferences
8. Perceived Quality: Quality as the customer perceives it...image, recognition, word of mouth" [1].

Each of these dimensions need to be considered when implementing a new process that purports to more efficiently create any product.

CLEP's relation to Gavin's product quality dimensions:

1. Performance: CLEP charges ratepayers the cost of energy at a price that fluctuates with the wholesale market price. When electricity is cheaper during off-peak demand, customers who buy during that time frame will save on their electricity bill.
2. Features: Because CLEP utilizes a "time-of-use" rate, supplemental technologies can be made available to ratepayers, such as a live price tracker that tracks the MISO wholesale price of electricity can be used.
3. Reliability: CLEP solves a reliability issue for New Orleans ratepayers. Currently, since electricity storage among ratepayers is low, a downed powerline can have a section of the New Orleans community without power for weeks. CLEP incentivizes deep investment into electricity storage, such as whole-home batteries that can be used as a micro-grid.
4. Conformance: Specifications for how this rate design can be implemented is similar to how specifications for current time-of-use rates are implemented. The ability to have bi-directional flow of electricity does require smart meters. AMI smart meters are what New Orleans residents use, and current rooftop solar users.
5. Durability: Since CLEP relies on a variety of processes that have already been used, although not conjointly, our assumption is that this innovative rate design will work and tolerate stress on the electrical grid without fail.
6. Serviceability: In New Orleans, ratepayers already have AMI smart meters installed, so cost would be low and since CLEP-like functions are currently being carried out by rooftop solar participants, repairs and service would not be unlike how the utility company currently operates.
7. Aesthetics: Customer's preferences around their electricity bill mainly consists in lowering their monthly bill. The CLEP rate will give ratepayers an opportunity to lower their bill through incentivizing smart purchasing decisions, which includes utilizing storage to store energy during off-peak demand times and utilizing the electricity during traditionally peak-demand times.

8. Perceived Quality: Currently, very few households discuss electricity pricing rate structures; however, the city council of New Orleans has been opened to implementing this structure. Other, forward-thinking, cities can also adopt this rate structure.

Conclusion

In this paper, we have argued that some businesses, such as utility companies have responsibilities above and beyond those expounded by Friedman's analysis. Namely, certain companies are in positions that require adopting particular innovative strategies and innovative solutions that serve efficiencies that benefit their customer base and the environment. We expounded principles of total quality management and conclude that utility companies do have a duty, or obligation, to adopt innovative rate designs that expands the boundaries of Friedman's account and empowers ratepayers to lower their electricity bill and help the environment. Doing so lowers CO2 byproduct created by electricity transactions during peak-demand time, reduces the cost for utilities by rendering peaking plants obsolete, and gives ratepayers an accurate reflection of the cost-of-energy.

References

- Foster, S T. 2016. *Managing Quality: Integrating The Supply Chain*, Prentice-Hall.
- Friedman, M. 1970. "The Social Responsibility of Business is to Increase its Profits", *The New York Times*, September 13.
- Katz, M., et. al. 2019. "Director Testimony" February, New Orleans City Council, Rate Design Case, DOCKET NO. UD-18-07. https://www.buildingscienceinnovators.com/uploads/1/0/6/2/106256229/bsi_direct_testimony_of_myron_katz_19_02.01-v2-.pdf
- Moore, B. J., Katz, M., Troy, R., Syed, A., 2020. "Customer Lowered Electricity Price: Advancing the Modern Grid Capabilities Through Rate Design" (*forthcoming*)
- Williams, J., 2019. "New Orleans City Council backs \$210M Entergy power plant, imposes \$5M fine for actors' scandal" *NOLA News*, February 21. https://www.nola.com/news/article_678d5566-e1e8-5dd7-8d63-7e5cf73d03b9.html

AN INTRODUCTION TO CULTURALLY RELEVANT TEACHING USING HIGH-LEVERAGE PRACTICES

Traci Dennis, American University

Abstract

Identified by TeachingWorks¹⁴ faculty at the University of Michigan's School of Education, High Leverage Practices (HLPs) are defined as "the fundamentals of teaching". According to the TeachingWorks website, "These practices are used constantly and are critical to helping students learn important content" (Teaching Works, 2013). Utilizing Dr. Gloria Ladson-Billing's tenets of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (CRP), this article describes the process, weekly activities, reflections, and assessments that the author, a secondary English methods teacher educator, and a group of pre-service teacher candidates engaged in when piloting a three-week unit introducing the framework of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy using High Leverage Practices.

¹⁴ TeachingWorks is part of the University of Michigan School of Education

Introduction

In her seminal study, Dr. Gloria Ladson-Billings (1995) observed highly effective African American students' teachers. During her observations, she found that the teachers held high expectations for their students' academic success used students' culture as a vehicle for learning and engaged students in viewing the world and those in it critically. She also found that the teachers in her study demonstrated genuine care for their students were committed to teaching and building positive relationships with their students (Ladson-Billings, 1995). She synthesized her findings into three tenets which laid the foundation for the Culturally Relevant Teaching framework. The tenets are:

1. Produce students who can achieve academically.
2. Produce students who can maintain cultural competence (i.e., maintain their cultural integrity while succeeding academically).
3. Produce students who can understand and critique the existing social order.

Context

During Fall 2019, the author¹⁵, an English methods instructor, and six pre-service undergraduate and graduate teacher candidates spent three consecutive weeks examining how to use High Leverage Practices (HLPs) to effectively advance and operationalize the tenets of culturally responsive teaching in their classrooms and school communities. This article describes the process, activities, reflections, and assessments that were part of a pilot of a unit titled *Introduction to Culturally Relevant Teaching Using High Leverage Practices*. The unit instructional sequence provided an opportunity for teacher candidates to begin developing their own ideas about what "culturally relevant" pedagogy might be before reading a published article about CRP and engaging with TeachingWorks created tools to analyze CRP in a module videos of teacher instruction. This particular unit was chosen to pilot because it utilizes secondary English Language Arts content. Of the 19 HLPs, the three that our program faculty chose for closer practice and examination are: *Explaining Content*, *Eliciting and Interpreting Student Thinking*, and *Leading Whole Group/Small Group Discussion*.

Unit Instructional Sequence

Week 1

The first class focused on preparing teacher candidates to engage in a key feature of culturally relevant pedagogy: to consider the design and implementation of instruction from specific learners' perspective. To prepare for session 1, teacher candidates read instructor-selected ethnographic portrayals of specific students from *Fires in the Bathroom* (Cushman, 2003). In these excerpts, students from multiple and varying backgrounds and identities discuss their experiences with school and how their interactions with teachers positively or negatively impact their feelings of inclusion and academic outcomes. After reading the excerpts, teacher candidates completed a journal reflection answering the following questions (Teaching Works, 2019):

- What does it mean to achieve in English language arts?
- Is it a relevant goal for the children we encountered in the reading(s)? How and why?

¹⁵ The author will hereinafter be referred to as "instructor."

- What might a teacher need to do to help these children – and others - achieve in English language arts?
- What do teachers need to pay attention to and consider?

After reading these children’s stories and their communities, and considering the questions above, what outstanding questions do you have? What do you need to learn in order to be able to teach these children and others?

The 1st class teacher candidates came prepared to discuss their journal entry responses. During the class, each teacher candidate had an opportunity to discuss their reflections relative to the three questions posed. Afterward the instructor and teacher candidates discussed outstanding questions they had and reflected on what they still need to learn and do in order to teach the students described in the stories and others. The instructor gathered notes on what teacher candidates identified as their knowledge and learning gaps to return to during future class sessions. To prepare for the second-class teacher candidates were assigned to read Ladson-Billings (1995) *Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy* and skim a Grade 8 EngageNY English Language Arts module (2014).

Week 2

During the 2nd class session, teacher candidates unpacked Ladson-Billings’ (1995) article on CRP. At the beginning of the class, the instructor opened with two guiding questions. The first question asked teacher candidates to describe what seems helpful about the article. Teachers’ candidates discussed how they realized that CRP is not a set of lock step strategies but has more to do with the teachers’ beliefs and mindsets. Teacher candidates also pointed out that while all teachers instructed and interacted with students in different ways, they all held high expectations for their students and built meaningful relationships with them. Teacher candidates were then asked what questions the article raised for them. Teacher candidates articulated that the idea of actually operationalizing the tenets in their classrooms was something they were considering after reading the article. The questions were extremely valid as seasoned educators often struggle when implementing the tenets of CRP in practical, effective ways. The discussion was structured so that teacher candidates could begin building their understanding of the core ideas in the article and begin to consider what they will need to learn to implement the CRO tenets in their classrooms successfully.

The second part of the session involved having teacher candidates review a set of instructional plans from an EngageNY 8th grade English module and decide whether the plans met the CRP goals. In this module, *Finding Home: Refugees*, students read *Inside Out & Back Again* by Thanhha Lai and develop their ability to understand the complex text, character development, and the challenges of fictional and real refugees. After reviewing the entire module, teacher candidates were asked what a teacher implementing the module might need to do, change, or attend to in the plans to accomplish the CRP goals that Ladson-Billings outlines. Teacher candidates were also asked to reflect on the sequencing of the instructional activities, assignments, and assessments from a CRP perspective using a *Culturally Relevant Pedagogy in Practice* tool. The eight cross-cutting practices outlined on the tool are:

- 1) respectfully and strategically engage aspects of one’s own identity and background in classroom interactions,
- 2) maintain high levels of demand throughout the lesson and press students individually and collectively to do better,

- 3) maintain high levels of support for each student, considering individual needs, scaffold students' learning,
- 4) build on and promote students' backgrounds, languages, strengths, and interests in instruction,
- 5) create and nurture supportive and cooperative learning environments,
- 6) ensure equitable participation in class discussion and activities,
- 7) position students as competent, and
- 8) reshape the prescribed curriculum.

Teacher candidates examined the following six areas of the module:

1. The choice of *Inside Out and Back Again* as a core text in the unit.
2. The identified learning goals.
3. The way the content and the learning goals are introduced and framed for students.
4. The specific instructional activities.
5. The way that instructional activities are sequenced.
6. The assignments and assessments for students.

Teacher candidates also reviewed a second tool titled *Applying a Culturally Relevant Pedagogy Framework to a Specific Lesson or Sequence of Lessons*. The tool requires teacher candidates to note specific practices that would help operationalize the eight cross-cutting practices of culturally relevant pedagogy. The instructor guided the teacher candidates in using the tool to analyze a specific lesson from the 8th grade English module. To close out the session, the instructor distributed a list of HLPs followed by an introduction to the three specific high leverage practices that would focus on their English Methods II course. Teacher candidates and the instructor also discussed how HLPs could be used in productive and destructive ways and how to avoid marginalizing students. For example, when leading a group discussion one destructive practice teacher candidates and the instructor cited and discussed is the tendency to elevate the voices of students whose backgrounds and identities align with the dominant culture while silencing the voices of students who have been historically marginalized. During the class discussion, teacher candidates were able to surface and realize that a productive culturally responsive group discussion elevates the voices and acknowledges the competence of all learners. In preparation for week 3, teacher candidates completed homework assignments built on our in-class HLP discussions and our lesson analysis work.

Week 3

During the third and final class meeting, teacher candidates viewed video footage of the 8th grade EngageNY module being implemented in a diverse classroom. The video, provided by TeachingWorks, shows an eighth-grade Humanities teacher implementing a lesson from the EngageNY module. During the viewing of the video, teacher candidates were asked to fill out a *Video Viewing or Classroom Observation Tool: Culturally Relevant Pedagogy in Practice*.

Questions that teacher candidates addressed are:

- What evidence or counterevidence is there of this practice in this teaching episode?
- What questions do I have about this teaching episode concerning this practice?

- What more would I like to learn?

Teacher candidates shared observations of culturally relevant teaching in practice and pointed out missed opportunities. Utilizing the video viewing tool as a springboard, teacher candidates and the instructor also discussed the eight cross-cutting practices of culturally relevant teaching and the evidence or counterevidence of each identified practice in the video clip. Teacher candidates also discussed the questions they had about the practice and identified what more they would like to learn about operationalizing each particular practice. At the end of week 3, teacher candidates completed a final unit assessment analyzing curriculum and instruction from a culturally relevant teaching perspective. Teacher candidates were required to critique specific aspects of the Grade 8 module and explain how they could advance the goals of culturally relevant pedagogy. Three aspects of the module that teacher candidates were required to address were:

1. the learning goals and content,
2. the instructional activities, and
3. the assessments.

Teacher candidates also had to watch a second instructional video clip of the same teacher delivering a second lesson to the same groups of students with the same unit and text and complete the *Video Viewing or Classroom Observation Tool: Culturally Relevant Pedagogy in Practice* tool independently. Teacher candidates were encouraged to incorporate conclusions and insights drawn from in-class discussions and Week 1 and 2 work.

Conclusions

Learning goals for this unit stipulate that teacher candidates will be able to:

- explain how high-leverage practices can be used to achieve the goals of culturally relevant pedagogy.
- identify specific practices of culturally relevant pedagogy.
- apply a culturally responsive pedagogy framework to the analysis of specific instructional plans and video footage of instruction-in-action.
- identify goals for their learning in the rest of their teacher education program related to implementing culturally responsive pedagogy.

In reviewing the learning goals for this unit and analyzing teacher candidate reflections, work samples, and final assessment artifacts, the instructor drew several conclusions regarding how the unit supported teacher candidates in envisioning how to “operationalize” culturally relevant teaching in their classrooms. Three conclusions are below:

Student Stories

To better understand students’ daily lived realities, teacher candidates read vignettes written by actual students discussing what motivates and stifles them in classroom environments. These anecdotes provided teacher candidates with a relevant springboard from which to begin the discussion of culturally relevant teaching. During the three-week unit teacher candidates were able to tie what they were seeing in the videos to what students in the *Fires in the Bathroom* excerpts

stated as practices, beliefs and actions that supported their growth and development as learners and critical thinkers.

Lesson and Video Analysis

As CRP looks different in each classroom, having teacher candidates analyze, dissect and study lesson design and delivery through a CRP lens built their understanding of the tenets in meaningful and authentic ways that simply reading about them may not achieve. In addition, explicitly reflecting on what they saw and did not see provided teacher candidates with concrete examples of CRP in practice and also gave them an opportunity to consider what they might need to do, change, or attend to in their own lessons and classrooms. As candidates began to develop nuanced understandings of the tenets, candidates were able to apply new learning skills and understandings when examining the instructional plans and the video footage. Candidates also became more adept at discussing plans for how they would operationalize the tenets in their own classrooms going forward.

The scaffolded approach to the unit enables teacher candidates to successfully complete an end of each unit assessment where they independently analyzed a lesson plan. The video of classroom instruction helps to determine whether the lesson plan and the teacher's instruction advanced the goals of a culturally responsive pedagogy. This guided in class practice supports a lesson from the Grade 8 module using the *Applying a Culturally Relevant Pedagogy Framework to a Specific Lesson or Sequence of Lessons* tool. The in- class work provides an analyzing instructional video using the *Video Viewing or Classroom Observation Tool: Culturally Relevant Pedagogy in Practice* prepared teacher candidates for the final assessment.

Discussion of High Leverage Practice Implementation

Supporting teacher candidates in a critical examination and discussion of how high leverage practices can be used in productive or destructive ways along with concrete examples generated by both the teacher candidates and the instructor helped teacher candidates to become more cognizant of oppressive structures and beliefs that continue the marginalization of minoritized students. This discussion also built understanding that even lessons that appear on the surface to be culturally responsive can be damaging and destructive to students of color depending on how they are implemented.

Discussion

One learning goal that was not as evident was the final goal: teacher candidates identify goals from their learning in the rest of their teacher education program related to implementing culturally responsive pedagogy. Since many of our teacher candidates were being newly introduced to the tenets of culturally responsive pedagogy and the high leverage practices during the fall of their final year in the program, there was not much time left in the program to practice implementing culturally relevant pedagogy using high leverage practices. Researcher would suggest incorporating this unit earlier in the teacher candidate experience so that they can internalize the tenets and can practice operationalizing them in a "low stakes" setting. Besides, the high leverage practices should be introduced to teacher candidates earlier in their program experience so that they become more aware of and practice how to implement the HLPs in productive ways. Often novice teachers who are tasked with making multiple and varied decisions in one class period will not implement learned practices to a high level of quality that they have not practiced and experienced in less stressful settings. This unit's benefit is that teachers were

given a chance to examine, discuss, reflect upon, and evaluate evidence and non-evidence of culturally relevant teaching in practice. They could also ask and answer questions regarding what they were reading and viewing and identify what more they would like to learn relative to culturally responsive teaching and high leverage practices.

This unit also provided an essential foundational framework and a critical lens for teacher candidates to evaluate the three high leverage practices introduced the following semester in our English Methods II course. The three specific high leverage practices that focused on the spring semester were: 1) leading a whole group/small group discussion, 2) eliciting and interpreting student thinking, and 3) explaining content. This introduction was a springboard to preparing teacher candidates to plan how these high leverage practices may be enacted to focus on equity and justice. This unit requires teacher candidates to attend to beliefs or assumptions that they may make about who is intellectually capable, whose knowledge is valued and discounted and acknowledge as competent. The work with this unit also positions teacher candidates to develop antideficit views about what students can do developing counternarratives about student competency. Teacher candidates were able to transfer these learnings and understandings to their second semester work with greater proficiencies. During Methods II, teacher candidates were able to engage in analytical reflection concerning equity and access. Th analysis including examining how teacher candidates view students, how they built relationships with students, and how they support students' cultural knowledge and understandings.

References

- Cushman, K. (2005). *Fires in the bathroom: Advice for teachers from high school students*. The New Press. EngageNY. (2014, June). Grade 8, Module 1. Retrieved from <https://www.engageny.org/resource/grade-8-ela-module-1>
- High Leverage Practices. TeachingWorks (2013). Retrieved from <https://www.teachingworks.org/work-of-teaching/high-leverage-practices>
- Introduction to Culturally Relevant Teaching Using High Leverage Practices*. TeachingWorks (2019). Retrieved from <https://library.teachingworks.org/>
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American educational research journal*, 32(3), 465-491

A BOOK REVIEW OF UNDOING ABLEISM: TEACHING ABOUT DISABILITY IN K-12 CLASSROOMS

Saili S. Kulkarni, PhD, San José State University

Baglieri and Lalvani (2020) start their book with an issue all too common for those of us who work at the intersections of disability studies: the “quizzical looks” of colleagues in teacher education spaces (p. 1). As Pugach (2018) explains, the conflict that arises in teacher education which concerns itself with the deep mapping of issues of social justice, is that disability is often rendered invisible in this space. Conversely, however, special education takes up disability as diversity without addressing disability as an intersectional identity Baglieri and Lalvani (2020) contend, disability is thought of as “private, personal or medical” (p. 1). Further implications of this divide, then, is that children in K-12 schools do not get opportunities to express their curiosity and explore disability identity, despite seeing it around them.

The authors shift to a discussion of ableism and how it is constructed through master narratives of disability (Bamberg, 2004) in shaping what is normal, and how disability is often viewed as though it is a special education issue. At the center of the discussion that guides the remainder of the book is how disability and ableism can be taught in schools in meaningful ways. The authors ground this work in their own experiences teaching about ableism. For example, Priya Lalvani writes about how she worked in mixed ability classrooms, providing students lessons to develop their understanding of ableism and inclusivity, moving beyond acceptance to authentic engagement and collective understanding.

Subsequent chapters delve into the definitions and meanings of disability, the foundations of teaching about ableism and disability, and how to move from understanding to activism. The authors bring in easy to implement templates that describe co-constructing a classroom community, graphic organizers that provide opportunities to brainstorm, and a series of activities such as interviewing an adult about their disability perspectives. This is in direct contrast to the voyeuristic ways in which simulations of disabilities or interviews with disabled individuals tend to essentialize experiences of being disabled. The readings and media representations of draw from the disability community, with a note/caveat that the resources were broad.

The authors end the book with chapters on engaging activism and the disability rights movement. The book concludes with the Russian word, *obuchenie*, or interactions governed by mutual purpose (p. 191). The authors explain that this word helps to define the nature of teacher and student as cyclical, always learning from one another, and how the “interruption of the dichotomy” allows children to direct their own learning in pursuit of justice, equity, and inclusivity. The applicability of the book cannot be emphasized enough. Baglieri and Lalvani (2020) have laid out concretely the processes of engaging disability and ableism in the K-12 classroom, choosing a range of sources and activities that support teacher facilitation and learning across age group.

The book has immensely informed my own research and teaching as a teacher educator. Drawing from the book, my research team and I have implemented the text in our professional development series for teachers on enacting disability-centered culturally sustaining pedagogies in the classroom. We note that teachers across subject area and field of education immediately resonate with the text and note it as a missing link in their own teacher education coursework: the intricate discussion of disability and ableism. Our research emphasizes the need for such a text in moving critical social justice teaching to incorporate disability as an intersectional identity marker (Author et al. *in review*). I cannot sing enough praises of this work in simultaneously pushing and

supporting teachers in their meaningful discussions of disability and ableism in the classroom, providing students with deeper understanding, acceptance, and activism through this text.

References

Author X

Baglieri, S., & Lalvani, P. (2019). *Undoing ableism: Teaching about disability in K-12 classrooms*. Routledge.

Bamberg, M. (2004). Considering counter narratives. In M. Bamberg & M. Andrews (Eds.), *Considering counter narratives* (pp. 351–371). Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Pugach, M. C., Matewos, A. M., & Gomez-Najarro, J. (2021). Disability and the meaning of social justice in teacher education research: A precarious guest at the table? *Journal of Teacher Education*, 72(2), 237-250.

CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Syed Adeel Ahmed is a faculty member of Division of Business at Xavier University of Louisiana and Editorial Board member/Reviewer of UJEEE at HRPUB.

Dr. George L. Amedee is currently a Professor of Political Science at Southern University at New Orleans (SUNO). He holds a master's degree in Urban and Regional Planning from Virginia Tech and a Ph.D. in Political Science from Northern Illinois University. Dr. Amedee is currently the Emmett W. Bashful Endowed Chair in Leadership and Public Policy. Other positions held previously by Dr. Amedee include Chairman of the New Orleans City Planning Commission and member of the New Orleans Recreation Commission. His governmental professional experiences include Transportation/Environmental Planner for the New Orleans City Planning Commission, Senior Planner for the Mayor's Office of Transit Administration, and the New Orleans Regional Transit Authority. He is a founding member of the Umoja Institute of Culture, Trade, and Economic Development in New Orleans. Previously, he taught full-time in the graduate program in Public Policy and Administration at Jackson State University while serving there as the Director of the Mississippi Center for Technology Transfer. He has also held positions as a Research Associate /Instructor with the Transportation Institute at North Carolina A&T State University and Director of the Urban Studies at SUNO. He has published articles in Politics and Policy, Entrepreneurial Policy Journal, Journal of Urban Education, Journal of Race, Gender, and Class and the Africana Studies Journal.

Michael T. Braun, PhD is a research specialist for the Children and Family Research Center at the University of Illinois. His research focuses on family communication, specifically how families make choices regarding the multiple means of communication available to them. For example, how do parents and children manage communication when a family goes to college? Should they call or text and how often?

Dr. Cynthia P. Honoré-Collins is the Director of the Master of Social Work Program and an Associate Professor in the Department of Social Work at Mississippi Valley State University. Dr. Honoré'-Collins is the current elected Graduate Council Chair serving Graduate Studies, 2018-2022. She earned her BSW and MSW degrees from Southern University at New Orleans and her Ph.D. in Social Work from Jackson State University. She served as the Director of Community and Social Services and of Mahalia Jackson Center with the Early Childhood and Family Learning Foundation in New Orleans, Louisiana. Dr. Honoré'-Collins has developed early childhood and family programming in Louisiana and Northern Michigan, Mahalia Jackson Center and Five to One Program, respectively. Dr. Honoré'-Collins has authored and co-authored several articles.

Dr. Traci Dennis is a professorial lecturer in the School of Education at American University and the director of the undergraduate teacher education program. She is also the chair of the School of Education's Diversity, Equity and Inclusion committee.

Daylan Dufelmeier is a PhD candidate in the University of Illinois at Chicago School of Public Health Community Health Program. He holds a B.A. Degree in Philosophy and Religion from Florida A&M University and an M.P.H. from the University of Illinois at Chicago. Research interests are centered around understanding institutional behaviors and how institutions impact the behaviors of individual. He is also interested exploring how the criminal legal systems are structured to convey advantages to certain groups and disadvantages others. Daylan led the evaluation component of Baton Rouge Collective Healing Community Assessment Study.

Ashraf Esmail has a PhD in Interdisciplinary Studies. His area of interests includes Urban Education, Multicultural Education, Violence in Education, Educational Leadership in secondary and higher education, English as a second language, online learning, and cultural diversity. He is the senior editor of the *Journal of Education and Social Justice* and Chief Editor of the *International Journal of Leadership, Education and Business Studies*. He is the co-editor for the *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Higher Education*. He serves on the Board for the National Association of Peace Education and World Association of Academic Doctors. He served as President of the National Association for Peace Education in 2010-2011 I served as Proposal Review Lead for the National Association for Multicultural Education conference from 2010-2016. He also has served on the Publications, Membership and Accrediting Committee for the association. He served as state chapter president for the National Association for Multicultural Education from 2004-2014.

Katrina Franklin is a native from Lynchburg, Virginia. She is currently a doctoral student at Virginia University of Lynchburg, The School of Business at the Lynchburg, Virginia campus. Ms. Franklin has a master's degree in Organizational Management from Virginia University of and a bachelor's degree in Information Security and Privacy from High Point University, High Point, North Carolina. Currently she holds the position as Director of Distance Learning at Virginia University of Lynchburg. Ms. Franklin's teaching background includes teaching at VUL for over ten years. Her research interests are currently focused on Computer Technology, and Media Communications.

Erica Johnson MED is a candidate for the Specialist in Education degree in Professional Counseling and Supervision at the University of West Georgia. Her research interests include the effects of domestic violence on the development of students, advocacy for students, anxiety in students, and implementation of positive change with data collection.

Danielle Jones-Alexander, MS, LPC is a candidate for the Doctor of Education in Professional Counseling and Supervision at the University of West Georgia. Her passion is providing mental health services to teen and young adult clients. She is an advocate for this population because of their need for assistance in making effective life transitions while learning how to manage their mental health.

Elissa Keller MA, MS is a candidate for the Specialist in Education degree in Professional Counseling and Supervision at the University of West Georgia. Her research interest includes regulating anxiety in school and self-esteem in middle school.

Macie B. King, DMin is a candidate for the Doctor of Education degree in Professional Counseling and Supervision at the University of West Georgia. Her research interest includes pastoral care and counseling, secondary post-traumatic stress syndrome in families of color and military families, and community outreach programs that focus on providing mental and behavioral health counseling to disadvantage socioeconomic clients.

Saili S. Kulkarni, PhD, is an Assistant Professor of Special Education at San Jose State University. Her research examines the intersections of disability and race in teacher education. She is the 2021-2023 co-chair for the Disability Studies in Education Special Interest Group for the American Educational Research Association (AERA). She is the Principal Investigator of the AERA Division K Teacher Education grant on Disability Centered Culturally Sustaining Pedagogies.

Dr. Christy Land is an Assistant Professor member in the School and Clinical Mental Department at Grand Canyon University. As a previous practicing school counselor for 15 years, she has extensive experience at the elementary and middle school levels. She also has experience in clinical private practice as a LPC working primarily with children and adolescents and providing educational consultation to parents, and clinical supervision to counselors working towards licensure. Her areas of expertise include bullying prevention, stress and anxiety management with children/adolescents, group counseling, and supervision. She recognizes the unique position counselors hold to advocate for equity, access, and success for individuals, communities, and schools.

Perry Lyle, PhD, has over 40 years 'experience in Public Safety Service Leadership and Private Security having held responsible positions of leadership in law enforcement, intelligence, private security and forensic investigations. He is a native of Orlando, Florida and currently a Criminal Justice Professor at Columbia College of Missouri. As an avid writer, Dr. Lyle is inspired by stimulating social justice equalities in the criminal justice system. His studies in the Mid-east adds an additional dimension to his multi-cultural diversity portfolio. He graduated with honors with a Master of Science in Criminal Justice from Rollins College, Winter Park, Fl. and earned his PhD in Public Safety Leadership form Capella University graduating *magna cum laude*.

Brendan James Moore, MA, MPS, is a philosopher and instructional designer currently working on a leadership development program at Ochsner Health Systems in New Orleans, Louisiana. His background includes 10+ years of university ethics teaching at Ohio University and Tulane University and several years of work in the area of information technology, instructional technology, and applied computing systems.

Aaron B. Perzigian, PhD, is an associate professor in the Department of Special Education and Education Leadership at Western Washington University, in Bellingham, Washington. He is a former special education teacher with experience in behavior-focused schools and residential treatment centers. His research interests include equity in urban education and social-emotional experiences of students with disabilities.

Dr. Shonda Lawrence is an Associate Professor in Social Work and currently serves as the Director of the Ph.D. Program and Center for Children and Families, at Clark Atlanta

University. She completed her undergraduate degree in Law Enforcement Administration at Western Illinois University in Macomb, Illinois. She received her first master's degree from Chicago State University in Corrections/Criminal Justice. She received her second master's degree and Ph.D. in social work from the University of Illinois at Chicago, Jane Addams College of Social Work. Her research interests include child welfare, the impact of parental incarceration on children and families, and African American fatherhood. She teaches courses in research, social welfare policy, data science, and diversity. Dr. Lawrence has also received foundation, state, and federal funding to conduct research. Dr. Lawrence serves as a Commissioner on the Membership and Professional Development Commission (CMPD) and Accreditation/Reaffirmation, on the Task Force on Anti-Racism and serves as a site visitor for the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE). She has several peer-reviewed journal articles, book chapters, and has presented at numerous juried conferences.

Sharon Lawrence, MAMFT, is a candidate for the Specialist in Education degree in Professional Counseling and Supervision at the University of West Georgia. Her interests focus on strengthening family resilience, building personal resilience, building community resilience, achievement gap vs opportunity gap in education, and academic success of students from disadvantaged backgrounds pursuing a college degree.

Jessica Scher Lisa, Psy.D. is an Associate Professor at St. Joseph's College. She received her doctorate from the Graduate Institute of Professional Psychology, University of Hartford.

Elisha Mitchell, Med is a candidate for the Specialist in Education degree in Professional Counseling and Supervision at the University of West Georgia. Her current interests include identifying educational equity within the public school system and developing advocacy strategies and initiatives to empower those most impacted within the community.

Dr. Kristie Perry is currently an Assistant Professor of Sociology at Southern University and A&M College at Baton Rouge (SUBR). She holds a master's degree in Social Science from Southern University Baton Rouge and a Ph.D. in Sociology from Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. Other positions previously held by Dr. Perry include project management in the Center for Social Research. Her work has centered on HIV/AIDS and substance abuse preventions among young adults and issues relating to community and neighborhood revitalization. She is a member of the Southern University HIV /AIDS and Substance Abuse Prevention Program Advisory Board, leads Southern University HIV/AIDS needs assessment efforts, and assisted in conducting research on HIV/AIDS program at other historically Black Colleges and Universities in the State of Louisiana. In addition, Dr. Perry led the Baton Rouge Collective Healing Community Assessment Study. This study focused on ways to bridge the gap between residents of Baton Rouge and the Baton Rouge Police Department. She currently serves on the City of Baton Rouge Collective Healing Coalition.

Timothy Reagan is Professor of Applied Linguistics and Foreign Language Education in the School of Learning and Teaching in the College of Education and Human Development at the University of Maine. He also holds the position of Research Fellow in the Department of South African Sign Language and Deaf Studies in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein, South Africa.

Eric Shyman, Ed.D. is an Associate Professor at St. Joseph's College. He received his doctorate from Teachers College, Columbia University

Josh Thompson is Associate Professor of Early Childhood Education at Texas A&M University-Commerce. He is active in leadership with the NAEYC Men in Education Interest Forum. Among his diverse research and publication interests, men talking with young children is his favorite.

Dr. Alma Thornton is a Professor in the Executive PhD Program. She holds a master's degree in Social Sciences from Southern University and A & M College and a Ph.D. Degree in Sociology from Louisiana State University. Career experiences include Professorships in Sociology at West Virginia State University and Southern University and A & M College, where she is a retired Emeritus Professor. Her teaching and research interests include marriage and family relations, social inequality and race relations, and food insecurity. She served as Chairperson of the Department of Sociology and Director of the Center for Social Research at Southern University and A&M College, and Guest Editor of the Journal of Race, Gender and Class. Her teaching and research interests include marriage and family relations, social inequality, and race relations. She has extensive experiences in programs targeting limited resources families and children. Dr. Thornton was a principal in the Baton Rouge Collective Healing Community Assessment Study.

Lindsey Wilson is an Equity and Early Childhood Specialist who graduated with a Doctoral Degree from the University of Washington, Seattle. She examines the intersectionality of race, class, and gender in early childhood spaces. Her current research focuses on fathers of color.